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On the problems of Oghuz morphophonology

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The paper deals with the alternation of forms with and without a narrow vowel in Oghuz lexical stems. Reconstructions show that Proto-Turkic possessed stems with consonant clusters which were later eliminated, i.e. simplified or resolved by vowel epenthesis. It can be demonstrated that the alternation in Proto-Oghuz was originally governed by purely phonemic rules—as still in modern Turkmen—and later overlapped by processes of morphological analogy. In the present paper, a list of native Turkish disyllabic noun stems is compared with reconstructed Proto-Turkic forms and parallels from other Turkic languages. Certain Proto-Turkic forms ended in a final cluster, while others displayed a vowel between the two last consonants. Turkish stems that exhibit the alternation go back to stems both with and without final clusters. Some stems do not display the alternation although they originate in Proto-Turkic forms with final clusters. We may assume a development from phonemically conditioned alternations to processes of paradigmatic unification of the stem forms. In the noun inflection the alternation is mostly eliminated. Almost all stems that have retained the alternation belong to semantic groups that are usually employed with possessive suffixes. We may assume a development from phonemically conditioned alternations to processes of paradigmatic unification of the stem forms.

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The elision/insertion of a narrow vowel is one of the patterns of alternation in Oghuz stems and in Turkic stems in general. In Modern Turkish the alternation is distributed lexically, so it must belong to the morphophonological stratum of the language system. In nominal paradigms, grammars describe it as quite parallel to the rule of loan-word adaptation, i.e. the insertion of a vowel to resolve a cluster inadmissible in the Auslaut (see, e.g., Kononov 1956: 28). A reference to the presence of an alternation is usual in Turkish lexicography. The same rule exists in Gagauz (Pokrovskaja 1964: 46-48) and probably in Azeri, but standard dictionaries of these languages contain no references to the presence of alternation in the stems. In Gagauz some “secondary” stems are noted, which have developed on the base of petrified possessive forms of the 3rd person with the alternation and later attached new possessive affixes, in the post-vocalic form: *ōlu* – *ōlu-su* (the modern standard form is *ōl* – *ōlu*) ‘son’, *burnu* – *burnu-su* ‘nose’, *anny* – *anny-sy* ‘front’, *kojnu* – *kojnu-su*

'chest' (cf. *kojun* – *kojunu* 'sheep'), *bojnu* – *bojnu-su* 'neck', *gelin/ gelni* – *gelnisi* 'daughter-in-law' (recent standard form is *gelin* – *gelini*); see Dmitriev 1962: 253. Such forms are present sporadically also in other Oghuz languages. In Turkmen, the alternation is not conditioned lexically: the rule is purely phonemic: a narrow vowel in the structure VCVcl.CV¹ drops if the resulting consonant cluster belongs to the following set: RR, RS, SS, Sd, Rd, Sž, Rž (see *Grammatika turkmenskogo jazyka* 1970: 61–63; the rule is confirmed by materials in *Türkmen diliniň orfoepik sözlügi* 1978).

The full selection of two-syllable nominal stems from the Turkish-Russian dictionary edited by Mustafaev & Starostov (1977) demonstrates that the words that are genetically Turkic have such alternation only if they have a simple (from the modern point of view) disyllabic stem with phonemic structure (C)VS/RVS/R. Among the possible fricatives š is not present. But not all stems with such a structure exhibit the alternation. See, e.g., the minimal pairs *kojun*, *-jnu* 'lap' – *kojun*, *-jnu* 'sheep', *kajyn*, *-jny* 'brother-in-law' – *kajyn*, *-jny* 'beech' or a quasi-minimal pair such as *beniz*, *-nzi* 'face' – *deniz*, *-nizi* 'sea'.

According to the general principles of the nature of morphophonemic phenomena, we must suppose that historically this alternation, lexically distributed and partly defined by a phonemic rule, as found in Modern Turkish and some other Oghuz languages, developed from a purely phonemic rule that was overlapped later by processes of morphological analogy (or, more specifically, by paradigmatic unification). On the other hand, the reconstruction of Proto-Turkic lexical stems produced during the composition of a full Turkic etymological data-base has finally demonstrated the presence in Proto-Turkic of stems with consonant clusters, which were later eliminated in different ways in the various Turkic languages: they were either simplified or resolved by a narrow vowel epenthesis. Already the Turkish grammar of Jean Deny (1920: 147–148) raised the question whether the ambiguity of the behavior of Turkish nouns is related to primarily different endings of their stems. Now we can try to give a justified answer to this question.

