

Werk

Ort: Wiesbaden

Jahr: 2006

PURL: https://resolver.sub.uni-goettingen.de/purl?666048797_0010 | LOG_0022

Kontakt/Contact

Digizeitschriften e.V.
SUB Göttingen
Platz der Göttinger Sieben 1
37073 Göttingen

✉ info@digizeitschriften.de

Turkic Languages

Edited by Lars Johanson

Volume 10, 2006 Number 2

Arslan-Kechriotis: 'Perfect' in Turkish •
Haig: Turkish verbs in theory and practice
• Greed: Tatar converb clauses • Károly:
Remarks on the Yakut suffix • Light: An
8th century Turkic narrative • Rentzsch:
Actionality operators in Uyghur • Report
Schroeder & Strohmeier

Harrassowitz Verlag

Turkic Languages

Edited by
Lars Johanson

in cooperation with
Árpád Berta, Hendrik Boeschoten, Bernt Brendemoen,
Éva Á. Csató, Peter B. Golden, Tooru Hayasi,
Dmitrij M. Nasilov, Irina Nevskaya, Sumru A. Özsoy

10 (2006) 2

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

The journal *TURKIC LANGUAGES* is devoted to linguistic Turcology. It addresses descriptive, comparative, synchronic, diachronic, theoretical and methodological problems of the study of Turkic languages including questions of genealogical, typological and areal relations, linguistic variation and language acquisition. The journal aims at presenting work of current interest on a variety of subjects and thus welcomes contributions on all aspects of Turkic linguistics. It contains articles, review articles, reviews, discussions, reports, and surveys of publications. It is published in one volume of two issues per year with approximately 300 pages.

Manuscripts for publication, books for review, and all correspondence concerning editorial matters should be sent to Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. Lars Johanson, Turkic Languages, Institute of Oriental Studies, University of Mainz, 55099 Mainz, Germany. The e-mail address johanson@uni-mainz.de may also be used for communication.

Books will be reviewed as circumstances permit. No publication received can be returned.

Subscription orders can be placed with booksellers and agencies. For further information, please contact: Harrassowitz Verlag, 65174 Wiesbaden, Germany; Fax: 49-611-530999; e-mail: verlag@harrassowitz.de.

Publication of this journal was supported
by a grant of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft.

© Otto Harrassowitz GmbH & Co. KG, Wiesbaden 2006

This journal, including all of its parts, is protected by copyright. Any use beyond the limits of copyright law without the permission of the publisher is forbidden and subject to penalty. This applies particularly to reproductions, translations, microfilms and storage and processing in electronic systems.

Printing and binding by Memminger MedienCentrum AG

Printed on permanent/durable paper

Printed in Germany

www.harrassowitz-verlag.de

ISSN 1431-4983

Contents

Turkic Languages, Volume 10, 2006, Number 2

Editorial note by Lars Johanson	153
---------------------------------------	-----

Articles

Nathan Light: An 8th century Turkic narrative: Pragmatics, reported speech and managing information	155
László Károly: Some remarks on the Yakut suffix + <i>XXt</i>	187
Julian Rentzsch: Actionality operators in Uyghur	193
Teija Greed: On Tatar converb clauses and their argument structure	220
Z. Ceyda Arslan-Kechriotis: “Perfect” in Turkish.....	246
Geoffrey Haig: Turkish verbs in theory and practice.....	271

Report

Christoph Schroeder & Martin Strohmeier: Workshop on “Turkish as a Foreign Language in the Republic of Cyprus”	285
--	-----

Editorial note

Turkic Languages, Volume 10, 2006, Number 2

With the present issue, the journal *TURKIC LANGUAGES* completes its tenth volume and can thus celebrate a small anniversary before embarking on an interesting new decade.

This issue contains articles on a number of different problems of Turkic linguistics.

Nathan Light's long contribution represents a kind of linguistic research that has so far got little or no attention in our journal. It is a process-oriented analysis of the 8th century text of the Tonyukuk inscription, a complex historical narrative about knowledge, communication, planning and action. The author attempts to show how the narrator arranges and coordinates information transitions within narrated events and narrative events. The analysis is meant to improve our understanding of the narrator's intentions, to clarify the relationship of the text to its historical context, and thus also to improve the translation of the text.

In a shorter paper on an etymological problem, László Károly suggests that the Yakut denominal suffix *-Sxt*, which forms designations of diseases from designations of body parts, goes back to the noun *sit* 'smell, odour, decay', corresponding to East Old Turkic *yī:δ*. The author outlines a plausible way in which this free lexical element could have developed into a suffix.

Julian Rentzsch's paper concerns the functions of actionality operators in modern Uyghur. These postverbal constructions, which consist of a lexical verb in a converb form and a following auxiliary verb, are grammatical devices conveying actional meanings and influencing the phase structure of the actional phrase, the operandum of viewpoint aspect operators; cf. L. Johanson, "On Turkic transformativizers and nontransformativizers", *Turkic Languages* 8, 180-190. The topic has been dealt with before in meritorious ways by W.-E. Scharlipp (*Auxiliarfunktionen von Hauptverben nach Konverb in der neuuigurischen Schriftsprache von Sinkiang*, 1984), R. F. Hahn (*Spoken Uyghur*, 1991) and A. Yakup (*The Turfan dialect of Uyghur*, 2005). Thanks to a highly systematic approach, Rentzsch manages to shed more light upon the functions of the inventory of Uyghur postverbal constructions.

Teija Greed's paper deals with Tatar converb clauses and their argument structure. All converbs have typical syntactic functions, though these functions can also overlap. Semantically non-modifying converb clauses are an important device used in Tatar discourse to carry forward the narration. In specific contexts they can be interpreted as being of equal narrative value with the event represented by the main verb. In sentences containing a semantically modifying converb clause, a coreferential subject gets zero expression in the converb clause and is explicit only in the main clause. In sentences containing a semantically non-modifying converb clause, how-

ever, the coreferential subject precedes the converb, thus indicating that the events expressed by the verbs are of equal narrative value.

Z. Ceyda Arslan-Kechriotis investigates the semantics of the so-called 'Perfect' and the ways its meanings are expressed in Turkish. It has been assumed that 'Perfect' is a hybrid category whose dual character encompasses both temporal and aspectual properties. The author argues that Turkish does not have a special marker reserved for this category, though it has means of expressing its semantics. The perfect interpretation results from the interaction of temporal, aspectual, and modal markers and adverbials in the semantic module of the grammar.

Geoffrey Haig's review article "Turkish verbs in theory and practice" deals with a collective volume on the Turkish verb edited by Eser Erguvanlı Taylan with contributions by the editor herself, Engin Sezer, Guglielmo Cinque, Gerjan van Schaaijk, Mine Nakipoğlu-Demiralp, Ash Göksel, Jaklin Kornfilt, A. Sumru Özsoy and Balkız Öztürk.

Christoph Schroeder and Martin Strohmeier report on a workshop convened to discuss proposals that might contribute to the establishment of "Turkish as a Foreign Language" in the Republic of Cyprus in a way that addresses the specific local situation and meets the standards of foreign language teaching as developed by the Council of Europe. Accepting the challenge of the local particularities in combination with a European orientation would also mean that "Turkish as a Foreign Language" in Cyprus would accept a role in the development of friendly relations between the Greek and the Turkish communities and in the development of intercultural competences.

Turkic studies have suffered another severe loss this year. On May 29, 2006, Professor Omeljan Pritsak died from heart failure at the age of 87 years in Boston, Massachusetts. Born on April 7, 1919 in Luka (now Ozerne), Eastern Galicia, he first studied with the founder of the Institute of Oriental Studies in Kiev, the famous Ukrainian Orientalist Agatangel Kryms'kyj, probably as the last student of this great scholar, who was shortly afterwards imprisoned and executed (1942). Pritsak completed his Turcological training at Berlin with Annemarie von Gabain, and subsequently spent a number of years at the universities of Göttingen and Hamburg. In 1962, Omeljan Pritsak accepted an invitation to the United States, where he was professor of Turcology and Linguistics at Harvard University from 1964 to 1989. He was also the co-founder and first director (1973-1989) of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute. After his retirement from Harvard University, Professor Pritsak returned to Kiev to re-establish Kryms'kyj's old Institute of Oriental Studies, and became its first director (1990). Pritsak is probably best known for his studies on the origin and history of Kievan Rus'. The readers of *TURKIC LANGUAGES* may be more familiar with his numerous seminal contributions to Turcology and Altaistics.

Lars Johanson

An 8th century Turkic narrative: Pragmatics, reported speech and managing information

Nathan Light

Nathan Light 2006. An 8th century Turkic narrative: Pragmatics, reported speech and managing information. *Turkic Languages* 10, 155-186.

Sociolinguistic methods should be more extensively applied to the analysis of historical texts, particularly narratives and representations of oral language. Understanding processes of authorial disclosure and management of information calls for process-oriented analyses of the ways that communication events and knowledge transitions are marked within narratives. Narratives appeal in part because authors arrange and coordinate information transitions within both narrated events and narrative events. The 8th century Turkic narrative commemoration of Bilgä Toñuquq offers excellent material for demonstrating how these features interact in a complex historical narrative about knowledge, communication, planning and action. Processual analysis attending to individual rather than community conventions reveals complex, idiosyncratic understandings of the social uses of logic, poetics, narrative, and metaphor. The resulting clarity about how this narrator tells history improves our understanding of the narrator's intentions, improves translation, and clarifies the text's relationship to its historical context.

Nathan Light, *German, Russian and East Asian Languages (GREAL)*, Irvin Hall 172, Miami University, Oxford Ohio 45056, USA, email: lightn@muohio.edu

Introduction

I, myself, Bilgä Toñuquq, was born in the realm of China.
The Turk people were subjects of China.
The Turk people, having no khan,
broke away from China and enthroned a khan,
but losing their khan they again submitted to China.

Heaven must have spoken thus:
“I gave you a khan,
but losing your khan you submitted.”
Indeed it is because they submitted, that it seems Heaven must have said, “Die!”

Thus begins a Turkic inscription upon two four-sided stone pillars found at a place known as Bain Tsokto in a grassland plain some 50 km southeast of Mongolia's

capital Ulan Bator.¹ These two pillars are part of a now largely decayed funeral complex commemorating the important counselor Toñuquq of the Second Turk Empire. The inscription is a first-person account of major episodes from his political and military life. There are at least four other important Turk commemorative inscriptions from the first half of the 8th century C. E. that describe political and military events in the life of the person being commemorated, in addition to a number of inscriptions in essentially the same alphabet and language from the Uighur Empire that succeeded that of the Turks.

These Turk narratives generally take the form of a first person address in the voice of the deceased or of a surviving family member recounting a series of military encounters and placing them within Turk imperial history in Central Eurasia. The inscription commemorating Toñuquq contrasts with the others in several basic stylistic features: the author never directly addresses an audience, either as the ‘Turk people’ or with the second person pronoun; he does not give the blow-by-blow and horse-by-horse accounts of military prowess; and his episodes are organized around information gathering, discussion and decision making. Because Toñuquq narrates the causes and sequence of historical events and decisions through extensive reported speech, this inscription provides important insights into the author’s understanding of the role of spoken communication and narrative within social life, politics and military campaigns.

The autobiographical text of this stone inscription shows a Turk leader managing communicative resources to represent history, summarize his life and demonstrate the historical and political significance of his actions. Toñuquq insists on his key role in founding and expanding the Second Turk Empire, and the form and content of this commemorative text reflects what Toñuquq felt were his most important accomplishments described in the most effective way. By analyzing the narrative structure and representational strategies in relation to the narrated events in this inscription, I show how Toñuquq simultaneously manages rhetorical effects and information availability for both narrated agents and narrative audiences.

We do not know if this text reflects an established oral genre because of its uniqueness: it is the first extensive stone inscription in Turkic, and the only one extant that adopts this particular narrative style. Nonetheless, this complex composition undoubtedly reflect skills learned as an audience member and performer of oral genres, and from listening to and using reported speech in narratives, and learning to take into account audience understanding and responses. This elaborate text appears to be based in similar oral interactions and performances, and through describing

¹ I am indebted to many people for supporting and discussing this work, and thank specifically: Árpád Berta, Devin DeWeese, Arienne Dwyer, Henry Glassie, Ilana Harlow, Lars Johanson, William Leons, Arzu Öztürkmen, students and faculty at Ohio State University (especially Carter Findley, Victoria Holbrook, Margaret Mills, Daniel Prior, and Dona Straley), students in my Boğaziçi University course on Central Asian history (Deniz Buga, Cavit Hacıhamdioğlu, Feyza Bağlan), and most of all Lynne Hamer.

communication within social contexts the author represents speech community conventions.

In this paper, I present my edition and translation of the complete text of the Toñuquq inscription arranged to show formal poetic and episodic structures.² I analyze the ways that Toñuquq arranges the narrative and uses reported speech to justify his authority and decisions, and to manage audience understandings of causal sequences and meanings. Toñuquq's use of pragmatic markers, deictic forms, reported speech and episodic structures provide important evidence about how he intended to guide audience interpretations.

My sociolinguistic analysis here explores one writer's understanding of linguistic effects and managing it in a historical texts as an example of the strategies and resources available in unfolding a narrative. Narrators differentially manage information available to audience members and agents within a narrative. The interplay among the linguistic forms used to regulate understanding inside a story, those that disclose information to audience members, the kinds of information conveyed, and the ways events are presented, reflect the narrator's ideas about the relationships of language and life (cf. Bauman 1986, Urban 1984).

I move beyond the emphasis on strips of talk embedded in well-understood ethnographic and linguistic contexts to understanding language use by individual authors to accomplish particular goals in lesser known contexts. Despite extensive historical analysis of pragmatics, discourse and dialogue (e.g. Jucker 1995, Jucker 1999, Collins 2001, and the *Journal of Historical Pragmatics*) and work in the growing field of historical sociolinguistics, few of the methods used in the analysis of oral performances have been brought to bear on individuals' strategic use of conversations within written narratives. (cf. Johnstone 2000).

The issue of text making or language symbolization has been explored in relationship to better understood oral genres, such as in the investigations of Richard Bauman and Charles Briggs into the intertextual relations among oral performances and written representations (Bauman and Briggs 1990, Bauman 1993, Briggs and Bauman 1992). They have extended this work into a larger project of understanding the origins of modernity in relation to the ways that "texts are produced, circulated, received, and infused with authority." They show that textual practices have been central to "constructing modern subjects and discourses and ... linking them to supposedly pre-modern subjects and discourses in linear and teleological ways" (Briggs and Bauman 1999: 521; Bauman and Briggs 2003). They focus on the ways individuals create written texts from talk and other cultural performances in order to partici-

² I rely primarily on Berta 2004, Tekin 1968, 1994 and Clauson 1972, although I have made emendations to express nuances of sense and render the translation more consistent and the poetic patterns more clear. The most important change in my transliteration is to mark the use of the particle *oq* to make clear where I think the author is stressing the connection among the narrated events and narrative frame. I use the initials KT (Kül Tegin) and BQ (Bilgä Qaghan) to indicate the two other well-known monuments that I refer to.

pate in or respond to the ideologies and institutions that dominate the economic and political structures of the modern world. Folklore texts as recorded in elite written sources have likewise been widely studied as evidence for the ways representations of language are used within more specific political contexts (e.g. Raheja 1996, Davis 1975, Stewart 1991).

Social historians such as Carlo Ginzburg, Natalie Zemon Davis, Lawrence Levine, and Peter Burke have extensively explored individual lives as represented in written texts, but they have not considered how individuals' theories of language are revealed in written practice. Historians exhibit a curious double-vision in which they either deeply investigate the content of an individual's life, or study the interaction of language, culture and social history, but less often investigate individuals' symbolic practices. As has been discussed by Barbara Johnstone, the interpretation of individual symbolic practices and their implicit theories of communication and knowledge remains largely the domain of anthropologists and folklorists, while sociolinguists and discourse analysts tend to avoid the focus on individuals in favor of developing models of collective practices (2000).

In literary studies, the author and his or her approach to poetics, narration and language are all-important, but the texts chosen emerge from a canon of values generally organized around a concept of individual genius. In contrast, Wallace Chafe has developed sensitive processual analyses of the many ways authors activate and manage information and cultural schemata in narrative. In the end, however, he is more interested in community discourse conventions rather than individual language practices, even when he relies on examples from established literary canons (Chafe 1987, 1992, 1994).

In the present study, I examine community conventions to the extent that authorial reflexivity allows, relying on analysis of narrative logic and information to improve understanding of the text itself and the author's ideas about narrative and language. Anthropological and folkloristic studies of cultural practices examine the creative reflexivity in the acts of representing and using cultural resources as part of communicative activity. Despite the limitations imposed by generic conventions, writing does reflect many authors' active appropriation of linguistic forms from social experience. Analyses should be sensitive to individuals writing reflexively about communicative practices and conventions.

Methods and concepts

The methods I use in the following analysis depend upon the following concepts and consequences:

1. The author should be understood as managing the information available to the audience. To analyze an author's text means to interpret it as speech events with expected or intended illocutionary and perlocutionary effects (effects on people and on events). The author presents information to be understood by and affect his audience in particular ways. Since I do not have ethnographic access to the author

or the audience, I infer from the text the author's strategies for managing access to information and expectations about audience understandings. The author also manages the information available to agents within the narrated frame, often by using other agents as interlocutors or actors who disclose information. My argument is closely related to Greg Urban's analysis of the ways Shokleng myths encode ideas about the relationship between speech and social action (1985, 1993). But where he attends to the myths as the source of potentially shared ideas about the relationship of speech and reality, I find it more precise to focus on Toñuquq as a particular narrator strategically using language to shape cognitive processes of both narrative agents and audience members. Myths for Urban show how speech and action should relate, but Toñuquq both represents and creates social effects.

2. Through understanding the differential management and representation of information flow we can understand—at least provisionally—how the author understands the effects of narrative and reported speech. Such self-monitoring is related to that which occurs in performance and is represented when describing an agent's self-awareness inside narrative frames. When monitoring is highlighted, narratives become meta-commentary on performance (Duranti, 2004: 453f).

3. Many narratives are—at least in part—accounts of the origin and changes in people's knowledge as much as they are stories about the origin and changes in things, people and events. For this reason the statements through which stories are told have to be seen as illocutionary acts, both within the narrative and in the context of its telling. Narrative challenges the distinctions of ontology from epistemology and informative statements from speech acts such as promises, pleas, or name-giving. Acts of telling about historical events can also create new information for an audience which can lead them to take action as well. Information, debate and discussion shape events.

4. The focus on ontology and epistemology neglects the essential dynamism of knowing and being in narrative. The narrative representations do not emerge against a static background or context: the narrator shifts perspective and contextualizes events, especially with quoted speech and evidential markers (cf. Hanks 1992). But the interacting ontological and epistemological processes of stories cannot be reduced to the dynamics of what one might call *ontogeny* and *epistemogeny*. Narratives also demonstrate management of information and disclosure, often including meta-commentary or meta-narratives about the processes of discovery and disclosure. Narratives about expressive performances often comment on and evaluate the perlocutionary effects of disclosure strategies.

5. Accurate analyses of reported speech, conversational interaction, and thought processes in narrative depend on understanding the dynamics of information flow. Linguistic analyses too readily reduce the ongoing accomplishment of communication to static referential content. Many aspects of how pragmatic markers and deictic forms work in narrative and quotation are overlooked when they are reductively interpreted as simply commenting on an unfolding story.

6. While texts are often read to extract referential content about stable meanings, stories are also interesting precisely because they enlist audience members as participants in the unfolding events and feeling, thinking and decision processes of agents. Audiences follow stories through imagining themselves inside the events, participating in the ongoing processes of listening, talking, asking, discussing, thinking, deciding, and acting. Stories hence are not static but dynamic in their essence. Texts and other repeated stories remain interesting because audiences suspend knowing the whole in order to embrace the contingency of each moment as it unfolds.
7. Key pragmatic markers in narrative are those that call attention to major ontological and epistemological transitions in the narrated and narrative events. Such markers can be overlooked because they are neither about evidential conditions nor cognitive states, nor deictically refer to the text, context or content, but call attention—inter alia—to cognitive and emotional transitions or saliences in narrator, narrated agents or audience, or all three. They link a moment in the narrative itself (the verbal representation) with the experiences of those represented, those representing, and/or those understanding the representation. Examples might be, “here is where the story begins to get interesting”, or “you might be beginning to see what was in store for me”. By marking the coincidence of audience, text, narrator and narrated experience, the author reveals his or her internal models of what the audience should feel or know, and what agents in the narrative should feel or know, and what the audience should know about the agent. The author’s models of these participants guide the narrative telling as a process of disclosing knowledge.
8. Narrative appeals to audience members in many cases because of its use of such linguistic (and non-linguistic) deixis to connect several different levels of communicative experience simultaneously. The power of quotation to reproduce a verbatim piece of information (Lucy 1993, Sidnell 1998), and the deictic arrangement of narrative events in conceptual space and time have both been widely analyzed (e.g. Jakobson 1957, Silverstein 1976). However, the concept of ostension best evokes the power of narrative to bring levels into the dramatic connection of simultaneity (McDowell 1982, Degh & Vazsonyi 1983). Deixis connects narrated and narrative events, but it is not necessarily salient: ostension is a more unique performance element that calls evaluative attention to an abrupt and significant connection.³ In written language, the ostensive display of quoted speech has to be

³ A popular culture example that suggests the power of ostension in narrative can be seen in the *Seinfeld* episode known as “The Marine Biologist” (Episode #78, originally aired on Wednesday, February 10, 1994, 9:30 pm) in which George tells the story of rescuing a struggling whale and rather than describing what he found obstructing its blow-hole, he holds up the golf ball that he extracted. See the script at <http://www.seinfeldscripts.com/TheMarineBiologist.htm> (accessed 2/12/2005). Clearly this is concrete action rather than quotation, but has similar narrative use: quoting the

marked as a quotation, and often given additional deictic markers that call attention to its significance in the unfolding of the represented event.

These points, particularly the final two will be elaborated on in the present analysis: the episodes in the Toñuquq narrative are organized around speech events in which the narrator demonstrates for the audience what the participants in historical events said and did. The narrator shows how new information influenced action, and uses a number of linguistic markers to indicate when new information was being provided. By showing how these markers are used, I propose new ways of reading Old Turkic, particularly the *oq* enclitic, as not simply having referential content that can be translated, but having pragmatic effects within narration that must be analyzed as linking the events told about to the context in which they are told, in other words, connecting the narrated event and the narrative event (Bauman 1986).

Text and analysis

In my analysis, I have identified eight distinct episodes and a final summary in the Toñuquq narrative. Most of these episodes consist of three segments. The first segment briefly presents an initial situation. The second segment describes the process of gathering and reporting information, discussing and assessing the information, and arriving at decisions. The third segment describes the actions and events that occur as consequences of the decisions. These events and actions usually include organized movement, warfare, pursuit, and defeat of opponents. Although these structural elements vary in length, they are present in most episodes. They are also used recursively, such that some episodes can be seen as describing the initial situation for the next episode, and others include reported speech narratives containing episodes with this same structure.

I use the following conventions for shading and bold face within the translation:

- Initial situation
- Discussion, deliberation and decision.
- Action..... [no shading]
- Text in **bold face** highlights formulaic language and repetitions within the inscription.
- () contain supplementary text in the translation to clarify sense.
- [] in the transliteration contain indications of words that are illegible and suggested readings, and in the translation contain line numbers and ellipses that indicate missing text.
- < > in the transliteration contain reconstructions or emendations of apparently missing words or morphemes that may have been left out, in order to make sense.
- ____ Underlining indicates a verb with an ambiguous or missing subject.

words that were used is more powerful than delivering them in an indirect speech description.

Episode I: Subjects of China (West face of the main monument)	
Bilgä Twñwqwq bän özwüm Tabğaç eliñä qilindim. Türk bodwn Tabğaçqa körwür ärdi. Türk bodwn qanñ bulmayñ, Tabğaçda adrildi, qanlandi, qanñ qodwp Tabğaçqa yana içikdi.	I, myself, Bilgä Toñuquq, was born in the realm of China (the Tabghach). The Turk people were subjects of China. The Turk people having no khan, broke away from China and enthroned a khan, (but) losing their khan they again submitted to China.
Täñri anja temiš ärinj: qan berdim, qanññ qodwp içikdiñ. içikdw-ük ücwün, Täñri öl temiš ärinj.	Heaven must have spoken thus: “I gave a khan, (but) losing your khan you submitted”. Indeed it is because they submitted, that it seems Heaven must have said, “Die!”
Türk bodwn öldi, alqindi, yoq boldi. Türk Sir bodwn yerindä bod kalmadı.	The Turk people died, were destroyed, and disap- peared. In the Turk Sir lands no clans remained.

Genesis and plight

The memorial begins with Toñuquq’s description of himself, the Turk people, and the Tabghach, which was the Turkic term for Tang China. The Turk people were subject to China, gained their independence, and then “lost their khan” and submitted to China again. The slightly later memorial inscriptions for Bilgä Qaghan and Kül Tegin explicitly address readers or listeners using the second person pronoun and the phrase “the Turk people”, but Toñuquq does not directly address the audience. Instead, only in the reported speech of Heaven’s supposed address to the Turk people is the second person marked by the *-iñ* possessive marker and the *-diñ* second person past tense verb marker: “I gave a khan, (but) losing your khan you submitted”. The reader of this inscription can choose to include him- or herself in Heaven’s address to the Turk people, but by using quoted speech Toñuquq does not impose this reading.

In reporting Heaven’s speech, the hearsay verb marker is used, suggesting that such inferences about supernatural intentions share the same evidential status as information reported by others, or, as we shall see, as the interpreted meaning of proverbs. In addition, the particle *ärinj* is also used to mark Heaven’s speech, as it is in the Kül Tegin and Bilgä Qaghan inscriptions. The precise meaning of *ärinj* remains unclear: morphologically it is derived from *är-* ‘to be’ and a relatively obscure ending. Functionally it appears to soften an assertion into a supposition or inference, and in contrast to Clauson’s ‘perhaps’ and Tekin’s ‘indeed’, I translate it as ‘must have (been)’ in the sense of ‘doubtless.’ *Ärinj* often appears after finite verbs using the *-miš* hearsay ending (Clauson 1972: 234). In other inscriptions *ärinj* is used to mark reports and suppositions about positive or negative qualities of historical figures: “It is said that their officials also *must have* been wise and brave...” or “it is said that the Qaghan *must have* been without wisdom” (KT 2-5, Tekin 1968: 261, I modify Tekin’s translation). In Episode III and VIII in the present narrative, Heaven’s ac-

tions are narrated without hearsay or inferential evidential markers when Heaven is said to have ‘granted’ or ‘commanded’ victory (*yarliq*-). This suggests that although in general Heaven’s intentions were evidentially marked to show uncertainty, it was acceptable to be more declarative about Heaven’s will when one was victorious in battle.

Although the addressee is never explicitly mentioned or addressed in Toñuquq’s text, the author makes the origin of these utterances abundantly clear by frequently linking his name, Toñuquq, his title *Bilgä* or counselor to the Qaghans, and the pronouns *bän özwüm* “I myself.” From the first line, most mentions of Toñuquq as an agent in the narrative are clearly linked to Toñuquq the author of the narrative with pronoun forms *bän* “I” or *bän özwüm*. On the other hand, the message itself and its stone substrate are only mentioned once towards the end when Toñuquq states, “In the realm of the Turk Bilgä Qaghan I had (this) written, I, Bilgä Toñuquq,” even here referring only elliptically to the monument and the inscription upon it. This message refers extensively to acts of telling within the narrative and to the narrator as both actor and speaker, but avoids mentioning either the other participants in the narrative event, or its place and media. Since the message was presumably composed by Toñuquq himself before his death, and was probably not inscribed until later, it would make sense that he would not mention the inscription itself as a particular object or location. Similarly, while the two longest of the other inscriptions are both narrated by Bilgä Qaghan, a secondary section in each inscription details its carving: “Having remained (here) twenty days, I, Prince Yollugh, inscribed (this) on this stone and this wall” (Tekin 1968: 278, cf. 281).

This first episode establishes the conditions for the entire life narrative and presents the problem that Toñuquq will spend the rest of his life solving: the Turk people “lost” their Khan (Qaghan and Khan alternate in this inscription as terms for the emperor) and the Turk Empire was destroyed. Whether through abandonment by the people, conquest by the Chinese, or the will of Heaven, the Turks lost their independence as a separate polity. In his final summary in Episode Nine, Toñuquq explains that without him and the Qaghans he enthroned and served, the “territory and people would not exist.” Because of the many victories by the Qaghans and Toñuquq, “the territory became a territory again and the people became a people again.”

Between these opening and closing situations are 7 episodes describing successful political and military organization and action. In addition to being structured into situation, discussion and action sections, most episodes highlight quoted speech that precipitates discussion, planning and action. Formulaic language, logical sequences and parallelism mark language intended to persuade through its poetics and logic.

Episode II: Rebellion and Independence	
ıda taşda qalmış qubranıp yeti yüz boldı. eki ülwügi atlıq ardi, bir ülwügi yadag ardi. yeti yüz kişig udwzwmā ulwgi Şad ardi. ayğıl tedi. ayıgmasi bān ardim: Bilgā Twñwqwq. qağan mw qısayın, tedim saqındım, twrwq buqalı sāmiz buqalı ıraqda bilsār, sāmiz buqa twrwq buqa teyin bilmāz ārmiş, teyin anja saqındım. anta kesrā tāñri bilig berdi-ük üčwün özwüm ök qağan qısdım. Bilgā Twñwqwq Bwyla Bağa Tarqan birlä, Elteriş Qağan bolayın, berya Tabğačığ, öñrā Qitaniğ, yırta Ögwzwg, ükwüş ök ölürdi. bilgāsi čabışi bān ök ardim.	700 who remained in the scrub and stony (wastes beyond Turk lands) were joining forces. Two parts had horses, one part was on foot. The chief leading the 700 people was a Sad. [5] He said (to me), “advise (me).” (So) I was his advisor: Bilgā Toñuquq. “Should I make him Qaghan?” I said, and I thought, “If you (try to) distinguish fat bulls and lean bulls from afar, it seems you cannot say which are lean and which are fat,” saying thus I thought. After that, it was exactly because Heaven gave wis- dom, That it was indeed I that made him Qaghan. With Bilgā Toñuquq Boyla Bağa Tarqan, he became Elterish Qaghan, and indeed many Chinese to the south, Qitan to the east, Oghuz to the north, did he kill. It was indeed I who was his counselor and army commander.

Making Decisions

The second episode shows the initial decisions that led to Toñuquq’s importance in Turk history: the future Elterish Qaghan, leading the Turk remnants, chooses Toñuquq as advisor. This decision has no apparent cause, but gives Toñuquq the authority to decide to make him a Qaghan, which he does based on a somewhat ambiguous metaphorical image and supernaturally granted wisdom. The metaphor reflects Toñuquq’s thinking process: although it seems to help him decide, it expresses the unknowability of the future, and specifically the uncertain value of a person when immature. Although the saying seems presented to help clarify the uncertain situation, it is more a speculation about the possibility of knowing the future, and it appears that wisdom granted by Heaven overcomes Toñuquq’s uncertainty. It is possible that Heaven gives wisdom in the form of the proverb, but comparison with later episodes suggests that the proverb functions as the rhetorical question which is common at the end of the discussion section of these episodes.

In the first episode, when Toñuquq calls attention to the cause of the Turk people's loss of their khan, he marks the cause with an emphatic particle that I have translated as 'indeed it is' in the phrase *ičikdw-ük üčwün* "indeed it is because they submitted" to stress the cause and effect linkage. In the present episode, the same *-ük/-ök/-uq/-oq* particle is used in the phrase *tāñri bilig berdi-ük üčwün* "it was exactly because Heaven gave wisdom". Here the particle marks each element in a sequence of decisive events in the progress of the Qaghan's successful campaigns. The particle is used to stress the agent who caused the events, as well as the events that are caused, so we have "it was indeed *I* that made him Qaghan", "indeed *many* ... did he kill" and "indeed *I* was his counselor and commander". The information is not merely about the events, but about the strong and important link among actors and effects. Heaven, the Qaghan, Toñuquq and the historical accomplishments are tightly linked by marking their involvement with this particle. Although Toñuquq uses these emphatic particles extensively, there are few examples of their use elsewhere, so the pragmatic function of the particle remains slightly obscure, but it seems to call attention to words that mark the transitions within the narrated process as well as in the narrative process.

By stressing cause and effect relationships, this particle links the ontological process of the sequence of events with the verbal process of story-telling, and the epistemological unfolding of the audience's understanding. Toñuquq places great importance on linking the knowledge of agent, teller, and audience with these words. He calls attention to particular actions and agents that propel events forward, and reminds the audience that these are key turning points, without which there would be no point in telling the story.

