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**Titel:** Kirghiz reciprocals

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# Kirghiz reciprocals

Vladimir P. Nedjalkov

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Kirghiz has two principal means of expressing reciprocity, the reciprocal suffix *-š* and the reciprocal pronoun *birin-biri* 'each other'. The suffix can also express assistive meaning, whereas it lacks sociative and comitative meanings. With a restricted group of verbs it expresses competitive and anticausative meanings. Its most interesting function is the marking of the 3rd person plural on verbs. Its distribution overlaps with that of the reciprocal pronoun.

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## 1. Introduction

Kirghiz belongs to the Southern (or Aralo-Caspian) subgroup of the Northwestern (Kipchak) group of the Turkic languages. It is spoken natively by more than 2,500,000 Kirghiz. About 90% live in the Republic of Kyrgyzstan. There are Kirghiz minorities in the neighbouring countries Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Mongolia and China.

Kirghiz has two principal means of expressing reciprocity, the reciprocal suffix *-š* and the reciprocal pronoun *birin-biri* 'each other' which are used singly or co-occur in the same clause.

- (1) a. *Kız            apa-sı-n            öp-tü.*  
girl.NOM   mother-her-ACC   kiss-PAST.3  
'The girl kissed her mother.'
- b. *Kız            menen   apa-sı            öb-üş-tü.*  
girl.NOM   and   mother-her.NOM   kiss-REC-PAST.3  
'The girl and her mother kissed.'

Both types of reciprocals occur in all the three diathesis types of both subject-oriented and object-oriented constructions.

Verbal forms with the suffix *-š* can also express an assistive meaning:

- (2) a. *Apa-m            kamır            şuuru-du.*  
mother-my.NOM   dough.NOM   knead-PAST.3  
'My mother kneaded the dough.'

- b. *Men apa-m-a kamir šuuru-š-tu-m.*  
 I.NOM mother-my-DAT dough.NOM knead-REC-PAST-1SING  
 'I helped my mother to knead the dough.'

Kirghiz differs from Yakut in that its reciprocal suffix lacks the sociative and comitative meanings. Sociatives are attested only in folklore and they are rejected by native speakers. With rather restricted groups of verbs, the reciprocal suffix marks the competitive and the anticausative meanings.

The most interesting function of the Kirghiz reciprocal suffix is optional marking of 3PLUR on verbs. Thus this suffix may occur twice in a verb form, as a reciprocal and as a plural marker:

- (3) a. *Alar kamir šuuru-š-tu.*  
 they dough knead-3PLUR-PAST.3  
 'They kneaded the dough.'
- b. *Alar kamir šuuru-š-iš-tu.*  
 they dough knead-REC-3PLUR-PAST.3  
 'They helped (somebody) to knead dough.' (assistive)

The reciprocal pronoun *birin-biri* is inflected for case and person, and it takes possessive plural markers in agreement with the person of the subject. This reciprocal pronoun stands in complex relation to the reciprocal suffix; they are in overlapping distribution. Thus the reciprocal pronoun is odd with the verb *öp-* 'to kiss' in (4) (cf. (1b)), but on the other hand the reciprocal suffix is ungrammatical in (5b), and it is lexicalized in (5c).

- (4) ? *Alar birin-biri öp-tü.*  
 'They kissed each other.'
- (5) a. *Men anı terek-ke bayla-dı.*  
 I.NOM he.ACC tree-DAT tie-PAST.3  
 'I tied him to a tree.'
- b. \**Biz terek-ke bayla-š-tı.*  
 (intended meaning:) 'We tied each other to a tree.'
- c. *Men anı menen bayla-š-tı-m.*  
 I.NOM he.ACC with tie-REC-PAST-1SING  
 'I made a bet with him.' (lexicalized meaning)
- d. *Biz birin-biri terek-ke bayla-dı.*  
 'We tied each other to a tree.'

Many verbs with a reciprocal meaning are derived from nominal bases by means of the suffix *-laš*:

- (6) *bet* 'face' → *bet-laš* 'to meet face to face'

The bulk of the material used in this paper is borrowed from a two-volume Kirghiz-Russian dictionary and a one-volume Russian-Kirghiz dictionary, and also from specialist literature. The evaluations of grammaticality and acceptability reflect the intuitions of the young Kirghiz linguist Talay Abdiev, who has also supplied the examples cited without references. I am grateful to him for his invaluable help. Sometimes, his evaluations are at variance with the dictionary data, which may be due to dialectal factors.

## 2. Grammatical notes

The principal outline and also some of the important features of Kirghiz grammar coincide with those of Yakut. Therefore we refer the reader to the article on Yakut published in *Turkic Languages* 7, 1 (Nedjalkov 2003). We shall list only some important points of difference.

### 2.1. Morphology

The suffixes in Kirghiz have fewer allomorphs than in Yakut: not more than 12 as a rule. Thus, for instance, the dative case marker has only 8 variants (*-gal/-gel/-gol/-gö/-kal/-kel/-kol/-kö*) corresponding to the 20 variants in Yakut.

### 2.2. Case, number and possessivity

There are only six cases in the Kirghiz noun. Kirghiz lacks the comitative case, but it has the genitive which is lost in Yakut. The case endings follow the markers of plurality and possessivity (cf. *apa-si-n* in (1a) and *apa-m-a* in (2b)). The non-possessive case paradigm of the noun *kiz* 'girl' in the singular:

- |     |     |                |     |                |
|-----|-----|----------------|-----|----------------|
| (7) | NOM | <i>kiz-Ø</i>   | ACC | <i>kiz-di</i>  |
|     | GEN | <i>kiz-din</i> | LOC | <i>kiz-da</i>  |
|     | DAT | <i>kiz-ga</i>  | ABL | <i>kiz-dan</i> |

In the following, the nominative case is as a rule not indicated in the glosses.

In the possessive declension the endings may differ, e.g. the dative case endings are *-a/-e/-o/-ö* (see (2b)). If the 1PLUR or 2PLUR possessive marker is used the accusative case ending is *-d/-di/-du/-dü*, while the accusative ending co-occurs with the 3rd person possessive marker (common for SING and PLUR) is *-n* (cf. (11)). The plural marker, which is not always used, is the suffix *-lar/-tar*, etc. (e.g. *at* 'horse', *at-tar* 'horses', *kiz* 'girl', *kiz-dar* 'girls'). An adjective when used attributively precedes the head noun and is not inflected. In an attributive possessive phrase, the head noun



requires the genitive case of the attribute and the possessive suffix of the head noun agrees with the person and number of the attribute:

- (8) *at-tin baš -i*  
 horse-GEN head-its  
 'a horse's head'

### 2.3. Tense-aspect system

Like Yakut, Kirghiz has two sets of agreement markers on the verb: one of the sets is used on verbs only (see (9)) and the other coincides with the possessive markers on the noun (see (10)). The 3rd person verb form has no plural marker, while Yakut has the plural suffix *-ler*. Therefore, when the optional 3PLUR marker *-š* (which is placed before the tense marker and verbal marker) is not used, the SING and PLUR are not distinguished in the 3rd person. The following tables illustrate the present and past tense paradigms which make use of different agreement paradigms.

These agreement markers are also used in the perfect marked by *-gan/-kan/-gän/-käm*, past habitual in *-ču*, future in *-ar* and also in nominal predicates.

- (9) Present (the marker *-a/-e/-o/-ö/-y*)
- | SINGULAR                      | PLURAL   |
|-------------------------------|--|
| 1. <i>al-a-mın</i> 'I take'   | <i>al-a-bız</i> 'we take'                                |
| 2. <i>al-a-sıñ</i> 'you take' | <i>al-a-sıñar</i> 'you take'                             |
| 3. <i>al-a-t</i> 's/he takes' | <i>al-a-t</i> 'they take', <i>al-ış-a-t</i> 'they take'. |
- (10) Past (the marker *-dı/-di/-du/-dül/-ti/-tu/-tü*)
- | SING                          | PLUR  |
|-------------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>al-dı-m</i> 'I took'    | <i>al-dı-k</i> 'we took'                                |
| 2. <i>al-dı-ñ</i> 'you took'  | <i>al-dı-ñar</i> 'you took'                             |
| 3. <i>al-dı-Ø</i> 's/he took' | <i>al-dı-Ø</i> 'they took', <i>al-ış-tı</i> 'they took' |

There are numerous periphrastic verbal forms containing converbs and auxiliaries.

### 2.4. Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns

Kirghiz differs from Yakut in that reflexive and reciprocal pronouns are formed from different bases. The reflexive pronoun is formed from the base *öz* 'self' (nominative *özü-m* '(I) myself', *özü-ñ* '(you) yourself', *özü* '(s/he) him/herself', *özü-lör-ü/öz-dör-ü* '(they) themselves', etc.), while the reciprocal pronoun is formed from the numeral *bir* 'one' by means of reduplication. Both pronouns are inflected for person and case, the reflexive pronoun having both singular and plural forms, and the reciprocal only plural forms. Both pronouns take the case endings of the possessive declension. The reflexive pronoun has the nominative case while the reciprocal does not have it. The reciprocal pronoun has two variants for each person, (11b') and, less frequently, (11b'') (for the latter see (52b), (60) and (61)). Here are the *accusative* case forms of both pronouns (see (40) for the forms of four cases):

(11)	a. Reflexive pronoun	b. Reciprocal pronoun
1SING	<i>özü-m-ü</i> 'myself'	-
2SING	<i>özü-ŋ-ü</i> 'yourself'	-
3SING	<i>özü-n</i> 'him/herself'	-
1PLUR	<i>özü-büz-dü</i> 'ourselves'	b'. <i>bir[i]-biri-biz-di = b"</i> . <i>biri-biz-di biri-biz</i> 'each other'
2PLUR	<i>özü-ŋör-dü</i> 'yourselves'	<i>bir[i]-biri-ŋer-di = biri-ŋer-di biri-ŋer</i> 'each other'
3PLUR	<i>özü-dör-ün</i> 'themselves'	<i>biri-n-biri = bir[i]-biri-n</i> 'each other'

In Kirghiz orthography, the reciprocal pronouns under (11) are usually spelt as *birin-biri*, *biri-biribizdi*, *biribizdi biri*, etc. In the examples below, they are divided into morphemes.

## 2.5. Voice (means of valency change)

Kirghiz is like Yakut in that it has three valency decreasing voices and one valency increasing voice. What follows is a list of the voice markers and their principal and additional meanings. The names of the suffixes only partly reflect their functions; moreover, the passive and the reflexive suffixes seem to be used in the functions reflected in their name less commonly than in other functions. The meanings of different markers may be similar (cf. 13.5). Thus, if we take into account lexicalizations, the general overview is very complicated. Among all the verbs (11,645 items) registered in the two-volume Kirghiz-Russian dictionary (Judaxin 1985a-b), verbs with the voice markers comprise 5,350 items, or 46%; verbs with causative suffixes comprise 3,200 items (Sadykov 1995: 23; Abdiev 1995: 36).

1. The *passive* suffix *-il/-il/-ul/-ül/-l*. Forms with this marker can also express the reflexive proper, anticausative, and a number of other meanings:

- (12) a. *jaz-* 'to write'  
           → *jaz-il-* 'to be written' (passive)
- b. *igir-* 'to press somebody/something to somebody/something'  
       → *igir-il-* 'to press oneself to somebody/something' (autocausative)
- c. *jiyna-* 'to gather something/somebody'  
       → *jiyna-l-* i. 'to be gathered' (passive), ii. 'to gather' (anticausative)
- d. *as-* 'to hang somebody/something'  
       → *as-il-* i. 'to be hanged' (passive), ii. 'to hang oneself' (reflexive).

2. The *reflexive* suffix *-in/-in/-un/-ün/-n*. This marker can also express a number of other meanings, e.g. the possessive-reflexive, passive (after root-final *-l*), anticausative, etc.:

- (13) a. *juu-* 'to wash'  
           → *juu-n-* 'to wash oneself' (reflexive proper)
- b. *as-* 'to hang somebody/something'  
           → *as-ın-* i. 'to hang oneself' (reflexive proper),  
                       ii. 'to hang something on oneself' (reflexive-possessive)
- c. *uypala-* 'to tangle something'  
           → *uypala-n-* 'to get entangled' (anticausative)
- d. *al-* 'to take'  
           → *al-ın-* 'to be taken' (passive)

3. The *reciprocal* suffix *-ış/-iş/-uş/-üş/-ş*. This suffix may also render the assistive and the anticausative and competitive meanings; it also has a special function of marking plurality in the 3rd person (see (1b), (2b), (3)). Kirghiz never uses a reduplicated reciprocal suffix to express reciprocity, which sometimes happens in Yakut. This may be due to the fact that the suffix *-ş* may be repeated in the same form as a 3PLUR marker only, the first suffix being reciprocal or assistive (see (3b)). In the Kirghiz-Russian dictionary, 960 verbal forms with the reciprocal suffix are registered (Abdiev 1995: 114), of which in my opinion not more than half have the standard reciprocal meaning (see 9.3).

4. The productive *causative* suffixes *-t*, *-dir/-dir/-dur/-dür*, *-tır/-tır/-tur/-tür*, the unproductive suffixes *-ar*, *-kar*, *-iz* (and their variants), and two or more very rare suffixes. The suffix *-t* occurs in 82% and *-dir* in 15.5% of all the causatives (Abdiev 1996: 33). In the Kirghiz-Russian dictionary 78% of causatives are derived from intransitives (Abdiev 1995: 136). The productive causative suffixes can also render the passive, viz. permissive-passive, meaning (see Kudajbergenov 1987b: 252-253).

- (14) a. *öl-* 'to die'  
           → *öl-tür-* 'to kill'  
           → *öl-tür-t-* 'to order/allow to kill' (causative proper)
- b. *čap-* 'to catch (of a trap)' (lit. 'to hit')  
           → *čap-tır-* 'to get caught (in a trap)' (permissive passive)
- c. *jeŋ-* 'to win'  
           → *jeŋ-dir/-jeŋ-dir-t-* i. 'to let oneself be conquered', i. 'to be conquered',  
                                       iii. 'to submit/resign oneself' (Judaxin 1985a: 248)

Among verbal derivatives registered in the Kirghiz-Russian dictionary (Judaxin 1985a-b) the forms considered below are represented as follows: causatives comprise 60%, reciprocals 17.9%, passives 12.5%, reflexives 9.8% (see Abdiev 1996: 33).

