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Titel: Paired words in Yakut (Sakha)

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Ort: Wiesbaden

Jahr: 2003

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Ebata, Fuyuki 2003. Paired words in Yakut (Sakha). *Turkic Languages* 7, 257-267.

Yakut (Sakha) displays numerous so-called "paired words" which have been regarded as one type of compounds. However, unlike compounds, paired words can take derivational and/or inflectional suffixes both on the first and the second members. The present paper aims to describe the morphological and semantic characteristics of paired words and to demonstrate that they have many characteristics in common not with compounds, as has been claimed, but with echo words.*

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1. Introduction

Many Turkic languages have a type of asyntactic compounds called *hendiadys* (Johanson 1998: 50). Yakut,[1] one of the Turkic languages in Siberia, also has this type of 'compound words', which are called 'paired words' among Russian scholars (*parnye slova* in Russian). Paired words (hereafter abbreviated as PW) occur frequently in both colloquial speech and written materials in Yakut. PW in Yakut have been mentioned in several works such as Xaritonov (1947), Ubrjatova (1948) and Korkina et al. (1982). However, much remains to be examined. The purpose of this paper is to describe the characteristics of PW and consequently to show their position in Yakut grammar.

* An earlier version of this paper was read at the 124th meeting of the Lingusitic Society of Japan (2002). Comments and questions from the audience were very helpful in rivising my paper. The data were collected mainly during my fieldwork in Yakutsk from July to August 2001. I wish to express my gratitude to Nadezhda Matsukawa and Natalia Neustroeva for their patient help as language consultants. Special thanks are due to Professor Tooru Hayasi for valuable comments and advice. I would also like to thank Yeong Kwong Leong Samuel and Yasuhiro Kojima, who provided many critical comments.

[1] Yakut is spoken in the Sakha Republic (Yakutia). Sakha is also used as a name of the Yakut people and their language. The Yakut phoneme inventory is as follows: /p, t, k, b, d, g, tʃ, dʒ, s [s ~ h], χ [χ ~ q], ʁ, m, n, ɲ, ŋ, r, l, j, a, o, e, œ, ɯ, u, i, y, aa, oo, ee, œœ, ɯɯ, uu, ii, yy, ɯa, uo, ie, yœ/.

First, I would like to give a simple example of PW. (In the examples below, PW are enclosed by brackets, and the underlined parts in the translation correspond to them.)

(1) *[Kyn ɯj]* *aas-an* *is-er.*
[day month] pass-CV AUX-PRES.3SG
'Time passes.'

In (1), we have an example of PW *kyn ɯj* 'time', which consists of two nouns *kyn* 'day' and *ɯj* 'month', but has a single meaning 'time'. Such an example may remind us of a compound. But in terms of inflection and/or derivation, PW show differences from compounds.

(2a) *Kini-tten* *[kyn-ym* *ɯj-ɯm]* *taχs-ar.*
he[2]-ABL [day-1SG.POSS month-1SG.POSS] go out-PRES.3SG
'My time is exhausted by him.'

*(2b) *Kini-tten* *[kyn* *ɯj-ɯm]* *taχs-ar.*
he-ABL [day month-POSS1SG] go out-PRES.3SG

*(2c) *Kini-tten* *[kyn-ym* *ɯj]* *taχs-ar.*
he-ABL [day-POSS.1SG month] go out-PRES.3SG

PW can take inflectional and/or derivational suffixes, but unlike normal compounds, each component of PW must take a suffix of the same function, i.e., both **kyn ɯj-ɯm* in (2a) and **kyn-ym ɯj* in (2c) are ungrammatical. However, in the case of normal compounds, only the latter component takes an inflectional and/or derivational suffix. An example of this is *altan ot* 'dandelion' shown in (3a).