William Hanks discusses managing context through deixis, but he suggests that there is a durable and fixed referential content that can be found in the "relational structure of deictic reference" (1992: 51). Instead, I propose that such transition markers should be seen as invoking, calling attention to, adjusting and managing emotions and knowledge. They do not refer to, but create and change information availability or call attention to emotions, providing "modal" reminders to the audience about what is going on and what awareness should be accessible. Hanks uses the figure-ground analogy because it focuses "our attention on the fact that deixis is a framework for organizing the actor's access to the context of speech at the moment of utterance. Deictic reference organizes the field of interaction into a foreground upon a background, as figure and ground organize the visual field". (1992: 61, original emphasis). Instead, I argue that in the cases I am examining, the transition itself is made salient, rather than the relationship of event to static frame. By analyzing the processes of information change and management, we can approach understanding the narrative in the same way as a participant who has to act on the basis of new information. These particles emphasize the ways that the unfolding of new knowledge for audience members closely reflects that for agents within the narrative.

In fact, Toñuquq's entire narrative demonstrates his use of information, communication, and planning to act appropriately and often swiftly to gain advantages and

maintain control over events. In such a narrative, the arrival of information and ideas have to be carefully marked to show how these lead to events.

Episode III: Defeating the Allied Enemies and Taking the Ötükän Country	
Čwǵay quzın, Qara qumwǵ olorwr ardımiǵ keyik yeywü, tabıǵan yeywü olorwr ardimiz. bodun boǵzı toq ardı, yaǵımız tǵra wǵwq tǵg ardı, biz aǵ <tǵ>g ardimiz. anja olorwr ǵrıkli Oǵwzdwndwn kürǵg kǵldı. kürǵg sabı andaǵ: Toqwz Oǵwz bodwn üzǵ qǵǵan olordı ter. Tabǵačǵarw Qwnı Sǵñwünwüǵ ıdmıǵ Qıtañǵarw Twñra Sǵmig ıdmıǵ. Sab anja ıdmıǵ: azqıña Türk [bodwn] yorıywr ǵrmiǵ. qǵǵanı alp ǵrmiǵ, ayǵwǵıǵı bilǵǵ ǵrmiǵ, ol eki kiǵı bar ǵrsǵr, seni Tabǵačǵıǵ ǵlwürdǵči, termǵn. ǵñra Qıtañǵıǵ ǵlwürdǵči, termǵn. beni Oǵwzwǵıǵ ǵlwürdǵči-(ǵ)k, termǵn. Tabǵač bǵrdın yǵn tǵg Qıtañ ǵñdwün yǵn tǵg bǵn yırdında yan tǵǵayın. Türk Sir bodwn yerindǵ ıdı yormazwn. usar ıdı yoq qısalım termǵn.	On the north slopes of the Choghay and in the Qaraqum desert we were living, eating deer, eating rabbits we were living. [8, south face] The people's stomachs were full, (but) our enemies surrounded us like an oven, (and) we were like food. While living thus, an informer came from the Oghuz. His words were as follows: “Over the Toquz Oghuz people a qaghan has sat (on the throne)”, he said. “He is said to have sent General Ku to the Chi- nese, He is said to have sent Tongra Sām to the Qitan. He is said to have sent the following message: [10] “The few Turk people seem to be on campaign. Their qaghan is said to be brave, their advisor is said to be wise, and if these two people exist, they will kill you Chinese, I say, they will kill the Qitan to the east, I say, they will certainly kill us, the Oghuz, I say. (So) from the south you Chinese attack, (and) from the east you Qitan attack, (and) I from the north will attack. Do not allow the Turk Sir people to campaign at all outside their land, and if possible wipe them out completely, I say”.

ol sabıǵ āšidip, tün udwsıqım kälmädi, kündwüz olorswqwm kälmädi. anda ötrwü Qaǵanıma ötwündwüm. anja ötwündwüm: Tabǵač, Oǵuz, Qitań, bo üčägwü qabsar qaldaçı biz. özçi tašin tutmwš tag biz. yuyqa ärikli topolǵalı učwz ärmış, yinǵä äriklig üzgäli učwz. yuyqa qalın bolsar topolǵwlwq alp ärmış, yinǵä yoǵwn bolsar üzgwülwük alp ärmış. öñrä qitańda, bäryä tabǵačda, qurya qurdwnda, yırya oǵwzda, eki üč biñ sümwüz kälit(t)äçimiz bar mw nä? anja ötwündwüm. Qaǵan[im bän] özwüm bilgä Twńwqwq ötwündwük ötwünjwümwün äšidwü berdi. köñlünčä udwz tedi. Kök Öñwüg yoǵwrw Ötükän yišǵarw udwzdwum. ingäk kölwükwün Twǵlada Oǵwz kälđi. [süsi üč biñ] ärmış. biz eki biñ ärdimiz. süñwüşdwümwüz. Täñri yarlıqadı yańdımız. ögwüzkä tüšdi. yańdwq yolda yämä öldi kök. anta ötrwü oǵwz qopwn kälđi. Tü[rk qaǵanıǵ] Türk bodwnuǵ ötükän yerkä bän özwüm bilgä Twńwqwq <kälürtüm>. ötükän yerig <u>qonmwüş</u> teyin äšidip, bäryäki bodwn, quryaqı yıryaqı öñräki bodwn kälđi.	Hearing these words, my sleep did not come by night, my rest did not come by day. After that I addressed my Qaghan I addressed him thus: “If the Chinese, Oghuz, and Qitan —these three—unite, we will lose. It seems our inner (ranks) must hold the out- side. It seems that to pierce thin things is easy, to break small things is easy. It seems if thin becomes thick piercing is hard, it seems if small becomes big breaking is hard. In the east from the Qitan, in the south from the Chinese, in the west from the westerners, in the north from the Oghuz, will our 2-3000 troops make people come and join us?” thus I addressed him. My Qaghan listened to what I myself, Bilgä Toñuquq told him. [15] He said, “Lead (the troops) as you see fit”. Crossing the Kök Öngüg I led (the troops) towards the Ötükän highlands. (Pulling) ox carts, the Oghuz came from the Tola River. Their troops numbered 3000(?). We were 2000. We fought. Heaven favored (us); we routed them. They fell into the river. Those routed also died on the road. Thereupon all of the Oghuz came (and joined us). I myself Bilgä Toñuquq <led> the Turk Qaghan and Turk people to the country of the Ötükän. Hearing reported that (people) were settling (in the Ötükän country), people of the south, west, north and east came.
--	--

Discussing Discussions and Presenting Strategies

Episode III begins by describing how the Turks live in the Choghay—likely the present-day Changgai—mountains, and the Qaraqum desert: they are not hungry, but they are surrounded by enemies, as if they were food in an oven. The metaphor of being trapped in an oven and cooked echoes a motif of enclosure and emergence found in Turkic origin myths (DeWeese 1994: 243-73). Despite their successes in warfare with the surrounding polities, the Turks were not able to shift their homeland back to their original Turk lands closer to China until they organized a series of campaigns against the enemies who were threatening to unite and exterminate them. They remained able to withdraw from China—and perhaps from the Oghuz and Qitan—to avoid counterattacks. The situation at the beginning of this episode is described in the first person plural, the first place that Toñuquq uses this *-imiz* ending. He has made a transition from speaking of Heaven, himself, the Qaghan, and the Turk people separately, to speaking about the group as including himself. The verb ending reveals a shift in his identity: he has thrown in his lot with the Turks that he leads and the Qaghan he advises, and now speaks of them as we. Nonetheless, while the narrative reveals this, Toñuquq is not highlighting this transition: he either chooses not to call attention to it, or does not see the change as noteworthy in itself. In this case the narrative discloses an event that perhaps is not part of Toñuquq's design.

This episode provides an elaborate example of recursively embedded speech that comments on the process of communication and decision-making. The enemy discussing plans stimulates Toñuquq to make plans to ward off enemy attacks. The informer from the Oghuz reports on both the new political situation as well as quotes the message of the Oghuz Qaghan to the Chinese and the Qitan to persuade them into an alliance. The informer's talk reflects the episodic structure found in Toñuquq's narrative: he first describes the situation, and then the discussion. The reported message from the Toquz Oghuz Qaghan likewise describes a situation and then argues for a response.

These reported speech events drive Toñuquq into a restless apprehension and a quest for a solution. In fact, he does not propose a solution, but a way of organizing a strategy, and he persuades the Qaghan to authorize him to lead a military campaign. Toñuquq argues that they must keep the Chinese, Oghuz and Qitan from uniting, or they will be too strong to resist. This theme of united strength is common in Turkic mythology: in many versions of the Oghuz Khan myth, Oghuz Khan uses arrows bundled together to show his sons that they will be stronger if they are united. Here Toñuquq feels that the few Turk troops should face each opponent separately.

The close parallels in structure between the argument of the Toquz Oghuz Qaghan in his message to the Qitan and Chinese and the argument Toñuquq addresses to the Qaghan suggest that these are language forms Toñuquq considers rhetorically necessary, authoritative and persuasive. Logical and poetic parallelism are particularly salient in this description of the problem and the dangers. The details of

decisions and actions are less important: the statement of the problem implies actions to resolve it. When Toñuquq responds to the report of the Toquz Oghuz Qaghan's message to his allies as presenting an imminent threat, it underscores that he interprets these parallel lines as having persuasive, perlocutionary effect, and will push the allies into action.

Not only does he respond to the words of the Toquz Oghuz Qaghan with a similarly parallelistic argument of his own, but the response arises from an anxious restlessness described in the formula, "my sleep did not come by night / my rest did not come by day". As in the repeated listings of Oghuz, Chinese and Qitan, or north, south, east and west, the persuasion seems to arise not merely from logical parallels but from the sense of totality or completeness: all directions, night and day. Both Toñuquq's use of metaphor to encompass a situation and his totalizing lists help control the uncertainty of historical contingency and thus underwrite his narrative authority and validate his causal explanations (cf. Fernandez 1985: 28-70).

Toñuquq's verbal argument to the Qaghan links cause and effect through the logical sequence of growth. Metaphorically, the thin should not be allowed to get thick, nor the small big, so they should attack the Oghuz, Chinese, Qitan, and westerners soon to avoid facing a united enemy. The persuasiveness of this argument is suggested by the lack of any other information about Toñuquq's plan, and the rhetorical question of the final line. According to this representation of effective argument, formal completeness and metaphor influence the listener more than specific plans and assertive conclusions. The author suggests that successful action should be guided by ideas and strategies rather than constrained by plans and commands. As we will see below, problems arise when the Qaghan gives specific orders to Toñuquq and others. In this case, Toñuquq's address to the Qaghan persuades him to authorize Toñuquq to lead the troops as he sees fit: action leads to success where inaction would not. The narrative moves quickly to the defeat of the Oghuz, with Heaven's help. The Oghuz join the Turks, and Toñuquq leads or otherwise participates in the return of the Turks to their Ötükän homeland.

The enemy's description of Qaghan as brave and his advisor as wise emphasizes Toñuquq's effectiveness as both historical actor and as narrator, despite arriving as Toñuquq's report of the informer's report of the Toquz Oghuz Qaghan's report of hearsay (indicated by the *-miş* verbal ending). Enemies, who would logically wish it were not so, reportedly recognize Toñuquq and Elterish Qaghan as threats and propose to act upon the information. The hearsay marker actually adds verisimilitude to this fourth-hand report, and reinforces mimetic precision and narrative authority: an audience who understands the pragmatics of the *-miş* marker will not tolerate its absence in a context where they recognize that the information could not be first-hand.

Episode IV: Campaign to the Sea (east face)	
eki bñ ärdimiz, biz eki sü boldi. Türk bodwn olorgalı, Türk qağan olorgalı, Šandwñ baliq(q)a talwy ögwüzkä tägmiš yoq ärmiš.	We were 2000, and we became two armies. Ever since the Turk people were made, ever since the Turk qaghan sat (on the throne), Apparently neither the towns of Shandong nor the shores of sea had they reached.
Qağanima ötwünwüp sülätim. Šanduñ baliqa talwy ögwüzkä tägwürdwüm. üč otwz baliq <u>sidi</u> . wsin bwndwtw yurtda yatw <u>qalwr ärdi</u> .	Informing my Qaghan I took the troops on campaign. I led them to the towns of Shandong and the shores of the sea. (They) captured 23 towns. Sleeping badly they/he(?) stayed at home.

Reaching the eastern limits

This brief episode begins by summarizing Episode III: “we were 2000 and we became two armies” before describing a campaign to Shandong and to the sea in China that both provides further evidence of Toñuquq’s unique accomplishments and gives the overall narrative completeness and structural symmetry by showing that Turks campaigned in all directions. The move east parallels the move west in Episode VIII when Toñuquq leads troops to the Iron Gates, and describes it as the furthest west the Turks had ever reached. This episode also serves structurally in the overall narrative to provide for a symmetrical eastward attack on Qitan or Chinese lands, but its brevity suggests that Toñuquq’s actual history does not fit this structure well, and that this campaign was not very important or productive compared to campaigns against the Oghuz, Qirqiz and On Oq that he describes in more detail.

This episode’s limited discussion informs the audience not of a threat, but of a limit to earlier accomplishment. Intending to overcome this limit seems an adequate plan for Toñuquq to declare to the Qaghan, whose response is not even necessary to report. The actual accomplishments are vague as well because the ambiguous last line about someone sleeping poorly and staying at home may refer either to the Qaghan or be an idiom expressing the disruption of the people whose cities were captured.

Episode V: Defeating the Qırqız	
Tabğaç qağan yağımız ārdi, On Oq qağanı yağımız ārdi, (20) ardwq Qırqız küčlwüq qağan yağımız boldi. Ol üç qağan ögläšip Altwn yiš üzä qabışalim temiš. anja ögläšmiš: öñrā Türk qağanğarw sülälim temiš. añarw sülämäsär qač nāñ ārsār ol bizni, [qağani alp ārmiš], ayğwčisi bilğä ārmiš, qač nāñ ārsār ölwürdäči kök. üčägwün qabışip sülälim anı yoq qisalim temiš. Türgeš qağan anja temiš: bāniñ bodwnwm anda ārwür temiš. [Türk bodwnı yāmā bulğanj ol temiš, Oğwzi yāmā] tarqınč ol temiš. Ol sabın äsidip tün yāmā udwsiqim kālmāz ārdi <kün yāmā> olorswqwm kālmāz ārdi. Anta saqındim a[...]: [...]a s[üläsär ...]miš tedim. Kögmän yoli bir ārmiš; tomwš teyin āšidip, bo yolwn <u>yorisar yaramačı</u> tedim. [...] yerči tilādim. čwülgi Az āri bulđum. özwüm Az yery[oli] nīb [...] ārmiš, bir at orwqi ārmiš, anın <u>barmış</u>. Añar aytıp bir atlıg barmış teyin, ol yolwn <u>yorisar</u> unj tedim, saqındim.	The Chinese qaghan was our enemy, the On Oq qaghan was our enemy, and the numerous Qırqız and (their) mighty qaghan became our enemies. [20] These three qaghans seem to have consulted and agreed to gather in the Altay highlands. They apparently consulted thus: “Let’s wage war on the Eastern Turk Qaghan”, they seem to have said. “If we do not attack him, at some time —[since their qaghan is said to be brave,] [21] (and) their advisor is said to be wise— some time they will kill us for sure. Let us three join together and attack, (and) wipe them out”, they seem to have said. The qaghan of the Turgesh (division of On Oq) ap- parently spoke thus: “My people will be there”, he seems to have said. “The Turk people are in disorder”, he seems to have said, [22] “Their (subjects, the) Oghuz are dissatisfied”, he seems to have said. Hearing these words, by night my sleep did not come, <by day> my rest did not come. Then I thought: [first] marching [against the Qırqız seems better], I said. There seems to be only one road through the Kögmän mountains; hearing that it was blocked (by snow), I said, “If they take that road, they will fail”. I sought a guide. I found a man from the steppe Az people. I thought ... road to the Az [follows] the Ani river, it is the width of one horse, and he said he had trav- eled it. Asking him, “It seems one horseman can go?” “If they take that road it is possible”, I said, and thought.

Qağanıma ötwüdwüm, sü yoritdim.	I informed the Qaghan and set off with the troops.
At aldın tedim.	[25, north face] 'Have (the troops) mount (horses)' I said.
Aq Tärmäl kăčä ug arqalatdim. At üzä äbin <u>terä</u> qarığ sökdüm. yoqarw at <u>yetä</u> yadağın iğaç <u>tutwnw</u> ağdwrđwm.	Crossing the White Termel, I saved time. Having (the troops) mount the horses I broke through the snow. I had (them) ascend on foot leading the horses and holding onto trees.
öñräki är yoğwrča tägirip ibar baš aşdimiz, yubwlw endimiz. on tünkä yandaqı toğ äbirwü bardimiz. yerçi yer yañlıp boğwzlandı. buñadıp qağan yälwü kör temiş.	Sending the forward troops to pack down the snow, we crossed a wooded summit, and descended rolling. For ten days we traveled skirting the spurs of the mountain. Because the guide mistook the land he was slaugh- tered. Worrying, the Qaghan apparently said, "See that you ride fast".
Ani sub[qa] baralıw, ol sub qudı bardimiz. sanağalı tüşwürdwümwüz, atıg iqa baywr ärdimiz.	We went to the Ani River; we rode along that river. We dismounted (only) to ascend, we tethered the horses to bushes.
kün yämä tün yämä yälwü bardimiz. Qırqızıg uqa basdimiz. [...] <i>nw</i> süñwügwün ačdimiz. qanı süsi terilmiş.	We rode fast both day and night. We fell upon the Qirgiz in their sleep. We opened their [...] with lances. [28] Their khan and army were reported to have gathered.
süñwüşdwümwüz sanjdımiz. qanıñ ölwüdwümwüz. Qağanqa qırqız bodwnı ičikdi yükwündi.	We fought and defeated them. We killed their khan. The people of the Qirgiz submitted and kneeled to the Qaghan.
yandımiz Kögmän yışığ äbirwü kaldimiz qırqızda yandımiz.	We returned, skirting the Kögmän highlands. We returned from the Qirgiz.

Information, planning a route, and campaigning

This episode has a similar structure to Episode III, but the Turks face a changed enemy alliance: instead of Oghuz and Qitan, now the On Oq and the Qirgiz are meeting with the Chinese to discuss how to attack the Turks. In this case, Toñuquq does not mention how he knows what they discussed. We have to assume an informer pro-

vides the information as in the earlier episode, and again the narrative consists of reports about speech events. The Turk Qaghan and Toñuquq are again reported as threateningly capable, but political unrest in the Turk Qaghanate, particularly on the part of the Oghuz, is also disclosed through the enemy's reported speech.

Toñuquq again uses reported speech that simultaneously reveals why the enemy is preparing to attack, and explains why he undertakes a pre-emptive campaign. Whereas in Episode III he uses his speech to the Qaghan to explain the logic of his strategy to both the audience and at the same time to persuade the Qaghan to authorize his command, here he explains the process of gathering relevant information for planning his pre-emptive attack. His narrative focuses on the guide's knowledge, the planning process and the route traveled. Although he does not explain his decision, Toñuquq chooses a military strategy that depends on a surprise attack on the Qirgiz before they leave their home territory. Planning a route through difficult terrain and describing their progress become more important than their attack itself.

The guide plays a vital role in this process, but he seems unable to find a readily navigable route and is executed. The cultural importance of guides to Central Asian Turks can be seen in the many Turkic proverbs that metaphorically connect guides to political and ethical guidance and wise words. A brief collection of Uighur proverbs recorded shortly after 925 C. E. explicitly equates counselors (*bilgä*, which is also Toñuquq's own title) and guides: "with a counselor one will not err, with a guide one will get lost" (Light 1998: 120-29). The role of the guide here concretely reflects the centrality of informing, counseling and command throughout this entire narrative. Each episode describes the process of finding out about and developing responses to threats. Scouts and informers provide information about dangers, and inspiration from Heaven, proverbs, and metaphors guide solutions to these dangers, and lack of awareness and inaction lead to others' defeats or failures.

Despite their guide's failure, they are able to find a route and defeat the Qirgiz. By using information effectively and attacking before the Qirgiz are aware, Toñuquq's plan is successful. The battle's apparent ease compared to the difficulties of the approach reflects Toñuquq's sense that effective military action depends upon proper preparation and control of information.

An important sequence develops across these episodes: in each one a different character makes the decision and puts it into effect, generally using an imperative verb that connects the discussion and action sections. In Episode I, Heaven "must have" said to the Turk people, "Die!" In Episode II, the future Qaghan says to Toñuquq, "Advise me", and then Heaven gives Toñuquq wisdom that guides his decision. In Episode III, the Qaghan says "lead the army as you see fit", while in the fourth Toñuquq simply states his decision to the Qaghan. Here in Episode V, Toñuquq informs the Qaghan of his plans and then he himself utters the imperative that begins the action segment, "Have them mount horses!" The progression underscores Toñuquq's growing confidence and autonomy in planning and carrying out courses of action. The following episodes complicate this sequence as a rift develops between Toñuquq and the Qaghan.

Episode VI: Holding the Altay Highlands	
Türgeş qağanda küräg kaldi. sabındäg: öñdwün qağangarw sü yorilim temiş. yormasar bizni, qağanı alp ärmiş, ay ğwčisı bilgä ärmiş qač nāñ ärsär (30) bizni ölwürdäči kök temiş. Türgeş qağanı taşıqmış, <u>tedi</u> On Oq bodwnı qalısız taşıqmış ter. Tabğaç süsi bar ärmiş. ol sabığ äşidip Qağanım, bān äbgärwü tüşäyın tedi. Qatun yoq bolmwş ärdi. anı yoğlatayın tedi. sü bariñ tedi, altwn yışda olorwñ tedi. sü başı Inäl Qağan Tardwş Šad barzwn tedi. Bilgä Twñwqwqa baña aydı: bo süg elt tedi. qıyımış köñlünčä ay bān saña nā ayayın tedi. <u>kälir</u> ärsär körwü kälwür, kälmaž ärsär tiliğ sabığ alı olor tedi.	From the Turgesh Qaghan came an informer. His words were thus: “Let us campaign against the Qaghan from the east”, (the Turgesh qaghan) seems to have said. “If we do not campaign— their qaghan is said to be brave, their counselor is said to be wise— sometime they will certainly kill us”, he seems to have said. [30] “The Turgesh qaghan seems to have set off”, he said. “The On Oq people seem to have all set off. And there seem to be Chinese troops as well”. Hearing these words my Qaghan said, “I will return home”, he said. “The qatun seems to have died. I will hold her funeral”, he said. “Troops, you go”, he said, “stay in the Altay highlands”, he said. “Have Inäl Qaghan, the Tardus Šad, go as the commander of the troops”, he said. To me Bilgä Toñuquq he spoke: “Lead this army”, he said. “Command as you see fit. What can I tell you to do?” he said. “If (the enemy) comes, keep watch, if they do not come, stay (here) and gather words (information)”, he said.

Talk without action

Episode VI continues episode V's discussion of the potential alliance of the Qirgiz, On Oq and Chinese. We begin with an informer bringing the reported speech of the Turgesh Qaghan. In addition, the informer reports on the movements of the combined forces of the Turgesh Qaghan, the On Oq people and some Chinese troops. Here Toñuquq only reports the words of others, and the only actions are the enemies' reported actions and the Qaghan's imperatives and incipient withdrawal. The threats in this episode are those of enemy movements and the Qaghan's withdrawal to mourn his wife, the Qatun. By using the gerund form of *äşid-* ('to hear') in *ol sabığ äşidip* ('hearing these words') Toñuquq implies that the Qaghan withdraws at least partly in response to news about enemy movements, which adds to the evolving im-

age of the Qaghan as fearful and reluctant to undertake military actions. The Qaghan's apparent withdrawal in response to enemy movements seems to correlate with his worry and reported "see that you ride fast" in Episode V, with the hearsay marker implying that he was not with them, and wanted them to return more quickly. Episode IV also suggests the Qaghan's lack of confidence if he is the one staying home and sleeping badly. This contrasts with Toñuquq's consistent offensive posture.

Clearly, the Qaghan's imperative sentences (including the "I will return home" using the first-person singular imperative) are the primary "actions" of this episode, establishing the situation that stimulates Toñuquq's own actions in the next episode. As a consequence of these orders, the troops and Toñuquq remain in the Altay highlands and observe the enemy and potentially defend against attack. Whereas other episodes conclude with decisive action, this episode lacks the action section precisely because the Qaghan's orders have no narrative-worthy consequences, but establish the tense situation at the beginning of the next episode. This episode cannot be complete because the Qaghan does not allow a campaign against the enemy. Toñuquq is preparing his audience for his subsequent rebellion against this Qaghan, identified as Būgū.

Episode VII: Būgū Qaghan Undermines Toñuquq	
Altwn yīšda olordwmwz. üç küräg kiši kälđi, sabı bir: qağanı sū taşıqđı, On Oq sūsi qalısz taşıqđı ter. Yarıš yazıda terilälim temiš. ol sabıg äsidip qağangarw ol sabıg iddim. qanda yan sabıg yana <sab> kälđdi. olorwı teyin temiš. yälmä qarğu ädgwüti urğıl basıtma temiš.	We stayed in the Altay highlands. Three informers came, saying the same thing: "The qaghan and army have set out, the On Oq army have all set out" they said. "They apparently said, 'Let's gather on the Yarish plain'". Hearing these words I sent them on to the qaghan. From the khan was sent a return message. He seems to have said, "Stay there". "Arrange your patrols and watch towers prop- erly and avoid being attacked", he seems to have said.
Bwüg qağan bañarw anja ayıdmış, Apa tarqanğarw ičrā sab idmiş: Bilgā Twñwqwq añıg ol, öz ol [...]] sū yorilim tedäči, unamañ. ol sabıg äsidip sū yorıtdım. Altwn yīšig yolswzwn asdim, Ärtiš ögwüzwüg kächisizin kächdimiz. tün aqıtdımız, Bwlčwqa tañ ündwürwü tägdimiz.	Such (words) Būgū Qaghan seems to have sent me, (but) he apparently sent secret words to Apa Tarqan: "Bilgā Toñuquq is bad and clever. He will say, 'Let us set off with the troops'. but do not agree". [35] Having heard these words, I set off with the troops. I climbed over the Altay highlands with no road We forded the Irtysh river with no ford. (Even) by night we made them march, and arrived in Bolču as dawn broke.

Toñuquq's defiant campaign

In episode VII, the enemies' movements are clearer because they are attested by multiple reports, and the Qaghan's unwillingness to allow a campaign against them is reiterated, although some ambiguity remains about the source of the Qaghan's response to Toñuquq's message. Not only does the Qaghan apparently tell him to hold a well-defended situation and wait, but he also seems to assume that Toñuquq will not listen, and assigns Apa Tarqan the task of forestalling Toñuquq's disobedience. Again these messages come as imperatives from the Qaghan: "stay and arrange your defenses" to Toñuquq, and "do not agree" sent to Apa Tarqan.

There is a symmetry between the last episode when the Qaghan responds to news of enemy movements by stating his intention to withdraw and here when Toñuquq responds to the Qaghan's order by setting off with his troops anyway. In both cases information and messages no longer generate expected responses, and cooperative planning and shared command between the Qaghan and Toñuquq have broken down. Apparently seeing in the secret message of the Qaghan as much a threat as in enemy movements, Toñuquq rejects the Qaghan's authority and defiantly sets off. This campaign establishes the initial conditions for his final dramatic defeat of the gathered enemy without the Qaghan's support but with the apparent intervention of supernatural powers.

VIII: Surprise Attack on the On Oq (beginning of west face of pillar II, line 36)	
tiliğ kälwürdi sabı andağ: Yariş yazıda on tümän sü terildi ter. ol sabığ äsidip bäglär qopwn yanalım, ariğ ubwti yeg tedi.	A scout was brought, his words were thus: "On the Yariş plains 100,000 troops have been collected", he says. Hearing these words, the begs all said, "Let us return. The shame of being unscathed is better (than a risky battle against so many troops)".

bān anja termān, bān Bilgā Twñwqwq: Altwn yīsīğ aša kældimiz Ārtiš ögwüzwüg kăčā kældimiz. kālmāsī alp <u>tedi, tuvmadi</u>. Tāñri Umay, ĩduq yer sub basa berdi ārinj. nākā tāzārbiz, ũkwüş teyin? nākā qorqwr biz, az teyin? nā basīnālīm, tāgālim, tedi. tāgdimiz, yulīdīmiz. ekindī kūn örtčā qīzīp kældi. sūñwūsdwūmwūz. bizindā eki uči sīñarčā arđwuq ārdi. tāñri yarlıqadi-uq ũčwūn ũkwüş teyin biz qorqmadīmiz, sūñwūšdwūmwūz. Tardwš Šadra udī yañdīmiz. qağanin tutdwmwz. Yabğwsin Šadin anda <u>ölwürdi</u>. āligčā ār tutdwmwz. ol oq tūn bodwunin sayw ĩddīmiz. ol sabīğ āšidip On Oq bāglāri bodwnī qop kældi, yūkwūndi. kāligmā bāglārin bodwnin etip yīğip, azčā bodwn tāzmiš ārdi. On Oq sūsīn sūlātdim. biz yāmā sūlādimiz, ani erddīmiz. Yinjwū ögwüzwüg kăčā Tensi oğlī ayfīğma bāñlig Āk Tağīğ erdū tāmir qapīğqa tāgi erddīmiz. anda yandwrđwmwz. Ināl Qağanqa [... saqa] tāzik toqarsīn [...] anda bārwūki swq bašlīğ soğdaq bodwn qop kældi, yūkwūndi [...]	I say thus, I, Bilgā Toñuquq: “We came by crossing the Altay highlands, we came by fording the Irtysh river. They said, ‘Approach would be difficult’, and did not notice (us). Heaven and Umay and the spirits of earth and water must have given us (this chance to) attack. Why should we flee, if (they are) many? Why should we fear, if (we are) few? Let’s not be downcast. Let’s attack!” I said. We attacked and plundered. [40] The next day, they came burning like flames. We fought. (Their) two wings were much larger than ours. Indeed, it was because of Heaven’s favor that we did not fear their numbers, and we fought. [41] We pursued the enemy towards the Tardus Sad. We took their Qaghan (prisoner). Their Yabğu and their Sad were killed there. We took around 50 men prisoners. That very night we sent (messages) to all their people. Hearing these words, the On Oq begs and people all came and kneeled (in submission). [42] Gathering and organizing the begs and people who came, (we found that) some people seemed to be fleeing. I had the On Oq troops set off. We also set off and caught up with (those flee- ing??). Crossing the Pearl River, passing the mountain called Son of Heaven and snowy(?) Āk Mountains, we reached the Iron Gates. [45, south face] There we made (those fleeing) turn back. There the Arab, Tokharian [...] and Soghdian people led by Ashok who were on the side of the foregoing, all came and kneeled to Inal Qaghan.
--	---

Türk bodwn tämir qapıǵqa Tensi oǵli tensi oǵli aytıǵma taǵqa tägmiš idi yoq ärmış. ol yerkä bän bilgä Twñwqwq tägwürtw- ük üčwün sariǵ altwn ürwüñ kümwüş qiz qodwz ägri täbä aǵı buñswz kälwürdi.	The Turk people had never before reached the Iron Gates and the mountain called Son of Heaven. Indeed, because I Bilgä Toñuquq led them to these lands, yellow gold and white silver, girls, women and hump-backed camels, and silks they brought (to me) without misgiv- ings.
--	--

Persuasion and attack

In this climactic episode, the discussion is not prolonged, but decisively demonstrates Toñuquq's powers of persuasion against overwhelming odds. The narrative tells of a complex debate about information, interpretations, judgments and decisions by at least five different individual and group participants: Toñuquq, the Begs, the home community of the Turks, the enemy, and the deities.

When the scout reports that 100,000 troops have gathered, Toñuquq faces a new problem. Like the Qaghan, the Begs (chiefs) are reluctant to attack. They argue that returning unscathed but in shame is better than such a foolhardy attack. This decision reflects a selection among a number of different possible community interpretations of signs for military actions and their meanings: no shame would accompany those returning victorious, or those returning defeated but with injuries as proof of valor. Shame results from returning without victory and without injury because others will infer that this shows the warriors retreated. The community will make these judgments despite not having observed the actual battles. On the other hand, the Begs have to estimate an uncertain future based on what they can see is the much larger force that they face, and they interpret this as meaning that their choices are reduced to returning in shame or not returning at all.