I present here a list of native Turkic disyllabic noun stems with the alternation; they are listed with Proto-Turkic reconstructions (after the Turkic etymological data-base) and with relevant parallels from other Turkic languages.

A. Alternative data force us to reconstruct a Proto-Turkic final cluster.²

1. **bōjn* 'neck': *bojyn* (Old Uyghur), *bojun*, *bojyn* (MK), *bojun* (QB), Turkish *boyun*, *-ynu*, Chaghatay *bojn*, *bojun* (Sanglax, MA), Azeri *bojun*, *-jnu*, Turkmen *bojun*, Khakas *mojyn*, Chuvash *měj*, Yakut *mōj* (*mońno-*), Dolgan *muoj*, Tuvan *mojun*, Tofan *mōän* (*mojnu*), Gagauz *bojnu*, Salar *bojny*, Kumyk *bojun*.

2. **Kōjn* 'lap': *qojyn* (Yenisei Turkic, Old Uyghur), *qoj* (MK), Turkish *koyun*, *-ynu*, Middle Kipchak *qojyn* (Caferoğlu 1931). Azeri *Gojun*, *-jnu*, Turkmen *Gojun*,

¹ Here and below C is a consonant, V is a vowel, S is a fricative, R is a resonant.

² Regarding the reconstruction of clusters of the *-jn*-type in the finals of stems see Dybo 1996: 38.

Khakas *xojyn*, Chuvash *xəʷ*, *xü*, dialectal *xüm*, Yakut *xōj* (*xoñño-*), Dolgan *konnok*, Tuvan *xoj*, Gagauz *qojnu*, Kumyk *qojyn*.

3. **bejñ* 'brain': *meji*, *meñi* (Old Uyghur), *meñi* (MK, QB), Turkish *bejin*, *-jni*, Chaghatay *miji* (MA), *mejñ* (Sanglax), Azeri *bejin*, *-jni*, Turkmen *bejni*, *mejni*, Khakas *mī*, Chuvash *mimə*, Yakut *mejī*, Dolgan *meñī*, Tuvan *mē*, Tofan *mā*, Kumyk *miji*.

4. **gökr*, **Kökre* 'chest, breast': *kögüz* (Old Uyghur), *kögüz* (MK), Turkish *göğüs*, *-ğsü*, Chaghatay *kögs*, *kögüs* (Sanglax), *köküs* (MA), *kökre* (Velj aminov-Zernov 1868, Borovkov 1961), Azeri *köks*, *-ü*, Turkmen *gövüs*, *kükrek*, Khakas *kögis*, Chuvash *kəʷgəʷr*, Yakut *köyüs*, Dolgan *köksü*, Gagauz *gūs*, Salar *göfrix*, Kumyk *kökürek*. Probably a cluster, considering the sonorization of the central consonant (clearly primarily voiceless after the Siberian and Chuvash reflexes), which can be positionally conditioned only by contact with *-z* (later devoiced in the Proto-Oghuz cluster?).

5. **čekn* 'part of the shoulder between the neck and the shoulder blade': *čikin* (Old Uyghur), Turkish *čekin*, *čekini/čijin*, *-jni*, Chaghatay *čikin* (Velj aminov-Zernov 1868, Sanglax), Azeri *čijin*, *-jini*, Turkmen *čigin*, Chuvash *šan* 'body'. Probably a cluster; otherwise we have no explanation for the variation of voiced/unvoiced consonant and for the full dropping of the guttural in Chuvash.

6. **āln* derived from **āl*, 'front': *alyn* (Old Uyghur), *alyn* (MK, QB), Turkish *alyn*, *-lñy*, Chaghatay *alñy-da* 'in the presence of' (Velj aminov-Zernov 1868), Azeri *alyn*, *-lñy*, Turkmen *ālyn*, Khakas *alñy*, Chuvash *om*, Tuvan *alyn*, Gagauz *anny*, Salar *aldy-*. Probably a cluster, cf. **geļn* 'daughter-in-law': Chuvash *kin*, Yakut *kijīt* (*plur.), Salar *kiin*, but **Kalyñ* 'bride-price': Chuvash *xoləm*, Yakut *xalym*, *xalyym*.