(3a) *altan* *ot-um*
copper grass-1SG.POSS
'my dandelion'

*(3b) *altan-ɯm* *ot-um*
copper-1SG.POSS grass-1SG.POSS

In the following example, *kelii barɯɯ* 'coming and going' is a deverbal noun.

(4) *[Kel-ii*[3] *bar-ɯɯ]* *yksee-te.*
[come-DER go-DER] increase-NPAST
'Coming and going increased.'

[2] In this paper, 'he' is, for convenience's sake, used consistently as third person pronoun both in the glosses and in the translations.
[3] This suffix makes deverbal nouns.

PW can be found in all parts of speech—nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, onomatopoeias, pronouns and numerals. Components of PW may not always be free forms with a lexical meaning of their own. For example, the second component *kœjyyr* of *yœn kœjyyr* 'worm' is never used independently.[4]

(5) *[Yœn-ner-ten kœjyyr-der-ten] kuttan-abɯn.*
[worm-PL-ABL ?-PL-ABL] be afraid of-PRES.1SG
'I am afraid of worms.'

Ebata (2001) examined the descriptions of PW in Ubrjatova (1948) and Korkina et al. (1982), and summed up the features of PW as follows. Hereafter, I would like to call the first component of PW X, the second Y.

(a) PW consist of two different words.
(b) Each component of PW must take the same suffixes (both in derivation and in inflection).
(c) The meaning of PW is not the sum of two components.
(d) PW, together with X and Y are all of the same part of speech.

2. Problems

Ubrjatova (1948) regards Yakut PW as one type of compounds. Surely PW have some features common to compounds. But if we regard PW as a type of compounds, we are then confronted with three problems:

(1) In Yakut, like other Turkic languages, only the last component of a compound takes inflectional and/or derivational suffixes, while the preceding components never do. In contrast, both components of PW must take inflectional and/or derivational suffixes.
(2) In Yakut, compound words must reflect the syntactic structure of Yakut grammar. But this is not the case with X and Y of PW.
(3) Compounds may consist of more than two components. But PW always consist of two components.

So far, I have examined the morphological features of PW. In the following section, I will discuss the semantic features of PW. The second problem, which relates to the syntactic structure of PW, will be discussed in detail in section 5.

3. Semantic types of paired words

In this section all PW in my data are classified by the two criteria given below.

[4] If a component of PW is not used independently and has no lexical meaning of its own, it is glossed with '?'.

(1) Whether X and Y have their own lexical meanings by themselves.
(2) Semantic relation between X, Y and PW.

3.1. Both X and Y have their own lexical meanings

3.1.1. PW is synonymous with X

Of the examples of PW that I could collect so far, 30 examples may be assigned to this category. In passing, Ubrjatova (1948: 307) says that "PW are often seen in modern Yakut literature". Korkina et al. (1982: 113) remark that "they (i.e. PW) are particularly frequent in the words of poetry". It is true that PW have such a stylistic feature. In the present paper, however, we leave problems of the style open and try to describe the characteristics of PW in colloquial speech, in which the use of PW is not infrequent at all.

The meaning of PW is similar to that of X, but it is not always identical. Let us take *sirej χaraχ* 'face' as an example. The PW *sirej χaraχ* 'face' and its first component *sirej* 'face' have basically the same meaning.

(6) *Sirej-e* *delbi* *kirtij-bit.*
face-POSS.3SG very become dirty-RPAST.3SG
'His face became very dirty.'

(7) *[Sirej-e* *χaraв-a]* *delbi* *kirtij-bit.*
face-POSS.3SG eye-POSS.3SG very become dirty-RPAST.3SG
'His face became very dirty.'

But in certain contexts, the PW *sirej χaraχ* can mean 'facial expression', which its first component *sirej* 'face' never does.

(8) *Kini* *sirej-e* *sшmnaвas.*
he face-POSS.3SG soft-COP.3SG
'His face feels soft.'