The Begs' terse "ariǵ ubuti yeg" summarizes this logic quickly and persuasively: they have judged their chances and concluded that the possibility of living down the shame is the best option. Since Toñuquq now lacks the Qaghan's authority he invokes supernatural authority and argues that they have supernatural protection in the form of Heaven, Umay (a 'mother earth' spirit) and spirits influencing the enemy's ideas and awareness. He does not use the hearsay marker *-miš*, but only the suppositional marker *ärinč* 'must have'. Toñuquq seems to avoid using the *-miš* that would express uncertainty about supernatural intentions because it might make his argument less persuasive. Just as the will of Heaven was inferred above from the outcome of battles, here supernatural involvement is inferred from the enemy's lack of vigilance. The enemy's lack of information provides information about the intentions of the otherwise uncommunicative deities. Thus, argues Toñuquq, the Begs are wrong that defeat and death are assured because they have the advantage of being informed and prepared.

The perlocutionary effectiveness and importance of this speech among Toñuquq's historical accomplishments are reinforced by the introductory line: *bān anča termān, bān Bilgā Toñuquq* ('I say thus, I, Bilgā Toñuquq') which contains three pronouns and one name all referring to the speaker, and breaks out of the narrative directly into quoted speech. Unlike all other instances of quoted speech in this text, he makes no introduction with a past-tense "I said" or "my words were" but uses instead the present-future "I say". The Begs' threatened retreat compels Toñuquq's rapid response. Although the apparent demand for haste is in the narrated event, it propels Toñuquq to disrupt his narrative conventions and make the first line of his past speech serve as its own introduction. Only after the speech does he reframe it as past tense with "I said". As with Toñuquq's speech to the Qaghan in Episode III, he ends up with rhetorical questions, but then adds the exhortation "let's not be downcast, let's attack!" using first-person plural imperatives. Again his speech is effective: action is a sufficient response once he has clearly defined the situation, and there is no need for further planning.

The complex action segment of this episode combines battles, taking of captives, assessing situations, sending messages and pursuing. They attack and plunder on the first day and face counterattack the next. The enemy is far larger, but Heaven grants them victory precisely (marked with *oq* emphatic particle) because Heaven prevents them from being afraid despite the great numerical disparity. Just as deities controlled their enemies' vigilance and suspicions, they have also intervened to limit the attackers' fears.

They capture the Qaghan, kill the Yabǵu and Sad officials, and capture prisoners. Such actions do not simply defeat those directly attacked but also provide the content of a persuasive message to others: by announcing these actions to the On Oq people, they persuade them to submit. They then pursue those who flee far to the west and turn them back, as well as making their Tazik, Tokharian, and Soghdian allies submit.

Toñuquq leads the Turks further west than they have ever gone. In fact, exactly (again marked by an emphatic particle) because he leads them this far, the troops willingly share their spoils with Toñuquq. They return laden with plunder: gold, silver, girls, women, camels and silks.

In this military life, women have only been mentioned twice: once when the Qatun dies and the Qaghan returns to mourn her, and once here when women are part of the booty rewarded at the end of a long campaign. This does not accurately reflect the role women have in Turk society, nor do other inscriptions deny women so completely an active role in political and military activities. Toñuquq also only mentions the female earth deity Umay once, although she probably had a much more important role in Turkic beliefs. In other inscriptions, Blue Heaven and Brown Earth are the nearly equal parallel entities between which humans come into being.

The other Turk inscriptions mention the Qatun as co-ruler with the Qaghan and as mother of Bilgā Qaghan, and even explicitly compare her to Umay (BQ E25 and E31, Tekin 1968: 234-5), and the Uighur inscriptions from later in the 8th century

specify the rulers as Qaghan and Qatun (Klyashtorny 1982: 343). In addition, the other Turk inscriptions mention women in the context of forming alliances through marriage (BQ N9, Tekin 1968: 237).

The Qaghan's return to mourn the Qatun seems to associate withdrawal with loyalty to his wife. Withdrawal, passivity and defeat seem closely linked in this narrative. Only Episodes IV and VIII conclude with people or towns being captured. In all the other battles, people come and submit, and captives only promote this process, because they are nomads who are not annihilated, but incorporated as the people (*bodun*) of the realm (*el*). The Empire is not built by adding land or spoils, but by incorporating nomadic peoples. In reality this would include both men and women, but in Toñuquq's narrative world women seem to represent more passive objects of conquest or causes of withdrawal.

Toñuquq distinguishes the Turks' submission and destruction by enemies in Episode I from his use of the term 'come' (*käl-*) to refer to the defeated Oghuz coming to join the Turks in Episode III. More distant and politically less important people, such as the Qirgiz or On Oq are described as explicitly submitting and kneeling (*ičikdi yūkünti*) in Episodes V and VIII, although their defeat was not meant to destroy or capture them, but to incorporate them into the Turk Empire or reduce their threat.

Conclusion: Generalizing Summary of the History (line 48- of monument II)	
Elteriš qağan bilgäsin üčwün, alpın üčwün Tabğačqa yeti yegirmi süñwüşdi, Qıtañqa yeti süñwüşdi, Oğwzqa beš süñwüşdi. anda ayğwçı yämä bän ök ärdim, yağıçı yämä bän [ök] ärdim. Elteriš Qağanqa [...] Türk Bwügwü Qağanqa Türk Bilgä Q[ağanqa] Qapğan Qağan eliñä r [...] nta [...] ä]rti] Qapğan Qağan olordwum.	Because of Elterish Qaghan's wisdom and bravery, he fought the Chinese 17 times, he fought the Qitan 7 times, he fought the Oghuz 5 times. It was indeed I, who was then both his advisor, and indeed also I who was his army commander. For Elterish Qaghan, ... for Turk Böğü Qaghan, for Turk Bilgä Qaghan ... [51, beginning of east face II] Qapghan Qaghan (ruled over??) the realm. I enthroned Qapghan Qaghan.

tün udımatı künde wüz olormatı, qızıl qanıñ tökwüti qara tärım yügwürdi eşig kücwüg berdim ök. [bän özwüm] uzwn yälmäg yämä iddim oq, arqay qarğwğ olğwrtwm oq. yanıgma yağığ kälwüriñ ärdim. qağanımın sülätdimiz. Täñri yarlıqazw bo türk bodwnqa yarıqlıg yağığ kälwürmädim, tögwünlwüg atıg yügwürtmädim.	Not sleeping by night or resting by day, my red blood flowed, my black sweat ran, Indeed I gave my work and my strength. Indeed, I myself sent long-distance patrols, [53] indeed, I established networks of watch towers. I made retreating armies come (to us and submit). I led my Qaghan's troops on campaigns. By Heaven's favor, among the Turk people I did not let armed enemies ride, I did not let branded horses run (wild).
Elteris qağan qazğanmasar udw bän özwüm qazğanmasar el yämä bodwn yämä yoq ärdäci ärdi. Qazğandı-uqın ücwün udw özüñ qazğandi-wqwm ücwün el yämä el bolıñ bodwn yämä bodwn bolıñ. özwüm qarı boldwm, ulwğ boldwm. näñ yerdäki qağanlıg bodwnqa bündägi bar ärsär nä buñı bar ärdäci ärmış? Türk Bilgä Qağan eliñä bititdim, bän bilgä Toñuqwq.	If Elterish Qaghan had not won, [54] and if I myself had not won, neither the realm nor the people would have existed. Exactly because of his victories, and exactly because of my own victories, the realm became a realm again and the people became a people again. I have become aged, I have become old. [56] If, in any land, people ruled by a qaghan had such a one (as me), what troubles would they have? In the realm of Turk Bilgä Qaghan I had (this) written, I, Bilgä Toñuquq. [end line 58, end of east face II]

Elteriš qağan qazğanmasar, yoq ārđi ārsār, bān özwüm bilgä Toñuqwq qazğanmasar, bān yoq ārdim ārsār, Qapğan qağan türk sir bodwn yerindä bod yāmā bodwn yāmā kiši yāmā idi yoq ārdāci ārdi. Elteriš qağan bilgä Toñuquq qazğanti-uq üčün, Qapğan qağan Türk Sir bodwn yorīdī- wqī bo [...], Türk Bilgä Qağan Türk Sir bodwnwğ, Oğwz bodwnwğ igidü olorwr.	[north face II, lines 59-62] If Elterish Qaghan had not won, or did not exist, if I myself Bilgä Toñuquq had not won, or did not exist, in the lands of Qapghan Qaghan and the Turk Sir people, neither clans nor people nor humans would have existed at all. It is exactly because Elterish Qaghan and Bilgä Toñuquq were victorious, that Qapghan Qaghan and the Turk Sir people are thriving, and the Turk Bilgä Qaghan continues to rule the Turk Sir people and the Oghuz people.
--	---

Closing arguments

The concluding section does not narrate the course of events, but summarizes them into a final discussion of the causes and effects of history: in this case, Toñuquq is identifying his role as being nearly equal in importance to that of the Qaghans that he helped. He lists his own and his Qaghans' accomplishments to show completeness: Elterish Qaghan fought Chinese, Qitans and Oghuz. Toñuquq rested little and worked constantly, giving his blood and strength. He established watch towers and patrols, and prevented horse-borne incursions. Elterish Qaghan and Toñuquq are responsible for resurrecting the *el* (realm) and the *bodun* (people), exactly because of their victories. He begins closing this narrative by mentioning that he had this inscription written in Bilgä Qaghan's realm, preceded by a rhetorical question stressing his value to the Qaghan and people.

Finally, on the north face he sums up his argument again, using poetic parallelism to motivate a persuasive logical connection among the existence and victories of the Qaghans and Toñuquq, the continued existence of clans, people and humans, and the continued rule of Qapghan Qaghan and Bilgä Qaghan. His ultimate closure is marked by his description of Bilgä Qaghan's ongoing rule with the only present-future verb (*olur*- 'to live, reside' + *-ur*) used in this inscription with reference outside of the narrative itself. It refers to the context in which this narrative can be told, after his death. With this verb Toñuquq opens the narrative to the ongoing present beyond his own life, neatly enclosing his life story entirely within the inscription.

In this closing presentation Toñuquq seeks to make his argument explicit. Whereas in the narrative he uses quoted speech to both persuade listeners of his effectiveness and push forward the narrative, here he uses repetition and summary. The

ostension of the reported speech enables audiences to connect narrator and narratee understandings through experiencing the exact words of prior speech events. In contrast, the summary directs understanding, and persuades the audience of completeness through its totalizing parallelism. The summary abandons the narrative effects that draw the audience into others' experience, and dictates instead what the audience should believe. Toñuquq does not, however, go so far as to command the audience to believe or accuse them of straying from allegiance to their Qaghan as the BQ and KT inscriptions do.

Conclusions

This monument has been extensively mined as a source of cultural, linguistic, historical and poetic information about Turks, but the complex narrative and rhetorical structure has been generally overlooked. This commemoration of the political and military life of Toñuquq is rich with details about how political intentions shape his communicative strategies. As I have shown, Toñuquq composed this text to have many overlapping effects.

The workings of Toñuquq's dense but clear narrative demands unpacking through my long analysis, but this analysis overwhelms the very effects I attempt to investigate. Narrative, metaphor and poetic structures have impact without extensive explanation: they can do their work without being much noticed. Long analyses do not necessarily improve understanding, especially for native speakers, but they do explicitly raise questions that can be investigated in other contexts. Nonetheless, those questions will not get asked if people do not read the analyses and keep the issues in mind.

The problem of "bibliographic control" may seem distant from Toñuquq's world, but it is essential to the world in which his narrative exists now. Many thousands of texts like this one will never be read or heard again by native speakers. They can only be understood in full by analysis, but the work often does not seem justified by the ends. Many historians avoid the complex analyses to understand the cognitive and linguistic dimensions of narrative: they would prefer to critique documentary sources by more traditional means such as collating sources to choose the better attested facts. But clearly, the facts in a narrative such as this one are a loose assemblage around logic and purposes drawn from the world of communicative practices and political goals. The historical evidence for political events available in this text is very limited. Likewise, the speech community conventions are only contingently accessible, because how these few written documents relate to oral genres is not clear. But the flow of information and its marking as a means to draw the audience into the knowledge processes of the narrated agents and the narrator are salient and concrete. My analytic methods reveal the features that Toñuquq puts into his narratives to accomplish specific effects. My interpretations may have to be tentative, but the issues I address clearly fit the way Toñuquq calibrates his language to the participants in these communicative events.

Toñuquq's narrative organization of information remains far shorter than my analysis. Only roughly 1200 Turkic words in the present article are his. Under analysis such texts are inflated, burying the original author's intentions and skills under verbiage. The narrative depends on effective, compact timing, and no analysis or translation can fully do justice to these complexities. Nonetheless, without analysis such as the foregoing, Toñuquq's work remains a trivial and neglected fragment of a great political enterprise.

I assume that every part of this painstakingly inscribed text is carefully composed and valuable to its writer, and I ask what exactly Toñuquq was trying to do. I ask the reader to attend to the places where Toñuquq points out cause and effect, infers messages, and treats messages and even rhetorical questions as causing action. The entire narrative is organized not just in Toñuquq's mind, but around the minds of participants and their messages, their plans, their thought processes, and their decisions. All the events are intentional: nothing happens by chance—except perhaps Toñuquq's birth and the Qatun's death—and nothing is without meaning and consequences. Toñuquq is equally thrifty when he makes speech events simultaneously meaningful to audience and agents. Toñuquq's masterful compaction of this plot highlights his core understandings of minds, communication, and historical process, and his use of expressive forms shows that he is not just describing events, but differentially managing the ways participants understand and experience these events.

References

- Bauman, Richard 1986. "We was always pullin' jokes": The management of point of view in personal experience narratives. In: Bauman, Richard (ed.) 1986. *Story, performance and event: Contextual studies of oral narrative*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press. 33-53.
- Bauman, Richard 1993. The nationalization and internationalization of folklore: the case of Schoolcraft's "Gitshee Gauzinee". *Western Folklore* 52, 247-259.
- Bauman, Richard 1995. Representing Native American oral narrative: the textual practices of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft. *Pragmatics* 5, 167-183.
- Bauman, Richard 1996. 'I'll give you three guesses': the dynamics of genre in the riddle tale. In: Hasan-Rokem, Galit & Shulman, David (eds.) 1996. *Untying the knot: on riddles and other enigmatic modes*. New York: Oxford University Press. 62-80.
- Bauman, Richard & Briggs, Charles 1990. Poetics and performance as critical perspectives on language and social life. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 19, 59-88.
- Bauman, Richard & Briggs, Charles 2003. *Voices of modernity: language ideologies and the politics of inequality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Berta, Árpád 2004. *Szavaimat jól halljátok.... A türk és ujjur rovásírásos emlékek kritikai kiadása*. Szeged: JATEPress.
- Briggs, Charles L. & Bauman, Richard 1992. Genre, intertextuality, and social power. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 2/2, 131-172.
- Briggs, Charles L. & Bauman, Richard 1999. 'The foundation of all future researches': Franz Boas, George Hunt, Native American texts, and the construction of modernity. *American Quarterly* 51:3, 479-528.

- Chafe, Wallace 1987. Cognitive constraints on information flow. In: Tomlin, Russell S. (ed.) 1987. *Coherence and grounding in discourse*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 21-51.
- Chafe, Wallace 1992. Information flow in speaking and writing. In: Downing, Pamela & Lima, Susan & Noonan, Michael (eds.) 1992. *The linguistics of literacy*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 17-29.
- Chafe, Wallace 1994. *Discourse, consciousness, and time: the flow and displacement of conscious experience in speaking and writing*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Chanady, Amaryll 1991. Abduction and narrative invention: The latest avatar of Peirce's "guessing instinct". *Semiotica* 84, 101-112.
- Clauson, Sir Gerard 1972. *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Collins, Daniel E. 2001. *Reanimated voices: Speech reporting in a historical-pragmatic perspective*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Davis, Natalie Zemon 1975. Proverbial wisdom and popular errors. In: Davis, Natalie Zemon (ed.) 1975. *Society and culture in Early Modern France: Eight essays*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 227-267.
- Degh, Linda & Vazsonyi, Andrew 1983. Does the word 'dog' bite? Ostensive action: A means of legend-telling. *Journal of Folklore Research* 20:1, 5-34.
- DeWeese, Devin 1994. *Islamization and native religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tukles and conversion to Islam in historical and epic tradition*. University Park, PA: Penn State University Press.
- Duranti, Alessandro 2004. Agency in language. In: Duranti, Alessandro (ed.) 2004. *A companion to linguistic anthropology*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publ. 351-373.
- Fernandez, James W. 1985. *Persuasions and performances: The play of tropes in culture*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Hanks, William 1992. The indexical ground of deictic reference. In: Duranti, Alessandro & Goodwin, Charles (eds.) 1992. *Rethinking context*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 43-76.
- Hymes, Dell 1981. *"In vain I tried to tell you": Essays in Native American ethnopoetics*. (Studies in Native American Literature 1.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Jakobson, Roman 1957. *Shifters, verbal categories and the Russian verb*. Cambridge, Mass.: Russian Language Project, Dept. of Slavic Linguistics and Literatures, Harvard University. Reprinted in his *Selected writings* 2. *Word and Language*. The Hague: Mouton, 1971. 130-147.
- Johnstone, Barbara 2000. The individual voice in language. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 29, 405-24.
- Jucker, Andreas H. (ed.) 1995. *Historical pragmatics: pragmatic developments in the history of English*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Jucker, Andreas H. & Fritz, Gerd & Lebsanft, Franz (eds.) 1999. *Historical dialogue analysis*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Klyashtorny, S. G. 1982. The Terkhin inscription. *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 34, 335-366.
- Kroskrity, Paul V. (ed.) 2000. *Regimes of language: ideologies, politics, and identities*. Santa Fe, N.Mex.: School of American Research Press.
- Levine, Lawrence W. 1977. *Black culture and black consciousness: Afro-American folk thought from slavery to freedom*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Light, Nathan 1998. Slippery paths: The performance and canonization of Turkic literature and Uyghur *muqam* song in Islam and modernity. [PhD Dissertation, Folklore Department, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.]
- Lucy, John 1993. Metapragmatic presentationals: reporting speech with quotatives in Yucatec Maya. In: Lucy, John (ed.) 1993. *Reflexive language: Reported speech and metapragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 91-125.
- McDowell, John H. 1982. Beyond iconicity: ostension in Kamsa mythic narrative. *Journal of the Folklore Institute* 19, 119-139.
- Ochs, Elinor & Capps, Lisa 1996. Narrating the self. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 25, 19-43.
- Raheja, Gloria Goodwin 1996. Caste, colonialism, and the speech of the Colonized: entextualization and disciplinary control in India. *American Ethnologist* 23: 3, 494-513.
- Schieffelin, Bambi B. & Woolard, Kathryn A. & Kroskrity, Paul V. (eds.) 1998. *Language ideologies: practice and theory*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Sidnell, Jack 1998. Deixis. In: Verschueren, Jef & Östman, Jan-Ola & Blommaert, Jan (eds.) 1998. *Handbook of pragmatics*. Amsterdam: J. Benjamins, installment. Online at: <http://individual.utoronto.ca/jsidnell/Sidnelldeixis.pdf> (accessed 2/13/2005).
- Silverstein, Michael 1976. Shifters, linguistic categories, and cultural description. In Basso, Keith. & Selby, Henry (eds.) 1976. *Meaning in anthropology*. Albuquerque, N.Mex.: University of New Mexico Press. 11-55.
- Stewart, Susan 1991. Notes on distressed genres. *Journal of American Folklore* 104: 411, 5-31.
- Tekin, Talat 1968. *A grammar of Orkhon Turkic*. (Uralic and Altaic Series 69.) Bloomington: Indiana University.
- Tekin, Talat 1994. *Tonyukuk yazıtı*. Ankara: Simurg Kitapçılık.
- Urban, Greg 1984. Speech about speech in speech about action. *Journal of American Folklore* 97: 385, 310-328.
- Urban, Greg 1993. The represented functions of speech in Shokleng myth. In: Lucy, John A. (ed.) 1993. *Reflexive language: Reported speech and metapragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 241-259.

Some remarks on the Yakut suffix +SXt

László Károly

Károly, László 2006. Some remarks on the Yakut suffix +SXt. *Turkic Languages* 10, 187-192.

There is a special Yakut suffix +SXt that forms names of diseases from body parts, e.g. *tuŷaxsīt* '(ulcerated) hoof disease' ← *tuŷax* 'hoof'. The aim of this paper is to prove the connection between the given suffix and the noun *sīt* 'smell, odour; decay, putrefaction' (cf. Old Turkic *yīd* 'odour, smell'), outlining a plausible way in which a single word could have become a suffix.

László Károly, University of Szeged, Department of Altaic Studies, H-6722 Szeged, Hungary, Egyetem u. 2. E-mail: laszlokaroly@hung.u-szeged.hu

Introduction

There are a variety of ways in a language to develop new derivational elements: resegmentation, reinterpretation and composition of old elements, sound changes, language contacts, etc. that may lead to the grammaticalization of new derivational suffixes. Sometimes it is possible to trace the given suffix back to its primary source; for instance, the fairly new English suffix *-gate* originated from the phrase *Watergate affair/scandal*. After the truncation of this phrase to *Watergate*, the ending *-gate*—in spite of the fact that it was a place-name—came to be used as a suffix meaning 'a scandal involving X' (Joseph 1998: 359–360).

Linguists of Turkic languages too have made several attempts to find the primary source of suffixes. A well-known example of this kind of attempt is linked with the name of W. Bang (1917: 925), who presumed that the Turkic suffix +dAš¹ is a compound of the locative suffix +dA and the noun *äš* 'comrade, companion';² cf. the Turkic examples in (1):

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------|
| (1) <i>ögdäš</i> 'half brothers of the same mother' | ← <i>ög</i> 'mother' |
| <i>qarındaš</i> 'womb-fellow' | ← <i>qarın</i> 'belly, abdomen' |
| <i>yoldaš</i> 'fellow traveller' | ← <i>yol</i> 'road, way' |

¹ Lexemes in +dAš "denote persons who are companions to the entity denoted by the base noun or have the entity denoted by the base noun in common" (Erdal 1991: 119).

² Besides Bang's theory, there have been a number of attempts to explain this suffix; for further information, see TMEN 3: 191–195 and Erdal 1991: 119–120.

In the present paper an attempt will be made to investigate a special Yakut suffix $+SXt^3$ which produces terms for diseases. This derivational element has not been discussed in the literature so far, and allows us to follow the entire process of how an independent word becomes a grammaticalized suffix.

Since there is a homophonous suffix $+SXt$ (the so called *nomen actoris*) in the Yakut language, I will first briefly describe it in order to make clear that it cannot be of the same origin as the suffix denoting diseases.

Nomen actoris in $+SXt$

$+SXt$ is a well-documented suffix. It is mentioned in almost every Yakut grammar, the most important ones, in chronological order, being: Böhlingk 1851: § 387, Jastremskij 1900: § 95, Xaritonov 1947: 100, 131–132, Poppe 1959: 680, Krueger 1962: 116, Korkina 1982: § 155.

First of all this suffix forms names of occupations, describing one who has continuous or periodic activity or has a great experience in a given task. In extreme cases it is used to describe the unalterable state of humans. The base can be a noun (2), an adjective (3) or a verbal noun (4):

- (2) *balıksıt* ‘fisherman’ ← *balık* ‘fish’
masčıt ‘woodcutter’ ← *mas* ‘wood, tree’
iriahıt ‘singer’ ← *irĩa* ‘song’
- (3) *kırahıt* ‘small/young thief; captious man’ ← *kıra* ‘small, little’
- (4) *ölüöxsüt* ‘dead, deceased’ ← *ölüöx* ‘one who will die (future participle of *öl-* ‘to die’)
ardı:hit ‘rower’ ← *ardı:* ‘rowing by oars; oar (from *ärt-* ‘to row by oars’)

In some cases the derivative can be used as an attribute (5):

- (5) *bulčut* (üt) ‘hunter (dog)’ ← *bult* ‘booty, loot; goods, prey (of a hunt)’
oloñxohut (*kihi*) ‘*oloñxo*-teller, (a man) who is a good teller of heroic epics’ ←
oloñxo ‘heroic epic’

Undoubtedly this Yakut suffix $+SXt$ can be connected with the general Turkic $+čI$ and Mongolic $+či(n)$; cf. point 6 and 7. However, there is no clear explanation for the final /t/ of the suffix. Böhlingk (1851: § 225) was the first who thought that this

³ Yakut suffixes have a wide set of morphophonological variants; thus capital letters are used to give standardised forms. According to the last syllable of the base, S can be /h/, /s/, /č/, /j/ or /ñ/; and X can be /i/, /i/, /u/ or /ü/.

segment originated from the Mongolic plural suffix +*d*, presuming that the Yakut speakers misunderstood or misused it; this idea does not seem plausible.⁴

- (6) *baliqčiči* 'fisherman' ← *baliq* 'fish'
sabčiči 'messenger' ← *sab* 'a speech'
- (7) *qoničiči(n)* 'shepherd' ← *qonin* 'sheep'
emčiči 'physician' ← *em* 'medicine'

Nomen morboris in +SXt

There are seven words altogether collected from Pekarskij's dictionary in (8) and (9). A simple morphological analysis shows that these are derivations with a certain suffix +SXt. The base noun designates a body part and the suffix +SXt refers to a specific disease relevant to the given part of the body. There is one exception in (9), where the base is not only a body part, but a diseased one.

- (8) *tiiñiraxsūt* 'felon, whitlow; hoof disease' ← *tiiñirax* 'nail'; cf. Turkic *tirnaq* id.
tuŷaxsūt '(ulcerated) hoof disease' ← *tuŷax* 'hoof'; cf. Turkic *tuŷaq* id.
bilčarxayjūt, *bilčarxaljūt* 'scrofula' ← *bilčarxay* 'gland'; cf. Mongolic *bulčirqai* id.
küömäljūt, *küömäl'it*, *küömärjūt* 'grievous abscess in the throat; throat disease of horses (may be fatal); scarlet fever, diphtheria' ← *küömäy* 'throat'; cf. Mongolic *kömegei* 'pharynx; throat'
xabarğasūt 'sore throat' ← *xabarğa* 'throat' ← ? *xabar-* 'to be angry'; cf. Turkic *qabar-* 'to become a container; to form a blister, vesicle';⁵
süräxsit 'painful heart disease caused by trichinosis' ← *süräx* 'heart'; cf. Turkic *yüräk* id.
- (9) *sosumtağajūt* 'scrofula' ← *sosumtağay* '(one who has) glandular swelling'; cf. Mongolic *soči-*, *čoči-* 'to swell (of glands)'

As mentioned above, this suffix (or other ones similar in function and phonetic form) has not been discussed in the Turcological literature. In addition, there is no trace of a similar suffix in the languages with which Yakut has had language contact.

There is a word in the Yakut lexicon which can be connected with the *nomen morboris* suffix +SXt, which is *sūt* meaning 'smell, odour; decay, putrefaction'. It is of Turkic origin, cf. Turkic *yūd* 'smell, odour'.⁶ The key to the relation between the suffix and the single noun in question is the meaning 'decay, putrefaction'. We find two words in (8) where this meaning can be caught in the very act: *tiiñiraxsūt* 'felon, whitlow; hoof disease' and *tuŷaxsūt* '(ulcerated) hoof disease'. Smelly putrefaction, purulent infection (at the end of a finger, toe or hoof) is a characteristic feature of

⁴ As the problem of the final /t/ does not closely relate to the subject of this paper, it is left open for future discussions.

⁵ For a detailed explanation, see Kalużyński 1993: 89.

⁶ Yakut *s-* ~ Turkic *y-* is a regular correspondence.

both diseases. The other five examples too denote diseases which can cause ulceration or inflammation; and ‘decay, putrefaction’ in a figurative sense means ‘diseased’ of the organ in question. Although the word *süräxsit* does not describe a disease which has visible symptoms, it belongs in this group.

Accordingly, I suppose that these terms for diseases originally were simple nominal compounds. Reconstructed forms can be found in (10):

- (10) *tiiñiraxsit* ‘felon, whitlow; hoof disease’ ← **tiiñirax sit* ‘putrefaction of the
nails/hooves’
bilčarxayjūt ‘scrofula’ ← **bilčarxay sit* ‘ulceration of the glands’
süräxsit ‘painful heart disease’ ← **süräx sit* ‘putrefaction, disease of the heart’

In the Turkic languages nominal compounds usually follow the possessive pattern: noun + noun + third-person possessive suffix, e.g. Yakut *atax iarī:ta* [leg disease:POSS.3P.SG]⁷ ‘rheumatism’, *kün sirä* [sun land:POSS.3P.SG] ‘the sunlit World Globe, the Earth (of people)’; Turkish *el çantası* [hand bag:POSS.3P.SG] ‘handbag’; and Old Turkic *täñri yeri* [god land:POSS.3P.SG] ‘divine land’, *äb qapıǵı* [house door:POSS.3P.SG] ‘front-door’.

However, Turkic has numerous cases where the possessive suffix is absent. This sort of compounds can be divided into two groups: (a) nominal compounds with descriptive satellite, or identity attribution (qualifying attribute + noun), where both nouns refers to the same entity. The attribute often describes the material of which the given object is made, and has adjectival characteristic, e.g. Yakut *ta:s jǵā* [stone house] ‘house made of stone’, Turkish *yün palto* [wool coat] ‘coat made of wool’, and Old Turkic *tämir talquqlar* [iron nail:PL] ‘iron nails’; (b) noun + noun type of nominal compounds used similarly as those with possessive satellite, e.g. Yakut *oskuola jǵā* [school house] ‘school building’, *süräx uru:* [heart relative] ‘relation of persons (felt) by heart’, *kis⁸ orto⁹* [winter middle] ‘the middle of winter’, *kis xa:r* [winter snow] ‘winter snow’,¹⁰ and Old Turkic *taqıǵu yıl¹¹* [hen year] ‘the year of the hen’, *kün orto¹²* [day middle] ‘noon (lit. the middle of the day)’.

Accordingly, there are two possible ways in which the Yakut suffix +*SXt* could have developed: First, the original forms were made with the possessive satellite; thus, for example, the word *tiiñiraxsit* would derive from a proto-form **tiiñirax sita*

⁷ The 3rd person singular possessive suffix in Yakut is +(i)A; cf. Turkic +(s)I ~ +(s)X.

⁸ Since the word ‘winter’ is *kihin* in modern Yakut, compounds formed by *kis* id. seem to be considerably old.

⁹ Cf. the compound *kis ortoto* [winter middle:POSS.3P.SG].

¹⁰ Korkina 1982: § 215 and Xaritonov 1947: § 64 describe the noun + noun type of nominal compounds, but their examples mostly belong to group (a).

¹¹ Cf. Šu N10 and the form *taqaǵu yılı* ‘name of one of the twelve years in Turkic’ with possessive suffix in Ka:š 224–225.

¹² This compound appears several times in Old Turkic, e.g. in IrkB 24. Forms with possessive suffix (*kün ortosi*) also have been registered; cf. Clauson 1972: 203b–204a.

[nail putrefaction:POSS.3P.SG]. This etymology, however, is not convincing because the word-final low vowel should have been preserved in modern Yakut. Second, the original compounds lacked the possessive suffix, and belong to the group (b) mentioned above. The reconstructed form, for example, of *tīñiraxsīt* can be given as **tīñirax sīt*. In this way the word *sīt* could have become a derivational element; it now behaves as a real suffix because morphophonological variants are applied correctly.

Finally, a generalized form in (11) shows the initial and final state of the process in which an independent word becomes a suffix.

- (11) [body part:nomen morborosis.SXt ← body part putrefaction]

References

- Bang, Willy 1916. Studien zur vergleichenden Grammatik der Türkssprachen 2: Über das Verbum *al-* „nehmen“ als Hilfszeitwort. *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse*, 910–928.
- Berta, Árpád 2004. *Szavaimat jól halljátok... : A türk és ujjur rovásírásos emlékek kritikai kiadása* [Listen to my words carefully... : Critical edition of the Türk and Uygur runiform inscriptions]. Szeged: JATEPress.
- Böhtlingk, Otto 1851. *Über die Sprache der Jakuten – Grammatik, Text und Wörterbuch*. St. Petersburg: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Clauson, Sir Gerard 1972. *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Doerfer, Gerhard 1963-1975. *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen* 1–4. Wiesbaden: Steiner.
- Erdal, Marcel 1991. *Old Turkic word formation: A functional approach to the lexicon* 1–2. (Turcologica 7.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Erdal, Marcel 2004. *A grammar of Old Turkic*. (Handbook of Oriental Studies 8 : 3.) Leiden, Boston: Brill.
- IrkB = Tekin 1993.
- Jastremskij, S. V. 1900. *Grammatika jakutskago jazyka*. Irkutsk: Makušin.
- Joseph, Brian D. 1998. Diachronic morphology. In: Spencer Andrew & Zwicky, Arnold M. (eds.) *The handbook of morphology*. Oxford; Madlen, Mass.: Blackwell. 351–373.
- Kalużyński, S. 1993. *Étimologičeskie issledovanija po jakutskomu jazyku – Mnogosložnye osnovy* 1. *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 48, 77–104.
- Ka:š = Ka:šgari:; see Maḥmu:d al-Ka:šgari:.
- Korkina, E. I. et al. (eds.) 1982. *Grammatika sovremennogo jakutskogo literaturnogo jazyka – Fonetika i morfologija*. Moskva: Nauka.
- Kowalewski, J. E. 1844–1849. *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français* 1–3. Kasan: Imprimerie de l'Université.
- Krueger, John R. 1962. *Yakut manual – Area handbook, grammar, graded reader and glossary*. (Uralic and Altaic Series 21.) Bloomington, The Hague: Indiana University-Mouton.