B. Alternative data force us to reconstruct a vowel between two final consonants.

1. **ogul* 'son': *oγul* (Orkhon Turkic, Old Uyghur), *oγul* (MK), Turkish *oğul*, *-ğlu*, Chaghatay *oγul* (Pavet de Courteille), Azeri *oγul*, *-γlu*, Turkmen *oγul*, Khakas *oγyl*, *ōl*, Chuvash *γvəl*, Yakut *uol*, Dolgan *uol*, Tuvan *ōl*, Gagauz *ōl*. Probably not a cluster, since the *γ* clearly demonstrates an intervocalic development.

2. **agyř* 'mouth': *ayyz* (Orkhon Turkic), *ayyz*, *ayaz* (Old Uyghur), *ayyz* (MK), Turkish *ağyz*, *-ğzy*, Chaghatay *ayyz*, Azeri *ayyz*, *-γzy*, Turkmen *ayyz*, Khakas *ās*, *axsy* (3rd person), Chuvash *vəʷrəʷ*, *urə-lə*, Yakut *uos*, Dolgan *uos*, Tuvan *ās*, *aqsy* (3rd person), Tofan *ās*, *aqsy* (3rd person), Gagauz *ās*, Salar *ayyz*, Kumyk *awuz*. Probably not a cluster, since the *γ* clearly demonstrates an intervocalic development (cf. ***gökr*).

3. **biagyr* 'liver': *baγyr* (Old Uyghur), *baγyr* (MK), Turkish *bağyr*, *-ğry*, Chaghatay *baγyr* (Borovkov 1961, MA), Azeri *baγyr*, *-γry*, Turkmen *baγyr*, Khakas *pār*, Chuvash *pəʷver*, Yakut *byar*, Dolgan *byar*, Tuvan *bār*, Tofan *bār*, Salar *baγyr*. Probably not a cluster; cf. above.

4. **egin* 'shoulder': *egin* (Old Uyghur), *egin* (MK), Turkish *eğın*, *-ğni*, Chaghatay *egin* (Velj aminov-Zernov 1868, Pavet de Courteille), *in* (Pavet de Courteille), Azeri *äjin*, *-jni*, Turkmen *egin* (dialectal), Khakas *iñni*, Chuvash *avən*, *an*, Yakut *ien*, Tu-

van *eyin*. Primarily not a cluster, cf. the reflexes of the stem with a primary cluster, **jegn* ‘sleeve’ (*jeŋ* in the majority of languages, Chuvash *savny*, Yakut *iax*).

5. **Kādyn* ‘in-law’: *qadyn* (Yenisei Turkic, Old Uyghur), *qaδyn* (MK, QB), *qa-dyn* (QB), *qajyn* (IM), Turkish *kajyn*, *-jny*, Chaghatay, Middle Kipchak *qajyn* (Pavet de Courteille, MA, Houtsma 1894), Azeri *Gajyn*, Turkmen *Gājyn*, Khakas *xazyn*, *xasty*, Chuvash *xorɔn* (*xon* < Tatar), Tuvan *katy*, Tofan *xatty*, Kumyk *qajyn*. Probably not a cluster, which the intervocalic development in Chuvash shows, cf. the development of clusters in the stems **bydnyk* ‘moustache’: *bydyq* (MK), *byjyq* (IM), Turkish *byjyk*, Azeri *byy*, Turkmen *myjq* (dialectal), Gagauz *byjyk*, Chuvash *myjyx*; **edne-r* ‘saddle’: *eδer* (MK), Turkish *eker*, Chaghatay *eger*, Uzbek *egar*, Azeri *jāhār*, Turkmen *eker*, Khakas *izer*, Shor *ezer*, Chuvash *jəner*, Yakut *yŋyyr*, Dolgan *yŋyyr*, Tuvan *ezer*, Tofan *e’zer*, Gagauz *jēr*, Salar *eŋer*, Kumyk *er*, **Kadgu* ‘sorrow’: *qadɣu* (Old Uyghur), *qaδɣu* (MK, QB), Turkish *kajğy*, Chaghatay *qajɣy* (Zajaczkowski 1961, Pavet de Courteille), Uzbek *qeɣɣy* (dialectal), Azeri *Gajɣy*, Turkmen *GajGy*, Chuvash *xojɣa*, Kumyk *qajɣy*; **edge* ‘host’: *edi* (*idi*) (Old Uyghur), *ige* (late Old Uyghur), *ije* (TT 6, TT 8), *iδi* (MK), Turkish *ije*, *ys*, *is*, Tatar *ijä*, Chaghatay *eje* (Borovkov 1961, Veljaminev-Zernov 1868), *ije* (Pavet de Courteille, MA), *ige* (Borovkov 1961, Pavet de Courteille 1820). Uzbek *ega*, (dialectal) *jigä*, *ijgä*, Azeri *jijä*, Turkmen *eje*, Khakas *ē-zi* (haplology of **eze-zi* < **ede-si*), Chuvash *ije*, *ɣja*, Tuvan *ē-zi* (haplology of **ede-si*), Kumyk *jeje*.