### 3. Combinability of voice markers

The voice markers may co-occur in the same verbal form in various combinations. The purpose of the following survey is to give an approximate idea of the place of the reciprocal suffix among other voice markers.

1. The *causative* markers derive verbs from reflexives, and reciprocals, and passives (but not from passives proper), and causatives (cf. (21h), (15)). Alongside a double causative suffix (see (14a)), in specialist literature there are mentions of treble use of the causative suffixes (cf. (16d); Junusaliev 1966: 495). (Besides, a combination of the causative suffix *-där* with the reciprocal suffix, i.e. *-štär* (< *-š-där*), may function as a single derivational morpheme; cf. (21k) and (160)-(171)).

- (15) *kak-* 'to hit/beat'  
       → *kag-în-* 'to clean oneself by beating dirt, dust, etc. off one's clothes, shoes, etc.'  
       → *kag-în-där-* 'to make somebody clean his clothes, shoes, etc.'
- (16) a. *jaz-* 'to write'  
       → b. *jaz-där-* 'to order to write'  
       → c. *jaz-där-t-* 'to order to write via a second person'  
       → d. *jaz-där-t-tär-* 'to order to write via a third person'

2. The *reciprocal* marker may combine with causatives derived from intransitives, but it does not combine with causatives derived from transitives, with a few exceptions. It combines with two-place intransitives containing the passive or the reflexive marker (not in their proper meaning; see (17) and (21g)). In its anticausative function, it appears jointly with the passive or reflexive marker thus forming derivatives from transitives (including lexicalized reciprocals) (see 13.5).

- (17) *igir-il-* 'to press oneself to ...' (cf. (12b))  
       → *igir-il-iš-* 'to press oneself to each other' (reciprocal proper)

3. The *passive* marker does not as a rule combine with reflexive or with reciprocal derivatives. In exceptional instances of this type the meaning of the suffixes *-n* and *-š* on the intransitive underlying verbs is not felt; semantically, the passive form is related to the first verb in the derivational chain; cf. (18c) and (18a), and (19c) and (19a).

- (18) a. *oylo-* 'to think'  
       b. *oylo-n-* 'to fall to thinking'  
       c. *oylo-n-ul-* 'to be the object of thinking' (Judaxin 1985b: 63)
- (19) a. *čirke-* 'to tie/link camels (etc.) in single file'  
       b. *čirke-š-* 'to stretch (being tied) in single file'  
       c. *čirke-š-il-* 'to be tied/linked in single file' (Judaxin 1985b: 364)

The passive suffix combines freely with causatives, in particular with two-place causatives:

- (20) *öl-* 'to die'  
       → *öl-tür-* 'to kill'  
       → *öl-tür-ül-* 'to be killed' (see also (21i))

4. The *reflexive* marker seems to be the least capable of being added to other voice markers; at least the Kirghiz-Russian dictionary does not register any derivatives of this kind (Abdiev 1995: 40).

I have cited above only some of the meanings of voice derivatives. To give an idea of the complexity of derivational relations, here is a set of all the derivatives of the verb *bayla-* 'to tie something to something/tie up' that are registered in the dictionary (Judaxin 1985a: 96-97).

- (21) a. *bayla-* 'to tie something to something/tie up'  
       b. *bayla-l-* 'to be tied to something/tied up' (passive)  
       c. *bayla-n-* i. 'to tie something to oneself' (reflexive possessive),  
                   ii. 'to be tied to something/tied up' (passive)  
       d. *bayla-t* 'to order to tie, etc.' (causative)  
       e. *bayla-t-tür-* 'to order to tie via somebody' (causative)  
       f. *bayala-n-t-* 'to order to tie something to oneself' (causative)  
       g. *bayla-n-iš-* 'to get connected with somebody on the phone, etc.'  
                   (lexicalized reciprocal)  
       h. *bayla-n-iš-tür-* i. 'to tie somebody/something with some-  
                               body/something' (lexicalized causative), ii. 'to coord-  
                               inate something with something (lexicalized causa-  
                               tive)  
       i. *bayla-n-iš-tür-* 'to be tied together' (passive from (h))  
           *il-*  
       j. *bayla-š-* i. \*'to tie each other' (\*reciprocal), ii. 'to help to tie'  
                   (assistive), iii. 'to wager, compete' (lexicalized recip-  
                   rocal)  
       k. *bayla-š-tür-* 'to tie something/somebody together/with each other'  
                   (causative) (see 13)

The following example taken from Judaxin (1985a: 97) illustrates (21i) in which the reciprocal suffix is followed by two more suffixes, causative and passive:

1. *At-tar bayla-n-iš-tür-il-üp, koštoš turul-up tur-gan-ın körö-sü-ŋ.*  
    'You will see how the horses tied together are standing in pairs.'

#### 4. Diathesis types of reciprocals with the suffix -š only

##### 4.1. Subject-oriented reciprocal constructions

###### 4.1.1. “Canonical” reciprocals

###### 4.1.1.1. Derived from two-place transitives

The lexical range of this type of verbs is similar to that in Yakut; therefore, I shall confine myself to a list of base verbs and a few sentential examples: *alda-* ‘to deceive’, *aŋdī-* ‘to watch/spy on’, *arba-* ‘to enchant’, *at-* ‘to fire’, *bil-* ‘to know’, *čakīr-* ‘to call’, *kabarla-* ‘to inform’, *kapa kīl-* ‘to offend’, *karasotto-* ‘to judge/try/put on trial’, *kör-* ‘to see’, *kuu-* ‘to chase’, *makta-* ‘to praise’, *mušta-* ‘to hit (with a fist)’, *oyrondo-* ‘to destroy’, *öp-* ‘to kiss’, *sök-* ‘to scold’, *sīyla-* ‘to respect’, *sura-* ‘to ask’, *tab-* ‘to find’, *tikte-* ‘to look’, *türt-* ‘to push’, *šildīnda-* ‘to tease’, *jala-* ‘to lick (of animals)’, *janč-* ‘to hit/beat’, *jūt-* ‘to smell’.

- (22) a. *Al meni sotto-du.*  
           he IACC take.to.court-PAST.3  
           ‘He took me to court.’  
       b. *Biz sotto-š-tu-k.*  
           we take.to.court-REC-PAST-1PLUR  
           ‘We took each other to court.’  
       (23) *Sura-š-pa-y tab-iš-kan.*  
           ask-REC-NEG-CONV find-REC-PERF  
           ‘They found each other without asking each other.’

The latter example is a saying with a pejorative meaning (used of thieves, drunkards, etc.).

###### 4.1.1.2. Derived from two-place transitives with a split object valency

This type is entirely parallel to the respective Yakut type:

- (24) a. *Al meni kökürök-kö türt-tü.*  
           he IACC chest-DAT push-PAST.3  
           ‘He pushed me on the chest.’  
       b. *Biz eköö-büz kükürök-kö türt-üş-tü-k.*  
           we two-we chest-DAT push-REC-PAST-1PLUR  
           ‘We pushed each other on the chest.’

###### 4.1.1.3. Derived from two-place intransitives

Reciprocals are formed from the following limited group of verbs, most of which require a dative object: *ačuulan-* ‘to get angry with’, *čende-* ‘to approach’, *katta-* ‘to pay a visit to’, *kīzuulan-* ‘to be/become furious (while speaking) with’, *kork-* ‘to

become afraid/scared of' (this stem takes an ablative object), *korjongdo-* 'to swear at/abuse', *söykön-* 'to rub against', *süyön-* 'to lean against', *taarın-* 'to get offended with', *imda-* 'to wink at', *iškır-* 'to whistle to', *joluk-* 'to wink at', etc.

- (25) a. *Men alar-ga iškır-dī-m.*  
 I.NOM they-DAT whistle-PAST-1SING  
 'I whistled to them.'
- b. *Biz alar menen iškır-iş-tī-k.*  
 we they with whistle-REC-PAST-1PLUR  
 lit. 'We with them whistled to each other.'

Derived two-place intransitives, including autocausatives with the reflexive suffix *-n*, can form reciprocals in *-ş* (note that reciprocals cannot be formed from the underlying three-place intransitives):

- (26) a. *Al tayak-tī dubal-ga süyö-dü.*  
 he stick-ACC wall-DAT lean-PAST.3  
 'He leaned the stick against the wall.'
- b. *Al dubal-ga / maga süyö-n-dü.*  
 he wall-DAT I.DAT lean-REFL-PAST.3  
 'He leaned against the wall/on me.'
- c. *Biz süyö-n-üş-tü-k.*  
 we lean-REFL-REC-PAST-1PLUR  
 'We leaned against each other.'

#### 4.1.1.4. Derived from one-place intransitives

The examples below illustrate this type of derivation. Similar reciprocals are also registered in Yakut (Nedjalkov 2003: 49-50):

- (27) a. *aṅkušta-* 'to squeak/cry (of marmots)'  
 b. *aṅkušta-ş-* 'to exchange squeaks (of marmots)' (Judaxin 1985a: 59)
- (28) a. *kişene-* 'to neigh'  
 b. *kişene-ş-* 'to communicate by neighing' (Judaxin 1985a: 390)

#### 4.1.2. "Dative" reciprocals

These reciprocals retain the direct object of the underlying construction, expressed by a noun either with zero ending or in the accusative case form. The base verbs producing this type of derived diathesis may be divided into two semantic groups: (1) three-place transitives with an obligatory indirect object, of the type 'to give'; (2)

three-place causatives derived from two-place transitives, of the type ‘to cause somebody to build a house, etc.’.

1. Three-place transitives fall into two syntactic subtypes: (a) verbs taking an indirect object in the dative case, e.g. *ayt-* ‘to tell’, *at-* ‘to throw’, *ber-* ‘to give’, *sat-* ‘to sell’, *suylō-* ‘to tell’, *sun-* ‘to offer’, *šībīra-* ‘to whisper’, *taši-* ‘to carry (something to somebody)’, *ubada kīl-* ‘to promise’, *īrgūt-* ‘to throw’, *ūaz-* ‘to write’; and (b) verbs requiring an indirect object in the ablative case: *al-* ‘to take’, *bekit-* ‘to hide’, *sura-* ‘to ask’. Compare:

- (29) a. *Men koŋšu-m-a kese sun-du-m.*  
 I neighbour-my-DAT cup offer-PAST-1SING  
 ‘I offered my neighbour a drink.’  
 b. *Men menen koŋšu-m kese sun-uš-tu-k.*  
 I with neighbour-my cup offer-REC-PAST-1PLUR  
 ‘My neighbour and I offered each other drinks.’

- (30) *Alar saat al-iš-iš-ti.*  
 ‘They swapped their watches.’ (lit. ‘... took from each other’).

2. Three-place causatives. An instance of this type of base verbs is *kōrsōt-* ‘to show’ derived from the two-place transitive *kōr-* ‘to see’:

- (31) a. *Men koŋšu-m-a kitep-ti kōrsōtt-tū-m.*  
 I neighbour-my-DAT book-ACC show-PAST-1SING  
 ‘I showed the book to my neighbour.’  
 b. *Biz [koŋšu-m] ekōō-büz kitep-ter-ibiz-di kōrsōt-üş-tū-m.*  
 we neighbour-my two-we book-PLUR-our-ACC show-REC-PAST-1PLUR  
 ‘We two [(with) my neighbour] showed our books to each other.’

#### 4.1.3. “Possessive” reciprocals

This type involves a possessive or part-whole relation between the subject and direct or indirect object referents. The object is either in the nominative, with zero marking (as in (26b)) or in the accusative case of possessive declension (as in (26c)); in the underlying construction the possessor of the object referent is expressed by the genitive case of a noun, or it may be implied. These reciprocal forms can be derived from either transitive or intransitive two-place verbs. In both cases the valency is retained, the possessive attribute to an object being omitted (cf. *uul-um-un* in (24a)). The possessors are expressed by the subject of the reciprocal construction (cf. *uul-um* in (24b)).



#### 4.1.3.1. Derived from two-place transitives

The reciprocal form of a number of transitive verbs can occur in a “possessive” construction as well as in the “canonical” type, with the difference that the object of the underlying construction contains an indication of the possessor (marked by a possessive attribute and/or a possessive suffix), this possessor being denoted by the subject in the derived construction (cf. ‘to kiss a girl’ → ‘to kiss each other’; ‘to kiss a girl’s cheek’ → ‘to kiss each other’s cheeks’). The reciprocal form of the following base verbs can be used in “possessive” constructions: (*ün*) *al-* ‘to hear (somebody’s voice)’, (*kol*) *karma-* ‘to seize (somebody’s hand)’ (the converb of its reciprocal form is used as a formula: *kol karma-š-öp* ‘holding each other by the hand’ (Judaxin 1985a: 392), (*but-ï-n*) *kemir-* ‘to bite off (somebody’s leg)’, (*kol*) *kis-* ‘to shake somebody’s hand’ (see (24)), *öp-* ‘to kiss’, (*čač*) *ör-* ‘to braid (somebody’s hair)’, (*üy/üy-lör-dü*) *örttö-* ‘to burn (somebody’s house)’, (*kan*) *tök-* ‘to shed (somebody’s blood)’, (*arka-lar-ün*) *jši-* ‘to wash/rub/clean by rubbing (somebody’s neck)’, (*moynuman*) *jüta-* ‘to kiss (somebody’s neck)’, and the like.

- (32) a. *Men uul-um-un kol-u-n kis-ti-m.*  
 I son-my-GEN hand-his-ACC shake-PAST-1SING  
 ‘I shook my son’s hand.’  
 b. *Biz uul-um eköö-büz kol kis-iš-ti-k.*  
 we son-my two-we hand shake-REC-PAST-1PLUR  
 ‘My son and I shook hands with each other.’
- (33) a. *Men koŋšu-m-un kol-u-n karma-di-m.*  
 I neighbour-my-GEN hand-his-ACC grasp-PAST-1SING  
 ‘I grasped my neighbour’s hand.’  
 b. *Biz koŋšu-m eköö-büz kol karma-š-ti-k.*  
 we neighbour-my two-we hand grasp-REC-PAST-1PLUR  
 ‘My neighbour and I grasped each other’s hands.’
- (34) a. *Kiz-ım menin čač-ım-ı ör-dü.*  
 daughter-my I.GEN hair-my-ACC braid-PAST.3  
 ‘My daughter braided my hair.’  
 b. *[Biz] kız-ım eköö-büz čač ör-üö-tü-k.*  
 we daughter-my two-we hair braid-REC-PAST-1PLUR  
 ‘My daughter and I braided each other’s hair.’  
 c. *[Biz] kız-ım eköö-büz čač-ibiz-di ör-üş-tü-k.*  
 we daughter-my two-we hair-our-ACC braid-REC-PAST-1PLUR  
 ‘My daughter and I braided each other’s hair.’