- Lessing, Ferdinand D. 1960. *Mongolian-English dictionary*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Maḥmu:d al-Ka:šgari:. *Compendium of the Turkic dialects (Di:wa:n Luga:t at-Turk)*. Edited and translated with introduction and indices by Robert Dankoff in collaboration with James Kelly. Parts I-III. (Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures 7; Turkish Sources 7.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Printing Office. 1982-1985.
- Mongolic, see Lessing 1960.
- New Redhouse Turkish-English dictionary* 1968. Istanbul: Redhouse.
- Old Turkic, see Clauson 1972.
- Pekarskij, È. K. 1917–1930. *Slovar' jakutskogo jazyka 1-3*. Leningrad": Akademija Nauk".
- Poppe, Nicholas 1954. *Grammar of written Mongolian*. (Porta linguarum orientalium, Neue Serie 1.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Poppe, Nikolaus 1959. Das Jakutische. In: Deny, Jean & Grønbech, Kaare & Scheel, Helmuth & Togan, Zeki Velidi (eds.) *Philologiae turcicae fundamenta* 1. Aquis Mattiacis: Steiner. 671–684.
- Slepcov, P. A. (ed.) 1972. *Jakutsko-russkij slovar'*. Moskva: Sovetskaja Ėnciklopedija.
- Stachowski, Marek & Menz, Astrid 1998. Yakut. In: Johanson, Lars & Csátó, Éva Á. (eds.) *The Turkic languages*. London, New York: Routledge. 417–433.
- Šu = Šinā-usu inscription, see Berta 2004.
- Tekin, Talat 1993. *Irk bitig – The book of omens*. (Turcologica 8.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- TMEN, see Doerfer 1963–1975.
- Turkic, see Clauson 1972.
- Turkish, see *New Redhouse Turkish-English dictionary* 1968.
- Xaritonov, L. N. 1947. *Sovremennyj jakutskij jazyk – Fonetika i morfologija*. Jakutsk: JaKGIZ.
- Yakut, see Pekarskij 1917–1930 and Slepcov 1972.

Actionality operators in Uyghur

Julian Rentzsch

Julian Rentzsch 2006. Actionality operators in Uyghur. *Turkic Languages* 10, 193-219.

Verb phrases generally convey actional notions. Basic phase structures and more complex actional structures are encoded both on the verb level and the phrase level. The internal phase structure (IPS) of the actional phrase is sensitive for the interaction with aspect viewpoint operators. The actional phrase, which is the operandum of aspect viewpoint items, may comprise among other things the verb core, arguments and satellites. Besides, there are special actionality operators in some languages including Turkic. These are grammatical items the primary task of which is to convey either primitive or more complex actional notions, and which may influence the IPS of the actional phrase. This contribution considers some actionality operators and their functions in Uyghur.

Julian Rentzsch, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, D-55099 Mainz.

1. Aspect and actionality

For the purpose of this article, I define aspect as the grammatical category that determines the perspective for viewing actional contents with respect to their limits.¹ Aspect comprises the two parameters *aspect viewpoint* (V) and *focality*. The basic viewpoint oppositions are *intraterminality* vs. *non-intraterminality* [$\pm$ INTRA], *postterminality* vs. *non-postterminality* [$\pm$ POST] and *adterminality* vs. *non-adterminality* [$\pm$ AD] (Johanson 2000: 29). Intraterminality denotes the view between the limits, i.e. into the cursus, of the actional phrase, postterminality the view after the transgression of the crucial limit of the actional phrase, and adterminality the view on the actional phrase at the moment of transgression of the crucial limit. The negative values denote negation or neutrality towards the respective aspectual notion. Usually, not all possible viewpoint oppositions are represented in a single language.

Focality is a scalar notion that determines the “angle of view” or, correspondingly, the range of vision around the viewpoint. Focal values can roughly be characterized as focal vs. non-focal [$\pm$ FOC] or, in more elaborate opposition systems, as high focal [HF], low focal [LF] and non-focal [NF]. Focal values can be employed as a strategy for suggesting a high degree of psychological relevance at V. [$-$ FOC] may evoke secondary readings of seriality or habituality (in the case of intraterminals), or anteriority (in the case of postterminals) without positively signalling these values.

There need not be more than one positively marked item in a given viewpoint opposition. In other words, in a given language with a given viewpoint opposition, there

¹ This definition builds on the aspect notion of Johanson, which is reflected in a great number of publications, among others Johanson 1971 and 2000. See also Rentzsch 2005.

need not be competing items of different focality. On the other hand, [+INTRA] and [+POST] items can be labelled as being high focal, low focal and non-focal even in the absence of a focality opposition. The focality value of a given item can be established by analysing certain aspecto-actional interaction patterns.

Focality is a feature only of positively marked aspect items and does not apply in the opposition [$\pm$ AD], where the positively marked member is always fully focal.

The aspectual notions of aspect viewpoint and focality are signalled on the expression plane by *aspect operators*. The operandum of aspect operators is the *actional phrase*. Actional phrases are linguistic units with a specific actional structure. Thus, actionality can be defined as the semantic structure of the actional phrase. The actional phrase is the representation of actional contents (“events”) on the expression plane. To each actional phrase, an *internal phase structure* (IPS) can be established. There is a limited set of primitive actional structures relevant to the aspecto-actional interaction: An actional phrase may be *transformative* or *non-transformative* [$\pm$ t]. Transformative phrases are either initio-transformative [+ti] or fini-transformative [+tf], depending on whether the initial limit (*terminus initialis*, τ_1) or the final limit (*terminus finalis*, τ_2) is critical for an event being considered as “having occurred”. An actional phrase may be *dynamic* or *non-dynamic* [$\pm$ dyn] depending on whether or not an internal process is involved. Lastly, an actional phrase may be *momentaneous* or *non-momentaneous* [$\pm$ mom] depending on whether or not it is characterized by an extension in time. Besides these primitive structures, which are sensitive for the interaction with aspect items, also more complex structures (e.g. repeatedness, singular occurrence, habitual occurrence, duration) can be encoded. These complex actional features may influence the IPS of a given actional phrase.

Certain actional features are encoded in the verb semantics. E.g., the Uyghur verb *tap-* ‘to find’ carries the features [+tf] and [+mom]. On the other hand, the verb *qaqaqla-* ‘to go ha-ha’ is characterized by the basic features [–t] and [+dyn] and by the complex feature [+serial]. Sometimes, actional features of derived verb stems may be predictable to a certain degree. E.g., DNV-derivations from nouns implying energeticity are often [+ti], e.g. *aččiq* ‘anger’ → *aččiqlan-* ‘to become angry + to be angry’, while DNV derivations from nouns implying non-energeticity are often [+tf], e.g. *huzur* ‘calmness’ → *huzurlan-* ‘to calm down’.

Relevant to the IPS of a given actional phrase is not only the semantic structure of the verb alone, but the whole actional complex including arguments (which need not necessarily be mentioned overtly in Turkic) and satellites, i.e. optional supplements in the scope of the verb phrase. Certain grammatical markers like negation (Johanson 2000: 72), potential, etc. may have secondary implications for the structure of the actional phrase, without actionality being the primary task of these items. Sometimes, even cotext and context may influence the IPS of an actional phrase. E.g., *derya aq-* ‘the river to flow’ will usually be interpreted as [–t], while *čay aq-* ‘the tea to flow’ will usually be interpreted as [+tf]. Cotextual influence is especially frequent in cases where an argument is deleted but understood from the textual environment. In addition to the factors mentioned so far, there are special operators in some languages

whose primary task is to convey actional notions, whether primitive or complex. These *actionality operators* may influence the IPS of the overall actional phrase.

Actionality operators may be productive or non-productive. Non-productive items include derivational elements like the de-intensifying (*V*)*msire-*, e.g. *kül-* 'to laugh' → *külümsire-* 'to smile'. Elements like this are restricted to a closed class of verb stems; derived stems containing this type of operators can be considered as lexical items. Productive items include synchronically unanalysable derivational elements like *Ival-* and *Ivet-* as well as periphrastic items building on postverbal segments like *Ip tur-* (for further information, see below).² Even fully productive items may be restricted in their combinability with verb stems. Such restrictions arise from semantical and logical affinities or aversions of the meaning of the verb stem to the function of the operator. On the other hand, some actionality operators may not be intercombinable with all existing aspectual and modal items, or may at least prefer certain combinations.

This contribution will deal with *productive actionality operators* exclusively.

2. Semantics of actional structures

On the general typology of actional values, the following remarks will suffice at this point:

As seen above, basic structures are characterizable by the oppositions [$\pm$ t], ([$\pm$ tf], [$\pm$ ti]), [$\pm$ dyn], [$\pm$ mom]. These oppositions are 'basic' in that they are critical for the aspecto-actional interaction. More complex values determine e.g. the direction in time and space and, as a metaphorical extension of the former, version. There are concepts related to dynamicity like abruptness, high energeticity ("force"), low energeticity, decay or destruction, etc. There are concepts connected to frequency like semelfactivity (uni-occasionality), iterativity (seriality) and habituality, and concepts connected to duration like durativity. Further notions, which are related to the domain of actionality only marginally, but which are to be mentioned in this context nonetheless, are concepts connected to the psychological attitude of the agent like carelessness, superficiality, spontaneity, regret and attempt.

3. Actional recategorization

Basic actional structures can be modified by various elements like arguments, satellites and actionality operators and by these means be expanded to more complex structures with a different IPS. This process is labelled *actional recategorization* (Johanson 2000: 66-76). There are three recategorization processes: *limitation* (LIM), *serialization* (SER) and *homogenization* (HOM). LIM renders transformative actional phrases, while SER and HOM render non-transformative phrases. One of several possibilities of defining a limit is to determine a specific direct object to a transitive

² There are also expressions based on nominal periphrasis, e.g. *mEKtE*, which may convey statal meanings (Rentzsch 2005: 81-93; Rentzsch in print). See below.

verb, e.g. *oqu-* 'to read' [-t, +dyn]; *kitap oqu-* 'to read in a book' [-t, +dyn] +LIM → *kitapni oqu-* 'to read the book' [+tf, -mom]. Serialization can be accomplished among other things by employing certain satellites signalling frequency, e.g. *kitapni oqu-* 'to read the book' [+tf, -mom] +SER → *yil mu yil kitapni oqu-* 'to read the book every year' [-t, +dyn]. Homogenization is triggered by various items like e.g. the potential suffix *EIE-*: *kitapni oquyala-* 'to be able to read the book' [-t, -dyn].

A phenomenon which has to be mentioned in this context is recategorization by means of systematical suppression or highlighting of the transformative phase of a given initio-transformative verb. For example, *oltur-* is a [+ti] verb which means 'to sit down' and 'to sit'. If a 'goal' in the DAT is mentioned, the actional phrase undergoes a process of limitation and becomes fini-transformative: *beñdinge oltur-* 'to sit down on a bench' [+tf]. If a 'place' in the LOC is mentioned, the actional phrase is homogenized and becomes non-transformative: *beñdiñde oltur-* 'to sit on a bench' [-t, -dyn] (see also Johanson 1971: 214-219).

4. Grammaticalization

As mentioned before, productive actionality operators comprise unanalysable suffixes, analysable postverbal items as well as nominal constructions. The most typical morphological structure of actionality operators is the *postverbal* construction, which may develop into phonetically reduced suffixes in diachrony. Postverbal constructions usually³ consist of a converbial word form and a postponed verb stem. The semantics of the latter stem is de-lexicalized and carries grammatical functions. The syntactic construction can be illustrated as <VERB STEM:CV + AUXILIARY STEM>.

The semantic path of grammaticalization of postverbal elements can be sketched as follows:

- (A) Syndetic connection of independent verbs
- (B) Modification of the succeeding verb
- (C) Modification of the preceding verb (partial loss of the original semantics of the postponed verb)
- (D) Signalization of purely actional values (complete loss of the original semantics of the postponed verb)
- (E) Signalization of aspectual values.

Semantic processes like these may be accompanied by a process of *morphological reduction*. Periphrastic items gradually fuse to unanalysable suffixes. The starting point for the process of fusion is a change in intonation as recorded by Imart (1981: 1599) in the Kirghiz sentences *Men kitep oqup # turdum* 'I read a book and stood up' vs. *Men kitep oqup turdum* 'I was reading in a book for a while' (Imart 1981: 1747). A more reduced item *Iptlr* (<*Ip turur*>) originating from the same postverbal combi-

³ For another construction type (two succeeding finite word forms), see Demir 1993: 40-52. This type is irrelevant to Uyghur.

nation renders a high focal postterminal: *Men kitep oqupturmun* ‘I have read a book’ (cf. Imart 1981: 1827).

The morphological process of fusion and reduction is optional during certain stages of semantic development, i.e. grammaticalization processes need not necessarily be paralleled by formal reduction (Bisang 2004). E.g., the fused Uyghur participle *Ivatqan* (< *Ip yatqan*) [+INTRA^{+FOC}] signals a similar value like the non-fused Kirghiz item *E jatqan* (< *E yatqan*) [+INTRA^{+FOC}]. On the other hand, one given item may signal various values without any morphological variation, the correct meaning being activated exclusively by the context. Plurifunctional items may display various discrete values or a continuum of scalar values.

Examples for Uyghur stage E items resulting from fusions are **Ip yata turur* > *Ip yatadur* > *Ivatidu* and *E turʻan* > *E durʻan* > *Ediʻan*. An example for a fused stage D item is *Ip al-* > *Ival-*.

Postverbal constructions may render lexical amalgams. Turkish has a verb *alıko(y)-* ‘to detain’ (stage D) building on a converbial form of *al-* ‘to take’ and a postverbal segment *ko(y)-* ‘to put’ which is restricted to this unique combination. There is no productive actionality operator *Iko(y)-* in standard Turkish. Uyghur has lexically amalgamized stage C verbs like *ekel-* ‘to bring hither’ (< *alıp kel-* ‘to take and come’), *eket-* ‘to take away’ (< *alıp ket-* ‘to take and go away’) and *appar-* ‘to bring thither’ (< *alıp bar-* ‘to take and go to some place’). Items with different degrees of fusion may co-exist simultaneously even with virtually the same meaning. For example, less fused variants of *ekel-* and *appar-*, viz *epkel-* (< *alıp kel-*) and *epbar-* (< *alıp bar-*) are encountered in some standard Uyghur texts:

- (1) *Rosiye emeldarliri qečip kelgen bu kişilerni boz yer özeštürüş üçün muşu yerge epkelip orunlaşturuptu.*
‘The Russian officials had brought the refugees to this place in order to cultivate the wasteland.’ (Şehidi 1986: 1)
- (2) *Üç ayliq tetil tügigendin keyin, dadam meni davamliq oqutuş üçün özi Qazanğa epberip qoydı.*
‘After three months of holidays, my father himself brought me to Kazan in order to continue the lectures.’ (Şehidi 1986: 4)

Formal variants like these may or may not result from diatopical variation.

In diachrony, identical or similar structures can be re-grammaticalized in a kind of cyclical grammaticalization, e.g. *Ip turur* > *Iptur* > *Iptu* [+POST^{HF}] on the one hand and *Ip tur-* [+dur] on the other, both items building on the converb *Ip* and the postverbal segment *tur-* ‘to stand’.

5. Actionality operators in Uyghur

What follows is a list of the actionality operators I could identify so far in written standard Uyghur. All items are supplemented by an explanation of the function as far

as I could establish it from the occurrences encountered. Each function identified is illustrated by at least one example. Remarks will be added in case a given operator displays rules with respect to the syntactic and semantic structure of the operandum (transitivity, intransitivity; volitionality, non-volitionality) or to the combination with aspectual items. Glosses are put into pointed brackets <...> and refer to the word forms or combinations immediately in front of them. They might not explain everything but still should be helpful for readers not familiar with Uyghur.

The items are ordered along the following parameters:

1. Fused, i.e. synchronically unanalysable items vs. non-fused, i.e. analysable ones,
2. Alphabetical order.

Note that with non-fused items, there is always an alternative possibility of interpretation according to the lexical meaning of the postponed verb (stages A and B). In this contribution, only examples will be quoted which strongly suggest a grammatical function. Morphemes of postverbal origin that do not primarily signal actional values, e.g. aspectual items or the potential *EIE-* < *E al-*, are ignored here.⁴

Ival-

Morphological structure: *Ip + al-* ‘to take’ [+tf, –mom]

Function: Carrying out the actional content to one’s own benefit or with respect to oneself (subjective version⁵).

Examples:

- (3) *Künlerdin bir küni dadisi Mis başni yene qıçqirivalidu.* <call:Ival.INTRA^{LF}.3>
‘One day, the father summoned Copperhead again.’ (UFA 200).
- (4) *Yamğur yaqqanda, yamğur sulirini yiğivalimiz.* <collect:Ival.INTRA^{LF}.1P>
‘When it rains, we collect rain water.’ (Turdi 1999: 408-409).
- (5) *Sözlivalsun.* <talk:Ival.IMP.3>
‘Let her talk! (i.e. May she talk to her own satisfaction.)’
(Abduveli 2001: 532-533)

Iver-

Morphological structure: Might build on *E + ber-* ‘to give’ [+tf, –mom] or on *E + yiber-* or *Ip + yiber-* ‘to send’ [+tf, –mom]. The semantics of this item resembles Uzbek *Ip + yubâr-* ‘to send’. However, the standard Uyghur verb for ‘to send’ is

⁴ Note that even the potential bears implications for the actional structure of a phrase in that it usually renders phrases with the IPS [–t, –dyn]. However, this implication is a secondary effect of a completely different grammatical function.

⁵ For a very instructive definition of the term *version* with examples from Georgian, see Christophe 2004: 41-44.

evet- (cf. next entry). In Uyghur dialects, variants of the verb denoting ‘to send’ are recorded as *(y)iber-*, *(y)iver-*, *ever-* etc. (Jarring 1964: 137); therefore, etymologizing this morpheme as *E/Ip + yiber-* seems possible.

Turkish has a homophonous actionality operator *Iver-* with similar meanings, which grammars of Turkish usually etymologize as *I + ver-* ‘to give’ (Brendemoen & Hovdhaugen 1992: 171; Ersen-Rasch 2001: 257; Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 79, 157; Kononov 1956: 209-210; Lewis 1967: 191). However, it has to be stated that the etymology of this item is by no means secure.

Function:

1. Carrying out the actional content spontaneously or casually (6).
2. Carrying out the actional content quickly (7).

Examples:

- (6) *Men bugün nahayiti aldıraş, birer iş bilen kelgen ademler bolsa, özün bir terep qiliver.* <make:Iver.IMP.2S>

‘I am extremely busy today; if somebody comes on a certain matter, simply decide on your own.’ (Ilyas 1998: 54)

- (7) *Vaqit xuddi meni qoyliyandek ötivergečke* <pass:Iver.CV>, *mënemge kirivalyan azablimni hazirçe untudum.*

‘As time was passing as if it was hunting me, I forgot the anguish in my head for the time being.’ (Abduveli 2001: 135-136)

Ivet-

Morphological structure: Might built on *Ip + et-* ‘to make, to do, to close’ (for the meanings, see Clauson 1972: 36; Jarring 1964: 100; UTIL 1: 231-232) or *Ip + evet-* ‘to send’ [+tf, –mom]. Due to its semantic resemblance to Uzbek *Ip + yubâr-* ‘to send’, the second possibility seems more plausible (this view is supported by Nadzhip 1971: 108 and Friederich 2002: 161; cf. the discussion in Tömür 1987: 408-409).

Functions:

1. Carrying out the actional content forcefully or abruptly (8-11).
2. Carrying out the actional content rapidly (12-15).
3. Carrying out the actional content casually (16-18).
4. Carrying out the actional content totally (19). In this function, the resulting actional phrase is [+tf].

As will be obvious from the examples, functions 1-3 are not always strictly distinct.

Examples:

- (8) *Apaq Xoñniñ piçaqçı sopiliri bu yerge kiridiyan su menbesini üzüvetkenidi.* <break:Ivet.POST^{IF}.PAST.3>

‘Afak Hoja’s knifer sufis had interrupted the water spring that entered the area.’ (Turdi 2002: 117)

- (9) *Uların qulıqı tıvide kōtürülgen bu tuyuqsız avaz Hēlimşanıñ gēpini üzüvetti.* <eat:Ivet.NEUT.3>
 ‘The sudden noise arising below their ears interrupted Halim Shah’s words.’
 (Turdi 1999: 120)
- (10) *Teqdir bu ikkiylenni qançe tēz uçraştırğan bolsa şunçe tēzla ayırivetti.* <separate:Ivet.NEUT.3>
 ‘As quickly as destiny had united these two, it had separated them again.’
 (Yünüs 1989: 570)
- (11) *Böre üzümni bek köp yevetkečke* <eat:Ivet.CV> *tamdin zadila sekrep çıqip kētelmeptu.*
 ‘As the wolf had devoured very many grapes, it could by no means jump across the wall any more.’ (Haşim 1981: 115)
- (12) *U ikkisiniñ mundaq qızın mu’amilisi Hejerniñ keypiyatidiki bayıqı xapılıqni birdemdila untulduruvetti.* <forget:PASS.CAUS.Ivet.NEUT.3>
 ‘The warm conduct of both of them let Hejer forget the indignation in his mind immediately.’ (Jélil 1989: 255)
- (13) *Girde xuy yēgendin kēyin tonurnıñ aızı ve dapxun éçivētilip* <open:Ivet.PASS.CV>, *otni yelpüp yēlinjıtidu.*
 ‘When the girde⁶ has become hot, one quickly opens the opening of the tandoor and the air slit and blows at the fire and makes it burn briskly.’ (XJBS)
- (14) *Çay yopurmiqı terkididiki köp miqdarlıq tannin kislataşı yēmekliklerdin qobul qilinidiğan aqsıl bilen birikkendin kēyin üçeyniñ lōmüldişini astilitip, yēmeklik qalduqliriniñ qorsaқта turuş vaqtını uzartivētidu* <prolong:Ivet.INTRA^{LF}.3> *hemde qevziyet peyda qilıuçı maddilarnıñ bedenge sümürülüşini aşırivētidu.* <increase:Ivet.INTRA^{LF}.3>
 ‘After the tannic acid, which is present in the tea leaves in large quantities, has combined with the protein taken in with the food, it reduces the peristalsis of the intestines, prolongs the time the food leftovers remain in the stomach and rapidly increases the incorporation of constipating substances.’ (XJBS)
- (15) *U yūğürüp kētivētip* <go:Ivet.CV> *ölgen Gomındañ eskiriniñ jēsitige yoluqtı.*
 ‘He rushed up to the corpse of the dead Guomindang soldier.’ (Sabir 1999b: 436)
- (16) *Vaqitni ötküzüvetmenlar.* <pass:CAUS.Ivet.NEG.IMP.2P>
 ‘Don’t waste your time.’ (Q. Turdi 1989: 31)

⁶ A round, thick kind of *nan* (bread) with a depression in the middle and sesame seed on its surface. Popular as travel provisions (XJBS; cf. Jarring 1964: 104).

- (17) *Selim yiraqlarğa tikilip sözlivetkenlikinimu* <talk:Ivet.VN.POSS.3.ACC.EMP> *tuymidi.*
 ‘Selim stared into the distance and did not even realize that he was talking to himself.’ (Behram 1999: 294)
- (18) *Kona quduqqa tašlivetsilimu* <throw:Ivet.COND.2.EMP> *bolıaniken.*
 ‘It even would have been all right if you had thrown her into an old well.’
 (Ilyas 1998: 232)
- (19) *Qar kömüvetken* <bury:Ivet.VA> *bir top çiγ*
 ‘A tuft of çiγ⁷ reed totally covered with snow’
 (Sadiq 2000: 338)

Ip baq-

Morphological structure: *Ip + baq-* ‘to look’ [–t, +dyn]

Functions:

1. Experientiality (20-22). Following Comrie’s (1976: 58-59) definition of the “experiential perfect” (“The experiential perfect indicates that a given situation has held at least once during some time in the past leading up to the present.”), I define experientiality as an actional modification presenting the actional content as having been valid at least once (negated: not yet) at a given point of view.

2. Attempt or venture (23-25).

This item often (but by no means obligatorily) combines with the postterminal aspect markers *GEn* and *GEn idi*.

Examples:

- (20) *Siz burun xanıda işlep baqqanmu?* <work:Ip+baq.POST^{LF}.Q>
 ‘Did you ever work in a mine?’ (Asim 2000: 33)
- (21) *Sultan Xoten šehiride bundaq čiraylıq hem nepis bēzelgen öyni ta hazirıçe körüp baqmıyanidi.* <see:Ip+baq.NEG.POST^{LF}.PAST.3>
 ‘Sultan never had seen a house so beautifully and exquisitely furnished in Khotan before.’ (Abduveli 2001: 394)
- (22) *Čünki, ular ilgiri bundaq gep-sözlerni anlap baqmıyanidi.* <hear:Ip+baq.NEG.POST^{LF}.PAST.3>
 ‘For they never had heard words like these before.’ (Asim 2000: 73)
- (23) *Karvandikiler šunče köp yol yürüpmu birer kēče aramxuda uxlap baqmidi.* <sleep:Ip+baq.NEG.NEUT.3>
 ‘Although the travellers in the caravan had walked such a long way, they could not expect to sleep a single night in a carefree way.’ (Turdi 1999: 121)

⁷ *Arundinella nepalensis* (Jarring 1964: 70).

- (24) *Bu nêmidu? – dëgen oy bilen, qolidiki tayi'ni bilen asta
 çoqulap baqmaqçı* <pick: Ip+baq.MOD> *bolidu.*
 'With the question "What is this?" in mind, he carefully ventured forward picking
 with the stick in his hand.' (UFA 199)
- (25) *Tova, mênin puštumdin Efridindek aldamčiniñ çıqışını oylapmu baqmiyaniken-
 men.* <think:Ip.EMP+baq.NEG.POST^{LF}.IND.1S>
 'My, I would never even have thought that a deceiver like Efridin would emerge
 from my loins.' (Sabir 1999a: 76)

Ip ber-

Morphological structure: *Ip + ber-* 'to give' [+tf, –mom]

Function: Carrying out the actional content to somebody else's benefit or with respect to somebody else (objective version).

Examples:

- (26) *Men [...] uçaŋğa kiyim qilip berdim.* <make:Ip+ber.NEUT.1S>
 'I provided you with clothes.' (Asim 2000: 66)
- (27) *Bu yaŋlıq mênin kelgenlikimniñ rastlıqını ispatlap béridu.* <prove:Ip+ber.INTRA^{LF}3>
 'This scarf will prove that it is true that I have arrived.' (Sadiq 1999: 348)
- (28) *Iş heqqimizni östürüp bérinlar!* <grow:CAUS.Ip+ber.IMP.2P>
 'Increase our wages!' (Asim 2000: 50)

Ip bol-

Morphological structure: *Ip + bol-* 'to become' [+tf, –mom]

Function: Makes the actional phrase fini-transformative [+tf]. May operate on transitive and intransitive verbs.

Examples:

- (29) *Bir sa'ettin köprek vaqittin këyin, çaqnıñ astidiki qumni
 kolap bolduq.* <dig:Ip+bol.NEUT.1P>
 'After more than one hour, we had dug away the sand beneath the wheel.'
 (Fušin 2005)
- (30) *Yeqilip bolğan* <bake:PASS.IP+bol.VA> *nannıñ yüzige yene su urulup tonurnıñ aŋzi
 him yépilidu.*
 'Water is sprinkled on the baked bread again and the opening of the tandoor is
 closed tight.' (XJBS)
- (31) *Bügün buni öginip bolmisam* <learn:Ip+bol.NEG.COND.1S> *bolmaydu.*
 'I have to finish learning this today.' (Abduveli 2001: 2)

Ip čiq-

Morphological structure: *Ip + čiq-* ‘to go out’ [+tf, –mom]

Function: Produces fini-transformative [+tf] actional phrases. This operator is intercombinable both with transitive and with intransitive verbs.

Examples:

- (32) *Bir küni dükünimizğa ellik-atmış yaşlarğa kirip qalğan bestlik bir qeri kişi kèlip, birmunçe kitap alğandin kèyin, maña sepsèlip qarap čiqip* <look:Ip+čiq.CV>, “Maña sizdek bir yigit kèrek idi, birerni tonušturup bèrelemsiz?” *didi.*
 ‘One day, a tall and sturdy oldster 50 or 60 years of age entered our shop. After he had bought a few books, he looked me up and down and said: “I would need a guy like you, can you introduce one to me?”’ (Šehidi 1986: 6)
- (33) *Qedimqi uyyur yèziğini oquşniñ tesligimu muşu seveptin kèlip čiqqan.* <come:Ip+čiq.POST^{LF}>
 ‘The difficulty of reading the Old Uyghur script arises (“has come”) from this very fact.’ (Mutiyi 1982: 23)
- (34) *Qiziq tonu baliniñ bəşidiki čəči bilen bir qevet tərisini köydürüp čiqqanda* <sear:Ip+čiq.CV>, *bala “Rexmet sizge!”*, *dep öyige qaytidu.*
 ‘When the hot tandoor had singed off the hair on his head and a layer of his scalp, the boy said “Thank you!” and went back home.’ (UFA 200)
- (35) *Xudayim buyrusa Erkin katta bir adem bolup čiqidiyan* <become:Ip+čiq.VA>
oxşaydu balam.
 ‘God willing, it seems that Erkin will become a great man, my child.’
 (Asim 2000: 316-317)

Ip čüş-

Morphological structure: *Ip + čüş-* ‘to fall, to descend’ [+tf, –mom]⁸

Function: Adds a shade of destructivity or deterioration to the action. Occurs rather infrequently, sometimes with a meaning close to the main verb (36), but also purely grammatical as in (37), where it combines with a transitive verb.

Examples:

- (36) *Paşayim pelempeydin čüşüvatqanda kimdur birsi Paşayimniñ putini qattiq dessivalanliqtin sentürülüp kètip yiqilip čüşkili* <fall:Ip+čüş.CV> *tas qaldı.*
 ‘When Pashayim was stepping down the stairs, she staggered as somebody stepped on her foot violently, and she almost fell.’
 (Yünüs 1989: 564)

⁸ This is only one prominent possibility. The IPS of *čüş-* is especially sensitive to the context.

- (37) *Ularınñ dukanliri malliriniñ toliliqi, xilliqi bilen hemme dukanlarni bésip çüşermiş!* <press:Ip+çüş.MOD.DISJ>
 ‘They say their shops will ruin all the other shops with their abundance and choice of goods.’ (Sabir 1999a: 108)

Ip kel-

Morphological structure: *Ip + kel-* ‘to come’ [+tf, –mom]

Function:

1. Spatial orientation of the action to its deictic center (38–41).
2. Temporal orientation of the action to its deictic center (42–44).

This is a very frequent operator. Although *kel-* as a lexical verb is [+tf], the post-verb *Ip kel-* in its second function does not imply [+tf].

Examples:

- (38) *U qaytip keptu.* <return:Ip+kel.POST^{HF}.3>
 ‘He has returned.’ (Behram 1999: 129)
- (39) *Xemit işikni éçip kirip keldi.* <enter:Ip+kel.NEUT.3>
 ‘Hamid opened the door and entered.’ (Asim 2000: 196)
- (40) *Davut attin sekrep çüşüp yügürüp keldi.* <run:Ip+kel.NEUT.3>
 ‘David jumped off the horse and approached him running.’
 (Behram 1999: 273)
- (41) *Kéyin aldinqi küni kēčiçe çiqqan borannıñ başqa yerdiki qumni bu yerge köçürüp kelgenlikini* <move:CAUS.Ip+kel.VN.POSS.3.ACC> *bilduq.*
 ‘Later we learned that the storm that had arisen the night before had shifted the sands from elsewhere to this place.’ (Fušin 2005)
- (42) *Oquşniñ şundaq tes boluşıya qarimay, bu yēziqnıñ şunçe uzun zamanıçe [...] işlitiлип kēlişi* <work:CAUS.PASS.Ip+kel.VN.POSS.3> *bu yēziq bilen ipadilengen mediniyetniñ yuquriliyidin bolıan.*
 ‘The fact that this script remained in use during such a long time in spite of its difficult readability is due to the high level of the civilization that manifests itself in this script.’ (Mutiyi 1982: 23)
- (43) *Mana men töt yildin buyan bayniñ harvikişi bolup işlep kēlivatimen.* <work:Ip+kel.INTRA^{HF}.1S>
 ‘I have been working as a cart driver for the bay for four years.’
 (Litip & Polat 1981: 176)
- (44) *U ta hazirıçe xañ astida kōmür çēpip işlep kēlivatidu.* <work:Ip+kel.INTRA^{HF}.3>
 ‘He has been working down in the coal mine to this day.’ (Asim 2000: 85)

Ip ket-

Morphological structure: *Ip + ket-* 'to go' [-t, +dyn]

Function:

1. Continuously progressing action (45-47).
2. Abruptness or suddenness (48-50).
3. Spatial (51-53), temporal (54-55) or figurative (56-58) orientation of the actional content away from its deictic center.