(9) *Kini* *[sirej-e* *χaraв-a]* *sшmnaвas.*
he [face-POSS.3SG eye-POSS.3SG] soft-COP.3SG
'He has a gentle look on his face.' (lit.: 'His facial expression is soft.')

Similar examples are given below. We can see in these examples that PW generally have more abstract meanings than X.

(10) *Kini* *yle-te* *ytfygej.*
he work-POSS.3SG good-COP.3SG
'His work is good.'

(11) *Kini* *[yle-te* *χamnas-a]* *ytʃygej.*
he [work-POSS.3SG salary-POSS.3SG] good-COP.3SG
'His working style is good.'

(12) *Dʒie-bit* *χajdaʁ-ɯj.*
house-POSS.1PL how-QP
'How is our house (itself)?'

(13) *[Dʒie-bit* *uop-put]* *χajdaʁ-ɯj.*
[house-POSS.1PL fire-POSS.1PL] how-QP
'How is our home (and our family, etc.)?'

It is worth mentioning that a 'whole-part' relation can be recognized between X and Y of several PW, namely as follows.

sirej χaraχ	'face'	('face' + 'eye')
taŋas sap	'clothes'	('clothes' + 'thread')
yle χamnas	'work'	('work' + 'salary')
yp χartʃɯ	'wealth'	('wealth' + 'money')
yp χamnas	'wealth'	('wealth' + 'salary')

Some PW have negative connotations. For instance, *uu χaar* 'water', which consists of *uu* 'water' and *χaar* 'snow', can represent 'tears', 'snivel' and 'melting snow', etc. We can say that these meanings have negative connotations. But *uu χaar* 'water' cannot represent meanings which do not have negative connotations, for example, 'a glass of water'.

3.1.2. X and Y are synonymous

PW of this category have almost the same meaning as X and Y. (14) is often used at the beginning of a chat.

(14) *Tuoχ* *[sonun* *nuomas]* *baar-ɯj.*
what [news news] existence-QP
'What is the news?' or 'What news is there?'

In some examples of PW of this type, the order of the components may be reversed without changing the meaning of PW. For instance, both (15a) *maχtal basɯɯba* 'gratitude' and (15b) *basɯɯba maχtal* 'gratitude' are used as PW.

(15a) *[maχtal* *basɯɯba]*
[gratitude gratitude]
'gratitude'

(15b) *[basɯɯba* *maχtal]*
[gratitude gratitude]
'gratitude'

3.1.3. X and Y are antonymous

The meaning of PW of this category does not correspond to X or Y. PW of this category have general or common meanings. The semantic range of the whole PW is often larger than that of the sum of X and Y.

(16) *[Sajɯn-nar-ɯ kɯsɯn-nar-ɯ] biir taŋas-ɯnan sɯrɯt-tɯm.*
[summer-CACC winter-CACC] one clothes-INST live-1SG.NPAST
'I wear the same set of clothing throughout the year.'

The PW *sajɯn kɯsɯn* represents not only 'summer and winter', but also 'spring and fall', that is, *sajɯn kɯsɯn* denotes 'throughout the year'. As is shown in (16), a pair of antonyms can have general or common meaning. Another example is shown below.

(17) *Bu taŋas kirtij-en [yryŋ-e*
this clothes become dirty-CV [white-3SG.POSS

χara-ta] billi-bet buol-but.
black-3SG.POSS] be seen-VN.PRES.3SG.NEG become-3SG.RPAST
'These clothes became dirty and their color became unrecognizable.'

According to my consultant, the original color of the clothes in (17) may not be white or black. It can be yellow or other colors.

3.1.4. PW is a hypernym of X and Y

The semantic range of the PW of this category is larger than that of the sum of X and Y. In (18), *kinige kumaaʁɯ* 'books, papers, etc.' may indicate not only 'books and papers', but also 'photos and newspapers etc.'