#### 4.1.3.2. Derived from two-place intransitives

There are few instances of this kind of derivation; an example is the verb *kara-* ‘to look at’, which requires a dative object (see (35)), and *öp-* ‘to kiss’ which is usually transitive but can also occur with an ablative object (see (36)):

- (35) a. *Men kiz-im-in bet-i-ne kara-di-m.*  
 I daughter-my-GEN face-her-DAT look-PAST-1SING  
 ‘I looked into my daughter’s face.’  
 b. *Biz eköö-büz bet-ibiz-ge kara-š-di-k.*  
 we two-we face-our-DAT look-REC-PAST-1PLUR  
 lit. ‘We looked into each other’s faces.’
- (36) a. *Men kiz-im-in bet-i-nen öp-tü-m.*  
 I daughter-my-GEN face-her-ABL kiss-PAST-1SING  
 lit. ‘I kissed my daughter’s face.’  
 b. *Biz kiz-im eköö-büz bet-ten öb-üş-tü-k.*  
 we daughter-my two-we face-ABL kiss-REC-PAST-1PLUR  
 lit. ‘My daughter and I kissed each other’s faces.’

#### 4.2. Causatives from reciprocals

Basically, any subject-oriented construction can be transformed into an object-oriented construction embedded in a causative construction. The reciprocal relationship of the former is retained in the latter:

- (37) a. *Ak it kara it-ti kap-ti.*  
 white dog black dog-ACC bite-PAST.3  
 ‘The white dog bit the black dog.’  
 b. *Ak it menen kara it kab-iš-ti.*  
 white dog and black dog bite-REC-PAST.3  
 ‘The white and the black dogs bit each other.’  
 c. *Čal menen koŋšu-su it-ter-di kab-iš-tür-iš-ti.*  
 old.man and neighbour-his dog-PLUR-ACC bite-REC-CAUS-PLUR-PAST.3  
 ‘The old man and his neighbour set the dogs on each other’

For unclear reasons, causative reciprocals of this type sometimes sound unnatural, the reciprocal pronoun instead of the reciprocal suffix being more acceptable.

- (38) a. *Kişi-ler öl-tür-üş-tü.*  
 man-PLUR die-CAUS-REC-PAST.3  
 ‘People killed each other.’

- b. \**Al kiši-ler-di öl-tür-üş-tür-bö-dü.*  
 he man-PLUR-ACC die-CAUS-REC-CAUS-NEG-PAST.3  
 (intended meaning) 'He did not allow people to kill each other.'
- c. *Al kiši-ler-di biri biri-ne öl-tür-t-pö-dü.*  
 he man-PLUR-ACC each other-DAT die-CAUS-CAUS-NEG-PAST.3  
 'He did not allow people to kill each other.'

### 4.3. Nomina actionis

Deverbal nouns are derived mostly by means of the suffixes *-ış/-iş/-uŝ/-üŝ/-ş* and *-oo/-öö/-uu/-üü*. The latter suffix alone is registered on nouns derived from standard reciprocal verbs. These nouns retain the object (both direct and non-direct) valencies of the base verbs, the subject valency being transformed into genitive:

- (39) a. *Kız apa-sı-n kuçakta-dı.*  
 daughter mother-her-ACC embrace-PAST.3  
 'The daughter embraced her mother.'
- b. *Kız-dın apa-sı-n kuçakt-oo-su.*  
 daughter-GEN mother-her-ACC embrace-NR-her.NOM.SING  
 lit. 'The daughter's embracing of her mother.'

## 5. Diathesis types of reciprocals with the pronoun *birin-biri* 'each other'

### 5.1. Introductory

Here are the forms of the reciprocal pronoun for the four most frequently used cases (see also (11)):

- (40)
- |     |                          |                          |                                  |
|-----|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|
|     | 1PLUR                    | 2PLUR                    | 3PLUR                            |
| ACC | <i>biri-biri-biz-di</i>  | <i>biri-biri-ger-di</i>  | <i>biri-biri-n / biri-n-biri</i> |
| GEN | <i>biri-biri-biz-din</i> | <i>biri-biri-ger-din</i> | <i>biri-biri-nin</i>             |
| DAT | <i>biri-biri-biz-ge</i>  | <i>biri-biri-ger-ne</i>  | <i>biri-biri-ne</i>              |
| ABL | <i>bir-biri-biz-den</i>  | <i>biri-biri-ger-den</i> | <i>biri-biri-nen</i>             |

### 5.2. Subject-oriented reciprocal constructions

#### 5.2.1. "Canonical" reciprocals

##### 5.2.1.1. Derived from two-place transitives

The same verbs can be used in these constructions as those considered in 4.1.1.1, but there are certain preferences (see 5.4).

- (41) a. *Men keçik-pe-ş üçün anı şaş-tır-dı-m.*  
 I be.late-NEG-NR in.order.not he-ACC hurry-CAUS-PAST-1SING  
 'In order not to be late I made him hurry.'

- b. *Biz eköō-büz kečik-pe-š üčün biri-biri-biz-di šaš-tır-dī-k.*  
 'In order not to be late we made each other hurry.'

- (42) *Biz biri-biri-biz-di jemele-di-k.*  
 'We reproach each other.'

### 5.2.1.2. Derived from two-place transitives with a split object valency

This type is parallel to the reciprocals discussed in 4.1.1.2. Compare:

- (43) a. *Al anī koltuk-ka uku-du.*  
 he he.ACC side-DAT push-PAST.3  
 'He pushed him in the ribs.'
- b. *[Alar] biri-n-biri koltuk-ka uku-š-up ...* (Judaxin 1985b: 302)  
 they each-ACC-other side-DAT push-REC-CONV  
 '[They] pushing each other in the ribs ...'

### 5.2.1.3. Derived from two-place intransitives

This type seems to be more common among pronominal reciprocals than among suffixed ones (cf. 4.1.1.3). Some of the verbs require simultaneous use of the reciprocal suffix and reciprocal pronoun.

- (44) a. *Al ata-sī-na ačuulan-dī.*  
 he father-his-DAT get.angry-PAST.3  
 'He got angry with his father.'
- b. *Alar biri-biri-ne ačuulan-ış-tī.*  
 they each-other-DAT get.angry-REC-PAST.3  
 'They got angry with each other.'
- (45) a. *Al ata-sī-nan kork-tu.*  
 he father-his-ABL get.scared-PAST.3  
 'He got scared of his father.'
- b. *Alar biri-biri-nen kork-uš-tu.*  
 they each-other-ABL get.scared-REC-PAST.3  
 'They got scared of each other.'
- (46) a. *Uy dubal-ga sōykō-n-dū.*  
 cow wall-DAT rub-REFL-PAST.3  
 'The cow rubbed against the wall.'
- b. *Uy-lar biri-biri-ne sōykō-n-üş-tü.*  
 cow-PLUR each-other-DAT rub-REFL-3PLUR-PAST.3  
 'The cows rubbed against each other.'

### 5.2.2. “Dative” reciprocals

Unlike suffixed “dative” reciprocals, those with the reciprocal pronoun occur in constructions derived from underlying constructions both with three-place transitives and three-place causatives from transitives, and also from constructions with a benefactive or assistive object (i.e. there are pronominal reciprocals from assistives):

- (47) a. *Ata-m dos-u-na et bīšīr-t-tī.*  
 father-my friend-his-DAT meat cook-CAUS-PAST.3  
 ‘My father asked his friend to cook the meat.’
- b. *Ata-m menen dos-u*  
 father-my and friend-his
- biri-biri-ne et bīšīr-t-iš-tī.*  
 each-other-DAT meat cook-CAUS-3PLUR-PAST.3  
 ‘My father and his friend asked each other to cook meat.’
- (48) a. *Ata-m maga ot taši-dī.* (benefactive)  
 ‘My father carts hay to/for me.’
- b. *Ata-m eköö-büz biri-biri-biz-ge ot taši-dī-k.*  
 ‘My father and I cart hay to/for each other.’
- (49) a. *Ata-m ma-ga ot taši-š-tī.* (assistive)  
 father-my I-DAT hay.NOM cart-REC-PAST.3  
 ‘My father helped me to cart hay.’
- b. *Ata-m eköö-büz biri-biri-biz-ge ot taši-š-tī-k.*  
 father-my two-we each-other-DAT hay cart-REC-PAST-1PLUR  
 ‘My father and I helped each other to cart hay.’

### 5.2.3. “Possessive” reciprocals

Like in constructions with a direct object of alienable and inalienable possession, the possessor is denoted by the genitive case.

- (50) *Kariškīr-lar biri-biri-nin but-u-n kemir-iš-tī.*  
 wolf-PLUR each-other-their.GEN foot-his-ACC gnaw-3PLUR-PAST.3  
 lit. ‘Wolves gnawed off each other’s paws.’
- (51) *Biz eköö-büz biri-biri-biz-din bal-dar-ībīz-dī taanī-y-bīz.*  
 we two-we each-other-our-GEN child-PLUR-our-ACC know-PRES-1PLUR  
 ‘We know each other’s children.’

### 5.3. Object-oriented reciprocal constructions

Constructions of this type are formed freely from subject-oriented constructions. Note the peculiarity of expressing the reciprocal sense if the referents of both objects (accusative and dative) coincide:

- (52) a. *Al soldat-ka biz-di öl-tür-t-ö-t.*  
 he soldier-DAT we-ACC kill-CAUS-CAUS-PRES-3SING  
 'He orders the soldier to kill us.'
- b. *Al biri-biz-di biri-biz-ge öl-tür-t-ö-t.*  
 he one-our-ACC one-our-DAT die-CAUS-CAUS-PRES-3SING  
 'He orders us to kill each other.'

Compare the analogous construction with *biri* in a non-reciprocal meaning:

- c. *Biri-ŋ-di biri-ŋ-e öl-tür-t-ö-m.* (Judaxin 1985b: 93)  
 one-your.SING-ACC one-your.SING-DAT die-CAUS-CAUS-PRES-1SING  
 'I will make one of you kill the other.'

### 5.4. Interrelation of the reciprocal suffix and reciprocal pronoun.

#### Their co-occurrence

Five main types of interrelation of these reciprocal markers can be distinguished. Let us consider the following sentence:

- (53) *Ördök-tör keede biri-n-biri kubala-š-ïp ...* (Judaxin 1985a: 435)  
 duck-PLUR sometimes each-other chase-3PLUR-CONV  
 'Ducks sometimes chase each other.'

This verb may assume the following reciprocal forms:

- (54) a. *kubala-š-ïp* – the reciprocal suffix only  
 b. *biri-n-biri kubala-p* – the reciprocal pronoun only  
 c. *biri-n-biri kubala-š-ïp* – both the reciprocal pronoun and suffix/3PLUR  
 d. *kubala-š-ï-š-ïp* – both the reciprocal and 3PLUR suffixes  
 e. *biri-n-biri kubala-š-ï-š-ïp* – the reciprocal pronoun and both suffixes

Variant (54e) is rejected by the informant and it is not registered in the dictionaries. Variant (54d) is rather rare, because context usually makes it clear whether variant (54a) is reciprocal or plural. In isolated sentences, however, the informant may opt for (54d) (cf. 9.2).

The main opposition here is between (54a) and (54b). Some verbs are preferable in form (54a) and other verbs in (54b). This is relevant for the cases considered in section 7 on restrictions. A number of verbs seem to be used in either form indis-

criminally, like the verb in (53)-(54), though the informant prefers variant (54a) for this particular verb. Here are examples of verbs of this type:

- (55) a. *Biz eköð-büz köpkö kuu-š-tu-k.*  
 'We pursued each other for a long time.'
- b. *Biz eköð-büz köpkö biri-biri-biz-di kuu-du-k.*  
 (same meaning)
- (56) a. *Biz eköð-büz sïyla-š-ču-buz.*  
 'We respected each other.' (-ču- is HAB)
- b. *Biz eköð-büz biri-biri-biz-di sïyla-ču-buz.*  
 (same meaning)

The verb in (57) usually occurs in form (57a), (57b) being characterized as possible but very rare. This is probably due to the high frequency of the reciprocal situation described. This also pertains to the reciprocal *teb-iš-* 'to kick each other' (about horses), which however has occurred with the reciprocal pronoun in a text (probably for emphasis). The informant sees the suffix -š- as unambiguously reciprocal.

- (57) a. *Alar kučakta-š-tï.*  
 'They embraced each other.'
- b. *Alar biri-n-biri kučakta-dï.*  
 (same meaning)
- (58) ... *čunagda-š-ïp*      *kel-iš-e-t,*      *biri-n-biri*      *teb-iš-e-t.*  
 press.ears-3PLUR-CONV    come-3PLUR-PRES-3    each-other    kick-REC-PRES-3SING  
 '... (they = horses) approach *each other* pressing their ears, kick *each other*.'  
 (Judaxin 1985b: 377)

The verb *jala-* 'to lick' is preferable in form (59b):

- (59) a. *Küçük-tör jala-š-tï.*  
 'The puppies licked (whom?)'
- b. *Küçük-tör biri-n-biri jala-š-tï.*  
 'The puppies licked each other.'

Verbs with different means of encoding reciprocity may occur in one sentence:

- (60) *Bir-biri-ne*      *kön-üş-kön-dön*      *kiyin*  
 each-other-DAT    get.used-REC/3PLUR(?) -PART-ABL    later

*süy-üş-üp ket-e-t.* (Judaxin 1985a: 423)  
 love-REC-CONV AUX-PRES-3  
 'After [they] get used to each other, they will fall in love with each other';  
 cf. *süy-* in (70).