This item seems to operate on intransitive verbs only. It is a very frequent operator.

Examples:

- (45) *Islişip ketken* <soot:DNV.COOP.Ip+ket.VA> *mora iznasi*
'The contour of a chimney blackend by smoke'
(Ibrahim 1988: 8)
- (46) *Issiqtin qizip ketken* <become hot:Ip+ket.VA> *maşına*.
'The car that had become hot in the heat of the summer'
(Turdi 1999: 404)
- (47) *U [...] öz ehvaliniñ osallişip kêtivatqanliqini* <deteriorate:Ip+ket.VN.POSS.3.ACC>
sezgen idi.
'He had felt that his health was deteriorating.'
(Turdi 1999: 125)
- (48) *Sultan qaqaqlap külüp ketti-de.* <laugh:Ip+ket.NEUT.3>
'Sultan laughed out loudly' (Abduveli 2001: 538)
- (49) *Yeqinda, radi'odin 2-qumluq taşyoliniñ qurulidiyanliqi toyrısıdiki xeverni aqlap nahayiti süyünüp kettim.* <rejoice:Ip+ket.NEUT.1s>
'When I recently heard on the radio that a second desert highway will be constructed, I became extremely glad.' (Fuşin 2005)
- (50) *Sultanniñ demekçi bol'yanliri meñisidin yoqap ketti.* <disappear:Ip+ket.NEUT.3>
'Sultan forgot what he wanted to say.' (Abduveli 2001: 236)
- (51) *Qoş taptin sella çıqip ketken idi.* <go out:Ip+ket.POST^{LF}.PAST.3>
'The plough had got out of the furrow a little bit.' (Litip & Polat 1981: 188)
- (52) *Tülke arqisiya qarap çapti-de, bir çöplük içige kirip ketti.* <enter:Ip+ket.NEUT.3>
'The fox looked back and ran off. He entered a meadow.' (Ezizi 1987: 99)
- (53) *50 neççe döletniñ sehiye mutexessisi ve emeldari tünügün Kopinhagında yığın éçip, Yavrupada quş zukiminiñ tarqap ketişidin* <disperse:Ip+ket.VN.POSS.3.ABL>
saqliniş üçün, quş zukimiya taqabil turuş tedbiri ve mas heriket qolliniş üstide meslihetleşti.
'Health experts and officials from some 50 countries opened a conference in

Copenhagen yesterday and discussed measures and the taking of concerted action against bird flu in order to halt further spread of bird flu.’ (XJBS 20051025)

- (54) *Kirivèridiyan vaqit ötülüp ketti* <pass:Ip+ket.NEUT.3> *Alimjan başliq.*
 ‘The times are over in which one simply could stroll in, chairman Alimjan.’
 (Asim 2000: 196)
- (55) *Ozmiş Qağan text üstide uzaqtin uzaq xiyal sürüp oturup ketti.* <sit:Ip+ket.NEUT.3>
 ‘Ozmish Khan remained seated on his throne for a long time and was lost in thought.’ (Jilan 2005: 15)
- (56) *Qedimqi uyğur tili kök türk tilidin unçe köp perqlinip ketmeydu.* <diff:Ip+ket.NEG.INTRA^{LF}.3>
 ‘The Old Uyghur language does not differ very much from the language of the Kök Turks.’ (Mutiyi 1982: 21)
- (57) *Şu bir yili Aqbaşxan teripidin öltürülgen sopi-dervişler qatarida ölüp ketti.* <die:Ip+ket.NEUT.3>
 ‘He died among the sufis and dervishes that were slaughtered by Aqbash Khan that year.’ (Ilyas 1998: 173)
- (58) *Ĵëni çiqip kêtîške* <go out:Ip+ket.VN.DAT> *azla qaldi.*
 ‘He very nearly lost control over himself.’ (Sadiq 1998: 60)

Ip kör-

Morphological structure: *Ip + kör-* ‘to see’ [–t, +dyn]

Function: Attempt or venture (see *Ip baq-* 2).

Works on Uyghur grammar usually accept this item as a grammatical operator (Friederich 2002: 158; Hahn 1991: 615; Nadzhip 1971: 106; Scharlipp 1984: 98-101; Tömür 1987: 398-399). However, in the example given below (which is the only one I have found so far which suggests a grammatical meaning), *kör-* could also be interpreted lexically, i.e. ‘things unthought and unseen’. Until now, I have been unable to find other examples in literature in which *Ip kör-* is to be interpreted differently than lexically.

Example:

- (59) *Bu dunyada, oylap körmigen* <think:Ip+kör.NEG.VA> *işlar bolup turidiken*
 ‘In this world, things you would not even dare to think happen time and again.’
 (Ilyas 1998: 173)

Tömür (1987: 399) quotes the examples *Men sorap kördüm, bilmeydiken* ‘I tried to find out (literally ‘ask’), but it turned out that he did not know’, which is quite a good example for the assumed grammatical function, and *Sanap kördüm, durus iken* ‘I looked after by assuming and it turned out, that it was correct’ which looks more like a stage B connection of two lexical verbs.

Ip oltur-

Morphological structure: *Ip + oltur-* ‘to sit down, to sit’ [+ti]

Function: Seems to convey the meaning of dwelling on or lingering over the actional content. This item occurs rarely in the texts I have seen. The resulting actional phrase is [–mom] (i.e., either [–t] or [+ti] or [+tf, –mom]).

Example:

- (60) *Qedimqi uyğur yézida yézılın yadıkardıqları bu yerde tepsili tonuşturuq olturmaymız.* <present:Ip+oltur.NEG.INTRA^{LF}.1P>
 ‘We shall not dwell on a detailed presentation of the documents written in the Old Uyghur script here.’ (Mutiyi 1982: 25)

Ip öt-

Morphological structure: *Ip + öt-* ‘to pass’ [+tf, –mom]

Function:

1. Carrying out the actional content totally, i.e. to its very end (61-62). The resulting actional phrase is [+tf].
2. Carrying out the actional phrase briefly, superficially (63-64). The overall IPS is [+tf], too. In (64), the interaction of this function with a reference to the past produces a secondary reading ‘already’.

Examples:

- (61) *Buniñ bilen 1995-yili, yene Aptonom Rayonimiz qurulanlıqınıñ 40 yilliqi mezgilide Teklimakan qumluqını kəsip ötken* <cut:Ip+öt.VA> *vaqıttiki bezi işlar ésimge kélip qaldı.*
 ‘Furthermore, some events of 1995, the time of the 40th anniversary of the establishment of our Autonomous Region, when the Taklamakan desert was cut through, came into my mind.’ (Fušin 2005)
- (62) *Siler halaket dèñizini kəsip ötmekçi* <cut:Ip+öt.MOD> *bolivatisiler, qum barxanliri yolunları tosup qoyuşı mumkin. Teyyarlıqni yaxşı qilinglar.*
 ‘You are about to cut through the Ocean of Death; it is possible that sand drifts will cover your path. Be prepared well!’ (Fušin 2005)
- (63) *Peqet bediy edibiyatqa a’it bezi eserlernila körsitip ötimiz.* <show:Ip+öt.INTRA^{LF}.1P>
 ‘Let us just present some works of esthetical literature.’ (Mutiyi 1982: 25)
- (64) *Yuqurida éytip ötkinimdek* <say:Ip+öt.VA.POSS.1S.EQU>, *men 1944-yil 11-aynıñ 28-küni türmidin çıqtım.*
 ‘As already mentioned above, I was released from prison on November 28, 1944.’ (Şehidi 1986: 594)

Ip qal-

Morphological structure: *Ip + qal-* ‘to enter a state, to remain’ [+ti]

Functions:

1. Entering the situation of the actional content to occur (65-69).
2. Fini-transformativity [+tf] with the additional implication that the postterminal situation⁹ continues for an unspecific duration (70-72).
3. Pure fini-transformativity [+tf] without further implications for the temporal structure of the actional phrase (73-78).

In all its functions, this item obviously adds a component of non-volitionality or unintentionality. As transitivity mostly implies volitionality, *Ip qal-* frequently operates on intransitive verbs. An example to the contrary is (76) with *untu-* ‘to forget’ as a non-volitional, transitive verb.

Examples:

- (65) *Paşayim çandurmastin köziniñ quyuqida yénidiki yigitke qaridi ve ularniñ közliri uçrişip qaldi.* <encounter:Ip+qal.NEUT.3>

‘Pashayim secretly stole a glance at the guy beside her, and it happened that their eyes met.’ (Yünüs 1989: 563)

- (66) *Aptomobil qapsilip qalğan <trap:PASS.Ip+qal.VA> yerdin çiqip, barmaqçi bolğan menzilimizge davamlıq atlanduq.*

‘The car became free from where it had been stuck in. We got back in and proceeded to our destination.’ (Fušin 2005)

- (67) *Basmillar axir uyğurlarniñ çoq qoşuniğa uçrap qeliştin* <encounter:Ip+qal.VN.ABL> *ensirep qoşlaştin toxtidi.*

The Basmil were afraid to bump into the large army of the Uyghurs at last and gave up the pursuit.’ (Jilan 2000: 54)

- (68) *Köp oquğan ezimet iken, nemişqimu xanğa çiqip qalyandu?* <go out:Ip+qal.POST^{LF}.MOP>

‘He is an educated guy; how could it happen that he works down the mine?’ (Asim 2000: 70-71)

- (69) *Emise, sel tızrek mañayli, bolmisa menzilge yételmey qalimiz.* <reach:POT.NEG.Ip+qal.INTRA^{LF}.1P>

‘If so, let’s walk a little bit faster, otherwise (it will happen that) we won’t be able to reach our destination.’ (Ilyas 1998: 339)

- (70) *Paşayim nème déyişini bilmey turup qaldi.* <stand:Ip+qal.NEUT.3>

‘Pashayim remained standing without knowing what to say.’ (Yünüs 1989: 564)

⁹ I.e. the situation applying after the transgression of τ_C , i.e. in this case: the final limit.

- (71) *Danyal Xoǵa xéli uzaqqiçe gep qilmay turup qaldi.* <stand:Ip+qal.NEUT.3>
 ‘Daniel Hodja stood there for a long while without saying a word.’ (Ilyas 1998: 102)
- (72) *Sultanniñ bēši yerge sañgilap qalǵanıdı.* <dangle:Ip+qal.POST^{LF}.PAST.3>
 ‘Sultan hung his head.’ (Abduveli 2001: 178)
- (73) *Siz kičik bala emes, čoñ bolup qaldıñız.* <become:Ip+qal.NEUT.2s>
 ‘You are not a small child; you have become big.’ (Ezizi 1987: 70)
- (74) *Men bolsam qērip qaldım.* <become old:Ip+qal.NEUT.1s>
 ‘As for me, I have become old.’ (UFA: 198)
- (75) *Qarliq taγ čoqqılırimu yiraqlarda kōrūñup qalidu.* <see:PASS.Ip+qal.INTRA^{LF}.3>
 ‘Also snow covered mountain tops became visible in the distance.’
 (Sabir 1999a: 132)
- (76) *Tamaq yēvišni untup qaptu!* <forget:Ip+qal.POST^{HF}.3>
 ‘He has totally forgotten to eat!’ (Turdi 1998: 22)
- (77) *Čokisiya qarimamsiler, leymende uxlap qaptu.* <sleep:Ip+qal.POST^{HF}.3>
 ‘Look at his chopsticks; they have fallen asleep in the leghmen.’¹⁰
 (Turdi 1998: 22)
- (78) *Toxti öziniñ aldinip qalǵanlıyini emdila čüşendi.* <deceive:PASS.Ip+qal.VN.POSS.3.ACC>
 ‘At this very moment Tokhti realized that he had been cheated.’ (Litip & Polat 1981: 192)

Ip qoy-

Morphological structure: *Ip + qoy-* ‘to put’ [+tf, –mom]

Function: Carrying out the actional content casually, carelessly or temporarily.

Examples:

- (79) *Memet arilap-arilap köziniñ quyruqida Paşayimğa qarap qoyatti.* <look:Ip+qoy.INTRA^{LF}.PAST.3>
 ‘Time and again Memet stole a glance at Pashayim.’ (Yünüs 1989: 565)
- (80) *Šopur ikkimiz bir-birimizge qarap qoyǵandın kēyin qum kolaš sür’itini tezlettıuq.* <look:Ip+qoy.CV>, *qum kolaš*
 ‘After the driver and I had given a quick glance at one another, we increased the speed of our digging’ (Fušin 2005)

¹⁰ “A dish, consisting of boiled strips of dough” (Jarring 1964: 182).

- (81) *U arilap-arilap töpilikler arisidin čiray
körsitip qoyidu-de* <show:Ip+qoy.INTRA^{LF}.3>, *yene yoqilip këtidu.*
'Time and again it quickly showed its face between the hills and disappeared again.' (Sabir 1999a: 132)
- (82) *Derya boyıya taşlap qoyğan* <throw:Ip+qoy.VA> *telpek qèlipiğa oxşap këtidiğan
bu döñ*
'This hill that resembled a fur cap thrown at the bank of the river'
(Ibrahim 1988: 8)
- (83) *Ėkskursiyiçiler uniñğa diqqiti čëčilğan halda anda-munda
qarapla qoyidu* <look:Ip.EMP+qoy.INTRA^{LF}.3>, *xalas!*
'Occasionally, the excursionists just looked at him absent-mindedly, that's all.'
(Turdi 1998: 113)

Ip sal-

Morphological structure: *Ip + sal-* 'to put, to place' [+tf, –mom]

Alleged function: Carrying out the actional content unintentionally, accidentally.

This combination is recorded in some publications on Uyghur, e.g. Hahn (1991: 616-617), Friederich 2002: 162, Schwarz (1992: 462). I have not been able to find any occurrence of it to this day. Friederich (2002: 162) mentions among others the following examples: *Tilini čişlep saldı* 'He bit his tongue'; *Bala iştiniğa siyip saldı* 'The child made a mess in its pants'.

Ip taşla-

Morphological structure: *Ip + taşla-* 'to throw' [+tf, –mom]

Function:

1. Carrying out the actional content casually, without effort (84).
2. Carrying out the actional content carelessly, accidentally (85-86).

Examples:

- (84) *Čaşqan kèlip ötkür čişliri bilen ayañčilarni bir demdila
qırqıp taşlaptu* <cut:Ip+taşla.POST^{HF}.3> *de, širni azat qiptu.*
'The mouse came closer, gnawed through the ropes in a trice and set the lion free.' (Hašim 1981:121)
- (85) *Šuniñ bilen uniñ tumşuynimu yasap qoymaqči bolup, yèrimini
kèsip taşlaptu.* <cut:Ip+taşla.POST^{HF}.3>
'For that reason he also wanted to embellish its beak also and cut off half of it.'
(Hašim 1981: 118)
- (86) *Netiñde oxşaşla Qıpçaq tili guruppisiğa mensup bolğan Qazaq ve Qırğız tilliri bir
biridin bek yıraq ayrip taşlanğan.* <divide:Ip+taşla.PASS.POST^{LF}.3>
'Consequently, the Kazakh and Kirghiz languages that both belong to the Kipchak group were put into totally different subgroups as well.' (Mutiyi 1982: 16-17)

Ip tur-

Morphological structure: *Ip + tur-* ‘to stop/to stand up + to stand’ [+ti]

Function: Durativity [+dur], i.e. the actional content is presented as having a certain extension in time. Based on this core meaning, this item often produces serial (e.g. 87, 94), sometimes habitual (88, 89) or state-like (95) readings without positively signalling any of these features. The different kinds of readings can be supported by appropriate satellites (e.g. *her yili* ‘every year’ in 89). Obviously, this item always has a non-transformativizing effect on the actional phrase.¹¹

This actionality operator displays an affinity to combining with the low focal intraterminal aspect operators *Edu* and *Etti* [+INTRA^{LF}] in finite position (rendering *Ip turidu*, *Ip turatti*, see examples 87-90) and with the aspectually neutral participle in *GEN* in attributive position (rendering *Ip turıan*, see examples 92-94). The other syntactic positions, i.e. converb clauses and constituent clauses, do not display equally striking combination patterns.

This is an extremely frequent item, which fact is illustrated by example (95) in which it occurs thrice in different syntactic positions. *Ip tur-* may operate both on transitive and on intransitive verbs.

Note that there is also an invariable modal converb *Ip turup* that denotes the manner how or the circumstances under which the superordinated action is carried out: *Šu vaqıtta möşük ornidin sekrep turup, oğriniñ üzige étılıp morlaşqa başlaydu*. ‘At this very moment the cat, leaping up from its place, threw itself at the thief’s face and started scratching him’ (UFA 199) <jump:Ip+turup> This item has no actional function at all; rather it is used to form modifying satellites from verbals. As such, it can be compared to *bolup* (cf. Turkish *olarak*), which forms modifying satellites from nominals as in *harvikeş bolup işle-* ‘to work as a cart driver’ (see example 43 above; cf. Turkish *arabacı olarak çalış-*).

There is also a construction *Gili tur-* ‘to commence’, i.e. the converb in *Gili*, which relates the relevant limit (τ_R) of the actional phrase to the aspect viewpoint or a non-aspectual orientation point marked at or suggested by the matrix clause (often resulting in readings like ‘since’ or ‘in order to’)¹², combined with *tur-* ‘to stand’. Like all constructions with the meaning ‘to begin’, the resulting actional phrase is always fini-transformativ [+tf, –mom]. As the meaning of this item is evident, it will not be considered in detail here.

Examples:

¹¹ Contrary to the first intention, *bölüp tur-* ‘to divide’ of example (95) is not transformativ [+tf, –mom], but non-transformativ [–t, –dyn]. The actional content *divide* may refer to two extralinguistic situations, viz. a processual situation implying an internal development and a potential final limit as in *He is dividing the cake in four parts* and a statal situation without an internal development as in *The equator divides the earth into two halves*.

¹² A more detailed account of the function of *Gili* is given in Rentzsch 2005: 169-170.

- (87) *Dala ħmliqini peqet at-ulaqlarniñ boñuz çayniyan avazi bilen bi'ep yètip qalğan-larniñ xoreklirila buzup turidu.* <break:Ip+tur.INTRA^{LF}.3>
 'Only the noise of the beasts of burden chewing the fodder, and the snoring of those lying uncomfortably are breaking the silence of the wilderness.'
 (Turdi 1999: 76)
- (88) *Bu dunyada, oylap körmigen işlar bolup turidiken.* <become:Ip+tur.INTRA^{LF}.IND.3>
 'In this world, things happen you would not even dare to think.' (Ilyas 1998: 173)
- (89) *Gorkiniñ yurti Nèžnida her yili sekkizinçi ayda yermenke ötküzülüp turatti.* <pass:CAUS.PASS.Ip+tur.INTRA^{LF}.PAST.3>
 'In Nižnij, the home of Gorki, a trade fair took place every August.'
 (Šehidi 1986: 6)
- (90) *Men Moskva-Lénin toñrisidiki xéli ħq kitablarni, šéirlarni oquyanliqim üçün, Moskvağa yèqinlaşqanséri hayañlanmay turalayttimmu?! <get excited:NEG.Ip+tur.POT.INTRA^{LF}.PAST.1S.Q>*
 'How could I, having read so many books and poems on Moscow and Lenin, remain calm (lit. 'unexcited') as we were approaching Moscow?'
 (Sabir 1999a: 137-138)
- (91) *Bu gepler uniñ quliqiğa nahayiti oçuq añlinip turdi.* <hear:PASS.Ip+tur.NEUT.3>
 'These words reached his ears very clearly.' (Turdi 1999: 30)
- (92) *Bular kèlivètip, işik aldida muñlinip turğan <be gloomy:Ip+tur.VA> möšükke yoluqidu.*
 'They are coming closer and meet the cat that is sitting gloomily before the door.'
 (UFA: 198)
- (93) *Öyge kirse, kañniñ üstide bir qizirip turğan <become red:Ip+tur.VA> çoñi köridu.*
 'As he enters the house, he sees a piece of coal that is glowing red on the platform of the oven.' (UFA 199)
- (94) *Meyin šamalda irñanlap turğan <sway:Ip+tur.VA> aq terekleriniñ köpkök yapaqliri*
 'The deep green leaves of the white poplars swaying in the light wind'
 (Abduveli 2001: 536)
- (95) *Bu yerniñ bir alahidiliki, öydin çiqsila çoqqiliridin qar ketmeydiyan ve ħerbiy diyarni ikkige bölüp turidiyan <divide:Ip+tur.VA> Teñritèyi körünüp tursa <see:PASS.Ip+tur.COND>, yene bir tereptin, šu heyvetlik tay bañliridin buñunlinip çiqqan sularin peyda bolğan Ili deryasiniñ šavqunliri añlinip turatti.* <hear:PASS.Ip+tur.INTRA^{LF}.PAST.3>
 'A special feature of this place was that, as soon as you step out of the house, the Tianshan became visible, the peaks of which are always covered with snow and that divides the western land into two; and on the other hand the roaring of the Ili river became audible, which originates from the water emerging from the slopes of these mountains foamingly.' (Ilyas 1998: 21)

Ip tüget-

Morphological structure: *Ip + tüget-* ‘to consume, to finish’ [+tf, –mom]

Function: Finishing the actional content. The resulting actional phrase is always [+tf]. However, this item is not a bare [+tf] operator, but points to the final point of the action more explicitly.¹³ An alternative construction to this postverb is *Iştin tüget-* <VN:ABL+finish>. Complementary constructions, i.e. constructions meaning ‘to begin’, are the above-mentioned *Gili tur-* and *IşKE başla-* <VN:DAT+begin>. A converb-based equivalent **Ip başla-* does not exist in Uyghur. *Ip tüget-* obviously only operates on transitive verbs.

Examples:

- (96) *Xetni oqup tügetküçe* <read:Ip+tüget.CV>
 ‘Until he finished reading the letter’ (Sadiq 1998: 60)

- (97) *Muşu xil muhit içide erişidiyanlirimya erişip, yazidiyanlirimni tezrek yézip tügetsem* <write:Ip+tüget.COND.IS> *sen hemmini çüşinip qalisen.*
 ‘If I achieve what I want to achieve, and finish writing what I want to write faster in this environment, you will understand everything.’ (Abduveli 2001: 538)

Ip yür-

Morphological structure: *Ip + yür-* ‘to walk’ [–t, +dyn]

Function: Durativity [+dur] combined with dynamicity [+dyn]. The resulting actional phrase is always non-transformative [–t]. Operating on fini-transformative contents, a secondary reading of seriality or habituality arises.

Examples:

- (98) *Şundin keyin Hörnisa Eysa Yavaşın özini qaçurup yürdi.* <flee:CAUS.Ip+yür.NEUT.3>
 ‘From this day onward, Hörnisa kept away from Eysa Yavash.’ (Yünüs 1989: 576)

- (99) *Éşek égisiniñ qolida uzun žillar işlep žürüp*¹⁴ <work:Ip+yür.CV>, *iştin zalıqı, bir küni égisige aççıq qılıp öydin çıqıp kétidu.*
 ‘A donkey had been working for his master for many years and had become tired of the work. One day, he became angry with his master and left his home.’
 (UFA: 198)

¹³ I.e. it carries a semantic surplus in addition to [+tf]. *Xetni oqu-* ‘to read the letter’ of example (96) alone is already [+tf], but *Xetni oqup tüget-* means ‘to finish reading the letter’. In this respect, the item can be compared to complementary constructions like *Gili tur-* ‘to begin’, which are also [+tf] but carry a meaning in addition to [+tf]. *Xetni oquyli tur-* is [+tf] like *Xetni oqu-* but means ‘to begin reading the letter’.

¹⁴ *žür-* is the Soviet/GUS standard variant of *yür-*, which is sometimes pronounced *žür* in Xinjiang, too.

- (100) *Dukandar érinmey tolğap yürüp* <twist:Ip+yür.CV>, *axir bir yerdin orduče sözlevatqan bir qanalni tapti.*
 ‘The shopkeeper turned the button incessantly. Finally, he found a channel on which Urdu was spoken.’ (Turdi 1999: 119)
- (101) *Hej qiliş – Atixanniñ uzaq yillardin béri köñlige püküp yürgen* <bend:Ip+yür.VA> *yüksek arzusi idi.*
 ‘Going on the pilgrimage was a desire Ata Khan had been bearing in mind for many years.’ (Turdi 1999: 10)

6. *mEKtE* as an actionality operator

The morphological form *mEKtE* occurs in various Turkic languages in different functions which are commented on in detail elsewhere (Rentzsch in print). The morphological structure is completely different from the postverbal combinations mentioned above. Still, *mEKtE* may have a function in Uyghur which can be said to be actional with quite a bit of justification.

mEKtE is originally the combination of a verbal noun in *mEK*, which is in itself aspectually neutral, with the locative in *DE*. In later stages of grammaticalization, this combination may predicate finite sentences and develop actional and aspectual functions.

In Uyghur, *mEKtE* is not a purely actional item but is in a transitional state which results in two different functions. The appropriate interpretation is triggered by cotext or context.

The function of *mEKtE* may be pre-aspectual, i.e. form statal [+stat] expressions of the type *Asmanda quşlar uçmaqta* ‘In the sky there are birds in flight’. These are nominal expressions referring to states without suggesting an internal development. It is irrelevant whether the state referred to is physically dynamic. Actions like the flight of birds or the flow of a river, while being dynamic by nature, may be presented in language as being devoid of dynamicity.

The second function of *mEKtE* in Uyghur is aspectual, signalling high focal intraterminality as in expressions like *Axirqi šehirlerdin ötmektimiz* ‘We are passing the last towns’ (Sabir 1999a: 138).

As an item suitable for the presentation of states, Uyghur *mEKtE* may be considered belonging to the domain of actionality. However, due to its advance into the domain of aspectuality, it is neither an unambiguous nor a typical member of the inventory of actionality operators in Uyghur.

7. Semantic features of the actionality operators of Uyghur

The items considered above convey a large variety of actional notions. Actionality operators *sensu stricto* signalize notions connected to the direction in time and space, version, dynamicity, frequency and duration. Some items exclusively mark IPS features (*Ip bol-*, *Ip čiq-*) and can be compared to Indo-European preverbials as in German *durchlesen* or *aufessen*, others carry more complex functions that directly affect

the IPS of the actional phrase (e.g. *Ip qoy-*, *Ip tur-*, *Ip tüget-*, *Ip yür-*), still others have no implications for the IPS at all. Items on the margin of actionality add psychological features to the action.

Some of the main actional features of the Uyghur actionality operators are summarized in the table below. Note that the oppositions in this table are not treated privatively, i.e. a negative feature is only ticked in cases where a given operator obligatorily renders an actional phrase characterized by the negative feature.

	[+t]	[-t]	[+dyn]	[-dyn]	[+mom]	[-mom]	[+stat]	[+ser]
<i>Ival-</i>								
<i>Iver-</i>			x					
^{1,2,3} <i>Ivet-</i>			x					
⁴ <i>Ivet-</i>	x		x					
<i>Ip baq-</i>								
<i>Ip ber-</i>								
<i>Ip bol-</i>	x		x			x		
<i>Ip čiq-</i>	x		x			x		
<i>Ip čüş-</i>			x			x		
<i>lIp kel-</i>	x		x			x		
² <i>Ip kel-</i>						x		
^{1,2} <i>Ip ket-</i>			x					
³ <i>Ip ket-</i>								
<i>Ip kör-</i>								
<i>Ip oltur-</i>						x		
<i>Ip öt-</i>	x		x			x		
<i>Ip qal-</i>	x		x			x		
<i>Ip qoy-</i>	x		x			x		
<i>Ip sal-</i>	x		x					
<i>Ip tašla-</i>	x		x					
<i>Ip tur-</i>		x				x		
<i>Ip tüget-</i>	x		x			x		
<i>Ip yür-</i>		x	x			x		
<i>mEKtE</i>		x		x		x	x	

As can be seen from the table, there is obviously no operator in Uyghur that obligatorily signals the features [+mom] and [+ser]. The items *Ival-*, *Ip baq-*, *Ip ber-* and *Ip kör-* seem to be indifferent to primitive IPS features. For the items *Ivet-*, *Ip kel-* and *Ip ket-*, different stages of semantic development that are directly connected with IPS features coexist without any discernible morphological variation. The relevant function is activated by the context exclusively. Only *Iver-* and *Ip oltur-* seem to be connected with just one IPS feature.

Abbreviations

ABL	ablative	[NF]	non-focal
ACC	accusative	NEUT	neutral aspect [(-INTRA) (-POST)]
[±AD]	adterminal vs. non- adterminal	P	plural
CAUS	causative	PASS	passive
COND	conditional	PAST	past
COOP	cooperative	POSS	possessive
CV	converb	[±POST]	postterminal vs. non- postterminal
DAT	dative	POT	potential
DISJ	disjunctive	Q	question
DNV	denominal verb	S	singular
[±dur]	durative vs. non-durative	SER	serialization
[±dyn]	dynamic vs. non-dynamic	[±ser]	serial vs. non-serial
EMP	emphatic particle	[±stat]	statal vs. non-statal
EQU	equative	[±t]	transformative vs. non- transformative
[±FOC]	focal vs. non-focal	[+tf]	fini-transformative
[HF]	high focal	[+ti]	initio-transformative
HOM	homogenization	τ_C	crucial limit
IMP	imperative	τ_R	relevant limit
IND	indirective	τ_1	terminus initialis
[±INTRA]	intraterminal vs. non- intraterminal	τ_2	terminus finalis
IPS	internal phase structure	V	aspect viewpoint
[LF]	low focal	VA	verbal adjective (participle)
LIM	limitation	VN	verbal noun
LOC	locative	1	first person
MOD	modal	2	second person
MOP	modal particle	3	third person
[±mom]	momentaneous vs. non- momentaneous		
NEG	negative		

References

- Bisang, Walter 2004. Grammaticalization without coevolution of form and meaning as an areal phenomenon in East and mainland Southeast Asia – the case of tense-aspect-mood (TAM). In: Bisang, Walter & Himmelmann, Nikolaus P. & Wiemer, Björn (eds.). *What makes grammaticalization? A look from its fringes and its components*. (Trends in Linguistics Studies and Monographs 158.) Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 109-138.
- Bodrogligeti, András J. E. 2001. *A grammar of Chagatay*. (Languages of the World/Materials 155.) München: LINCOM.
- Brendemoen, Bernt & Hovdhaugen, Even 1992. *Tyrkisk grammatikk*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Brockelmann, C. 1954. *Osttürkische Grammatik der islamischen Litteratursprachen Mittelasiens*. Leiden: Brill.
- Christophe, Bernard 2004. *Studier i de sydkaukasiske sprogs aspektologi*. (Acta Humaniora 190.) Oslo.
- Clauson, Gerard 1972. *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Comrie, Bernard 1976. *Aspect. An introduction to the study of verbal aspect and related problems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Demir, Nurettin 1993. *Postverbien im Türkeitürkischen. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung eines südanatolischen Dorfdialektes*. (Turcologica 17.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Eckmann, János 1959. Das Tschaghataische. In: Deny, Jean & Grønbech, Kaare & Scheel, Helmuth & Togan, Zeki Velidi (eds.) 1959. *Philologiae turcicae fundamenta* 1. Aquis Mattiacis: Steiner. 138-160.
- Ersen-Rasch, Margarete I. 2001. *Türkische Grammatik für Anfänger und Fortgeschrittene*. Ismaning: Hueber.
- Friederich, Michael 2002. *Uyghurisch Lehrbuch*. In Zusammenarbeit mit Abdurishid Yakup. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Göksel, Aslı & Kerslake, Celia 2005. *Turkish: A comprehensive grammar*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Hahn, Reinhard F. 1991. *Spoken Uyghur*. Seattle & London: University of Washington Press.
- Hahn, Reinhard F. 1998. Uyghur. In: Johanson, Lars & Csató, Éva (eds.) 1998. *The Turkic languages*. London & New York: Routledge. 379-396.
- Imart, Guy 1981. *Le kirghiz. Turk d'Asie Centrale Soviétique*. 1-2. Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence.
- Jarring, Gunnar 1964. *An Eastern Turki-English dialect dictionary*. (Lunds Universitetets Årskrift 56/4.) Lund: CWK Gleerup.
- Johanson, Lars 1971. *Aspekt im Türkischen. Vorstudien zu einer Beschreibung des türkeitürkischen Aspektsystems*. (Studia Turcica Upsaliensia 1.) Uppsala.
- Johanson, Lars 1995. On Turkic converb clauses. In: Haspelmath, Martin & König, Ekkehard (eds.) 1995. *Converbs in cross-linguistic perspective. Structure and meaning of adverbial verb forms – adverbial participles, gerunds*. (Empirical approaches to language typology 13.) Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 313-347.
- Johanson, Lars 1998. The structure of Turkic. In: Johanson, Lars & Csató, Éva (eds.) 1998. *The Turkic Languages*. London & New York: Routledge. 30-66.