(18) *Min bygyn dʒie-b-er uruk*
I today house-POSS.1SG-DAT old

[kinige-ler-bi-n kumaaʁɯ-lar-bɯ-n] berij-dim
[book-PL-POSS.1SG-ACC paper-PL-POSS.1SG-ACC] put in order-NPAST.1SG
'Today I put in order my old books, papers, etc. at home.'

In my opinion, the meaning of *kinige kumaaʁɯ* 'books, papers etc.' is very similar to that of *kitap mitap* 'books and such' in Turkish (Swift 1963: 121).

Let us take another example: *bɯɯsaa abɯraa* 'to help'. *Bɯɯsaa* denotes 'to rescue from danger', *abɯraa* denotes 'to aid by concrete means'. These two verbs (which have less general meanings than 'to help') form PW with a more general meaning 'to help'.

(19) *ɯaraχan* *kem-m-er* *kini*
hard time-1SG.POSS-DAT he

mieχe *meldʒi* *[bɯɯsɯɯ-r* *abɯrɯɯ-r].*
I.DAT always [rescue-PRES.3SG aid-PRES.3SG]
'When I am in difficulty, he always helps me.'

3.1.5. Other cases

Four examples in my data remain unclassified into any of the four groups above, since no clear semantic correspondence can be recognized. Among them, one rather unique example is (20).

(20) *[ije* *χara]*
[mother black]
'entire, whole'

3.2. Only X has its own meaning

In most cases, PW of this category have almost the same meanings as their X.

(21) *[baaj* *duol]*
[rich ?]
'rich'

In some cases, PW have negative connotations:

(22) *[sɯt* *sɯmar]*
[smell ?]
'bad smell, odor'

(23) *[Dʒysyn-y* *bodo-nu]* *kœr-œn* *tur-an* *tuoχ* *die-χ-χe-nij.*
[appearance-ACC ?-ACC] see-CV AUX-CV what say-VN.FUT-DAT-QP
'Seeing your awkwardness, (I don't know) what to say.'

It is worth noting that these examples of devaluation do not follow the semantic characterization of PW in previous studies such as Xaritonov (1947: 127), where it is stated that PW always denote larger concepts than their individual components.

3.3. Only Y has its own meaning

No examples of this type are found in my data. Ubrjatova (1948: 306) shows two examples, which my consultants do not accept. In modern Yakut at least it seems that PW of this pattern do not exist. (24) and (25) are taken from Ubrjatova (1948: 306).

(24) *[isi χosu]*
[? blame]
'to blame'

(25) *[sir tal]*
[? choose]
'to favor'

3.4. Neither X nor Y have their own meaning

The meanings of PW of this category cannot be related with X nor Y, since neither X nor Y is used as an individual lexical form.

(26) *[aas tuor] oloχ*
[? ?] life
'lack life'

(27) *[tutun χabɯs]*
[? ?]
'to move quickly'

4. Semantic characteristics of paired words

In section 3 we examined the chief semantic characteristics of PW. The following are the main points:

(1) PW may have more abstract meanings than their components.
(2) PW may denote general, common meanings.
(3) PW sometimes carry negative connotations.

It is also clear that X plays a more important role than Y in determining the meaning of PW. This is because:

(1) If both X and Y have lexical meanings of their own, X's meaning is more likely to be reflected in the PW's meaning than Y.
(2) There are many PW whose X has a lexical meaning of its own while Y does not. But there are no PW (in the author's data) whose Y has a lexical meaning of its own while X does not.

In determining the meaning of compounds, in contrast, the second component seems to play a more important role in languages such as Yakut.

5. Comparison with compound words

In this section PW are compared with compound words in terms of their internal syntactic structure. As is noted in section 2, X and Y of PW do not reflect any aspect of Yakut syntactic structure, while compound words must do so.

For example, one type of compound nouns is parallel to the syntactic construction 'adjective + noun'.

(28) *mas dʒie*
tree house
'a wooden house'

Another type of compound nouns is parallel to the syntactic construction 'possessor + possession'.