Instances like (54c) with the reciprocal *-š* are hard to find among sentences in the 3rd person because this suffix can be interpreted as 3PLUR, and, as I have mentioned above, the informant rejects the doubling of *-š* in these cases. Here is an example with a 1st person predicate which shows the possibility of co-occurrence of the two suffixes:

- (61) *Sen eköō-büz biri-biz-di biri-biz köz-gö say-ış-pas-biz.*  
 you two-we each-our-ACC other-our eye-DAT put.out-REC-NEG.FUT-1PLUR  
 'We [you and I] won't put out each other's eyes.' (Judaxin 1985b: 123)

### 5.5. Nomina actionis

Nomina actionis are formed in the same way as deverbal nouns from suffixed reciprocals (see 4.3):

- (62) a. *Koŋšu-m menen apa-m biri-n biri silya-š-a-t.*  
 neighbour-my and mother-my each-ACC other respect-REC-PRES-3  
 'My neighbour and my mother respect each other.'
- b. *Koŋšu-m menen*  
 neighbour-my and
- biri-n biri apa-m-ın silya-š-uu-si.*  
 each-ACC other mother-my-GEN respect-REC-NR-their  
 lit. 'My neighbour and my mother's [their] respect for each other.'

### 6. Simultaneity and succession of reciprocal acts

In this respect Kirghiz reciprocals are similar to those of Yakut and other languages, because temporal sequence of reciprocal acts is dependent on the lexical meaning of a verb. Simultaneity of reciprocal acts is inherent in the verbal meaning in (1b), (26), (32), (33), etc. The following are examples of non-simultaneous successive actions:

- (63) *Biz eköō-büz katta-š-a-biz.*  
 'We visit each other.'
- (64) *Biz eköō-büz köpkö kezektešip kuu-š-tu-k.*  
 we two-we long by.turns chase-REC-PAST-1PLUR  
 'We chased each other by turns for a long time.'
- (65) *Biz eköō-büz köpkö kaytar-ïö-ti-k.*  
 'We two guarded one another for a long time' (= 'by turns'); cf. *kaytar-* in (70).



The following is an example of chain relations within a reciprocal situation:

- (66) *Karkīra-day eerči-š-ip* ... (Judaxin 1985b: 473)  
 crane-like follow-REC-CONV  
 'Following each other like cranes ...'

### 7. Productivity and restrictions on reciprocal formation with the suffix -š

Kirghiz suffixed reciprocals are formed from a large number of verbs and are numerous in the dictionary, though they are somewhat less productive than in Yakut. This section contains fragmentary observations meant to give the reader an idea of possible restrictions on their formation. Some of the restrictions are general, such as the absence of reciprocals from causatives derived from transitive verbs (as it happens, this restriction is observed in Yakut as well). Reciprocals are not derived from some two-place causatives, nor from some two-place transitives and intransitives in general, which seem to be subject to individual restrictions (see (5b)). A number of verbs do have a form in -š but with a lexicalized meaning (cf. (5c)) rather than with a standard reciprocal meaning. In these cases, as well as in the previous ones, the reciprocal meaning is commonly rendered by the reciprocal pronoun (cf. (5d)). The existence of a lexicalized meaning in the reciprocal form (5c) is unlikely to be the reason for the absence of the reciprocal meaning proper, the form in -š of other verbs often combining both the reciprocal proper and a lexicalized meaning. Here are a few causatives derived from intransitives (see (67)) and transitives (see (68)) which do not take a reciprocal form:

- |                      |                                |                                    |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (67) <i>kal-tur-</i> | 'to leave (somebody)'          | (← <i>kal-</i> 'to stay')          |
| <i>kel-tir-</i>      | 'to bring (somebody)'          | (← <i>kel-</i> 'to come')          |
| <i>šaš-tir-</i>      | 'to make (somebody) hurry'     | (← <i>šaš-</i> 'to be in a hurry') |
| <i>jat-kir-</i>      | 'to make (somebody) lie down'  | (← <i>jat-</i> 'to lie down')      |
| (68) <i>bil-dir-</i> | 'to inform (somebody)'         | (← <i>bil-</i> 'to know')          |
| <i>ez-dir-</i>       | 'to order (somebody) to press' | (← <i>ez-</i> 'to press')          |
| <i>sat-tir-</i>      | 'to make (somebody) sell'      | (← <i>sat-</i> 'to sell')          |

But a reciprocal is derived from the following three-place causative (with a unique lexicalized causative suffix) due to its lexical meaning:

- (69) *kör-* 'to see'  
 → *kör-söt-* 'to show'  
 → *kör-söt-üş-* 'to show something to each other'

In the informant's opinion, suffixed reciprocals from the following verbs sound unnatural, though some of them are registered in the dictionary (it is hard to say whether this is related to the time factor, as the dictionaries at our disposal were compiled in the 1950s). With these verbs the informant prefers the reciprocal pro-

noun instead of the suffix. Here are a few two-place transitives (see (70)) and two-place intransitives (see (71)) from which suffixed reciprocals are not formed:

- (70) *kaytar-* 'to guard' (cf., however, (65))  
*süy-* 'to love' (cf., however, (60))  
*korgo-* 'to guard/defend'  
*sıla-* 'to stroke'  
*küülö-* 'to egg on'  
*tüşün-* 'to understand'  
*moyso-* 'to destroy/kill'  
*unut-* 'to forget'  
*sat-* 'to sell/betray'
- (71) *açuulan-* 'to be angry/swear'  
*kork-* 'to be afraid/scared of'  
*modıray-* 'to stare with wide open eyes'

The pronominal reciprocal in (72) is more acceptable than the suffixed derivative, which the informant considers somewhat unnatural, though it is registered in the dictionary and illustrated by a sentential example; the informant suggests a suffixed reciprocal *tikte-š-* of the verb *tikte-* 'to look fixedly/stare' which is very close in meaning. Curiously enough, in the dictionary the reciprocal meaning of this verb is illustrated by a sentence with the reciprocal pronoun (see (73)); as it happens, the verb *kara-* 'to look' is cited in the specialist literature both with the reciprocal suffix and reciprocal pronoun (see (72c)). This shows that the boundary between the acceptable and non-acceptable is not clear-cut.

- (72) a. *Biz eköö-büz kara-š-ti-k.*  
 we two-we look-REC-PAST-1PLUR  
 'We (he and I) looked at each other.'
- b. *Biz eköö-büz biri-biri-biz-di kara-dı-k*  
 (same meaning)
- c. ... *bir neče sekund*  
 one several second
- biri-n-biri kara-š-ti.* (Kudajbergenov 1987b: 243)  
 each-ACC-other look-3PLUR-PAST.3  
 '... (they) looked at each other for a few seconds.'
- (73) a. ... *biri-n-biri tikte-š-ip* ... (Judaxin 1985b: 235)  
 each-ACC-other stare-3PLUR-CONV  
 '... staring at each other.'

- b. ... *tikte-š-ip tur-a-t eki šer* (Judaxin 1985b: 235)  
 stare-REC-CONV AUX-PRES-3 two athlete  
 '... two athletes staring at each other.'

In the following two examples the suffixed reciprocal is correct but sounds less natural than with the reciprocal pronoun; it is registered in the dictionary (Judaxin 1985a: 49). I cite these data in order to give the reader an idea of live perception of various reciprocals by a native speaker and divergences from the dictionary.

- (74) a. *Biz alda-š-pa-y-biz.*  
 we deceive-REC-NEG-PRES-1PLUR  
 'We do not deceive each other.'
- b. *Biz biri-biri-biz-di alda-ba-y-biz.*  
 (same meaning)

As a rule, suffixed reciprocals from compound verbs (comprised of a noun and a desemanticized verb) sound unintelligible, and the reciprocal pronoun is used for rendering the reciprocal sense; cf.:

- (75) a. \**Biz eköö-büz kapa kī-š-tī-k.*  
 we two-we grief do-REC-PAST-1PLUR  
 (intended meaning:) 'We grieved each other.'
- b. *Biz eköö-büz biri-biri-biz-di kapa kīl-dī-k.*  
 (same meaning)
- (76) a. \**Biz jek kōr-üş-ö-büz.*  
 we hatred see-REC-PRES-1PLUR  
 (intended meaning:) 'We hate each other.'
- b. *Biz biri-biri-biz-di jek kōr-ö-büz.*  
 (same meaning)

In one instance a diathesis restriction seems to be in force which forbids the use of a suffixed reciprocal: the latter are not used to express benefactive reciprocal relations:

- (77) a. *Men aga et bīšīr-dī-m.*  
 I he.DAT meat cook-PAST-1SING  
 'I cooked meat for him.'
- b. \**Biz eköö-büz kezekteš et bīšīr-š-tī-k.*  
 we two-we by.turns meat cook-REC-PAST-1PLUR  
 (intended meaning:) 'We cooked meat for each other by turns.'

- c. *Biz eköō-büz kezekteš biri-biri-biz-ge et bišir-dī-k.*  
(same meaning)

### 8. Expression of reciprocal arguments

Subject expression in reciprocal constructions is no different from that in non-reciprocal constructions. It is also more or less the same as in Yakut. Constructions with the reciprocal pronoun can be *simple* only, while constructions with suffixed reciprocal verbs can be either *simple* or *discontinuous*. In the former case the subject is expressed by a conjunctive phrase with the conjunction *menen* 'and'. In the latter case the second argument is expressed by a comitative phrase with the postposition *menen* 'with' and the predicate agrees with the first argument only. (Note that in Yakut *kitta* 'and/with' takes the same position between the arguments in both the conjunctive and postpositional functions and the predicate agrees either with the first argument or with both.) The 3PLUR marker in (78a) is seen by the informant as quite grammatical but not the best variant (though it is quite acceptable with some reciprocals), while in (78b) it is ungrammatical because the first argument is in the singular. This pertains to sentences with the second argument in the plural as well (see (78c)):

- (78) a. *Kīz       menen   apa-sī       ōb-üş-tü /       ōb-üş-üş-tü.*  
daughter and mother-her kiss-REC-PAST.3 kiss-REC-3PLUR-PAST.3  
'The daughter and her mother kissed each other.'
- b. *Kīz       apa-sī       menen   ōb-üş-tü / \*ōb-üş- üš-tü.*  
daughter mother-her with kiss-REC-PAST.3  
(same meaning) lit. 'The daughter kissed with her mother.'
- c. *Kīz alar menen ōb-üş-tü / \*ōb-üş- üš-tü.*  
lit. 'The daughter kissed with them.'

It should be noted that the grammar of Kirghiz interprets both expressions of the arguments with *menen* 'and' and *menen* 'with' as subjects: "The grammatical subject in this case is expressed by a combination of at least two words which are joined by the conjunction *menen* or by the postposition *menen*" (Kudajbergenov 1987b: 242-243). I hesitate to interpret the comitative group with the postposition *menen* 'with' as a real object, but at the same time agreement of the predicate with the first component only hinders viewing the second argument as a part of the subject, as in sentences with the conjunction *menen*. This is probably an intermediate type of constructions.

In constructions with the conjunction *menen* of the (78a) type the reciprocal pronoun can be added, as a rule, while this is impossible in constructions with the postposition *menen* of the (78c) type. This may be an additional argument in favour of interpreting constructions with a comitative phrase as discontinuous.

Kirghiz has special expressions for dual subjects in all the three persons.

- (79) a. *[biz] ata-m eköð-büz*  
 we father-my two-we  
 'my father and I'
- b. *[siler] ata-m eköð-ḡör*  
 you.PLUR father-my two-you  
 'my father and you'
- c. *[alar] ata-m eköð-Ø*  
 they father-my two-they  
 'my father and s/he'

The following lexicalized reciprocal allows either (i) the comitative or (ii) the dative and even the accusative marking of the second argument. In case (i) the meaning of the predicate is 'to quarrel/fight', in case (ii) it is 'to scold somebody':

- (80) a. *ur-* 'to beat' → *ur-uš-* 'to fight/quarrel/squabble'
- b. *Men anī menen / aga / anī ur-uš-tu-m.*  
 I he.GEN with he.DAT he.ACC beat-REC-PAST-1SING  
 (i) 'I quarrelled with him.', (ii) 'I scolded him.' (Judaxin 1985: 309)  
 (The first *anī* is an abridged form of the genitive *anīn*.)

## 9. The suffix -š as a plural, sociative and assistive marker. Nomina actionis in -š

### 9.1. Introductory

In Yakut, the productive meanings immediately related to the reciprocal meaning are sociative, comitative and assistive. Of these three meanings the assistive alone is productive in Kirghiz, the sociative meaning being practically non-existent. The plural meaning is grammaticalized and enters into a different grammatical category, because its marker, i.e. the suffix -š, can co-occur with the reciprocal/assistive marker. Therefore, this suffix as a plural marker may be viewed as its homonym, though they are close enough semantically since both imply plurality of participants.

### 9.2. Plural

The suffix -š is used as a 3PLUR marker not only in Kirghiz but also in the neighbouring Kazakh and Uzbek languages. This function of -š is also attested in Ancient Turkic. As it happens, the examples cited for Ancient Turkic are often interpreted as sociative, though all the relevant verb forms are in the 3rd person; therefore, it is not clear whether they contain the inflectional plural suffix (i.e. an agreement marker) or a marker of the sociative meaning. In Kirghiz it is clearly a pure agreement marker, though an optional one. Unlike the purely inflectional 1PLUR and 2PLUR markers, this suffix is also used on converbs (see (84), (86)). Most likely, this usage is de-

scended from the sociative use and this may be related to the loss of the latter function. Note that in the 1st and 2nd person the singular and the plural are sharply distinguished, while in the 3rd person the endings coincide.

- (81) a. *Biz dušman-dī at-tī-k.*  
 we enemy-ACC shoot-PAST-1PLUR  
 'We shot at the enemy.'
- b. *Biz at-iš-tī-k.*  
 we shoot-REC-PAST-1PLUR  
 'We exchanged shots.'
- c. *Alar dušman-dī at-iš-tī.*  
 they enemy-ACC shoot-3PLUR-PAST.3  
 'They shot at the enemy.'
- d. *Alar at-iš-iš-tī.*  
 they shoot-REC-3PLUR-PAST.3  
 'They exchanged shots.'

In sentences of the (81c) type when used in a context, the direct object may be elipted, in which case the verbal form with the suffix *-š* (unlike the (81d) type) may be ambiguous:

- e. *Alar at-iš-tī.*  
 i. 'They shot [at somebody].' (*-iš-* is 3PLUR)  
 ii. 'They exchanged shots.' (*-iš-* is REC)

In textual examples cited in the dictionary, constructions of the (81d) type, i.e. with double *-š*, are very rare, because context, including the lexical meaning of the predicate, usually contains an indication of the reciprocal meaning or of 3PLUR, but in isolated sentences of the (81e) type presented to the informant his first interpretation is 3PLUR, his second the reciprocal, other things being equal; cf. also:

- (82) *Alar sagīn-iš-a-t.*  
 i. 'They are missing somebody' (*-iš-* is 3PLUR)  
 ii. 'They are missing each other' (*-iš-* is REC)

In causative derivatives from reciprocals the plural marker *-š* follows the derivational marker, but, as usual, it precedes the tense marker (with the verb under (83a) the plural marker is not used as a rule):

- (83) a. *Alar kučakta-š-tī.*  
 they embrace-REC-PAST.3  
 'They embraced.'