- Johanson, Lars 2000. Viewpoint operators in European languages. In: Dahl, Östen (ed.). *Tense and Aspect in the Languages of Europe*. EURO-TYP 20-6. Berlin & New York: de Gruyter, 27-187.
- Kononov, A. N. 1956. *Grammatika sovremennogo tureckogo literaturnogo jazyka*. Moskva & Leningrad.
- Lewis, Geoffrey L. 1967. *Turkish grammar*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.
- Nadzhip, E. N. 1971. *Modern Uigur*. Moscow.
- Pritsak, Omeljan 1959. Das Neuigurische. In: Deny, Jean & Grønbech, Kaare & Scheel, Helmuth & Togan, Zeki Velidi (eds.) 1959. *Philologiae turcicae fundamenta* 1. Aquis Mattiacis: Steiner. 525-563.
- Rentzsch, Julian 2005. *Aspekt im Neuigurischen*. (Turcologica 65.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Rentzsch, Julian in print. On Turkic mEktE, to appear in *Acta Orientalia* 67.
- Scharlipp, Wolfgang-Ekkehard 1984. *Auxiliarfunktionen von Hauptverben nach Konverb in der neuigurischen Schriftsprache von Sinkiang*. (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 87.) Berlin: Schwarz.
- Schönig, Claus 1984. *Hilfsverben im Tatarischen. Untersuchungen zur Funktionsweise einiger Hilfsverbverbindungen*. (Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz (VOK) 35.) Wiesbaden: Steiner.
- Schwarz, Henry G. 1992. *An Uyghur-English dictionary*. Bellingham: Western Washington.
- Tömür, Xemit 1987. *Hazırqı zaman uyğur tili gramatikisi (Morfologiya)*. Beijing. [Translation: Tömür, Hämit 2003. *Modern Uyghur grammar (Morphology)*. Translated by Anne Lee. Dil ve Edebiyat Dizisi 3. Istanbul: Yıldız.]
- UTIL: *Uyğur tiliniñ ızahlıq luğiti 1990-1999. Şınjañ uyğur aptonom rayonluq milletler til-yèziq xızmeti komitèti luğet bölümi tüzgen*. 1-6. Beijing.

Primary sources:

- Abduveli, Hüsenjan 2001. *Közge aylanğan köñül*. Ürümçi: Şınjañ xelq neşriyatı.
- Asim, Feyret 2000. *Yıllıma insan*. Ürümçi: Şınjañ xelq neşriyatı.
- Behram, Jalalidin 1999. *Mehrigiyah*. Ürümçi: Şınjañ xelq neşriyatı.
- Ezizi, Seypidin 1987. *Sutuq Buğaxan*. Beijing: Milletler neşriyatı.
- Fuşin, Jan 2005. *Halaket dènzidiki eslimiler*. XJBS 20050629.
- Haşim, Exet (ed.) 1981. *Uyğur xelq meselliri*. Ürümçi: Şınjañ xelq neşriyatı.
- Ibrahim, Ebeydulla 1988. *Tündiki çaqmaq*. Ürümçi: Şınjañ yaşlar – ösmürler neşriyatı.
- Ilyas, Yüsüp 1998. *Èyir tınıqlar*. Ürümçi: Şınjañ xelq neşriyatı.
- İlil, Qahar 1989. Turmuş qaynimida. In: Exet Turdi (ed.) 1989. *Boğda ata*. Beijing: Milletler neşriyatı. 228-311.
- İlan, Perhat 2000. *Orxun şeşerisi*. Ürümçi: Şınjañ xelq neşriyatı.
- Litip, Muhemmet & Polat, Muhemmet 1981. *Çin dostluq*. Beijing: Milletler neşriyatı.
- Muti, Ibrahim 1982. Memlikitimizdiki türki tillar ve bu heqtiki ilmiy tetqiqat. In: Rehim, Zayit 1982 (ed.). *Türki tillar tetqiqati*. Part 1. Beijing: Milletler neşriyatı, 1-72.
- Sabir, Zordun 1999a. *Qerzdar*. Ürümçi: Şınjañ yaşlar – ösmürler neşriyatı.
- Sabir, Zordun 1999b. *Gülemxan*. Ürümçi: Şınjañ yaşlar – ösmürler neşriyatı.
- Sadiq, Mehmetjan 1998. *Zulpiqar* 1. Ürümçi: Şınjañ xelq neşriyatı.
- Sadiq, Mehmetjan 1999. *Zulpiqar* 2. Ürümçi: Şınjañ xelq neşriyatı.
- Sadiq, Mehmetjan 2000. *Zulpiqar* 3. Ürümçi: Şınjañ xelq neşriyatı.
- Şehidi, Burhan 1986. *Şınjañniñ 50 yili*. Beijing: Milletler neşriyatı.

- Turdi, Exet 1998. *Yiraqta qalʻan muhebbet*. Ürümçi: Şinǵaǵ yaşlar – ösmürler neşriyati.
- Turdi, Exet 1999. *Sersan roh*. Qeşqer: Qeşqer uyğur neşriyati.
- Turdi, Exet 2002. *Bextsiz se'idiye*. Ürümçi: Şinǵaǵ xelq neşriyati.
- Turdi, Exet (ed.) 1989. *Boǵda ata*. Beijing: Milletler neşriyati.
- Turdi, Qeyyum 1989. Boyda ata. In: Exet Turdi (ed.) 1989. *Boǵda ata*. Beijing: Milletler neşriyati. 2-93.
- UFA: *Uyğur folkloriniñ antologiyasi*. Alma Ata 1988.
- XJBS: <http://uygur.chinabroadcast.cn>
- Yünüs Tursun'ay 1989. Hayat siniqi. In: Exet Turdi (ed.) 1989. *Boǵda ata*. Beijing: Milletler neşriyati. 561-635.

On Tatar converb clauses and their argument structure

Teija Greed

Greed, Teija 2006. On Tatar converb clauses and their argument structure. *Turkic Languages* 10, 220-245.

Converbs are common in many, especially non-European languages. Among these are Turkic languages, which have attracted considerable attention in recent years due to the central role converbs play in their syntax. The present paper discusses one Turkic language, Tatar, and the argument structure in Tatar converb clauses, that is, the subject and object arguments the converb can take.

No formal difference was observed between the non-coreferential subjects in sentences containing a non-modifying converb clause, and those containing a modifying converb clause. In a sentence containing a semantically modifying converb clause the coreferential subject gets zero reference in the converb clause and is explicit only in the main clause. However, in a sentence containing a semantically non-modifying converb clause the coreferential subject precedes the first verb form, that is, the converb, thus indicating that the events expressed by the verbs are of equal narrative value.

Teija Greed, Hämeenlinnantie 20 A 3, 15800 Lahti, Finland, e-mail: teija_greed@sil.org.

0. Introduction

0.1. Converb as a typological category

The category of converb belongs to universal grammar, and is a universally applicable and cross-linguistically valid category. Haspelmath (1995: 1) states this in his introductory article to one of the first wider studies on converbs from a typological perspective. Converbs are common in many, especially non-European, languages; Johanson (1995: 313) states that Turkic, Mongolian, Tungusic, Korean, Japanese, and Dravidian languages all exhibit particularly elaborate converb systems. Many Uralic, including Finno-Ugric, languages also make wide use of converbs (see, for example, Ylikoski 2003).

In the wake of rising interest in converbs in typological studies in recent years, Altaic—including Turkic—languages have attracted considerable attention due to the central role of converbs in their syntax. In Turkic languages “most features typical of converbs in the modern languages are already found in the oldest known Turkic texts” (Johanson 1995: 313). Tatar¹ is a Turkic language spoken by 7 million people living in the Russian Federation and its neighbouring countries, as well as in Austra-

¹ That is, the language of the Volga Tatars, as opposed to Crimean or Chulym Tatars (see Comrie 1981: 43-44).

lia, Finland and elsewhere. Tatar was chosen as the object of this study due to the centrality of the role converbs play in its syntax. This paper will concentrate on the argument structure of the Tatar converb, that is, the subject and object arguments it can take.

0.2. Issues of terminology and definition

In this paper, the term converb is understood in the following way: A non-finite verb form that functions as a free adverbial² syntactically modifying another verb or an (entire) clause. In the following, example 1 is from Tatar, example 2 is from the Finno-Ugric language Finnish, and example 3 is from the Caucasian language Adyghe:

- (1) Tatar: *Tau-ya men-gäč, Alsu as-qa taba qara-dy.*
 hill-DAT climb-CONV Alsu down-DAT towards look-PST.3SG
 'Having climbed the hill, Alsu looked downwards.'
- (2) Finnish: *Kiive-tyä-än mäe-lle Maija katso-i alaspäin.*
 climb-CONV-POSS hill-ALL Maija look-PST.3SG downwards
 'Having climbed the hill, Maija looked downwards.'
- (3) Adyghe: *Šxonč zyryz a-’y-γ-ou*
 gun each.one 3PL-hold-PST-CONV
zenybdžeyuit’ur qušhe mezym k’uayex.
 two.friends mountains forest.in went
 'Having taken their guns, the two friends set off to the mountainous forest.' (Rempel & Ebenritter 2005: 27.)

In the Tatar example the converb consists of the verb stem and the converb marker, whereas in the Finnish example a third element in addition to these is the possessive suffix. The Adyghe converb is more complex: It also contains an affix for person and number which refers to its subject argument, and a tense affix.

The term converb was first coined by the Finnish Altaicist G. J. Ramstedt in 1903 to refer to forms of verb conjugation functioning as modifiers of predicates in the Khalkha-Mongol language (see Haspelmath 1995: 46, Ylikoski 2001: 6). Until the 1990s the study of the converb concentrated mainly on individual languages, but since then, having been recognised as a cross-linguistically valid grammatical category, the converb has received a lot of attention in typological research.

Terminology surrounding the converb and definitions of it are not yet fully established and consistent. Ylikoski (2001: 1) summarises the common features of recent definitions of converbs as follows: "...converbs are non-obligatory, but formally dependent verb forms, which in some way modify the predication with which they

² In this paper, the syntactic function 'adverbial' is limited to the modifying function of verbs and clauses only. (See Ylikoski 2003: 196, Vilkuna 1996: 331.)

are syntactically connected". Haspelmath (1995: 3) includes the aspect of non-finiteness in his definition: "A converb is... *a nonfinite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination*" (emphasis in the original), whereas for Nedjalkov non-finiteness is not essential. He defines a converb as "a verb form which depends syntactically on another verb form, but is not its syntactic actant, i.e., does not realize its semantic valencies" (1995: 97).

Sometimes a converb is understood as referring to a verb form containing a morphological converb marker; a verb form that can be contrasted with other non-finite verb forms, for example, participles or infinitives. Such an understanding is partly valid for Tatar, since it has four separate morphological types of non-finite verbs: infinitives (example 4) and nominalisations/action nominals (5), which mainly function as syntactic arguments of verbs; participles, whose main function is to modify noun phrases (6); and converbs, functioning as free modifiers of verbs or clauses (example 1).

- (4) *Alsu jaz-arga tel-i.*
 Alsu write-INF wish-PR.3SG
 'Alsu wishes to write.'
- (5) *Alsu jaz-u-y-n dāwam it-ä.*
 Alsu write-AN-POSS-ACC CONTINUATION_do-PR3SG
 'Alsu continues her writing.'
- (6) *Alsu jaz-yan žyr matur jaŋgyr-yj.*
 Alsu write-PTC.PST song beautiful sound-PR3SG
 'The song that Alsu wrote sounds beautiful.'

However, there are many languages where a separate morphological 'converb' form does not exist, but verb forms functioning as free modifiers of other verbs are formed from other non-finite verb forms. In the Finnish example 2 the converb marker consists of a past participle and the partitive case suffix: *Kiive-ty-ä-än* climb-CONV[PTC.PST-PART]-POSS. It would seem that when discussing converbs, it is more helpful to focus on the *syntactic function* of the verb form in question than on its morphological form.

Furthermore, even when looking at the Tatar non-finite adverbial modifiers more closely, it becomes evident that an identification based on morphology only is not enough. Tatar can form structures functioning as free adverbial modifiers of verbs from participles, with or without a case suffix. Such structures are often postpositional constructions.

- (7) *Kitap* *uqy-yan-nan* *soŋ*,
 [book(ACC) read-PTC.PST-ABL after]
Alsu xat *jaz-a* *bašla-dy*.
 Alsu letter(ACC) write-PTC.PR start-PST.3SG
 ‘After reading a book, Alsu started writing a letter.’

0.3. Why the term ‘converb’?

In the context of Indo-European languages, syntactic subordination³ usually takes the form of a subordinate clause containing a conjunction⁴ and a finite verb. However, in many other languages, it is the non-finite verb form that is used to signal syntactic subordination and to express various temporal, causal and modal relationships between propositions. Tatar is a good example of a language where converbs play a central role in syntactic subordination, with conjunctions playing only a minor role.

‘Converb’ is a useful and compact term to describe a syntactic phenomenon prevalent especially in many non-Indo-European languages. The term itself can be seen as referring to the entity’s verb-like nature, and it is also clear that this entity does not stand alone. The term is helpful in describing functionally similar structures, which have over the years been called by varying (sometimes misleading) names like gerunds, adverbial participles, etc.⁵

To differentiate between the two broad categories of converbs, those containing a special morphological converb marker are called *morphological converbs* in this paper, while those formed from other non-finite verb forms but functioning converbally are called *functional converbs*.⁶ (Despite its name, the first type also functions converbally.) Tatar contains both morphological and functional types of converbs. To narrow the scope of the current study, this paper will concentrate on converb forms that consist of one word only. These are mainly morphological converbs formed with unanalysable⁷ converb markers (for example, *-GAč* in example 1), but also included is a representative of one-word functional converbs (the marker *-GAndA*).

In this paper, converbs and converb clauses are first discussed in general. Then follows the research, where the purpose is twofold: to investigate how the argument

³ Subordination is understood here as a syntactic term referring “to the *process or result* linking linguistic units so that they have different syntactic status, one being dependent upon the other, and usually a constituent of the other” (emphasis in the original). (Crystal 1997: 370.)

⁴ In this paper, ‘conjunction’ is understood as an independent word whose function is to link clauses.

⁵ See more about terminology in Haspelmath 1995: 45-56.

⁶ Functional converbs seem to be close to what Nedjalkov (1995: 103) calls ‘quasi-converbs’ or ‘combined converbs’, which he defines as (verb) forms that have other functions than the ones typical for converbs, for example, functions typical for participles and infinitives.

⁷ The perspective in this paper is synchronic: historically many “unanalysable” markers can be divided into separate morphemes.

structure—in our case the subject and object—in Tatar converb clauses compares to that of the structure in the basic finite clause; and to study the ways arguments are expressed in Tatar converb clauses. Special attention is given to the converb marker *-Yp*, and its two different contextual functions: that of the syntactically and semantically modifying function, and that of the semantically non-modifying function.

The study is mainly on the sentence level, but an occasional reference is made to the wider context and discourse level.

1. Typological remarks on Tatar

Tatar belongs to the Altaic language family. Morphologically it is an agglutinative and strongly suffixing language. In syntactic subordination and co-ordination, conjunctions play a minor part. For co-ordination, simple juxtaposition is common. For subordination, Tatar makes extensive use of non-finite verb forms, for example, action nominals in complement constructions, participles in relative constructions, and converbs for adverbial subordination.

When discussing word order parameters, Comrie (1989: 87-96) mentions fifteen established types of word order. Tatar has one of the four most common types: its neutral constituent order is SOV, postpositions are used as opposed to prepositions, the genitive and the adjective precede their head, as shown in examples 8 and 9, and so does the relative clause, as shown in example 9. Auxiliary verbs follow the main verb, as shown in example 10, and the standard of comparison precedes the comparative, as shown in example 11.

- (8) *Töş-tän son Alsu Marat-nyñ kitab-y-n uqy-j.*
 lunch-ABL after Alsu Marat-GEN book-POSS-ACC read-PR.3SG
 'After dinner Alsu reads Marat's book.'
- (9) *Alsu Marat jaz-yan qyzyqlı xat-ny uqy-j.*
 Alsu Marat write-PTC.PST interesting letter-ACC read-PR.3SG
 'Alsu reads the interesting letter that was written by Marat.'
- (10) *Bala inde uqy-j bel-ä.*
 child already read-PTC.PR know-PR.3SG
 'The child can already read.'
- (11) *Marat üz-e-neñ abyj-sy-nnan zur-raq.*
 Marat own-POSS-GEN older.brother-POSS-ABL big-COMP
 'Marat is bigger than his elder brother.'

The overall word order pattern for Tatar is SOV/Po/GN/AN (also ReIN) (where Po=postposition, G=genitive, N=head noun, A=adjective, Rel=relative). Tatar is a dependent-head type language.

2. Converb

2.1. Finite vs. non-finite verb forms

Payne (1997: 306) suggests that the distinction between finite and non-finite verbs should be understood as a continuum.⁸ Some verbs are more finite or less finite than others. However, in general terms, it is the independent, fully inflected verbs that are usually called finite, whereas the syntactically dependent, uninflected, or partially inflected, verbs are called non-finite. In the context of a complex sentence, a non-finite verb form usually depends on the finite verb for at least part of its inflectional information (Payne 1997: 306). The division into finite and non-finite verbs is not relevant for all languages: this is the case with, for example, many analytical (isolating) languages.

When looking at the continuum from finiteness to non-finiteness, at one end are finite verb forms, containing information about tense, aspect and mood, person, number, class or gender of the subject, sometimes even class or gender of the object (Ylikoski 2001: 37). Approaching the non-finite end of the continuum, the expression of these categories is absent in varying degrees.

2.2. Morphosyntax and semantics of converbs

A (morphological) converb typically consists of a verb stem and a converb marker. Some markers are morphologically unanalysable—at least from a synchronic perspective—for example, the Tatar *-Yp*; some consist of several morphemes, for example, the Finnish *-essa*, which is a combination of the so-called 2nd infinitive and the inessive case.

Syntactically, a typical converb functions as a free adverbial modifying the finite verb or the entire main clause. However, in many languages a converb, although syntactically modifying, is not necessarily modifying from a semantic point of view.⁹ Johanson (1995: 322) calls such converbs ‘nonmodifying’, and Nedjalkov (1995: 109) calls them ‘narrative’ converbs. Many Turkic languages, including Tatar, and also, for example, Tamil and Hindi employ them widely (see Itkonen 2001: 346–347).

Johanson (1998: 64) lists various semantic relations that (Turkic) converb markers can express. These include a wide range of aspectual, temporal and other relational concepts: “intraterminality, post-terminality, terminality, anteriority, posteriority, temporal inclusion (‘while’), abtemporality (‘since’), terminativity and limitation (‘until’, ‘as long as’), reason (‘because’), means, instrumental (‘by’), purpose (‘in order to’), contrast (‘whereas’), accordance (‘as’), substitution (‘instead of’), preference (‘rather than’), condition (‘if’)”.

⁸ See also Ylikoski’s (2001: 46–48) discussion on different degrees of finiteness.

⁹ Ylikoski (2001: 97) comments that there are around a billion speakers of languages using narrative converbs in the so-called Indo-Altaic area ranging from Sri Lanka to Japan.

3. Converb clause

3.1. Subordinate clauses

Subordinate complex clauses/sentences are usually divided into three subtypes on the basis of the function of the subordinate clause: (1) complement, (2) relative, and (3) adverbial clauses (Thompson & Longacre 1985: 172). In (1) the subordinate clause functions as an argument of the finite—or superordinate—verb and resembles a noun in its function. In (2) the subordinate clause modifies the noun and resembles an adjective. In (3) the subordinate clause modifies a clause or a verb phrase and resembles an adverb in its function. The relationship between the complement and the main verb is tight, and it is often an obligatory argument, whereas the relationship between the adverbial clause and the main verb is loose, and the adverbial clause functions as a free modifier (Itkonen 2001: 308).

The combination of a non-finite form with another verb form can be syntactically complex, since each one has its own argument structure and other characteristics. Furthermore, a non-finite verb form can have its own non-finite (verbal) complement or modifier. A non-finite structure is syntactically less independent than a finite structure, and the features of the finite structure are able to affect the non-finite structure in many ways (Vilkuna 1996: 266).

3.2. Converb clause

In this paper a clause is defined as only requiring the presence of a predicate. This means that a (non-finite) converb and its dependents always constitute a converb clause, excepting converbs used in grammaticalised constructions, for example, in aspectual periphrastic structures. (See Haspelmath 1995: 11, 43–44.)

Johanson (1995: 313–314) calls structures containing a converb ‘converb segments’. He divides them into four levels. The first two levels constitute converb clauses: on level 1 the converb segment and base segment (that is, the main finite clause) are full predications each with their own different subjects (example 12); on level 2 the two segments share a subject but are separate verb forms (example 13).

(12) Turkish (Lewis 2000: 180):

O gel-ince kalk-ar-ım.
pers.3 come-CONV get.up-AOR-1SG
‘When he comes, I shall get up.’

(13) Russian:

Pročita-v knig-u, Vera leg-la spa-t’.
read-CONV book-ACC Vera lie.down-PST.2SG.FEM sleep-INF
‘Having finished reading the book, Vera lay down to sleep.’

On levels 3 and 4 the converb segments are not independent predicates, but form a single predicate together with the base segment.¹⁰ As they do not contain a separate predicate and therefore do not form converb clauses, they are outside the scope of this paper.

3.3. Syntactically subordinated and semantically non-modifying converb clauses

Converb clauses are syntactically subordinated and their typical syntactic function is to modify the main verb or the entire main clause. Semantically, such a converb clause provides further information about the sequential relations, purpose, manner, etc., of the main clause. Due to its modifying function in the wider context of discourse, it does not move the discourse towards its communicative goal and has less relevance for the development of the discourse (Johanson 1995: 321-322). Therefore it is off the event line of the discourse and can be interpreted as background information.¹¹

Semantically non-modifying converb clauses behave differently. Johanson (1998: 64) gives an example from Kyrgyz:

- (14) *Oqu-p tüşündü.*
 read-CONV understand.PST
 ‘(S)he read and understood.’

Syntactically the converb segment modifies the main verb, but semantically the events represented are of equal value (which is reflected in the English translation with the co-ordinative conjunction ‘and’).

Such a converb clause can be interpreted as representing an event of equal narrative value with the finite verb of the main clause. This increases the discourse relevance of the converb clause, and it can be interpreted as foreground information. Such non-modifying clauses can occur in chains, consisting of several converb clauses followed by the main clause. It is only the final finite clause that contains the information for the personal, aspectual, modal, temporal and illocutionary interpretation of the chain (Johanson 1995: 322; 1998: 64-65).¹²

¹⁰ Tatar example of level 3: *al-yp kil-ü* take-CONV come-AN ‘bring’, literally ‘taking come’; example of level 4: *jan-yp utyr-u* burn-CONV AUX-AN ‘burn continuously’, literally ‘burning sit’, where *utyr-* ‘sit’ is an auxiliary expressing the aspectual meaning of continuous action.

¹¹ See Dooley & Levinsohn (2001: 81) for foregrounding and backgrounding in discourse.

¹² Non-modifying converb clauses seem to be close to what Thompson and Longacre (1995: 200-201, 203) call “absolute”. By “absolute” they mean a subordinate clause type in which the clause is marked in some way as being subordinate and there is no explicit signal of the relationship between the main and subordinate clause. Therefore the interpretation of this relationship is inferred from the pragmatic and linguistic context. Absolute constructions are used when there is no need to specify more than that the clauses are related.

In many Turkic languages the same converb markers are used for both the modifying and the non-modifying functions. Therefore one and the same converb clause may allow for varying interpretations. The interpretation is normally identified by the context. For example, when there is a chain of linearly successive events, a semantically non-modifying interpretation is a natural one. Also the semantics of the verbs used in each actual complex sentence may point towards a particular interpretation. There are many cases where the non-modifying interpretation is the only possible one (Johanson 1995: 327).

4. Tatar converbs

4.1. Morphological properties

In Tatar there are four morphological categories that are called non-finites: participles, which modify NPs and play a central part in forming relative clauses and are also involved in forming complex converb forms; action nominals, which function as complements; infinitives, which have a wide range of functions,¹³ and (morphological) converbs, which usually function adverbially.¹⁴ Central to the syntax of non-finite forms is their verb-like nature: they take, for example, an object, and can be modified by an adverb.

A morphological converb is called in Tatar *xäl figel* 'adverbial verb' (in Russian *deepričastie*). This Tatar converb form, as well as its equivalent in some other Turkic languages, has been widely researched in the areas of morphology and syntax (see Tatarskaja II 1993, Zakiev 1992; Džanmavov 1967; Juldašev 1977). However, the study of converb from a functional point of view is less researched.

A Tatar converb does not take tense, mood, or personal suffixes. An exception to this rule is the conditional marker *-sA*,¹⁵ which agrees with its subject in person and number, and can also take a tense suffix in its periphrastic form. Due to these characteristics, *-sA* is a special case in our discussion, since on the finite—non-finite continuum it is clearly situated closer to the finite end than the other converb markers.

A converb typically consists of a verb stem and a converb marker, for example, *-GAnčY* in

- (15) *qajt-qančy*
 return-CONV
 'before returning'

Some Tatar converb markers are morphologically unanalysable, for example, *-Yp*, and *-GAč*. One of the markers, *-A/-I*, is morphologically a (present) participle form,

¹³ See examples 4, 5 and 6.

¹⁴ As stated in the Introduction, only converbs, consisting of one word, are discussed here.

¹⁵ Johanson includes this type in converbs. See Johanson (1995: 317).

and one of its main functions is to signal present tense. As a converb marker, it is used in modern Tatar in its reduplicated form (see Tatarskaja II 1993: 228).

Other converb markers are more complex: past participles in an oblique case (locative, dative,¹⁶ ablative), as in the following example:

- (16) *qajt-qan+da*
 return-CONV[PTC.PST+LOC]
 'while returning'.

Converb clauses of this type may also be followed by a postposition (cf. Johanson 1998: 47).

Some converb markers can be attached to any verb, for example, *-GAč*; some are limited to a certain category of verbs. For example, the marker *-EšII* can be connected only to verbs of motion because of the meaning it gives to a verbal form; the converb gives the backdrop process against which the action expressed by the other verb happens:

- (17) *qajt-yšlyj ker-ü*
 return-CONV enter-AN
 'go in (on the way) while returning' (Tatarskaja II 1993: 230).

Many of the converb markers can be attached to negative verb stems (for example, *čyq-ma-yančy* go.out-NEG-CONV), but in the negative, *-Yp* + the negative marker is realised as *-mYčA* (or only *-mY*): *čyq-yp* go.out-CONV(AFF); *čyq-myjča*¹⁷ go.out-CONV(NEG). Markers also differ in terms of the number of different functions they can have. As to semantic relations that converb markers can signal, there is wide variation. For example, the Tatar converb marker *-Yp* is most widely used, and has a wide range of contextual readings, whereas *-EšII* is very limited.

4.2. Examples of Tatar converbs: Primary semantic relations expressed by markers

The following gives examples of a selection of Tatar converbs, including all the unanalysable markers and a representative of the converb type having a marker consisting of AN+case (example 22). The meanings of the converbs are presented in a simplified manner: the converb gets its meaning only in conjunction with the main clause—this is the case especially with the marker *-Yp*—so its “contextual reading” is not a meaning it has inherently (see Johanson 1995: 320-321).

¹⁶ The shorter labels for the Tatar ‘locative-temporal’ and ‘dative-directional’ terms are used in this paper.

¹⁷ Glosses for this converb and its affirmative counterpart are not given here because of the diversity of its possible meanings, depending on the wider context.

4.2.1. Temporal relations

-*Ÿp*: anteriority

- (18) *Eš-tän qajt-yp*,¹⁸ *Marat xatyn-y-na šaltyrat-ty*.
 [work-ABL return-CONV(ANT)] Marat wife-POSS-DAT phone-PST.3SG
 ‘When Marat returned from work, he called his wife.’

-*GAč*: anteriority

- (19) *Eš-tän qajt-qač*, *Marat xatyn-y-na šaltyrat-ty*.
 [work-ABL return-CONV(ANT)] Marat wife-POSS-DAT phone-PST.3SG
 ‘After Marat had returned from work, he called his wife.’

-*GAnčY*: posteriority

- (20) *Eš-e-nnän kit-känče*, *Marat xatyn-y-na šaltyrat-ty*.
 [work-POSS-ABL leave-CONV(POST)] Marat wife-POSS-DAT phone-PST.3SG
 ‘Before Marat left from work, he called his wife.’

-*EšII*: simultaneity, inclusiveness

- (21) *Eš-tän qajt-yšlyj*, *Marat kibet-kä ker-de*.
 [work-ABL return-CONV(INC)]¹⁹ Marat shop-DAT enter-PST.3SG
 ‘(On the way,) when returning from work, Marat made a brief visit to a shop.’

PTC.PST+LOC: simultaneity

- (22) *Eš-e-nnän qajt-qanda*, *Marat xatyn-y-na*
 [work-poss-ABL return-CONV(PTC.PST+LOC)] Marat wife-POSS-DAT
šaltyrat-ty.
 phone-PST.3SG
 ‘While returning from work, Marat called his wife.’

¹⁸ This -*Ÿp* converb could be interpreted as encoding a non-modifying joining meaning (‘and’). However, when a Tatar was asked to translate this example, he translated it ‘*Having returned from work, Marat called his wife*’, and commented that it is, practically speaking, synonymous with the clause where -*Ÿp* is replaced by -*GAč*, ie, example (19).

¹⁹ INC = inclusive: the process expressed by the converb includes another (often punctiliar) action, expressed by the other verb.

4.1.2. Other semantic relations

Reduplicated *-A/-I*: manner

- (23) *Marat žyrl-yj-žyrl-yj kibet-kä ker-de.*
 Marat [sing-CONV-SING-CONV(MAN)] shop-DAT enter-PST.3SG
 ‘Marat went in the shop singing.’

-sA: conditional

- (24) *Sagät’ biš-kä qadär eš-tän qajt-sa-η,*
 [hour five-DAT until work-ABL return-COND-2SG]
miηa šaltyrat.
 1SG.DAT phone.IMP.2SG
 ‘If you come back from work by five, call me.’

4.2. Secondary meanings

In addition to their basic meanings, converb markers can in their context also signal other meanings. The marker *-Yp* is a special case because of its semantic and functional diversity. In certain contexts it can be interpreted as expressing manner: *žyrl-ap kilü* [sing-CONV] come ‘come singing’, where the action is simultaneous with the main verb. *-Yp* can also signal purpose, and together with the particle *TA* it can express a concessive relation.

In addition to the typical anteriority meaning, *-GAč* can also signal reason:

- (25) *Xat-y-na žawap al-ma-yač, Alsu aηa šaltyrat-ty.*
 letter-POSS-DAT answer(ACC) get-NEG-CONV Alsu him call-PST.3SG
 ‘Since she did not get any answer to her letter, Alsu phoned him.’

Combining temporal and causal relations in one morpheme seems to be a common feature in other languages as well. Thompson and Longacre (1994: 181) point out that “two events which are mentioned together as being simultaneous or adjacent in time are often inferred to be causally related”.

In addition to signalling posteriority, *-GAnčY* can also express limit and degree, and preference (‘rather than’):

- (26) *Axmaq dus-yη bul-γančy —aqylly došman-yη bul-syn.*
 foolish friend-POSS.2SG be-CONV wise enemy-POSS.2SG be-IMP.3
 ‘Better a wise enemy than a foolish friend.’ (Tatarskaja II 1993: 230.)

4.3. *-Yp* in non-modifying function

The non-modifying function of the converb is typical of many Turkic languages, including Tatar, where it is limited to the converb form with *-Yp*.²⁰

The analysis of the non-modifying *-Yp* is based on Csató & Johanson's (1998) analysis of a similar form in Turkish, *-(y)Ip*. It forms a syntactically subordinated clause but is conceptually vague, encoding a kind of 'and' relation. Turkish has three types of non-modifying converbs, the first two of which are relevant to our discussion, since they are able to form separate converb clauses.

In the first type each predication may have its own first syntactic argument (actant), that is, the subjects are non-coreferential. This type is strongly restricted in modern Turkish, "partly due to the semantic roles ascribable to the subject referents and partly to coreferentiality relations". The construction may be used if the subordinate verb is a passive or a verb not taking an object, and describing a non-volitional action, like 'die' or 'appear'. The semantic role of the subject is typically 'non-agentive' (Csató & Johanson 1998: 231-232).