(29) *Tujaara kinige-te*
Tujaara book-3SG.poss
'Tujaara's book'

(30) *dʒykeebil uot-a*
Yukaghir fire-3SG.Poss
'aurora (*lit.* the fire of Yukaghir)'

Compound verbs are parallel to the syntactic construction 'full verb + auxiliary verb'.

(31) *aaʁ-an kœr*
read-CV look
'to try to read'

We can recognize from these examples that normal Yakut compound words seem to be syntactic phrases. In contrast, X and Y of PW are not parallel to any syntactic relation of words in Yakut grammar. If we regard PW as a type of compound, we may say that PW are asyntactic compounds (see Bloomfield 1933: 232-235), and the other type of compound words are syntactic compounds.

6. Comparison with echo-words

There is a rather large number of PW of the reduplicational type, for instance, *œjdœœχ tœjdœœχ* 'clever'. In this type, Y is produced from X by a certain morphonological process. The two major patterns of morphonological process are summarized below.

(a) To replace CV of the first syllable of Y with /i-/. (As a result, the following vowels alternate according to vowel harmony.)

kepsee ipsee 'to talk' (*kepsee* 'to talk')
χamsaa imsee 'to move' (*χamsaa* 'to move')

(b) Prothesis or alternation of word-initial consonant.

œjdœœχ tœjdœœχ 'clever' (*œjdœœχ* 'clever')
saŋa maŋa 'word' (*saŋa* 'word')

These words may be called reduplication or echo-words. These echo-words must inflect and/or derivate like PW.

(32a) *[kepsee ipsee]*
[talk ?]
'to talk'

(32b) *[kepse-t*[5] *ipse-t]*
[talk-CAUS ?-CAUS]
'to talk with (someone)'

(32c) *[kepse-t-en ipse-t-en]*
[talk-CAUS-cv ?-CAUS-cv]
'having talked with (someone)'

In Yakut grammar, PW are more similar to echo-words than compounds. The only difference between PW and echo-words is that there is a semantic relationship between the two components of PW, while there is a morphophonemic relationship between the two components of echo-words.

7. Conclusion

So far I have discussed the morphological, semantic and syntactic characteristics of PW. Compared with compound words, PW differ in the three ways indicated below:

(1) Morphologically, only the latter component of a compound takes inflectional and/or derivational suffixes, while the preceding component never does. In contrast, both components of PW must take inflectional and/or derivational suffixes (section 1).
(2) Semantically, X of PW plays a more important role than Y in determining the meaning of the whole PW. In contrast, the second component of compounds plays a more impotant role than the first component in determining the meaning of the whole compound (section 4).
(3) Syntactically, X and Y of PW do not reflect any aspect of the syntactic structure of Yakut, while compound words must reflect its syntactic structure (section 5).

As is mentioned in section 6, PW are more similar to echo-words than compounds. Finally, the author would like to propose a solution for the first problem in section 2.

Given that the formative process of the PW is the same as that of echo-words, the process can be illustrated by the following process. ('-@' stands for inflectional and/or derivational suffixes.)

1. Base: X
2. Inflection and/or derivation: X-@
3. Echo: X-@ Y-@

At first, derivational and inflectional suffixes '-@' are attached to the base X and then the whole 'X-@' is echoed. This process explains why both components of the PW must take inflectional and/or derivational suffixes.

Abbreviations

1	first person	3	third person
ABL	ablative	ACC	accusative
AUX	auxiliary verb	CACC	collective accusative
CAUS	causative	COOP	cooperative
COP	copula	CV	converb
DAT	dative	DER	derivational suffix
DPAST	distant past	FUT	future tense
IMP	imperative	NEG	negative
NPAST	near past	PL	plural
POSS	possessive suffix	PRES	present tense
QP	question particle	RPAST	resultative past
SG	singular	VN	verbal noun

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