- b. *Alar ... kuçakta-ş-tir-iş-iî.*  
 they embrace-REC-CAUS-3PLUR-PAST.3  
 'They made them embrace each other.'

There seem to be no rigid rules of the use of the suffix *-ş* as a plural marker. The following tentative observations can be made with respect to the reciprocal *-ş* and plural *-ş*:

(a) if the underlying verb is a one-place intransitive, the suffix *-ş* usually has the 3PLUR meaning; the same reading obtains in those cases when a two-place transitive is used with a non-possessive direct object; in the following example the informant allows the omission of the plural suffix *-ş*, though he prefers the variant with this suffix.

- (84) a. *Kız-kelin-der tur-uş-a-t,*  
 girl-bride-PLUR stand-3PLUR-PRES-3  
  
*İrdi ug-uş-up sind-aş-ıp.* (Judaxin 1985b: 181)  
 song listen-3PLUR-CONV appraise-3PLUR-CONV  
 'The young brides stand listening to the song and appraising it.'
- b. ... *belsen-iş-ip tur-uş-up.* (Judaxin 1985b: 192)  
 prepare.for.a.fight-3PLUR-CONV stand-3PLUR-CONV  
 '... [they] stand preparing for a fight.' (see also *kel-iş-e-t* in (58))

(b) If the underlying verb is a two-place intransitive or transitive and if the object is absent, the suffix *-ş* is interpreted either as a reciprocal or as a plural marker, depending on the context and frequency of the given reciprocal (see (84)):

- (85) a. *Kişi-ler öl-tür-üş-üş-pö-dü.*  
 man-PLUR die-CAUS-REC-3PLUR-NEG-PAST.3  
 'People did not kill each other.'
- b. *Kişi-ler öl-tür-üş-pö-dü.*  
 'People did not kill [anybody].'
- (86) *Ene-si menen kör-üş-üp,*  
 mother-his.ACC with see-REC-CONV  
  
*ez-il-iş-ip öb-üş-üp.* (Judaxin 1985b: 445)  
 press-PASS-REC-CONV kiss-REC-CONV  
 'He met with his mother; they kissed heartily.'

(c) If a sentence contains the reciprocal pronoun and the verb is suffixed with *-ş*, the interpretation of the latter suffix as reciprocal or as plural is not clear, but it does

not affect the interpretation of the sentence (nevertheless, the informant views this suffix with a degree of certainty either as plural or as reciprocal) (see (88a)).

(d) If a verb contains two suffixes *-š*, the first of them is naturally reciprocal and the second is plural. In these cases the informant usually objects to the use of the reciprocal pronoun (or requires that one of the suffixes be omitted).

- (87) *Küčük-tir biri-biri-n âala-š[\*-iš-]-t-î.*  
'The puppies licked each other.'

In some frequent reciprocals, the informant does not accept the second (plural) suffix *-š*.

- (88) a. *Alar biri-n biri süy-dü / süy-üş-tü.*  
they each-ACC other love-PAST.3 love-REC/3PLUR?-PAST.3  
'They fell in love with each other.'
- b. *Alar süy-üş[\*-üş]-tü.*  
they love-REC-3PLUR-PAST.3  
'They fell in love with each other.'

But in the following cases with frequently used reciprocals, the informant allows the optional plural marker; e.g.:

- (89) *Alar imda-š[-iš]-t-î.*  
'They winked at each other.'
- (90) *Alar koŋšu-m menen ayant-tî süylö-š[-üş]-tü.*  
they neighbour-my with square-ACC talk-REC-3PLUR-PAST.3  
'They talked with my neighbour about the square.'

### 9.3. Sociative

The sociative meaning is ascribed to the reciprocal suffix both in specialist literature and in dictionaries. But the examples provided do not as a rule have this meaning: they usually contain the suffix *-š* marking the 3PLUR meaning instead of the sociative (this confusion is natural, since these meanings are contiguous; see also 3. in 2.5); therefore, substitution of the 1PLUR or 2PLUR subject for a 3rd person subject involves omission of this suffix (existence of a sociative form for the 3rd person only is rather unlikely); thus (91a) which is used as an illustration of the sociative meaning in a modern grammar of Kirghiz does not transform into a sentence with a 1PLUR or 2PLUR subject; in (91b) and (91c) the 1PLUR agreement marker is the ending *-k*:

- (91) a. *Ayša menen Kalıyša*  
A. and K.



*kül-üp jat-iš-ti.* (Kudajbergenov 1987b: 242)

laugh-CONV AUX-3PLUR-PAST.3

‘Ayša and Kaliyša laughed.’

b. *\*Biz kül-üp jat-iš-ti-k.*

‘We laughed’

c. *Biz kül-üp jat-ti-k.*

(same meaning)

A distinctive feature of sociative meaning is simultaneity of actions. If the suffix *-š* in the following sentence were sociative in meaning rather than plural, the verb would not collocate with an adverb meaning ‘one after another’, but this is not the case:

(92) *Alar biri-nin art-i-nan biri kel-iš-ti.*

‘They came one after another.’

Convincing examples that would prove the sociative reading, can be sentences with a 1PLUR or 2PLUR subject. In present-day Kirghiz the sociative meaning has practically disappeared; it is only preserved in folklore texts. In the dictionary I have found the following folklore examples with the sociative meaning:

(93) a. *Oljolo-š-up mal al-dī-k.* (Judaxin 1985b: 67)

capture-REC-CONV cattle take-PAST-1PLUR

‘We took the cattle as loot.’

b. *Sabak-ti birge oku-š-tu-k*

lesson-ACC together learn-REC-PAST-1PLUR

*köñül-go akil toku-š-tu-k.*

heart-DAT reason weave-REC-PAST

‘We learnt lessons together, grew wise together.’ (Judaxin 1985b: 246)

c. *Emček-ti birge em-iš-ken*

breast-ACC together suckle-REC-PART

*ene-leš-im de-er... ele-m.* (Judaxin 1985b: 455)

mother-SUFF-my say-PART AUX-1SING

‘I called my milk-brother [who] suckled the breast together [with me].’

d. *Bir tuugan-day tuu-š-tu-k.*

one blood.relative-like be.born-REC-PAST-1PLUR

‘We were born together like blood relatives.’

- e. *Čal-gin-dī birge čal-iš-ti-k.* (Judaxin 1985b: 340)  
 reconnoitre-PART-ACC together reconnoitre-REC-PAST-1PLUR  
 'We did reconnaissance together.'
- f. *Tooru-l-du birge tooru-š-tu-k.* (Judaxin 1985b: 251)  
 reconnoitre-PASS-ACC together reconnoitre-REC-PAST-1PLUR  
 'We did reconnaissance together.'
- g. ... *kayjerde köñül kal-iš-ti-k?* (Judaxin 1985b: 340)  
 why heart leave-REC-PAST-1PLUR  
 '... why did we grow cold? (implying 'to each other')

About half the forms with the sociative meaning of the suffix *-š* have occurred in hortative sentences (the hortative marker for 1PLUR is *-ali(k)/-eli(k)/-olu(k)/-ölü(k)*), i.e. the speaker urges the addressee to perform a joint action. This meaning is also evident in (94f) with the present-future tense of a 1PLUR predicate:

- (94) a. *Taarinič-ti joy-uš-alik.* (Judaxin 1985a: 263)  
 resentment-ACC stop-REC-IMPER.1PLUR  
 'Let us forget our resentments.'
- b. *Ötkön-ketken-di unut-uš-alik.* (Judaxin 1985b: 306)  
 past-ACC forget-REC-IMPER.1PLUR  
 'Let us forget the past.'
- c. *İldiyla-š-ip kel-eli.* (Judaxin 1985b: 430)  
 go.down-REC-CONV AUX-IMPER.1PLUR  
 'Let's go down [from the mountains to the valley].'
- d. *Sonun turmuš bal-i-nan*  
 wonderful life honey-its-ABL  
  
*sor-uš-alı, jaljal-ım.* (Judaxin 1985b: 157)  
 suckle-REC-IMPER.1PLUR darling-my  
 'Let us taste the honey of wonderful life, my darling.'
- e. *Oylo-š-up kör-ölü!* (Judaxin 1985b: 63)  
 think-REC-CONV see-IMPER.1PLUR  
 'Let us think!'
- f. *Kiyin oylo-n-uš-a-biz.* (Judaxin 1985b: 63)  
 then think-REFL-REC-PRES-1PLUR  
 'Then we'll think about it.'

#### 9.4. Assistive

This meaning is highly productive in the Kirghiz reciprocal marker. If the subject is singular, the meaning of the reciprocal suffix is usually assistive, excepting cases with a lexicalized or unproductive meaning. The person who receives help is denoted by the dative case (cf. *ma-ga* in (95b, c)), or it is not mentioned (cf. (96c, d, e)). The following examples contain the assistive forms of an intransitive and a transitive verb respectively (see also (2) and (3)):

- (95) a. *Men ište-di-m.*  
'I worked.'
- b. *Al ma-ga ište-š-ti.*  
'He helped me to work.'
- c. *Alar ma-ga ište-š-iš-ti.*  
'They helped me to work.'
- (96) a. *Al koy-du sat-t-ī.*  
'He sold sheep.'
- b. *Alar koy-du sat-iš-t-ī.*  
'They sold sheep.' (-iš- is a plural marker here)
- c. *Al koy-du sat-iš-t-ī.*  
'He helped [somebody] to sell sheep.'
- d. *Biz koy-du sat-iš-t-īk.*  
'We helped [somebody] to sell sheep.'
- e. *Alar koy-du sat-iš-iš-tī.*  
they sheep-ACC sell-REC-3PLUR-PAST.3  
'They helped [somebody] to sell sheep.'

Causative forms cannot be derived from assistives:

- f. *\*Al sat-iš-t-t-ī.*  
(intended meaning:) 'He ordered [somebody] to help [somebody] sell [something]'

The assistive reading is the only one possible in (96d), i.e. in a situation where -š cannot be interpreted either as a 3PLUR marker (because the verb is in the 1st or 2nd person) or as a marker of reciprocity (because, in particular, this meaning is rendered by the reciprocal pronoun), on condition that the lexical meaning of the verb allows the assistive meaning:

- (97) a. *Siler makta-š-ti-ŋar.*  
 you.PLUR praise-REC-PAST-2PLUR  
 i. \*‘You praised each other.’  
 ii. ‘You helped somebody to praise somebody.’
- b. *Siler biri-biri-ŋer-di makta-dī-ŋar.*  
 ‘You praised each other.’

If -š is omitted, the sentence retains its grammaticality, but the dative case form acquires the meaning of beneficiary, its referent not taking part in the action described:

- (98) a. *Al eže-si-ne paxta ter-iš-ti.*  
 he sister-his-DAT cotton-wool gather-REC-PAST.3  
 ‘He helped his sister to gather cotton-wool.’
- b. *Al eže-si-ne paxta ter-di.*  
 ‘He gathered cotton-wool for his sister.’

Reciprocal constructions from assistives can be formed with the help of the reciprocal pronoun only; see (49b) in 5.2.2.

## 10. Other meanings of the suffix -š

### 10.1. Verbs with the suffix -š

The unproductive meanings of this suffix include the sociative; to be exact, this meaning is lost in present-day Kirghiz. It is considered above alongside the assistive meaning because it is also very close to the reciprocal and the assistive meanings. Kirghiz differs from Yakut in that it lacks the converse meaning in the reciprocal suffix, and it has a larger number of competitive verbs. Let us consider the unproductive meanings of the suffix in question.

#### 10.1.1. Anticausative

This meaning is registered not only in derivatives from lexical reciprocals which are also lexical causatives (e.g. *batta-* ‘to glue something to something’ → *batta-š-* ‘to get glued’; see 13.2) but also in a number of derivatives from other verbs that are lexical causatives but not lexical reciprocals; in the example below the suffix -š co-occurs with the passive marker -l but it is not related to the passive in any way:

- (99) a. *Men čač-īm-ī nīmda-dī-m.*  
 I hair-my-ACC wet-PAST-1SING  
 ‘I wetted my hair.’

- b. *Čač nīmda-l-dī.*  
 hair wet-PASS-PAST.3  
 lit. 'The hair is wetted [by somebody].'
- c. *Čač nīmda-l-iš-tī.*  
 hair wet-PASS-REC-PAST.3  
 'The hair became wet.'
- (100) a. *mayla-* 'to smear (with fat)'
- b. *Bet-i mayla-n-iš-īp tur-a-t.*  
 face-his smear-REFL-REC-CONV AUX-PRES-3  
 'His face shines (with fat).'
- (101) a. *Toŋ alma tiš-im-di kama-dī.*  
 sour apple tooth-my-ACC make.sore-PAST.3  
 lit. 'A sour apple made my teeth sore.'
- b. *Tiš-im kama-š-tī.*  
 tooth-my.NOM make.sore-REC-PAST.3  
 lit. 'My teeth became sore.'