Tatar *-Yp* (and its negative counterpart *-mYčA*) can be used in a way similar to the Turkish non-coreferential, non-modifying converb, but according to Zakiev (1992: 361) this type is very rare in Tatar. However, even though the Tatar type also seems to have a tendency towards non-agentive subjects, agentive subjects are possible as well. Verbs tend to be intransitive. In the following example the subject *awyl* 'village' of the first converb clause is semantically non-agentive, and the non-modifying converb *jeraqlaş-yp* 'get.distant-CONV' is intransitive, describing a non-volitional action:

- (27) *Awyl jeraqlaş-yp, mašina asfal't jul-ya*
 village get.distant-CONV car tar road-DAT
kil-ep čyq-qač, Atnabaj awyr it-ep ber körsen-de.
 come-CONV go.out-CONV Atnabaj difficult do-CONV once sigh-PST.3SG
 'When the village was getting more distant and the car went onto the tarred road,
 Atnabaj sighed sorrowfully.' (Tatarskaja II 1993: 226.)

In Turkish it is also possible for the first argument of the converb construction to be coreferential with an argument of the main clause. There is often a possessive relationship between the two arguments. (Csató & Johanson 1998: 232.) This type is also possible in Tatar.

In the second type of Turkish non-modifying converb, the first argument, which may or may not be realised as subject, is shared with the main verb, and each predicate core may be expanded to varying degrees. As in Turkish, so in Tatar, this seems to be the most common type of non-modifying converb. For example:

²⁰ According to Juldašev (1977: 98) in Bashkort—which is a very closely related language to Tatar—of the occurrences of the converb marker in *-p*, 80 percent express the syntactically non-modifying function. See also Nedjalkov (1995: 98).

- (28) *Alsu mašina-ğa ker-ep utyr-dy.*
 Alsu car-DAT enter-CONV sit -PST.3SG
 'Alsu got in the car and sat down.'

5. Marking of arguments in basic/finite clauses

This section begins with a brief description of the arguments in Tatar in affirmative finite simple sentences in the indicative mood, which will serve as a basis for comparison with converb clauses.

In Tatar a predication minimally consists of a predicate, for example,

- (29) *Jöger-ä-m.*
 run-PR-1SG
 'I run.'

Tatar marks grammatical relations with both morphological case on NPs and morphological person markings on verbs. The finite form predicate is typically marked for tense, aspect and mood, person and number, and it agrees with the subject in person, and usually in number, although in the case of a third person plural, the verb can be in the singular form (see Zakiev 1993: 104-105). Since the finite verb is marked for person, the subject does not need to be overtly expressed with a noun phrase, because the identity of the subject can be detected from the agreement on the predicate. Or, in the case of third person subjects where the marking on the verb form itself may have ambiguous reference, the subject reference can be detected from the context.

In a basic finite sentence/clause the first argument, the subject, occurs in the nominative (that is, unmarked) case. This typically has the semantic role of agent or experiencer. The second argument of a transitive verb, the object, typically having the semantic role of patient, may be overtly marked with the accusative suffix *-nY*, or may occur in the nominative-like suffixless form. The use of the suffixless form is limited and can only occur immediately preceding the predicate, which is its neutral position; if the object is moved elsewhere in the sentence, it bears the accusative suffix:

- (30) *Alsu bazar-dan alma sat-yp al-dy.*
 Alsu bazaar-ABL apple sell-CONV take-PST.3SG
 'Alsu bought apples from the bazaar.'
- (31) *Alsu alma-lar-ny²¹ bazar-dan sat-yp al-dy.*
 Alsu apple-PL-ACC bazaar-ABL sell-CONV take-PST.3SG
 'Alsu bought the apples from the bazaar.'

²¹ In a discourse context, as far as the information structure of the clause is concerned, this word order would suggest that *bazardan* 'from the bazaar' is in the unmarked focus position, and *almalary* 'the apples(ACC)' is the topic. See, for example, Van Valin & LaPolla (1997: 203, 209).

In the neutral pre-verbal position, the suffixless object receives a nuance of indefiniteness. (Tatarskaja II 1993: 46.)

The third argument of a transitive verb, represented by ‘indirect object’ and typically having the semantic role of recipient, is most commonly realised as complement in the dative. Other cases can also be used, for example, the ablative case:

- (32) *Ul mine ülem-nän qotqar-dy.*
 he I.ACC death-ABL save-PST.3SG
 ‘He saved me from death.’ (See Johanson 1998: 53)

As to the second argument of an intransitive verb, it is expressed by means of the dative case:

- (33) *Aş Marat-qa oşa-dy.*
 food Marat-DAT please-PST.3SG
 ‘Marat liked the food.’

Also other cases or postpositions can be used.

The following is an example of a Tatar transitive simple sentence with a subject argument and an object argument:

- (34) *Alsu kitap-ny uqy-dy.*
 Alsu(NOM) book-ACC read-PST.3SG
 ‘Alsu read the book.’

6. Subject and object arguments in Tatar converb clauses

6.1. Reference of subject

Itkonen (2001: 345) divides converb structures into two main types on the basis of whether they are coreferential, that is, have the same subject (SS) or whether they are non-coreferential, that is, have a different subject (DS) from the main clause. Since the prototypical type of adverbial subordination is temporal subordination, he combines the same subject/different subject with anterior/simultaneous, and gets a four-way division. The examples are from Finnish:

- (35) SIM & SS *Syöd-essä-än* *he puhu-i-vat.*
 [eat-CONV(2INF.INE)-POSS.3] they speak-PST-3PL
 ‘While eating they talked.’
- (36) ANT & SS *Syö-tyä-än* *he puhu-i-vat.*
 [eat-CONV(PASS.PTC.PART)-POSS.3] they speak-PST-3PL
 ‘After eating they talked.’

- (37) SIM & DS *Heidän syö-dessä-än me puhu-i-mme.*
 [they-GEN eat-CONV(2INF.INE)-POSS.3] we speak-PST-1PL
 'While they were eating we talked.'

- (38) ANT & DS *Heidän syö-tyä-än me puhu-i-mme.*
 [they-GEN eat-CONV(PASS.PTC.PART)-POSS.3] WE speak-PST-1PL
 'After they had eaten, we talked.'

Differentiation of converb structures into ones with coreferential or non-coreferential subjects is central in Tatar. As to different types of adverbial subordination, Tatar has a far wider selection than only the temporal type, as we have already seen in section 4.

Nedjalkov (1995: 123) discusses converb structures in different-subject constructions and distinguishes four main ways of expressing a converb subject: (1) it has the same form as the subject of the main finite verb; (2) it is expressed in an oblique case, for example, in the dative, or genitive; (3) it is expressed in the possessive form; (4) it cannot be expressed at all.

6.2. Subject in Tatar converb clauses

Tatar converbs do not mark subject agreement on the converb form itself, so the subject is expressed elsewhere in the sentence: with an NP and/or with person-marking on the main verb.

The subject of the converb clause can be coreferential or non-coreferential with the subject of the main clause. If the subjects are non-coreferential, the converb clause has an explicit subject, retaining the same form as the subject in the main clause: that is, it is in the nominative (Nedjalkov's type 1 of different-subject constructions). If the converb subject has the same referent as the subject of the main clause, the subject is not evident from the converb clause; it is only the main clause that overtly shows subject reference both with an NP and/or agreement on the verb:

- (39) *Kino qara-yančy, bez sawyt-saba-ny ju-dy-q.*
 film watch-CONV we dishes_dishes-ACC wash-PST-1PL
 'Before watching a film, we washed up the dishes.'

As noted earlier, the conditional converb form with *-sa* is an exception in that it expresses subject agreement, for example,

- (40) *uqy-sa-m*
 read-CONV-1SG
 'if I read'

and its periphrastic form has a temporal dimension as well:

- (41) *uqy-yan bul-sa-m*
 read-PST.PTC be-CONV-1SG
 'if I had read'

Different converb forms show different tendencies with regard to permitting coreferentiality/non-coreferentiality: for example, the very widely used converb in *-Yp* tends towards coreferential subjects. Also the *-EšII* and the reduplicated *-A/I* converb, due to their semantic interpretational limitations, can only be used with coreferential subjects. *-GAč* and *-GAnčY* allow for either option, as do *-sA* and the converb formed with *AN+case*.

6.3. Tatar coreferential and non-coreferential subjects

6.3.1. Same subject

To describe coreferential and non-coreferential subjects we will start from a finite clause consisting of subject and predicate:

- (42) *Alsu uqy-j.*
 Alsu read-PR3
 'Alsu is reading.'

The following example shows what happens to the subject of the converb clause if the converb and the main clauses have coreferential subjects.

- (43) *Uqy-p betər-gäč Alsu žyrl-yj bašla-dy.*
 read-CONV finish-CONV Alsu sing-PTC.PR start-PST
 'After reading, Alsu started singing.'

The converb subject is omitted and the subject is explicitly expressed only in the main clause. This is an example of 'subject control', where the subject argument of the main clause is the controller²² of the reference of the non-overt subject argument of the converb clause. In certain discourse-pragmatic environments Tatar allows also for the following word order, where the explicit subject precedes the converb clause: *Alsu, uqyp betər-gäč, žyrl-yj bašlady.*²³

6.3.2. Different subject

- (44) *Alsu žyrl-yj bašla-yač, Marat uram-ya čyq-ty.*
 Alsu sing-PR start-CONV Marat street-DAT go.out-PST.3SG
 'When Alsu started singing, Marat went out.'

When the converb subject and the subject in the main clause are non-coreferential, it is usually not possible to leave out either of the subjects, because without an explicit

²² Van Valin & LaPolla (1997: 545) define the 'controller' as 'the syntactic argument in the matrix core which also functions as a semantic argument in the linked core'.

²³ The punctuation also reflects the fact that the subject is understood as belonging to the main clause.

subject the reference would be ambiguous. However, Tatar does allow for sentences where the subject of the converb clause is not made explicit. This is possible only if the reference can be deduced from the context. In the short story “Äbilär” by Zäki Zäjnüllin (2001: 455) there is an example of zero subject:

- (45) *Küz töp-lär-e-n sört-käč, jat-qan qarčyqj*
 eye base-PL-POSS-ACC wipe-CONV lie-PTC.PST old.lady
küz-lär-e-n aç-tyj.
 eye-PL-POSS-ACC open-PST.3SG
 ‘(X_i) having wiped her_j eyes, the old lady_j who was lying down opened her_j eyes.’

Without the context, this sentence is most likely to be understood as having only one subject, that is, the old lady who was lying down. But in actual fact the converb clause has a different subject (marked as X_i in the free translation) —the subject of the preceding sentence—but it is not overtly expressed because it is understood from the context.²⁴ This feature—that the subject reference can be determinable by pragmatic inference only—is a feature noted also in other Turkic languages. (Johanson 1995: 318.)

6.4. Subject in semantically non-modifying converb clause with *-Yp*

We have so far looked at modifying clauses. The only converb marker that is used in semantically non-modifying converb clauses in Tatar is *-Yp*. Even though it is the most widely used converb marker,²⁵ its usage is limited: it is typically used only in same-subject contexts. This is also the case with non-modifying clauses in general: usually throughout the whole sentence the subject stays the same. For example:

- (46) *Ul žilteräp kenä čyγ-yp, syjer-y-n jab-yp,*
 she quickly INTNS go.out-CONV cow-POSS-ACC close-CONV
juyn-yp ker-de.
 wash.oneself-CONV go.in-PST.3SG
 ‘She went out quickly, locked the cow (into the cowshed), washed herself and went (back) in.’ (Tatarskaja I 1993: 475.)

However, there are many examples where semantically non-modifying converbs occur with non-coreferential subjects. For example:

²⁴ This can also serve as an example of type 4 of Nedjalkov’s different-subject constructions (see 6.1.).

²⁵ The Tatar *-Yp* is widely used, together with the marker *-A/-I*, to form together with another verb aspectual verb forms, where the *-Yp* form gives the semantic value and the second verb the aspectual value. Combined with another verb the *-Yp* form can also form a complex verb form, representing one single event. The former is equivalent to Johanson’s level 4 described on p. 6, and the latter with his level 3. See examples in footnote 10.

- (47) *Žil dä waqyt-y-nda is-ep, jaŋŋyr da waqyt-y-nda jaw-a.*
 wind and time-POSS-LOC blow-CONV rain and time-POSS-LOC rain-PR
 ‘The wind blows and the rain falls at opportune times.’ (Zakiev 1992: 330)

According to Zakiev (1992: 101), Tatar usually allows for a maximum of two non-modifying converbs in one sentence. However, especially in spoken language more are possible. Zakiev gives an example from spoken language with four converbs and a finite verb:

- (48) *Ul-ym, ker-lär-ne čyŋ-yp*
 son-POSS.1SG clean.washing-PL-ACC go.out-CONV
al-yp ker-ep bir-ep kit äle.
 take-CONV come.in-CONV give-CONV go-IMP.3SG PRCL
 ‘My son, go out, take the clean washing, come in, give (it to me) and go (to school).’

Each verb form shows one action in a consecutive chain of actions (see Haspelmath 1995: 8-9).²⁶

Since the Tatar converb marker *-yp* can be used in both semantically modifying and non-modifying contexts, it would be useful to determine what overt indicators there might be which would show which type is in use in any given context. The following tentative suggestions are based on some observations and warrant further research.

In some cases, there is a clear difference between how the subject of the modifying converb and the subject of the non-modifying converb are expressed. With non-coreferential subjects the converb subject follows the system of modifying converbs:

- (49=27) *Awyl jeraqlaš-yp, mašina asfal’t jul-ya kil-ep*
 village get.distant-CONV car tar road-DAT come-CONV
čyq-qač, Atnabaj awyr it-ep ber körsen-de.
 go.out-CONV Atnabaj difficult_do-CONV once sigh-PST.3SG
 ‘When the village was getting more distant and the car went onto the tarred road, Atnabaj sighed sorrowfully.’

With coreferential subjects there seems to be a difference between the expression of the subject of a modifying converb and that of a non-modifying converb. Let us contrast two examples. The first one begins with a converb clause containing a modifying converb, formed with the marker *-GAč*. The co-referential subject *Alsu* is overtly expressed only in the main clause. Here the two actions are separate actions where

²⁶ Some other Turkic languages, as, for instance Kumyk, allow for many consecutive converbs. In his book on the Kumyk language, Džanmavov (1967: 234) gives an example where one sentence consists of eight converbs followed by a finite verb.

the action expressed in the converb clause is syntactically subordinated and semantically modifies the main clause.

- (50) (*Mašina-ya*) *ker-gäč*, *Alsu utyr-dy*.
 (car-DAT) enter-CONV Alsut sit -PST.3SG
 ‘Having got in (the car) Alsut sat down.’

In a clause containing a non-modifying converb with the marker *-Yp*, the subject argument is not associated with the main verb but with the first verb form, that is, the converb.

- (51=28) *Alsu (mašina-ya) ker-ep utyr-dy*.
 Alsut (car-DAT) enter-CONV sit -PST.3SG
 ‘Alsut got in (the car) and sat down.’

The subject in example 51 seems to be more “attached” to the first verb form, and it would not be possible to move it to the same position as in example 50, that is, before the main verb. Here, according to a native Tatar speaker, the two actions are seen as a whole, as belonging together. If one were to move the subject to the position immediately preceding the main verb, the converb would be interpreted as being syntactically subordinated and semantically modifying, and its meaning would, for all intents and purposes, be synonymous with the meaning of the sentence with the modifying converb *-Gäč*:

- (52) (*Mašina-ya*) *ker-ep*, *Alsu utyr-dy*.
 (car-DAT) enter-CONV Alsut sit -PST.3SG
 ‘Having got in (the car) Alsut sat down.’

In addition, prosodic features seem to support this premise: if the subject in example 50 were to be moved to the sentence-initial position for discourse reasons, the intonation of the speaker would separate it from the converb clause. This is shown by means of punctuation in the written language:

- (53) *Alsu, (mašinaya) kergäč, utyrdy*.
 ‘Alsut, having got in (the car), sat down.’

The following three examples show three possible synonymous ways of expressing the same meaning with modifying converbs:

- (54=1) *Tau-ya men-gäč, Alsut as-qa taba qara-dy*.
 hill-DAT climb-CONV Alsut down-DAT towards look-PST.3SG
- (55) *Tau-ya men-ep, Alsut as-qa taba qara-dy*.
 hill-dat climb-CONV Alsut down-DAT towards look-PST.3SG

- (56) *Alsu, tau-ya men-ep, as-qa taba qara-dy.*
 Alsu hill-DAT climb-CONV down-DAT towards look-PST.3SG
 ‘Having climbed the hill, Alsu looked downwards.’

In each one of the three examples the converb with its non-subject argument has been separated from the rest of the sentence by commas, and the coreferential subject is therefore connected with the main verb. The converb clearly has a syntactically and semantically modifying function.

6.5. Object in Tatar converb clauses

In a neutral finite clause, the object immediately precedes the predicate:

- (57) *Alsu kitap-ny uqy-j.*²⁷
 Alsu book-ACC read-PR
 ‘Alsu is reading a (certain) book.’

In a converb clause the object of the converb is realised as an NP in a similar manner to the object in a finite clause. The object argument is made explicit with a full noun phrase at its first occurrence.

If the objects of a complex sentence have the same referents, the object in the linearly first clause—in Tatar the converb clause—is typically in the form of a full (lexical) NP, unless object reference is clear from earlier context, in which case the object would be a personal pronoun. The object in the linearly second clause is expressed with a coreferential personal pronoun.

- (58) *Kitap-ny uqy-p beter-gäč, Alsu a-ny Marat-qa bir-de.*
 book-ACC read-CONV finish-CONV Alsu it-ACC Marat-dat give-PST
 ‘After having finished reading the book, Alsu gave it to Marat.’

The full NP object of the converb clause *kitap-ny* ‘book-ACC’ is realised in the finite clause as a coreferential anaphoric pronoun *a-ny* ‘it-ACC’. However, with coreferential arguments, what form the object of the main clause takes is not always straightforward, but depends on pragmatic factors such as the context.

If the objects of the converb and main clauses are non-coreferential, the object of the main clause is also expressed with a full noun phrase.

Even though the object is typically made explicit, it is sometimes possible to leave it out, if it is understood from the context. This is more common in spoken language. In the short story “Äbilär” (Zäjnnullin 2001: 456) two old ladies speak about a samovar, and then one of them says:

²⁷ In this example the object is definite; if the object is indefinite and is not marked with the accusative: *Alsu kitap uqyj* ‘Alsu reads a book’.

- (59) *Awyr-γančy, [Ø] tazart-yp,*
 be.unwell-CON clean-CONV
iske šäl-gä tör-ep qui-γan i-de-m.
 old shawl-DAT wrap-CONV put-PST.PRT be-PST-1SG
 'Before getting unwell, (I) (had) cleaned [it] and wrapped [it] in an old shawl
 (and) put [it] (there).'

If the object were overtly expressed, it would precede the converb *tazartyp* 'clean.CONV'. It is evident from this example that if two (or more) converbs have a coreferential object, it is only the linearly first converb clause that has an overt expression of the object argument. But this can happen only if the objects have the same morphological case. If the verbs in question govern different cases, each object is normally made explicit.

7. Conclusion

For expressing syntactic subordination, Tatar is a representative of the many, mainly non-European, languages where non-finite verb forms play a central role, with conjunctions having only a minor role. Tatar has a system of four separate morphological types of non-finite verb forms, each of which has a particular syntactic function and is involved in forming subordinate clauses: (1) infinitives and (2) nominalisations/action nominals, which, functioning as syntactic arguments of verbs, can form complement clauses; (3) participles, which, modifying noun phrases, form relative clauses; and (4) converbs, which, functioning as free modifiers of verbs or clauses, form converb clauses.

However, in addition to these 'typical' functions assigned to each morphological non-finite form, their functions can also overlap: it is not only the morphological converb forms that function as free adverbials syntactically modifying another verb or a clause (that is, in a typical converb function), but, for example, (morphological) participles, with case suffixes and with or without a postposition, can also function converbally. Therefore, when investigating Tatar converbs, it is not enough to look only at the morphological aspect of converbs but it is important to also look at the their syntactic function. To differentiate between these two aspects, the terms 'morphological converbs' and 'functional converbs' were introduced in this paper.

Tatar marks syntactic relations with morphological case on noun phrases, and subject agreement on verbs. Typically, in a basic finite clause the subject is in the (unmarked) nominative and the object is in the accusative case. The object is realised as marked or unmarked accusative, the latter occurring only in the immediate preverbal position, and usually carrying a nuance of indefiniteness.

Formally, the Tatar converb clause remains close to the finite clause structure: the Tatar 'converb clause+finite clause' follows the word order pattern of dependent-head typical of Tatar. The order of constituents follows the standard SOV pattern; in actual fact, the head-final constituent order tends to be more rigid in converb clauses than in main clauses (see Johanson 1995: 335).

When comparing the arguments of a Tatar simple finite sentence to that of a converb clause, it is the referentiality of the subject argument that affects the converb clause structure most. The subjects in the converb and main clauses may be coreferential or non-coreferential.

In the languages of the world it has been noted that non-coreferential converbs are rarer than coreferential converbs; non-coreferentiality of subjects seems to be universally marked (Ylikoski 2000: 226). There are languages where converb constructions can only express coreferentiality, but languages where converbs would signal only non-coreferentiality do not exist. (See Stassen 1985: 85-86; König & van der Auwera 1990: 338-340.) This is reflected also in the system of converbs in Tatar: all Tatar converbs can take coreferential subjects, but only some of them allow for non-coreferential subjects. It is converbs whose markers are interpreted temporally (for example, *-GAnčY* in its basic interpretation) that are most free to take non-coreferential subjects, whereas, for example, converbs whose markers signal manner, etc., are semantically more tightly connected with the main predication and are therefore less likely to take non-coreferential subjects.

With coreferential subjects, the general principle is towards economy: if the subjects are coreferential in the converb and the main clauses, the subject is made explicit with a noun phrase only once, usually in the main clause. The principle of economy also shows in discourse: if the coreferential subject is clear from the context, the subject may be expressed with nothing more than an agreement marking on the main verb.

With non-coreferential subjects, both the subject of the converb clause and the subject of the main clause are usually explicitly expressed with a noun phrase, to avoid ambiguity. However, for discourse-pragmatic reasons, it is possible that the subject of the converb clause is not made explicit with a noun phrase, if the subject reference is evident from the preceding context.

The converb structure does not cause the object in the Tatar converb clause to undergo any changes: it retains the form of the object in an equivalent basic finite clause. If the objects in the converb and the main clauses have the same referent, the object in the linearly first clause, that is, in the converb clause, is typically in the form of a full noun phrase, unless object reference is clear from earlier context, in which case the object is a personal pronoun. The object in the linearly second clause is expressed with a coreferential personal pronoun. In discourse, especially in spoken language, the object in the converb clause may be left overtly unexpressed if the reference is clear from the context.

In the study of Tatar converbs the so-called semantically non-modifying converbs with the marker *-Yp* take a special position. All Tatar converbs syntactically subordinated to another verb or clause, and all but one — the converb marker *-Yp* — are also semantically interpreted as modifying the other verb or clause. However, converbs with this marker, although being syntactically subordinated, can receive a contextual interpretation of having equal narrative value with the event represented by the main verb. The non-modifying function is especially relevant in narrative discourse, where

it brings the converb event to the foreground, and carries the narrative forward, in contrast to the modifying converbs, which are interpreted as background information.

Tatar non-modifying converb clauses can occur in chains, consisting of more than one converb clause followed by the main clause. It is only the final finite clause that contains the information for the personal, aspectual, modal, temporal and illocutionary interpretation of the chain (Johanson 1998: 64-65).

In differentiating between the semantically modifying and non-modifying interpretations of the converb in *-Yp*, the context plays an important role. However, in addition to context, there may be some overt indications that help in determining which type is in question in any given context. In this paper, some tentative suggestions were made concerning this.

If the subjects of the main verb and the non-modifying converb are non-coreferential, the subject of the converb behaves the same way as the subject of a modifying converb. With coreferential subjects, however, a difference was observed. In a complex sentence containing a semantically modifying converb (clause) the subject gets zero reference in the converb clause, and is made explicit only in the main clause as a noun phrase and in the verb agreement suffix, whereas with a semantically non-modifying converb (clause) the coreferential subject precedes the first verb form, that is, the converb. The fact that the subject is more "attached" to the first event verb seems to indicate that the events expressed by the verbs are of equal narrative value, and are both foreground information. Were the subject to be moved to precede the finite verb, the converb clause would acquire a semantically modifying interpretation, and would be interpreted as background information to the main clause.

Since the scope of this paper was limited, only converbs consisting of one word were discussed. A useful area of further study would be to look into 'functional' converbs, that is, the non-finite verb forms which are not morphological converbs but function converbally. In addition, in the course of writing this paper, it became clear how central a function the semantically non-modifying converbs with *-Yp* have in Tatar (narrative) discourse structure. This, along with the question of how to determine the interpretation of any given converb form with this marker, would be a valuable area of further study. Also, the converb status of the marker *-sA*, which was only touched upon in this paper, would warrant further study.

Acknowledgments

I express my grateful thanks to Brian O'Herin, Jussi Ylikoski, Linda Humnick, John Clifton, Peter Knapp and Michael Greed for their invaluable assistance in reading and offering comments on this paper during its composition.

References

- Comrie, Bernard 1981. *The languages of the Soviet Union*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
 Comrie, Bernard 1989². *Language universals and linguistic typology*. Oxford: Blackwell.

- Crystal, David 1997⁴. *Dictionary of linguistics and phonetics*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Csató, Éva Á. & Johanson, Lars 1998. Turkish. In: Johanson, Lars & Csató, Éva Á. (eds.) 1998. *The Turkic languages*. Routledge: London, New York. 203-235.
- Dooley, Robert A. & Levinsohn, Stephen H. 2001. *Analyzing discourse: A manual of basic concepts*. Dallas: SIL International.
- Džanmavov, Ju. D. 1967. *Deepričastija v kumyjskom literaturnom jazyke (sravnitel'no s drugimi tjurkskimi jazykami)*. Moskva: Nauka.
- Haspelmath, Martin 1995. The converb as a cross-linguistically valid category. In: Haspelmath, Martin & König, Ekkehard (eds.) 1995. *Converbs in cross-linguistic perspective. Structure and meaning of adverbial verb forms – adverbial participles, gerunds*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 1-55.
- Itkonen, Esa 2001. *Maailman kielten erilaisuus ja samuus*. Turku: University of Turku.
- Johanson, Lars 1995. On Turkic converb clauses. In: Haspelmath, Martin & König, Ekkehard (eds.) 1995. *Converbs in cross-linguistic perspective. Structure and meaning of adverbial verb forms – adverbial participles, gerunds*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 313-347.
- Johanson, Lars 1998. Structure of Turkic. In: Johanson, Lars & Csató, Éva Á. (eds.) 1998. *The Turkic languages*. Routledge: London and New York. 30-66.
- Juldašev, A. A. 1977. *Sootnošenie deepričastnyx i ličnyx form glagola v tjurkskix jazykax*. Moskva: Nauka.
- König, Ekkehard & van der Auwera, Johan 1990. Adverbial participles, gerunds and absolute constructions in the languages of Europe. In: Bechert, Johannes & Bernini, Giuliano & Buridant, Claude (eds.) 1990. *Toward a typology of European languages*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 337-355.
- Lewis, Geoffrey 2000². *Turkish grammar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nedjalkov, Vladimir 1995. Some typological parameters of converbs. In: Haspelmath, Martin & König, Ekkehard (eds.) 1995. *Converbs in cross-linguistic perspective. Structure and meaning of adverbial verb forms – adverbial participles, gerunds*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 97-136.
- Payne, Thomas E. 1997. *Describing morphosyntax. A guide for field linguists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rempel, Katarina (=Katharina Rempel) & Ebenritter, Xaidrun (=Ebenritter, Heidrun) 2005. *Issledovanie vozmožnostej vyraženiya referentnosti učastnikov v adygejskix povestvovatel'nyx tekstax*. North Eurasia Group, SIL International: St Petersburg, Russia. (unpublished manuscript).
- Stassen, Leon 1985. *Comparison and universal grammar*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd.
- Tatarskaja grammatika I*, 1993. Kazan: Akademija Nauk Tatarstana.
- Tatarskaja grammatika II*, 1993. Morfologija. Kazan: Akademija Nauk Tatarstana.
- Thompson, Sandra & Longacre, Robert E. 1985. Adverbial clauses. In: Shopen, Timothy (ed.) 1985. *Language typology and syntactic description, Volume II: Complex constructions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 171-205.
- Van Valin, Robert D. Jr. & LaPolla, Randy J. 1997. *Syntax. Structure, meaning and function*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Vilkuna, Maria 1996. *Suomen lauseopin perusteet*. Helsinki: Edita.
- Ylikoski, Jussi 2000. Konverbeistä ja konverbirakenteista. In Pajunen, Anneli (ed.) 2000. *Näkökulmia kielitytologiaan*. Helsinki: SKS. 214-245.

- Ylikoski, Jussi 2001. Konverbien typologiaa. MA Thesis. Turku University, Department of General Linguistics.
- Ylikoski, Jussi 2003. Defining non-finites: action nominals, converbs and infinitives. *Suomen kielitieteellisen yhdistyksen vuosikirja* 16. 185-237.
- Zakiev, M. Z. 1992. *Tatarskaja grammatika III: Sintaksis*. Kazan: Akademija Nauk Tatarstana.
- Zäjnnullin, Zäki 2001. Äbilär. In: Xužin, Mäy''sum (ed.) 2001. *Tatar xikäjäse antologijase*. Kazan: Tatarstan kitap näšrijaty. 455-456.

Abbreviations

ABL	ablative	NEG	negative
ACC	accusative	NP	noun phrase
AFF	affirmative	NOM	nominative
ALL	allative	O	object
AN	action nominal	PART	partitive
ANT	anterior	PASS	passive
COMP	comparative	PERS	personal pronoun
COND	conditional	PL	plural
CONV	converb	POSS	possessive
DAT	dative	POST	posterior
FEM	feminine	PR	present
GEN	genitive	PRCL	particle
IMP	imperative	PST	past
INC	inclusive	PTC	participle
INF	infinitive	S	subject
INS	instrumental	SG	singular
INTNS	intensifier	SIM	simultaneous
LOC	locative	TRA	translative
MAN	manner	V	verb

“Perfect” in Turkish

Z. Ceyda Arslan-Kechriotis

Z. Ceyda Arslan-Kechriotis 2006. “Perfect” in Turkish. *Turkic Languages* 10, 246-270.

In this paper, I investigate the semantics of “perfect” in Turkish. I show that Turkish does not have a marker purely reserved for perfect. Assuming the generative framework in which functional items are projected in syntax, I claim that there is no perfect projection in the syntax of Turkish; in other words, no PerfP. I argue that the perfect interpretation of the structures under investigation results from the interaction of the meaning of the temporal/aspectual/modal markers and the adverbial at the semantic interface. In other words, perfect in Turkish is expressed in the semantic module of the grammar and not in syntax.

Z. Ceyda Arslan-Kechriotis, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Bölümü,
34342 Bebek, Istanbul, Turkey.

0. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to investigate the semantics of perfect in Comrie’s (1976) sense and how this concept is expressed in Turkish. As is well known, the classification of the category perfect has been problematic since it captures both a temporal and an aspectual property. This dual character of perfect shows itself in its being marked with an auxiliary plus a past participle of the verb in Germanic languages. Turkish, being an agglutinative language where the morphemes of tense/aspect/modality appear as suffixes on the verb stem, seems not to have a marker purely reserved for the category of perfect. It has been argued that there is a suffix *-miş* which expresses perfect in addition to marking the evidential mood (Aksu-Koç 1988, Kelepir 2000 among others). Kelepir (2000) claims that the suffix *-miş* is the marker of perfect only in perfective verb phrases. She posits a zero morpheme, $-\emptyset$, for perfect in imperfective contexts. The first sentence below exemplifies the imperfective, and the second the perfective in Turkish within this analysis:

- (1) a. *Hasan iki senedir burada çalış-ıyor-ø.*
Hasan for two years here work-IMPERFV-PERFECT
‘Hasan has been working here for two years.’
b. *Hasan dörtte çoktan git-miş-ti.*
Hasan four-LOC already go-PERFECT-PAST
‘Hasan had already left at four’

I will argue in this paper that positing *-miş* and a zero morpheme for perfect cannot account for all the structures that have the semantics of the perfect. Assuming the generative framework in which functional items are projected in syntax, I claim that there is no perfect in the syntax of Turkish, that is, there is no functional projection headed by Perfect⁰. The perfect interpretation that the structure receives results from the interaction of the meaning of the verbal form and the adverbial at the semantic interface. The implication of this analysis would be that the same functional head would have different semantic properties when it occurs with different types of adverbials.