6. **bEñir* ‘face’: *beñiz* (Orkhon Turkic), *meñiz* (Old Uyghur), *meñiz* (MK, QB), Turkish *beniz*, *-nzi*, *benze-*, Chaghatay *beñiz*, *meñiz* (Sanglax), Azeri *bāniz*, *-nzi* (Azizbekov 1965), *-nizi* (*Azerbajdžansko-russkij slovar*), *bānzä-*, Turkmen *meñiz*, *meñze-*, Khakas *mys* (Verbickij 1884), Gagauz *beniz*, *benze-*. Probably not a cluster – cf. the development of the cluster in the stems **biñr* ‘awl’: Turkish *biz*, Azeri *biz*, Turkmen *bijz/byz*, Salar *piz*; **bēñr* ‘ulcer’: *bez* MK, Chaghatay *bez*, *mez*, Turkish *bez*, Azeri *bāz*, *vāz*, Turkmen *māz*; **byñl(yk)* ‘cat’: *müş* (MK), Turkish *pyşyk* (dialectal), *pisi*, Azeri *pişik*, Turkmen *pişik*.

7. **geñir* ‘nasal cavity’: Turkish *geniz*, *-nzi*, Azeri *gāniz*, *-nzi*, *gānzik*, Turkmen *geñz-ew*, Yakut *keñeri* ‘bridge of nose’. Probably not a cluster, cf. above.

8. **göñ-il* ‘heart, mood’: *köñül* (Orkhon Turkic, Old Uyghur), *köñül* (MK, QB), Turkish *gönül*, *-nlü*; *göjün*, *göjn* (dialectal), Chaghatay *köñül* (Sanglax, MA), Azeri *könül*, *-nlü*, Turkmen *gövün*, *köñül*, Khakas *köl*, *köñn-ə*, Chuvash *kəᵐᵐəᵑ*, Yakut *köñül*, Dolgan *köñül*, Tofan *xöl*, Gagauz *gön*, Salar *göjny*, Kumyk *göñül*.

C. The presence of a cluster in protoforms is unclear.

1. **bögür*, **bögrek* ‘kidneys’: *bögür* (Old Uyghur), *bögür* (MK), Turkish *böğür*, *-ğrü*, *böjrek*, *böbrek*, Chaghatay *bögrek* (Pavet de Courteille), Azeri *böjür*, *-jrü*, *böjräk*, Turkmen *bevrek*, *bövrek*, Khakas *pügürek*, *pürek*, Chuvash *püre*, Yakut *büör*, Tuvan *büreke*, Tofan *börek*, Gagauz *bür*, *büreke*, *börek*, Kumyk *büjrek*.

2. **čygyr* ‘boundary, path’: *čyru-*, *čygyr* (MK), Turkish *çığır*, *-ğrı*, Chaghatay *čygyr* (Sanglax), Turkmen *čygyr*, Tuvan *šyyr*, Tofan *šyyr*.

3. **omur* ‘shoulder’: Turkish *omuz*, *-mzu*, Chaghatay *omuz* (Pavet de Courteille 1820), Turkmen *omuz*, Chuvash *ᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐ*, Kumyk *omuz*.

4. **burun* (**buryn*) 'nose, before': *burun* (Old Uyghur), *burun* (MK, QB), Turkish *burun*, *-rnu*, Chaghatay *burun* (Sanglax), Azeri *burun*, *-rnu*, Turkmen *burun*, Khakas *purun*, Yakut *murun*, Dolgan *munnu*, Tuvan *murnu*, Tofan *murnu*, Gagauz *burnu*, Salar *purny*, Kumyk *burun*.