### 10.1.2. Competitive

The verbs with this meaning denote all kinds of contests. Some of them may have other, reciprocal proper or lexicalized meanings alongside the competitive. Most likely, these are cases of the development of a reciprocal or sociative meaning in each verb rather than derivation according to a given pattern (among Turkic languages, this competitive pattern is produced only in Karachay-Balkar; see Nedjalkov (2002: 61-65)). Examples:

- (102) *ayt-* 'to tell, speak'  
 → *ayt-iš-* i. 'to compete in improvisation' (about narrators of folk tales)  
 ii. 'to argue/squabble'
- at-* 'to shoot'  
 → *at-iš-* i. 'to compete in shooting', ii. 'to exchange shots'
- atta-* 'to jump/jump over'  
 → *atta-š-* 'to compete in jumping over something'
- čap-* 'to run/ride fast'  
 → *čab-iš-* 'to compete in running/riding' (Judaxin 1985b: 333)
- čert-* 'to play a string instrument'  
 → *čert-iš-* 'to compete in playing a string instrument'  
 (Judaxin 1985b: 359)

<i>eŋ-</i>	'to touch ground (of riders)'
→ <i>eŋ-iš-</i>	'to compete in dismounting the rival riders'
<i>say-</i>	'to stab with a spear'
→ <i>say-iš-</i>	i. 'to compete in spear fighting(of riders)' ii. 'to put out each other's eyes, etc.'
<i>sal-</i>	'to direct the horse'
→ ( <i>at</i> ) <i>sal-iš-</i>	'to compete in horse racing'
<i>salmakta-</i>	'to estimate'
→ <i>salmakta-š-</i>	'to measure one's strength with somebody'
<i>tart-</i>	'to pull/drag'
→ ( <i>ulak</i> ) <i>tart-iš-</i>	'to compete in goat-pulling (of riders)'
<i>taskakta-</i>	'to trot fast'(of horses)
→ <i>taskakta-š-</i>	'to compete in horse trotting races'
<i>ŋeŋ-</i>	'to win'
→ <i>ŋeŋ-iš-</i>	'to compete, try to win'

### 10.1.3. The meaning of diminishing and entangling

A number of rather heterogeneous derivatives in *-š* from one-place intransitives have the meanings of *diminishing* in size, *entangling* of parts of a whole, and the like (sometimes the derivative verb is close in meaning to the underlying verb):

(103) <i>čipta-</i>	'to fit closely'
→ <i>čipta-l-iš-</i>	'to get matted'
<i>kuru-</i>	'to dry (up)' (intransitive)
→ <i>kuru-š-</i>	'to shrink/contract'
<i>uyu-</i>	'to curdle/coagulate', 'to accumulate'
→ <i>uyu-š-</i>	'to get matted/crumpled'

### 10.2. Verbs with the complex reciprocal-causative suffix *-š-tir*; the intensifying meaning

This suffix is a combination of the reciprocal and the causative suffixes, but in the derivatives considered below it functions as a single morpheme, because verbs with the reciprocal suffix alone do not correlate with the respective derivatives with this complex suffix (see the (b) examples in (104)-(108)). The underlying verb (see the (a) examples below) and the derivative (which does not manifest a causative meaning) are usually very similar in lexical meaning, the latter verb denoting a more *intensive*

and/or *repeated* action (see Abdiev 1995: 97-98). The analogous Turkish suffix *-(i)ş-tir* is also used in this meaning (see Lewis 1967: 148).

- (104) a. *oylo-* 'to think'  
       → a'. *oylo-n-* 'to start thinking'  
       [→ b. *oylo-n-uş-* ?] (cf. (94f))  
       → c. *oylo-n-uş-tur-* 'to ponder/think hard about something'
- (105) a. *kara-* i. 'to look', ii. 'to look after'  
       [→ b. *kara-ş-* i. 'to look at each other', ii. 'to help to look after']  
       → c. *kara-ş-tir-* 'to look for something intensively'
- (106) a. *aŋda-* i. 'to understand/go deep (into)', ii. 'to notice'  
       [→ b. ?*aŋda-ş-* (not registered in the dictionaries)]  
       → c. *aŋda-ş-tir-* 'to find out/make inquiries' (Judaxin 1985a: 59)
- (107) a. *sura-* 'to ask'  
       [→ b. *sura-ş-* 'to question each other']  
       → c. *sura-ş-tir-* 'to question again and again' (Judaxin 1985b: 166)
- (108) a. *izde-* 'to look for'  
       [→ b. *izde-ş-* 'to look for each other?']  
       → c. *izde-ş-tir-* 'to look for something intensively'

#### Sentential examples:

- (109) *Men munu oylo-n-uş-tur-ay-ım.*  
       'I am thinking it over.'; 'I will think it over again and again.'
- (110) *Kara-ş-tir-ıp, akča taap ber-igiz.*  
       look-REC-CAUS-CONV money find.CONV give-2PLUR  
       'Look for some money (for me).' (Judaxin 1985a: 350)
- (111) *Men akča izde-ş-tir-di-m.*  
       'I asked around for money (intensively, asking many people).'

On other usages of the complex *-ş-tir* see 13.2-13.3.

The meanings of intensity and iterativity of the reciprocal-causative suffix are present in other Turkic languages. See, among others, Gordlevskij (1928: 35), Sevortjan (1962: 356-358), Lewis (1967: 148), Schlögel (1985: 106-109).

## 11. Lexicalization

### 11.1. Introductory

Lexicalized verbs with the suffix *-ş* are represented by derivatives, with the exception of those dealt with above, on which this suffix cannot be substituted for by the recip-

rocal pronoun (on condition the meaning is more or less retained), i.e. by those derivatives whose meaning does not include that of the underlying verb in a more or less standard way. The main lexical domains of these reciprocals, with the exception of individual instances, are similar to lexicalizations in Yakut to a greater or lesser extent. Lexicalized derivatives are usually reciprocal in meaning. Some of them retain a standard reciprocal meaning alongside the lexicalized one. In some cases the meanings of the underlying base and the derivative differ to such a degree that they may be viewed as occasional coincidences of the stems (this does not concern metaphorical shift in instances like *tayī-* 'to slide/glide' → *tayī-š-* 'to compete').

### 11.2. Some types of lexicalization

I shall list the main lexical groups of lexicalized reciprocals, to give an idea of their semantic range in Kirghiz. References to the entries are not given: they can be found according to the alphabet (this also concerns the lists of verbs in section 12).

1. The most numerous group comprises intransitive reciprocals denoting various *hostile actions, competing, etc.*:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (112) <i>ayt-</i>                        | 'to speak/say'                                  |
| → <i>ayt-iš-</i>                         | 'to quarrel/argue'                              |
| <i>čalkilda-</i>                         | 'to churn' (intransitive)                       |
| → <i>čalkilda-š-</i>                     | 'to thrash/flog each other'                     |
| <i>čel-</i>                              | 'to catch with horns'                           |
| → <i>čel-iš-</i>                         | i. 'to engage in single combat'                 |
|  | ii. 'to catch each other with horns (of bulls)' |
| <i>čelkilde-</i>                         | 'to bubble'                                     |
| → <i>čelkilde-š-</i>                     | 'to thrash/flog each other'                     |
| <i>čuku-</i>                             | 'to pick'                                       |
| → <i>čuku-š-</i>                         | 'to trip each other'                            |
| <i>kīyra-</i>                            | 'to break' (intransitive)                       |
| → <i>kīyra-š-</i>                        | 'to come to blows'                              |
| <i>kīzar-</i>                            | 'to blush'                                      |
| → <i>kīzar-iš-</i>                       | 'to attack each other like cocks'               |
| <i>maymakta-</i>                         | 'to tie a horse by the front leg'               |
| → <i>maymakta-š-</i>                     | 'to accuse each other' (Judaxin 1985b: 12)      |
| <i>ooru-</i>                             | 'to be ill'                                     |
| → ( <i>kögül</i> 'heart') <i>ooru-š-</i> | 'to offend/hurt each other'                     |



*tayĩ-* 'to slide/glide'  
 → *tayĩ-š-* 'to compete'

2. Another group comprises intransitive verbs with the lexical meanings of *coming to an agreement, becoming friends, getting reconciled* and the like:

- (113) *ǰūt* 'smell' *al-* 'to smell/catch the smell of'  
 → *ǰūt al-ĩš-* 'to live in concord'
- agar-* 'to glitter'  
 → *agar-ĩš-* 'to forgive the past to each other'
- beki-* 'to strengthen'  
 → *beki-š-* 'to become friends'
- čik-* 'to go out of'  
 → *čig-ĩš-* 'to get on/along with somebody'
- de-* 'to say'  
 → *de-š-/de-š-iš-* 'to come to an agreement'
- kel-* 'to come'  
 → *kel-ĩš-* 'to agree'
- košto-l-* PASS 'to take a spare horse'  
 → *košto-l-uš-* i. 'to accompany each other'  
 ii. 'to become friends/close'
- tap-* 'to find'  
 → *tab-ĩš-* i. 'to get reconciled'  
 ii. 'to find each other'
- ǰara-* 'to like'  
 → *ǰara-š-* 'to make peace/get reconciled'
- ǰuuru-l-* PASS of 'to knead'  
 → *ǰuuru-l-uš-* 'to become close (friends)'

3. Reciprocals with the main meaning of *intention to obtain or achieve* something with an implied response action from another referent comprise a separate group:

- (114) *söykön-* 'to rub against something'  
 → *söykön-üš-* 'to pester/badger'

<i>šilkīlda-</i>	‘to be loosely attached (a horseshoe, etc.)’
→ <i>šilkīlda-š-</i>	‘to flirt with somebody’ (Judaxin 1985b: 420)
<i>tiy-</i>	‘to touch’
→ <i>tiy-iš-</i>	‘to flirt with somebody’

#### 4. Individual derivatives:

(115) <i>al-</i>	‘to take’
→ <i>al-iš-</i>	‘to exchange’ (lit. ‘take from each other’)
<i>bošo-</i>	‘to weaken (of a joint)’
→ <i>bošo-š-</i>	‘to weaken (of a person)’
<i>čak-</i>	‘to strike fire’
→ <i>čag-iš-</i>	‘to shine by reflecting light’
<i>kir-</i>	‘to enter’
→ <i>kir-iš-</i>	‘to begin something’
<i>say-gīla-</i>	‘to stab repeatedly’
→ <i>say-gīla-š-</i>	‘to have a stabbing pain’
<i>tište-</i>	‘to bite/take with one’s teeth’
→ ( <i>ok</i> ‘arrow’) <i>tište-š-</i>	‘to give an oath to each other (with an arrow in the teeth)’ (Judaxin 1985b: 65)
<i>žil-</i>	‘to move slowly’
→ <i>žil-iš-</i>	‘to be deprived of something’

## 12. Denominal lexical reciprocals with the suffix *-la-š*

In this section I have also included the few deverbal derivatives with this suffix.

### 12.1. Introductory

The main means of verbal derivation from other parts of speech is the suffix *-la/-da/-ta*. It is extremely productive. As is obvious, *-la-š* is a combination of the suffix *-la* and the reciprocal suffix *-š*. Initially, reciprocal verbs were formed from verbs in *-la* by means of *-š*, i.e. in the regular way described in section 4 (e.g. *soyul* ‘cudgel’ → *soyul-da-* ‘to beat with a cudgel’ → *soyul-da-š-* ‘to beat each other with a cudgel’ (Judaxin 1985b: 158)), and later the complex *-laš* came to function as a single suffix and derive verbs which do not have correspondences in *-la* (see Kudajbergenov 1987a: 212), e.g. *araz* ‘quarrel’ → [*\*araz-da-* →] *araz-daš-* ‘to quarrel’ (Judaxin 1985a: 63). As these derivatives do not have corresponding words with a non-reciprocal meaning, they are included among lexical reciprocals by definition.

## 12.2. Verbs with the suffix *-la-š*

These derivatives commonly belong to the lexical groups of competing, aggressive actions, entering into friendly relations, uniting, belonging to a group, joint actions, exchange of information, coming to an agreement, greeting, position opposite each other, meeting, etc. Some of the derivatives are slightly lexicalized. There are over 60 units of this type in our data. Here are representative lists of these lexical groups.

### 12.2.1. Verbs of hostile actions, competing, etc.

(116)	<i>akīy</i>	‘a singing competition’
	→ <i>akīy-la-š</i> -	‘to compete in singing’
	<i>araz</i>	‘quarrel’
	→ <i>araz-da-š</i> -	‘to quarrel’
	<i>arīz</i>	‘complaint’
	→ <i>arīz-da-š</i> -	‘to quarrel/be at law’
	<i>arip</i>	‘witchcraft, magic’
	→ <i>arip-te-š</i> -	‘to compete in witchcraft’
	<i>azuu</i>	‘fang’
	→ <i>azuu-la-š</i> -	‘to fight furiously’
	<i>bas (kel-)</i>	‘(to be) equal’
	→ <i>bas-ta-š</i> -	‘to compete, to bet’
	<i>čatak</i>	‘quarrel, wrangling’
	→ <i>čatak-ta-š</i> -	‘to quarrel, wrangle, argue’
	<i>čīr</i>	i. ‘squabble’, ii. ‘squabbler’
	→ <i>čīr-da-š</i> -	‘to squabble/begin a squabble’
	<i>karši</i>	‘enemy’
	→ <i>karši-la-š</i> -	‘to set out against each other’
	<i>kīsa</i>	‘revenge’
	→ <i>kīsa-la-š</i> -	‘to reproach each other for the past’
	<i>miyzam</i>	arch. ‘law’
	→ <i>miyzam-da-š</i> -	‘to be at law/litigate’
	<i>mōrōy</i>	‘the result of a victory’
	→ <i>mōrōy-lōš</i> -	‘to compete’
	<i>ōkmōt</i>	‘government, authorities’
	→ <i>ōkmōt-tōš</i> -	‘to be at law/litigate’

<i>til</i>	'quarrel'
→ <i>til-deš-</i>	'to quarrel'
<i>jaak</i>	'jaw'
→ <i>jaak-taš-</i>	'to squabble'
<i>jadaal</i>	'quarrel/wrangling'
→ <i>jadaal-daš-</i>	'to become embittered against each other'
<i>jaŋjal</i>	'quarrel/wrangling'
→ <i>jaŋjal-daš-</i>	'to quarrel/wrangle'

### 12.2.2. Verbs of friendly relations

(117) <i>dos</i>	'friend'
→ <i>dos-toš-</i>	'to become friends'
<i>kuda</i>	'father of son-in-law'
→ <i>kuda-laš-</i>	'to become in-laws'
<i>moyun</i>	'neck'
→ <i>moyun-daš-</i>	'to embrace each other by the neck'
<i>munaza</i>	'reconciliation'
→ <i>munaza-laš-</i>	'to get reconciled'
<i>šerik</i>	'friend'
→ <i>šerik-teš-</i>	'to become friends'
<i>tamir</i>	'friend, pal'
→ <i>tamir-laš-</i>	'to become friends on exchanging presents'
<i>tatuu</i>	'peaceful, friendly'
→ <i>tatuu-laš-</i>	'to get reconciled/become friends'
<i>ilim</i>	'sympathy, liking'
→ <i>ilim-daš-</i>	'to be on friendly terms with'
<i>iray</i>	'mood'
→ <i>iray-laš-</i>	'to make peace/get reconciled'

### 12.2.3. Verbs of uniting, belonging to a group, joint actions, etc.

(118) <i>algoo</i>	arch. 'mutual help in farming'
→ <i>algoo-loš-</i>	'to help each other in farming'
<i>artel</i>	'artel'
→ <i>artel-deš-</i>	'to join in an artel'

<i>bir</i>	'one'
→ <i>bir-deš-</i>	'to unite' (intransitive)
<i>borbor</i>	'centre'
→ <i>borbor-doš-</i>	'to get centralized'
<i>kiidip</i>	'chase'
→ <i>kiidip-daš-</i>	'to unite for a chase' (Judaxin 1985a: 454)
<i>maydan</i>	'battle field'
→ <i>maydan-daš-</i>	'to fight jointly'
<i>öz</i>	'(one's) own'
→ <i>öz-döš-</i>	'to become close/one of'
<i>uyum</i>	'organization'
→ <i>uyum-daš-</i>	'to become organized'
<i>üy-</i>	'to put into a heap'
→ <i>üy-löš-</i>	'to gather together'
<i>ǰamaat</i>	arch. 'community'
→ <i>ǰamaat-taš-</i>	'to be a member of community'

#### 12.2.4. Verbs of communication

(119) <i>akī</i>	'payment'
→ <i>akī-laš-</i>	'to make mutual payments, to bargain'
<i>ant</i>	'oath'
→ <i>ant- taš-</i>	'to give an oath to each other'
<i>angme</i>	'conversation'
→ <i>angme-leš-</i>	'to converse'
<i>sooda</i>	'trade, trading'
→ <i>sooda-laš-</i>	'to bargain'
<i>ubada</i>	'promise'
→ <i>ubada-laš-</i>	'to give each other promises'
<i>ǰoop</i>	'reply'
→ <i>ǰoop-toš-</i>	'to talk, to make a deal'
<i>ǰüyö</i>	'reasonable argument'
→ <i>ǰüyö-löš-</i>	'to give each other arguments'

*ǰüz* 'face, cheek'  
 → *ǰüz-döš-* 'to talk standing face to face'

### 12.2.5. Verbs of greeting and saying goodbye

(120) *aman (bol!)* '(be) well, happy(!)'  
 → *aman-daš-* 'to inquire after each other's health'

*esen* 'well, happy'  
 → *esen-deš-* 'to inquire after each other's health'

*koš!* 'goodbye!'  
 → *koš-toš-* 'to say goodbye'

*salam* 'hello'  
 → *salam-daš-* 'to say hello to each other'

### 12.2.6. Verbs of spatial relations

(121) *arka* 'back'  
 → *arka-laš-* 'to be back to back to each other'

*bet* 'face'  
 → *bet-teš-* 'to meet face to face'

*but* 'foot'  
 → *but-taš-* 'to get entangled (of feet)'

*kanat* 'wing'  
 → *kanat-taš-* i. 'to become close neighbours'  
 ii. 'to fly wing to wing'

*köz* 'eye'  
 → *köz-döš-* 'to meet tête-à-tête'

### 12.2.7. Verbs with non-reciprocal (or peripheral reciprocal) meanings

(122) *kata* 'mistake'  
 → *kata-laš-* 'to make mistakes'

*kīrgīz* 'Kirghiz'  
 → *kīrgīz-daš-* 'to become like a Kirghiz'

*kīštak* 'kishlak (village in Central Asia)'  
 → *kīštak-taš-* 'to become settled'

*madaniyat* 'culture'  
 → *madaniyat-taš-* 'to become cultured'

<i>načar</i>	'weak'
→ <i>načar-laš-</i>	'to become worse'
<i>sistema</i>	'system'
→ <i>sistema-laš-</i>	'to be(come) systematized'
<i>žergilik</i>	'indigenous, local'
→ <i>žergili-teš-</i>	'to start using the local language (in business, clerical work)'

### 12.2.8. Lexicalized derivatives

This group includes verbs without semantically more or less related underlying bases:

(123) <i>ataan-daš-</i>	'to shift work, etc. on each other/argue', cf. <i>ata-/ataa-</i> 'to call/name'
<i>boor-doš-</i>	'to fraternize'; cf. <i>boor</i> 'liver'
<i>kez-deš-</i>	'to meet, come across', cf. <i>kez</i> 'moment, time, occasion'
<i>sep-teš-</i>	'to help each other', cf. <i>sep</i> 'dowry'

## 13. Lexical reciprocals and their derivatives. Verbs of joining and separating

### 13.1. Introductory

This domain of reciprocals seems to be more elaborate in Kirghiz than in Yakut. Three main groups of lexical reciprocals and their derivatives can be distinguished. In Groups A and B the underlying verbs are three-place transitives (and also some two-place verbs taking a plural object). These groups differ in the character of derivatives. Thus in Group A the derivation is:  $a > b > c$  (see (124)). In Group B both derivatives are related immediately to the underlying verb:  $a > b$  and  $a > c$  (see (125)).

The underlying (and the derived reciprocals of the (c) type in Group B)) lexical reciprocals in Groups A and B have such typical meanings (denoting mostly connecting) as 'to connect', 'to gather', 'to mix', 'to glue/paste', 'to make closer', 'to make denser', 'to part', 'to compare', 'to replace', 'to tie', etc. As we can see, the final derivatives of the (c) type in both groups are more similar to the underlying transitives (sometimes, in the Russian-Kirghiz dictionary a Russian verb is translated into Kirghiz by two, types (a) and (c), transitives at once; thus the Russian verb *sojedin-jat* 'to connect' is translated by *ula-* and *ula-š-tür-* (Judaxin 1957: 803). The Russian verb *svjazyvat* 'to tie' is translated by *bayla-* and *bayla-š-tür-* (Judaxin 1957: 763)). In Group A derivation of the  $a > b$  type results in an anticausative meaning, and derivation  $b > c$  brings back the causative meaning. In Group B derivation  $a > b$  results in a variety of meanings, most commonly the assistive. In the case of  $a > c$  derivation the meaning is more or less retained or changes slightly.

## (124) Group A

- a. *ula-* 'to join something with something'
- b. *ula-š-* 'to join' (intransitive) other'
- c. *ula-š-tir-* 'to join something with something'

## (125) Group B

- a. *bayla-* 'to tie something to something/tie up'
  - [→ b. to *bayla-š-* 'to help to tie', \*'to tie each other']
  - c. *bayla-š-tir-* 'to tie (e.g. horses) together'
- (Judaxin 1985a: 96-97, 1985b: 302, 304)

In Group C, unlike in the first two groups, the underlying verbs are two-place intransitives (including those with a plural subject) (see (126)). Typical meanings of these intransitives are 'to gather', 'to meet', 'to compete', 'to argue', 'to join', 'to divorce/part', and also such peripheral reciprocal meanings as 'to get entangled', 'to wrinkle', 'to catch (on)', etc. The difference within pairs (126a) and (126b) is minimal (note the highly developed synonymy of derivatives in Kirghiz). (126) contains a maximum derivational chain for the types of morphological derivatives with the chosen suffixes. In most cases, however, the opposition (126a) seems to be valid.

## (126) Group C

- a. *birik-* 'to unite' (intransitive)
- *birik-tir-* 'to unite' (transitive)
- b. *birig-iš-* 'to unite' (intransitive)
- *birig-iš-tir-* 'to unite' (transitive) (Judaxin 1985a: 136)

### 13.2. Group A: three-member derivational chain $vt > vi > vt$ ; anticausatives with the suffix -š

At least 10 three-place transitives and two-place transitives with a plural object belong in this group. They are lexical causatives. Nearly all of them denote combining or joining of two or more entities. Besides the above mentioned (124a, b, c), the following verbs belong here:

- (127) a. *batta-* 'to paste something with starch'
  - b. *batta-š-* 'to get glued/stuck together'
  - c. *batta-š-tir-* 'to paste/glue something together'
- (Judaxin 1985a: 117)

- (128) *čapta-* 'to glue something to something'
- b. *čapta-š-* 'to get glued together'
- c. *čapta-š-tir-* 'to glue something together' (Judaxin 1985b: 348)



- (129) a. *čatī-* 'to tangle something (threads, strings, etc.)'  
       → b. *čatī-š-* 'to become tangled'  
       → c. *čatī-š-tīr* 'to tangle something' (Judaxin 1985b: 352-353)
- (130) a. *epte-* 'to join/glue together' (rare)  
       → b. *epte-š-* 'to become joined'  
       → c. *epte-š-tīr-* 'to glue/join into one' (Judaxin 1985b: 459)
- (131) a. *tij-* 'to touch (e.g. of one knee against the other)'  
       → b. *tij-iš-* 'to come into contact/adjoin'  
       → c. *tij-iš-tīr-* 'to make something come into contact'  
           (e.g. knees) (Judaxin 1985b: 233-234)
- (132) a. *topto-* 'to gather (e.g. people) into a crowd'  
       → b. *topto-š-* 'to gather into a crowd' (intransitive)  
       → c. *topto-š-tur-* 'to gather something into a pile' (Judaxin 1985b: 253)
- (133) a. *īkta-* 'to press'  
       → b. *īkta-š-* 'to press oneself to each other'  
       → c. *īkta-š-tīr-* 'to press two entities tightly together'  
           (transitive) (Judaxin 1985b: 428)

Compare sentential examples for (131):

- (134) a. *Anīn üstüḡkü tiš-i astīḡkī tiš-i-ne tij-di.*  
           he.GEN upper tooth-his lower tooth-his-DAT touch-PAST.3  
           'His upper teeth clenched with (lit. 'touched') his lower teeth.'
- b. *Anīn üstüḡkü tiš-i menen*  
           he.GEN upper tooth-his and
- astīḡkī tiš-i tij-iš-ti.*  
           lower tooth-his touch-REC-PAST.3  
           'His upper and lower teeth clenched (lit. 'touched each other').'
- c. *Al tiš-ter-i-n tij-iš-tīr-di.*  
           he tooth-PLUR-his-ACC touch-REC-CAUS-PAST.3  
           'He clenched his teeth together.'

The following verbs are close to these verbs, but the semantic opposition between the first and the second members is not quite (standard) causative: in general, here as well as in some other cases and, it seems, cross-linguistically, the semantic relation between (b) and (c) is more regular than between (a) and (b), i.e. valency decrease involves a greater shift in meaning than valency increase. The relation between (a) and (b), e.g. in (137) and (138), is not so much purely semantic (in the sense that

meaning 'a' can be obtained from meaning 'b' by subtracting a certain sense) as metaphoric and figurative.

- (135) a. *kak-* 'to hit'  
       → b. *kag-ĩš-* '?to collide/come to blows'  
       → c. *kag-ĩš-tĩr-* 'to hit one thing against another'  
           (Judaxin 1985a: 312-313)
- (136) a. *ĵap-* 'to close/cover'  
       → b. *ĵab-ĩš-* 'to get glued/stuck together'  
       → c. *ĵab-ĩš-tĩr-* 'to glue something together' (Judaxin 1985a: 209)
- (137) a. *arala-* 'to walk between something' (transitive)  
       → b. *arala-š-* 'to get mixed'  
       → c. *arala-š-tĩr-* 'to mix something' (Judaxin 1985a: 63-64)
- (138) a. *kajčĩla-* 'to cut something with scissors'  
       → b. *kajčĩla-š-* 'to cross like scissors' (intransitive)  
       → c. *kajčĩla-š-tĩr-* 'to cross/fold something like scissors'  
           (Judaxin 1985a: 323-324)

Compare:

- (139) a. *Oŋ but-u sol but-u-na kajčĩla-š-tĩ.*  
           right leg-his left leg-his-DAT cross-REC-PAST.3  
           'His right leg crossed his left leg.'
- b. *Al oŋ but-u-n sol but-u-na kajčĩla-š-tĩr-dĩ.*  
           he right leg-his-ACC left leg-his-DAT cross-REC-CAUS-PAST.3  
           'He crossed his legs.' (lit. 'He placed his right leg across his left leg.')

The data discussed in this section seem to indicate that there is a tendency for opposition *vi* > *vt* (where both members are marked, cf. -š > -š-tĩr) to acquire a more important role, i.e. to cover a larger number of verbal pairs, and, correspondingly, for the opposition *vt* > *vi* to lose in importance. This is particularly obvious when the semantic opposition of *vi* > *vt* is more regular than *vt* > *vi*; cf., for instance, (135)-(139). It may be tentatively proposed that one of the functions of the suffix -š-tĩr is to mark object-oriented reciprocals. In this role, it appears not only with standard reciprocals (see 5.3), but also in the domain of lexical reciprocals. And in view of this the material of the subsequent section is particularly significant, because in this case the suffix in question is added to transitive lexical reciprocals (cf. also 10.2).

**13.3. Group B: two-member derivational chains  $vt_i > vt/vi$   
and  $vt_i > vt$ ; complex suffix  $-š-tir$**

In this group derivatives with the suffix  $-š-$  are assistive in meaning (most commonly), or lexicalized, etc., and thus their meaning is not part of the meaning of the respective derivative with the suffix  $-tir-$ . Therefore we can assume that  $-š-tir-$  functions as a single derivational morpheme: it came to be perceived as such probably due to the existence of oppositions considered in 13.2 where it is not a compound suffix. In this group a transitive verb is derived from another transitive, and the moment of joining two entities rather than joining one of them to the other is implied by the derivatives more strongly than by the base verbs; besides, there may be various individual differences between the base and the derivative, but generally their meanings are close enough. This probably reveals a tendency to express the joining or combining of two or more entities by morphological means.