5. **Karyn* 'belly': *qaryn* (Old Uyghur), *qaryn* (MK, QB), Turkish *karyn*, Chaghatay *qaryn* (Sanglax, MA), Azeri *Garyn*, *-rny*, Turkmen *Garyn*, Khakas *xaryn*, Chuvash *xyr̥m*, Yakut *xaryn*, Tuvan *xyryn*, Tofan *xyryn*, Gagauz *qaryn*, Salar *qaryn-taš* 'relative', Kumyk *qaryn*.

6. **ug-ur*, **ug-ra-* 'to meet; occasion; time': *uyra-*, *uyur* (Orkhon Turkic, Old Uyghur), *uyra-*, *uyur* (MK), Turkish *uğra-*, *uğur*, *-ğru*, Chaghatay *oyur* (Radloff), *uyra-* (Borovkov 1961, Azeri *uyur*, *-yr̥un*, Turkmen *uGra-*, *uyur*, Gagauz *ūr*, *ūra-*, Kumyk *oyur*.

7. **iagyr* 'heavy, pain': *ayyr* (Orkhon Turkic, Old Uyghur), *ayyr* (MK, QB), Turkish *ağır*, *-ğri*, Chaghatay *ayyr* (Pavet de Courteille), Azeri *ayyr*, *-yr̥y*, Turkmen *ayyr*, Khakas *ār*, Chuvash *jyv̥r̥*, Yakut *yar*, Dolgan *yara-kan*, Tuvan *ār*, Tofan *ār*, Salar *ayyr*.

Thus Turkish stems with the alternation (corresponding normally to Azeri stems with the alternation) practically could have originated with equal probability from Proto-Turkic stems with final clusters as from those without. Beside these, some stems appear that had final clusters in Proto-Turkic but resulted, in Turkish and Azeri, without alternation, e.g., **geln* 'daughter-in-law' (see above) > *gelin*, *gelini*, (?) **quln* 'foal' (cf. Chuvash *xum*) > *kulun*, *kulunu*, **kojn* 'sheep' (Tuvan *xoj*, Khakas *xoj*, Chaghatay *qoj* (Veljaminev-Zernov; Sanglax), Uzbek *qoj*, Kumyk *qoj*, Tatar *quj*) > *kojun*, *-junu*.

The same alternation as in nominal inflection appears in Turkic word-formation. In particular, it is widely attested in Turkish and Azeri. What has engaged our attention is that in Turkish and also in Azeri this alternation involves more nominal stems in the area of adnominal verb formation than in the nominal inflection, cf. *oju*n 'play' – *ojunu*, but *ojna-* 'to play' (Proto-Turkic **oj-*), *oru*n 'place' – *orunu*, but *orna-t-* 'to replace' (Proto-Turkic **or-un*). In deverbal word-formation the alternation covers practically all stems with convenient phonemic structure (cf. *čayyr-* – *čayryl*, *bujur-* – *bujruk*, *eğir-* – *eğri*, *evir-* – *evrin-*), and moreover, where variants with and without the alternation exist, words with the alternation have idiomatic meanings, which signifies that they are "older" than the ones without the alternation, cf. *čevir-* 'to turn' – *čevirim* 'turn' and *čevrim* 'cycle, period'.

All represented facts would seem to suggest that the modern state of Turkish and Azeri originates from a state similar to the one in Turkmen (having purely phonemic conditions); and from there one can reconstruct the development by supposing processes of paradigmatic unification of the stem forms. Particularly, in the noun inflection the alternation is eliminated in the majority of cases. Among the 21 stems retaining the alternation, two stems are designations of family members, and 17 are names of body parts (see the list above), i.e. the lexemes belonging to the semantic groups that usually are employed with possessive affixes; a high incidence of such

forms clearly conditioned the conservation of the alternation. Thus, we should reconstruct for the Proto-Oghuz stage the Turkmen (or similar) situation, but this situation is neither a Proto-Turkic nor a Common Turkic one: as it was demonstrated above, in Proto-Turkic some final clusters existed in disyllabic stems that developed later in specific ways in some of the Turkic languages.

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