- (140) a. *kotor-* i. 'to change horses', ii. 'to move horses from one pasture to another'  
[→ b. *kotor-uš-* 'to help to change horses or move them ...']  
→ c. *kotor-uš-tur-* 'to move many horses from one pasture to one place'  
(Judaxin 1985a: 409-410)
- (141) a. *kuj-* 'to pour something (into)'  
[→ b. *kuj-uš-* 'to help to pour something (into)']  
→ c. *kuj-uš-tur-* 'to pour something from several vessels into one'  
(Judaxin 1985a: 457)
- (142) a. *kura-* i. 'to make something out of pieces' (e.g. a patchwork quilt)  
ii. 'to accumulate/save/gather' (e.g. cattle)  
iii. 'to put something in order'  
[→ b. *kura-š-* 'to help to accumulate, etc.']  
→ c. *kura-š-tir-* i. 'to accumulate/save/gather' (e.g. cattle)  
ii. 'to put something in order' iii. 'to construct (one object out of several)' (Judaxin 1985a: 247, 248)
- (143) a. *sal-* 'to put something into something'  
[→ b. *sal-iš-* 'to help to put something into something']  
→ c. *sal-iš-tir-* i. 'to put several things one into another'  
ii. 'to compare' (Judaxin 1985b: 125)
- (144) a. *sina-* 'to check/test something'  
[→ b. *sina-š-* 'to help to check/test']  
→ c. *sina-š-tir-* 'to compare something with something'  
(Judaxin 1985b: 181)

- (145) a. *togo-* 'to count something as something  
(e.g. as part of a debt)'  
[b. *togo-š-* 'to stand against/opposite each other']  
→ c. *togo-š-tur-* 'to count something as something'  
(e.g. as part of a debt)' (Judaxin 1985b: 241-242)
- (146) a. *tege-* 'to equalize/make something equal'  
[→ b. *tege-š-* 'to compare (e.g. one's height) with somebody'  
(intransitive)]  
→ c. *tege-š-tir-* i. 'to equalize/make something equal'  
ii. 'to compare with respect to height and length'  
(Judaxin 1985b: 226)
- (147) a. *tüy-* i. 'to knit (a net)', ii. 'to tie into a bundle'  
[→ b. *tüy-üş-* 'to help to knit, to tie ...']  
→ c. *tüy-üş-tür-* 'to tie (e.g. several bundles) together'  
(Judaxin 1985b: 278-279)
- (148) a. *ur-* 'to hit/beat'  
[→ b. *ur-uš-* 'to fight/squabble']  
→ c. *ur-uš-tur-* i. 'to hit one against another'  
ii. 'to bring together for a fight'  
(Judaxin 1985b: 306, 308, 309)
- (149) a. *žyryna-* 'to gather something (e.g. cotton-wool)'  
[→ b. *žyryna-š-* 'to help to gather something']  
→ c. *žyryna-š-tir-* i. 'to gather something'  
ii. 'to tidy up (a room, flat, etc.)'  
(Judaxin 1985a: 277; see also (12) in 13.1)
- (150) a. *Men bul kap-ti baška kap-ka sal-di-m.*  
I this sack-ACC another sack-DAT put-PAST-1SING  
'I put one sack into another.'
- b. *Men kap-tar-di (\*kap-ti) sal-š-tir-di-m.*  
I sack-PLUR-ACC sack-ACC put-REC-CAUS-PAST-1SING  
'I put the sacks one into another.'
- (151) a. *Men kazan-ga suu kuy-du-m.*  
I pot-DAT water pour-PAST-1SING  
'I poured water into the pot.'
- b. *Men suu-lar-di bir kazan-ga kuy-uš-tur-du-m.*  
I water-PLUR-ACC one pot-DAT pour-REC-CAUS-PAST-1SING  
'I poured water (from several vessels) into one pot.'

The following instance probably belongs here too, though it denotes disconnecting:

- (152) a. *böl-* 'to divide (into two or more parts),  
separate (something from a whole)'  
[→ b. *böl-üş-* 'to divide between/among oneself']  
→ c. *böl-üş-tür-* 'to divide/distribute something among some people'  
(Judaxin 1985a: 151-152).

### 13.4. Group C: two-place intransitives and their causative derivatives

The following subgroups can be distinguished here.

#### 13.4.1. Verbs with root final -š-. Reciproca tantum (?)

It is expedient to consider verbs with the root final -š- here: though the connection of this component with the reciprocal suffix is not always obvious, these verbs are mostly reciprocal in meaning and quite numerous. With regard to the four-member derivational group under (126), only the first pair is registered for these verbs. Syntactically and semantically,  $a > b$  corresponds to  $b > c$  of Group A. If the dictionary does not register a causative, it is indicated below by a question mark. These verbs fall into a number of distinct lexical groups.

(a) The underlying verbs denote *competition*:

- (153) a. *eregiš-* 'to argue/rival'  
→ b. *eregiš-tir-* 'to cause to argue, etc.' (Judaxin 1985b: 461)
- (154) a. *küröš-* 'to wrestle with each other'  
→ b. *küröš-tür-* 'to organize wrestling' (Judaxin 1985a: 471)
- (155) a. *meldeš-* i. 'to compete', ii. 'wager', iii. 'to come to an agreement'  
→ b. ? (Judaxin 1985b: 24)
- (156) a. *jarış-* i. 'to compete', ii. 'to compete in running'  
→ b. *jarış-tir-* 'to organize a competition' (Judaxin 1985b: 237)

(b) The underlying verbs denote diminishing in volume/size, entangling, wrinkling:

- (157) a. *arpalıš-* 'to interlace' (intransitive)  
→ b. ? (Judaxin 1985a: 69)
- (158) a. *bırış-* 'to wrinkle' (e.g. of a face') (intransitive)  
→ b. *bırış-tir-* 'to wrinkle/crumple' (transitive) (Judaxin 1985a: 172)

- (159) a. *bürüş-* 'to double/huddle oneself up' (intransitive)  
       → b. *bürüş-tür-* 'to cause to double/huddle oneself up' (Judaxin 1985a: 168)
- (160) a. *čataš-* 'to entangle' (intransitive)  
       → b. *čataš-tür-* 'to entangle' (transitive) (Judaxin 1985b: 352)
- (161) a. *čürüş-* 'to wrinkle' (intransitive)  
       → b. *čürüş-tir-* 'to wrinkle/crumple' (transitive) (Judaxin 1985b: 380)
- (162) a. *karış-* 'to be cramped' (intransitive)  
       → b. *karış-tür-* 'to cause to be cramped' (transitive)  
             (Judaxin 1985a: 356)
- (163) a. *kuruš-* 'to shrink/contract' (intransitive)  
       → b. *kuruš-tur-* 'to cause to shrink/contract' (transitive)  
             (Judaxin 1985a: 451)

(c) The underlying verbs denote establishing contact, spatial proximity:

- (164) a. *aykal-/aykališ-* i. 'to be entangled [mutually]'  
                                   ii. 'to meet in single combat'  
       → b. ? (Judaxin 1985a: 30)
- (165) a. *aykaš-* i. 'to be piled cross-wise', ii. 'to adjoin/be in contact'  
       → b. *aykaš-tür-* 'to put cross-wise' (Judaxin 1985a: 30)
- (166) a. *ermeš-* 'to clutch/grasp at something',  
                   fig. 'to worry/pester' (intransitive)  
       → b. ? (Judaxin 1985b: 463)
- (167) a. *tutaš-* 'to adjoin' (intransitive)  
       → b. *tutaš-tür-* 'to place next to something/make contiguous'  
             (transitive) (Judaxin 1985b: 272)
- (168) a. *janaš-* 'to be/move next to somebody/something'  
                   (intransitive) (cf. *jan* 'side')  
       → b. *janaš-tür-* 'to place next to something' (transitive)  
             (Judaxin 1985a: 226)
- (169) a. *jarmaš-* 'to clutch/grasp at something',  
                   fig. 'to adhere/follow somebody' (intransitive)  
       b. *jarmaš-tür-* 'to cause to clutch/grasp' (transitive)  
             (Judaxin 1985a: 236)

(d) A residual verb:

- (170) a. *almaš-* 'to change into/take turns' (intransitive)  
       → b. *almaš-tir-* 'to change/replace' (transitive) (Judaxin 1985a: 52)

Sentential examples:

- (171) a. *İlay menen kum aralaş-ti.*  
       'Clay and sand got mixed.'  
       b. *Ata-m ilay menen kum aralaş-tir-dī.*  
       'My father mixed clay and sand.'

### 13.4.2. Verbs without root final -ş

Example (126) can be amplified by the following derivational chains obtained from the dictionaries:

- (172) a. *aşira-* 'to part'  
       → *aşira-t-* 'to cause to part'  
       b. *aşira-ş-* 'to part from each other/divorce'  
       → *aşira-ş-tir-* 'to separate' (Judaxin 1985a: 24)
- (173) *büt-* 'to knit (of bones)' (intransitive)  
       → *büt-ür-* 'to make (bones) knit' (transitive) (Judaxin 1957: 821)
- (174) a. *çogul-* 'to gather/crowd'  
       → *çogul-t-* 'to gather/pile up'  
       b. *çogul-uş-* 'to meet with/see each other'  
       → ? (Judaxin 1985b: 364)
- (175) *irkil-* 'to crowd/pile up'  
       → *irkil-t-* 'to gather into a pile' (transitive) (Judaxin 1985a: 304)
- (176) a. *kabıl-* 'to meet' (intransitive)  
       → *kabıl-t-/ kabıl-dır-* 'to cause to meet'  
       b. *kabıl-iş-* 'to meet/come to blows'  
       → ? (Judaxin 1985a: 311)
- (177) a. *kezik-* 'to meet with/run into'  
       → *kezik-tir-* 'to meet'  
       b. *kezig-iş-* 'to meet with'  
       → *kezig- iş-tir-* 'to cause to meet' (Judaxin 1985a: 366 and 1957: 831)

- (178) a. *šire-* 'to weld' (of two pieces)  
       → *šire-t-* 'to weld' (transitive)
- b. *šire-š-* 'to weld' (intransitive)  
       → *šire-tir-* 'to weld' (transitive) (Judaxin 1985b: 409)
- (179) a. *joluk-* 'to meet' (intransitive)  
       → *joluk-tur-* i. 'to arrange a meeting' (of two or more persons),  
                       ii. 'to meet' (transitive)
- b. *jolug-uš-* 'to meet each other'  
       → *jolug-uš-tur-* 'to arrange a meeting' (Judaxin 1985a: 259)
- (180) a. *ikta-* i. 'to press oneself to something'  
       → *ikta-t-* i. 'to cause/order somebody to press oneself to something'  
                   ii. 'to press somebody/something to somebody/something'  
                   iii. 'to press somebody to something'
- b. *ikta-š-* 'to press oneself to each other'  
       → *ikta-š-tir-* 'to press two or more entities tightly together'  
                       (Judaxin 1985b: 427-428)

Synonymous forms of these verbs may differ in shades of meaning and in frequency. Thus, for instance, (126a) *birik-* and *birik-tir-* are much more common in speech than the respective forms in *-iš*, i.e. *birig-iš-* and *birig-iš-tir-*. The latter form is considered by the informant as grammatical though not used in speech. There occur non-standard, individual semantic relations. Thus in (177) and (179) the underlying forms *kezik-* and *joluk-* happen to be synonymous to the respective causatives *kezik-tir-* and *joluk-tur-*, the only difference lying in the patterns of government; e.g.:

- (181) a. *Al ma-ga* (DAT) *kezik-ti*.  
           'He met me.'
- b. *Al me-ni* (ACC) *kezik-tir-di*  
           'He met me.'

### 13.5. Anticausatives with the suffixes *-l* and *-n* and their relation to anticausatives in *-š*

Above, I have considered anticausatives with the suffix *-š* only. As has already been mentioned (see 2.5), the anticausative meaning can also be marked by the suffixes *-l* and *-n*; besides, it can also be signalled by the complex suffixes *-l-iš* and *-n-iš*. These affixes can also derive anticausatives from lexical reciprocals. Some of these formations are the only way of deriving anticausatives, while others have parallel forms; therefore, the overall picture is very complicated (e.g. *bayla-* and its derivatives in



(21)). It is relevant to consider derivatives with these suffixes and relations between them as well. Four main cases can be distinguished. The choice of a suffix for a derived anticausative is very complicated and the causes of their selectivity are not clear. The classification given below is based on the dictionary data.

1. Anticausatives with the suffix *-l* or *-n* do not have parallel synonymous forms with the suffix *-š*.

- (182) a. *koš-* 'to join two or more entities'  
 b. *koš-ul-* 'to join (of two entities)' (Judaxin 1985a: 412)  
 c. *?koš-uš-*
- d. *Eki too koš-ul-ba-y-t eki el koš-ul-a-t.*  
 two mountain join-PASS-NEG-PRES-3 two people join-PASS-PRES-3  
 'Two mountains will not come together, two people will come together.'  
 (Judaxin 1985a: 412)
- (183) a. *uypala-* 'to entangle/ruffle'  
 b. *uypala-n-* 'to get crumpled/entangled/ruffled' (Judaxin 1985b: 301)  
 c. *?uypala-š-*

2. Anticausatives with the suffix *-l* or *-n* have parallel synonymous forms in *-š*:

- (184) a. *čapta-* 'to paste/stick something to something'  
 b. *čapta-l-* 'to get pasted/stuck to something'  
 c. *čapta-š-* (same) (Judaxin 1985b: 348)
- (185) a. *ula-* 'to join something with something'  
 b. *ula-n-* 'to join' (intransitive)  
 c. *ula-š-* (same) (Judaxin 1985b: 302-303)

3. Anticausatives are formed by means of the complex suffixes *-l-iš* or *-n-iš* which are a combination of the above suffixes. Here each of the two components expresses an anticausative meaning. Thus (186) is a kind of combination of (184b) and (184c), and (187) a combination of (185b) and (185c).

- (186) (= (184d)) *čapta-l-iš-* (same as (184b-c)) (Judaxin 1985b: 348;  
 Judaxin 1957: 641)  
 (187) (= (185d)) *ula-n-iš-* (same as (185b-c)) (Judaxin 1985b: 302)

4. In anticausatives with the complex suffixes the meaning of *-l* or *-n* cannot be singled out: these complexes are idiomatic, i.e. the passive meaning of (188b) is absent in (188c):

- (188) a. *čirma-* 'to wind/twine something round something'  
 b. *čirma-l-* 'to be wound/twined'(passive)

- c. *čirma-l-iš-* 'to intertwine' (intransitive) (anticausative)  
(Judaxin 1985b: 392)

#### Sentential examples:

- (189) *Biz koš-ul-uš-tu-k.*  
'We joined *together*.' (cf. (182))
- (190) *Biz karanđe koridor-do ur-un-uš-tu-k.*  
'We collided in a dark corridor.' (Judaxin 1957: 831)
- (191) *Žılan but-um-a oro-l-uš-tu.* (Judaxin 1985b: 80)  
snake leg-my-DAT twine-PASS-REC-PAST.3  
'A snake twined itself round my leg.'

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