Within the organization of this paper, first a brief presentation of various types of perfect will be given. Following section 1, the expression of types of perfect in Turkish will be discussed focusing on the form of the markers and on the effect of context and adverbials on the interpretation of the sentences. In the last section, I will discuss the problems that arise from assuming a projection of perfect (PerfP) in Turkish and claim that syntax does not have a category perfect and that the semantics is accounted for in the logical form where the adverbial interacts with the meaning of the verb phrase.

1. Definition and types of perfect

Perfect expresses a relation between two time-points, which can be stated as the time of the state resulting from a prior situation, and the time of that prior situation. The general meaning it conveys is “the continuing present relevance of a past situation” (Comrie 1976). Iatridou, Anagnostopoulou & Izvorski (2001) argue that perfect is described as expressing anteriority since it temporally locates an eventuality relative to some reference point. In Johanson’s (1971, 2000) framework, where there are only three dimensions of aspectual terminality, i.e. intraterminality, postterminality and adterminality, postterminality includes the so-called perfect in that it envisages the event after the transgression of its relevant limit, which can be the initial or the final one. Johanson states that postterminality “focuses attention on a situation obtaining beyond the relevant limit, where the event, whether totally or partially past, is still relevant in one way or another” (Johanson 2000: 103).

There have been different approaches to perfect: Klein (1992) and Cinque (2001) proposed an adverbial based analysis, whereas Giorgi and Pianesi (1997) and Iatridou, Anagnostopoulou & Izvorski (2001) argued for a syntactic account. Before discussing the advantages and drawbacks of each approach, the different types of perfect need to be considered. It has been widely assumed that there are four different types of perfect (Comrie 1976, Iatridou, Anagnostopoulou & Izvorski 2001, among others): (i) universal perfect, (ii) experiential perfect, (iii) perfect of result, and (iv) perfect of recent past. Iatridou, Anagnostopoulou & Izvorski (2001) point out that the term *existential perfect* is used as a cover term for the last three categories. Note, however, that Johanson’s (1971, 2000) postterminality is different from these approaches in that it focuses on the event which “extends to the orientation point, has

effects relevant to the orientation point, or allows a conclusive judgment at the orientation point” but it does not include notions such as ‘change of situation’, ‘state’, ‘result’ or ‘recentness’, which arise as a result of the interaction of transformativity, dynamicity and focality (Johanson 2000: 103).

In the following sections, I will focus on the former approach and discuss the kinds of perfect listed above (i-iv) using English examples in order for the reader to have a clear understanding.

1.1. Universal perfect

The universal perfect is defined by Iatridou, Anagnostopoulou & Izvorski (2001) as conveying the meaning that the predicate holds throughout some interval stretching from a certain point in the past up to the present. Comrie (1976) refers to the U-perfect as the perfect of persistent situation and states that it “is the use of perfect to describe a situation that started in the past but continues (persists) into the present”. He notes that this use of perfect (as in English) is mainly expressed by the present tense in many other languages with the same meaning.

Iatridou, Anagnostopoulou & Izvorski (2001) introduce the term “Perfect Time Span” (PTS) to refer to the interval throughout which an eventuality holds. The left boundary (LB) of the PTS is specified by the adverb, whereas the right boundary (RB) is specified by the Tense morpheme in the perfect. The U-perfect is formed only if the underlying eventuality is a stative verb, an adjective or a progressive/imperfective. Iatridou, Anagnostopoulou & Izvorski (2001) state that what is required is *unboundedness*, and they define an eventuality as unbounded when it is ongoing at an interval and is therefore not asserted to have reached an endpoint. A bounded eventuality, on the other hand, is one that is asserted to have been completed.¹ The structures below are English examples where the eventuality is interpreted to hold from the time specified by the *since*- and *for*-adverbial till the time of speech:

(2) I have been sick since 1990. (Iatridou, Anagnostopoulou & Izvorski 2001, ex. 2)

(3) She has been working in this firm for 15 years.

The sentence in (2) is understood to mean that the eventuality of sickness holds from the time specified by the *since*-adverbial, i.e. 1990, up to the right boundary, which is

¹ Iatridou, Anagnostopoulou & Izvorski (2001) argue that the universal reading is never available to a perfect unless it is modified by certain adverbials. They also posit an underlying adverb for cases where there is perfect morphology but no overt perfect adverbial in the structure.

present. The sentence in (3) has a progressive eventuality, and it is asserted to hold from the period starting 15 years ago up to the time of speech.

1.2. Experiential perfect

The experiential perfect, according to Comrie (1976: 58), indicates that a given situation has held at least once during some time in the past leading up to the present. Therefore, it is in opposition with the universal perfect, in which the situation holds throughout the interval starting from a past point up to the present. Iatridou, Anagnostopoulou & Izvorski (2001) argue that the experiential perfect asserts that the subject has a certain experience. They illustrate the difference between the universal perfect and the experiential perfect as follows. (Sentence (1) is repeated):

- (4) I have been sick since 1990.
 a. universal perfect reading: 1990 _____ NOW
 b. experiential perfect reading: 1990 _____ NOW

As seen above, the universal perfect reading takes place when the situation holds throughout the interval. The experiential-perfect reading, however, includes at least one occurrence of the situation throughout the interval. In Johanson’s (2000) framework, the “experiential” meaning is present in constative low focal postterminals.

1.3. Perfect of result

In the perfect of result, “a recent present state is referred to as being the result of some past situation” (Comrie 1976: 56). The resultative value of the perfect has been widely discussed in the literature in different terms (see among others Smith (1997), Klein (1992), Tobin (1993)² and the ones discussed briefly below).

According to Johanson (1971, 2000), “resultatives” are high focal postterminals, which place “high focus on the postterminal state obtaining at the orientation point after the transgression of the relevant limit of the event” (2000: 109-110). Johanson further states that high focal postterminals signal a property-like state and therefore are possible only with a restricted set of verbs.

According to Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994: 69), there is a distinction between perfect and resultative: “A resultative ... expresses the rather complex meaning that a present state exists as the result of a previous action. An anterior [=perfect], in contrast, expresses the sense that a past action is relevant in a much more general

² Tobin (1993) attributes the concept of resultativeness to perfect. The concept of invariant meaning is significant in his approach as he assumes that “all the discourse and contextual functions, uses, and ‘meanings’ ... are derived from and accounted for by the invariant meaning itself”. He postulates an invariant meaning for perfect, which he argues to be resultativeness and derives the other meanings from that via contextual information.

way to the present moment". Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1999: 178) discusses the implications of a monograph on the typology of resultative constructions by Nedjalkov and Jaxontov (1988), who make a distinction between the category perfect and the category resultative, even though they may be expressed linguistically in a non-distinct form. The first distinction is that perfect is not specific about the effect of the situation, whereas the resultative attributes the effect of a previous act to one participant in particular. Secondly, perfect applies "irrespective of the lexical specification of the verb, whereas the resultative is related to lexical constraints in that it selects only verbs whose meaning implies a change for at least one of the participants in the situation".³ One should note that within Johanson's framework (2000), there is no attempt at setting up absolute categories such as "statives" vs. "resultatives" (p. 111).

The perfect of result is possible only with telic predicates and only as long as the effect of the underlying eventuality holds. The use of grammatical morphemes in encoding the perfect of result differs across languages. Comrie (1976: 57) observes that "where one [language] uses the perfect (or, in the absence of a distinct perfect, a past tense), the other uses the present of a stative verb (or adjective), i.e., one language expresses this as (a state resulting from) a past action, while the other just expresses it as a present state without any overt mention of how this state came about". The English sentence below is an example of the perfect of result only in the case where the glasses are still missing; otherwise it is interpreted as experiential perfect:

- (5) I have lost my glasses. (Iatridou, Anagnostopoulou & Izvorski (2001), ex. 4)

1.4. Perfect of recent past

Another type of perfect is what has been referred to as the perfect of recent past in the literature.⁴ As Comrie (1976: 60) points out, "the perfect may be used where the present relevance of the past situation referred to is simply one of temporal closeness, i.e. the past situation is very recent". The use of the perfect to "report an eventuality that has just happened" (Iatridou, Anagnostopoulou & Izvorski 2001) is significant in the sense that there are, in most of the cases, adverbials in the structure, like *just*, *recently*, etc.:

- (6) She has just graduated from college.

³ There is also a third distinction between perfect and resultative which lies in the difference between a "canonical vs. non-canonical expansion" in Dimitrova-Vulchanova's (1999) terms. I refer the reader to Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1999: 178-179) for details.

⁴ Dik (1989: 190) refers to perfect of recent past as recent perfect, and treats it as a type of phasal aspect distinct from perfect.

Johanson (2000) notes that low focal postterminals express relevance of the event to the situation obtaining at the orientation point. He states that “this relevance may be of different kinds: temporal closeness, importance with respect to the effect, some other affinity or psychological link to O (orientation point)” (p. 114). He, however, points out that readings such as “recent past” are only contextual interpretations of non-past low focal postterminals (p. 116).

1.5. Adverbials

Before proceeding with how the different types of perfect are expressed in Turkish, I would like to discuss the properties of adverbials that can or cannot occur with perfect.

Klein (1992), in his “Present Perfect Puzzle”, analyzes the ungrammaticality of present perfect with certain temporal adverbials but grammaticality with others. He distinguishes time expressions as being either p(osition)-definite time expressions, which are those which specify the location of the situation along the time axis, or b(oundary)-definite time expressions, which do not specify the point of the event on the time axis, but tell us about the boundaries of it.

Klein (1992) claims that the account for the present perfect puzzle is formulated as his position-definiteness constraint: “In an utterance, the expression of Topic Time and the expression of Tsit (situation time) cannot both be independently position-definite” (p. 546).

Iatridou, Anagnostopoulou & Izvorski (2001) assume that there are two levels of adverbials: the perfect level and the eventuality level. They argue that perfect level adverbials have a scope over the eventuality level adverbials, and this situates perfect adverbials higher in the structure.⁵ They take the occurrence of perfect morphology as diagnostic for whether the adverbial in the structure is perfect level or not. When there is perfect morphology but no overt adverbial, they argue, there is a covert adverbial in the structure. The function of the covert adverbial is to distinguish between different types of perfect in English. Iatridou, Anagnostopoulou & Izvorski (2001) further assume that adverbs can be either durational or inclusive. What is intended by durational is that the predicate holds at every subinterval of the Perfect Time Span yielding the universal perfect reading. When the adverb is inclusive, on the other hand, “the perfect sentence asserts that a particular eventuality is properly included in the Perfect Time Span yielding the E-perfect reading”.

⁵ See also Giorgi & Pianesi (1997: 101-111) for the discussion on temporal adverbials. They make a distinction between E-adverbials, which fix the event time, and R-adverbials, which fix the reference time, and which appear only with perfect tenses. That is, they appear only with those tenses where R differs from E and from S. They argue that R-modifiers are always lower than E-ones.

Cinque (1999) argues for the existence of a fixed universal hierarchy of functional projections by presenting an analysis of adverb phrases as the specifiers of distinct maximal projections rather than adjuncts. Cinque's proposal for the position of the perfect aspect in the hierarchy is as follows:

V- voice/ completive aspect/ progressive aspect- perfect aspect- anterior tense/ habitual aspect/ root modality- grammatical mood- future tense- past tense- epistemic modality- evidential mood- evaluative mood- speech act mood (Cinque 1999: 56)⁶

Giorgi and Pianesi (1997:67) classify languages in two groups with regard to the present perfect puzzle, i.e. the impossibility for the present perfect to occur with certain temporal adverbials. Group A languages show the effect of the perfect puzzle. In Group B languages, however, the puzzle does not occur.

As opposed to adverbial based analyses like Klein (1992), Giorgi and Pianesi (1997) propose a syntactic account where they claim that, in Group A languages, which show the effect of the present perfect puzzle, i.e. present perfect not occurring with certain time adverbials, T (tense) appears in the syntax as part of the hybrid category AGR/T (Agreement/Tense). Group B languages, on the other hand, where the puzzle does not occur, have a split-INFL (inflection), and present tense forms do not exhibit any T morpheme, i.e., there is no T category in syntax. In this case, the present tense form is assigned a default interpretation, which corresponds to a looser value as compared to the one found in Group A languages. This is represented as $S \leq R$. This means that speech time can be after the reference time, in which case we have a perfect interpretation; or the speech time can be simultaneous with the reference time, in which case we have the Present tense interpretation. English and Mainland Scandinavian are examples of Group A languages, whereas Italian, Dutch and German are examples of Group B languages.

Before going on to the second section, one should note that the so-called "present perfect puzzle" is viewed as valid only on the form, that is, the perfect morphology with present tense yields ungrammaticality in the presence of certain adverbs. There is, however, a different approach to the phenomenon under discussion, proposed by Johanson (p.c., 2000), asserting that the perfect morphology in the structures displaying "the puzzle", the case in Giorgi and Pianesi's Group B languages, does not carry any "perfect" meaning today due to a diachronic defocalization process. The high focal postterminal ("resultative, stative") gets defocalized whereby it becomes a low focal postterminal ("perfect"). The low focal postterminal itself undergoes defo-

⁶ See also Cinque (2001) where he gives the following hierarchy for Turkish: Mood_{EVALUATIVE} > Mood_{EVIDENTIAL} > Mood_{EPISTEMIC} > T_{PAST} > T_{FUTURE} > Mod_{ALETHIC} > Asp_{PERFECT} > Asp_{PROGRESSIVE} > NEG > Mod_{ABILITY}/Asp_{RESULTATIVE} (>V)

calization whereby it comes to be used as a basic past tense even though the form is kept. Hence, the cooccurrence of the (position-definite) adverbials and perfect morphology does not result in ungrammaticality or unacceptability in the languages where defocalization has taken place.

2. Types of perfect in Turkish

We now turn to Turkish to discuss the manner in which the language encodes the various types of perfect in its verbal system by focusing on the grammatical forms employed in the structures and the effect of adverbials and context.

2.1. Universal perfect in Turkish

The Turkish sentences with universal perfect interpretation have the following markers on their predicates: zero marking on a non-verbal predicate (7), the imperfective suffix⁷ *-Iyor* (8) and the locative form *-mAk-tA* (9). Turkish, thus, expresses the meaning of the universal perfect via the present tense coded by zero marking, together with the use of the adverbials formed by *beri* ‘since’ and *-DIr* ‘for’:

- (7) *1998'den beri hasta-yım.*
 1998-ABL since sick-1SG
 ‘I have been sick since 1998.’

- (8) *On yıl-dır aynı semt-te otur-uyor-um.*
 ten year-ADVsame neighborhood-LOC live-IMPF-1SG
 ‘I have lived/have been living in the same neighborhood for 10 years.’

- (9) *Beş sene-dir bu bölüm-de çalış-mak-ta-yım.*
 five year-ADVthis department-LOC work-INF-LOC-1SG
 ‘I have worked/ have been working in this department for five years.’

Note that Giorgi and Pianesi (1997) distinguish between languages which have a hybrid AGR/T category and those which have Split-INFL. Turkish, being a Split-INFL language (see Aygen-Tosun 1998), is in line with the languages in their Group B, in which present tense forms do not exhibit any overt T category in syntax. Yavaş (1980) argues that, on a purely temporal level, Turkish can be analyzed as having a two-way opposition: past vs. non-past. She argues that there is no morphological marking for present tense (i.e., non-past tense) and the marker for past tense, *-DI*, is

⁷ The marker *-Iyor* is the marker of intraterminality in Johanson’s framework (1971, 2000). Johanson (personal communication) suggests that it is an intraterminal of a lower focality in Turkish spoken today.

the only tense marker in the language.⁸ She further claims that all sentences in the non-past must be aspectually marked (with the exception of copular sentences). Since Turkish does not have an overt marking for present tense, the absence of *-DI* would suggest “present”. Giorgi and Pianesi (1997: 85) claim that in this case, the present tense form is assigned a default interpretation, “which corresponds to a looser value as compared to the one found in Group A languages- that is, $S \leq R$ ”. This means, in other words, that speech time can be after the reference time, in which case we have a perfect interpretation; or the speech time can be simultaneous with the reference time, in which case we have the present tense interpretation.

The adverbials in the sentences above (7-9) are crucial in the perfect interpretation yielded. Note that they are interpreted as present sentences without the adverbials formed by the postposition *beri* ‘since’ and the suffix *-DIr* ‘for’ following a temporal expression, i.e. *1998’den beri* ‘since 1998’, *on yıldır* ‘for ten years’, *beş senedir* ‘for five years’. Erguvanlı Taylan (2001) points out that these adverbials are compatible with all situation types except achievements and they are grammatical only with the imperfective viewpoint (*-(I)yor*), in which the presence of these adverbials shifts the aspectual reading to “present perfect continuous”. These adverbials are durational in the sense that the predicate holds at every subinterval of the time span yielding the universal perfect reading.

Turkish expresses universal perfect in the past via the suffix *-(y)DI* ‘past’ on a non-verbal predicate; with the suffix *-(I)yor* ‘imperfective’ or *-mAk-tA* ‘inf-LOC’ on a verb. Note that the sentences again are interpreted as perfect due to the semantic properties of the adverbials in the structure:

- (10) *Ayşe-yle 1998-de tanış-tı-m. O zaman üç sene-dir/*
 Ayşe-with 1998-LOC meet-PAST-1SG that time three year-DIR/
1995-ten beri öğretmenlik yap-ıyor-du-ø / yap-mak-ta-ydı-ø.
 1995-ABL since teaching do-IMPV-PAST-3SG/ do-INF-LOC-PAST-3SG
 ‘I met Ayşe in 1998. Then, she had been teaching for three years/ since 1995.’

⁸ As well known, Turkish has another past denoting suffix, *-(y)DI*, which has been analyzed in a variety of ways by different linguists. For an extensive discussion of the different semantics of *-DI* vs. *-(y)DI*, see Johanson (1971), where he argues that the suffix *-DI* belongs to the aspectual system and marks non-intraterminality, whereas the suffix *-(y)DI* belongs to the temporal domain and marks anteriority, that is, it is a marker of past tense. Note that Yavaş (1980) does not make a distinction between *-DI* which attaches to verb stems and *-(y)DI*, which attaches to non-verbal predicates and participial forms (i.e. verb forms that are aspectually marked). Keleş (2000) also argues that *-DI* and *-(y)DI* are not different morphemes. She claims that *-(y)DI* is composed of the copula + past tense marker. In the following examples I will gloss *-DI* as PAST.

- (11) *Ayşe-yle 1998-de tanış-tı-m. O zaman üç sene-dir/*
 Ayşe-with 1998-LOC meet-PAST-1SG that time three year-DIR/
1995-ten beri öğretmen-di-ø.
 1995-ABL since teacher-PAST-3SG
 ‘I met Ayşe in 1998. Then, she had been a teacher for three years/ since 1995.’

The sentences above are interpreted as universal perfect since the underlying eventuality holds at every subinterval of the Perfect Time Span (which is the period from 1995 to 1998 in the examples). The adverbials are crucial in the perfect interpretation of these structures as well. The interpretation without the adverbials would be past imperfective corresponding to ‘past continuous’ in English.

The strategy of marking universal perfect in the future is *V+-(I)yor ol-acak*; the copula *ol-* marked with the future suffix *-(y)AcAK* following the verb marked with the imperfective suffix *-(I)yor*. The sentences below follow the examples in (10-11) where Ayşe started working as a teacher in 1995 and *gelecek sene* ‘next year’ is 2007:

- (12) *Ayşe gelecek sene on iki sene-dir öğretmenlik yap-ıyor ol-acak-ø.*
 Ayşe next year twelve year-DIR teaching do-IMPV be-FUT-3SG
 ‘Next year Ayşe will have been working as a teacher for twelve years’.
- (13) *Ayşe gelecek sene on iki sene-dir öğretmen ol-acak-ø.*
 Ayşe next year twelve year-DIR teacher be-FUT-3SG
 ‘Next year Ayşe will have been a teacher for twelve years’.

Note again that the adverbs play a crucial role in the perfect interpretation of the sentence. The adverb *gelecek sene* ‘next year’ sets the right boundary, and the adverb *on iki senedir* ‘for twelve years’ indicates the left boundary of the eventuality. Ayşe’s career as a teacher holds/will hold throughout the interval calculated twelve years backwards from next year, i.e. from 1995 to 2007. Without the adverbial *on iki senedir* ‘for twelve years’, the sentence would be interpreted as future imperfective corresponding to ‘future continuous’ in English.

As seen in the discussion above, the universal perfect in the present, past and future can be expressed only if the underlying eventuality is stative (i.e., non-verbal predicate), or imperfective (i.e. marked with *-(I)yor*). The adverbials in the structures play a significant role in that in the case of their absence the same structures would be interpreted as imperfective forms in the present, past or future rather than perfect.

There is another structure in Turkish which is interpreted as universal perfect in the future even though the underlying eventuality is not marked with the imperfective. As seen below, the verb is marked with the modal/aspectual marker *-mİş* followed by the copula *ol-*:

- (14) *Ayşe gelecek sene iş-i bırak-acak-ø. O zaman on iki sene-dir⁹*
 Ayşe next year job-ACC quit-FUT-3SG that time twelve year-DIR
öğretmenlik yap-mış ol-acak-ø.
 teaching do-MİŞ be-FUT-3SG.
 'Next year Ayşe will quit her job. Then, she will have worked as a teacher for twelve years'.

The sentence above is interpreted as universal perfect of future in the sense that the eventuality of working as a teacher is understood to hold throughout the interval of twelve years. There is, however, a slight difference in meaning whereby the participant property is focused on as a result of the use of *-mİş*.¹⁰

It is significant that the claim of Iatridou, Anagnostopoulou & Izvorski (2001) that *unmodified perfects are never U-perfects* is attested in Turkish. Stative predicates and imperfective eventualities seem not to be interpreted as universal perfect without the appropriate adverbial in the structure.

2.2. Experiential perfect in Turkish

The experiential perfect is expressed in Turkish mainly with the suffix *-DI*. In a question it may be modified by the adverbial *hiç* 'ever'.¹¹

- (15) *Hiç uç-ağ-a bin-di-n mi?*
 everplane-DAT get on-DI-2SG Q
 'Have you ever gotten onto a plane?/ Have you ever traveled by plane?'

⁹ The structure is also possible with the bare adverb *on iki sene* 'twelve years', which according to Keleşir (2000) would be an eventuality level adverbial. I claim, however, that this structure also conveys the universal perfect reading with a modal coloring.

¹⁰ There are a significant number of investigations on the properties of the suffix *-mİş* (see among others Johanson (1971, 1994), Aksu-Koç (1988), Kornfilt (1997), Cinque (2001)). Due to its "multifunctional character" carrying both modal and aspectual meanings, I will gloss it as *-MİŞ* in the following examples.

¹¹ Another way of expressing experiential perfect is via the complex structure *verb-DIK-POSS ol-DI* 'verb-nominalizer be-PAST or another complex structure *verb-mİş-lik-poss var*, which would translate into an English interrogative as 'have (subj) ever (verb) ...' inquiring if the given situation has held at least once throughout the Perfect Time Span:

- (i) *Geçen kış-tan beri hastalan-dığ-in ol-du mu?*
 last winter-ABL since be sick-NOMIN-POSS2SG be-PAST Q
 'Have you gotten sick since last winter?'
- (ii) *Oraya git-miş-liğ-in var mı?*
 there-DAT go-MİŞ-DERIV-POSS2SG exist Q
 'Have you ever gone there?'

- (16) [*Geçen kış-tan beri*] *hiç hastalan-dı-n* *mi?*¹²
 last winter-ABL since ever be sick-PAST-2SG Q
 ‘Have you gotten sick since last winter?’

The sentence in (15) has the adverbial *hiç* ‘ever’ but no adverbial to specify the left boundary. The structure, being an interrogative sentence, inquires if the situation has held at least once in the interval whose left boundary is unspecified until the time of speech. Note that without the adverb *hiç* ‘ever’, the structure would be interpreted as perfective, that is, the eventuality would be understood as completed. The example in (16) contains the adverbial *hiç* ‘ever’ and also the adverbial *geçen kıştan beri* ‘since last winter’, which sets the left boundary of the interval. Note that the adverbial formed by *beri* ‘since’ was interpreted in the previous section as a durative adverb, that is, the underlying predicate was interpreted to hold of every subinterval of the perfect time span, thus yielding the universal perfect reading. In the sentence in (16), we see that it can also be interpreted as inclusive, that is the underlying event is properly included in the Perfect Time Span, thus yielding the experiential perfect reading. The question is asking if there is at least one occurrence of being sick in the interval starting from the left boundary set by the adverb *geçen kıştan beri* ‘since last winter’ till the time of speech.

2.3. Perfect of result in Turkish

Comrie (1976) has observed that some languages express the perfect of result by using the perfect form (or, in the absence of a distinct perfect, a past tense), whereas the others use the present of a stative verb (or adjective). This means that “one language expresses this as (a state resulting from) a past action, while the other just expresses it as a present state without any overt mention of how this state came about” (p. 57). Turkish is one of the languages that mark the perfect of result, or resultant perfect by the past suffix *-DI* (17-18) or the modal/aspectual marker *-miş* (19):

- (17) *Gözlük-ler-im-i kaybet-ti-m.*
 glasses-PL-POSS1SG-ACC lose-PAST-1SG
 ‘I lost/ have lost my glasses.’

¹² As can be noted, all the examples are interrogative sentences. This, however, does not mean that Turkish does not express experiential perfect in declarative sentences. The choice is interrogative as it sounds more natural. But see the following example which also exemplifies an experiential perfect:

- (i) *Hayat-ım-da hiç uçağ-a bin-me-di-m.*
 life-1SG-LOC ever plane-DAT get on-NEG-PAST-1SG
 ‘I have never gotten on a plane in my life.’

- (18) *Ayakkabı-m su al-di.*
 shoe-POSS1SG water take-PAST
 'My shoes took in/up water (eg. because of the heavy rain)'

- (19) *Ayakkabı-m su al-mış.*
 shoe-POSS1SG water take-MIŞ
 'My shoes have taken in/up water[, as I noticed] (eg. because of the heavy rain)'

The sentence in (17) is ambiguous in the sense that it may be interpreted either as perfective or as perfect of result, as shown in the translation. If we continue by saying *ama hemen buldum* 'but I found them immediately' the sentence is interpreted as perfective. However, it shows a perfect of result only if uttered while the glasses are still missing. The structures in (18) and (19) have a different interpretation: sentence (18) is interpreted as an accomplishment, not a state (cf. Smith 1997's resultant statives), whereas sentence (19) focuses on the resultant state with an additional meaning element of evidentiality.

Consider the following sentences in the context (adapted from Giorgi and Pianesi (1997:93)) that Ayşe wins the race, but then tests positive on the drug test, and is disqualified:

- (20) a. *Ayşe Cuma günü yarış-ı kazan-mış-tı-Ø.*
 Ayşe Friday day race-ACC win-MIŞ-PAST-3SG
 'Ayşe won the race on Friday.'
- b. *Cumartesi günü disqualifiye ol-du-Ø.*
 Saturday day disqualified be-PAST-3SG
 'She was disqualified on Saturday.'
- c. **Yarış-ı kazan-ma-dı-Ø.*
 race-ACC win-NEG-PAST-3SG
 'She did not win the race.'
- d. *Yarış-ı kazan-ma-mış ol-du-Ø.*
 race-ACC win-NEG-MIŞ be-PAST-3SG
 'She became someone who hasn't won the race.'

The sentences in (20c) and (20d) are significant in that Ayşe, having won the race on Friday and being disqualified on Saturday, cannot be the 'winner', but the expression of this by *-DI* results in unacceptability. For the contrast in (c) and (d), one could argue that the simple past is event-oriented in the sense of Johanson (1971, 2000), that it merely asserts the existence of a certain kind of event where the subject plays the role determined by the theta-relation defined by the verb (Giorgi and Pianesi 1997). The perfect in (d), on the other hand, asserts that the subject holds a certain

property by virtue of his/her having been a participant in that event. This line of argument goes parallel to Smith’s (1997) ‘participant property’.

We assume that structures like (20d) are perfect of result. Note that the structure has the non-finite *-miş*. As seen in the example in (19), the finite *-miş* is a marker of inferentiality having a low focal postterminality. Johanson (2000:119) notes that the finite *-miş* in Turkish “is not a ‘resultative’ perfect but has, besides its inferential uses, also a low focal constative function. [...] The corresponding Azerbaijani *-miş*, however, has more ‘perfect-like’ uses than the Turkish item, probably due to influence from the Persian non- past low focal postterminal item”.

In order to see if there is a distinction between resultatives in opposition to perfect, one can apply Nedjalkov and Jaxontov’s (1988) test (quoted by both Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994) and Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1999)) on the compatibility of the adverb *still*. Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994:65) state that the resultative with *still* indicates that the state persists, but the perfect with *still* requires that *still* take on a non-temporal sense of ‘nevertheless’. Erguvanlı Taylan (2001) points out that the adverb *hâlâ* ‘still’ behaves like the adverbials formed by *-Dir* and *beri* in the sense that it is possible in all situation types except for achievements, and is felicitous with the imperfective viewpoint. It is, however, not a perfect level adverbial with the *-(I)yor* imperfective suffix: *Hâlâ ödevimi yazıyorum* ‘I am still writing my paper’. The adverb *hâlâ* ‘still’ (or *yine de* ‘still’ meaning nevertheless) is interpreted as a perfect level adverbial when the sentences are in negative mode: **Hâlâ okumuş* ‘He has still read’ vs. *Hâlâ okumamış* ‘He hasn’t still/yet read’. Consider, however, the sentences below connected to (20):

- (20’) a. *Ayşe yarış-ı kazan-mış-tı-ø*
 Ayşe race-ACC win-MİŞ-PAST-3SG
 ‘Ayşe had won the race.’
- b. *Sonra diskalifiye ol-du-ø.*
 Then disqualified be- PAST-3SG
 ‘Then she was disqualified.’
- c. *Ama herkes o-nu hâlâ/yine de yarış-ı*
 But everyone she- ACC still/nevertheless race-ACC
kazan-mış san-ıyor-ø.
 win-MİŞ consider-IMPF-3SG
 ‘But everyone still/nevertheless considers her to have won the race.’

As seen in (c), both of the adverbials can occur in this structure yielding different interpretations. This suggests either that this test is not functional for Turkish, or that Turkish does not distinguish between perfect and resultative. There are works, however, which assume a distinction between the two. Cinque (2001: 51), for example, argues that *-miş* is ambiguous between a perfect interpretation and a resultative inter-

pretation. He argues that it is quite general that perfect aspect appears to be higher than progressive aspect. Turkish seems to be problematic. He discusses one of the examples given by Kornfilt (1997): *Hasan böylelikle yarışı kazanmış oluyordu* 'Hasan would thus be the winner of the race' (Kornfilt 1997: 363). He argues that the pure perfect reading of *-miş* is marginal in this sentence, which has more of a resultant state reading as also seen in the gloss given by Kornfilt (1997). Cinque (2001: 51-52) claims that *-miş* gets a marginal perfect aspect interpretation when it is located higher than the progressive aspect (as in ??*Bir aydır hastanede yat-ıyor ol-muş ol-acak* [lie-IMPV be-MİŞ be-FUT] 'He would be staying in the hospital for a month'); it receives a pure resultative aspect interpretation when it is lower than the progressive (as in Kornfilt's example given above). In cases where we have two *-miş* suffixes, as in Kornfilt's (1997: 363) example, ??*Hasan böylelikle yarışı kazanmış ol-muştu*. 'Hasan had thus been the winner of the race', Cinque would argue for an analysis of marginal cooccurrence of perfect *-miş* and resultative *-miş*.

Aksu-Koç (1988: 22) states that the *-miş* participle embraces both process and result in its scope and relates the result to the process. The fundamental element is the enduring resultant state, rather than the antecedent process. She therefore calls it the RESULTATIVE PERFECT and notes that its primary function is to indicate STATIVITY.

Aksu-Koç (1988: 21) discusses the adjectives formed by the participle *-miş*. She points out that *-miş* can form a participial adjective freely only with achievement verbs as in *ölmüş adam* 'a dead man' [lit. 'a man (who has) died'] vs. **öğrenmiş adam* 'a learned man' [lit. 'a man (who has) learned']. Adjectives formed with *-miş* have the additional information, in contrast to a regular adjective, that the state has resulted from a preceding process.¹³

- (21) *kır-ık* *vazo*
 break-DER vase
 'broken vase'
- (22) *kır-ıl-mış* *vazo*
 break-PASS-MİŞ vase
 'broken vase' (resultant state)
- (23) *süs-lü* *bir* *kız*
 ornament-with a girl
 'An elaborately dressed girl'

¹³ Aksu-Koç (1988) claims that there is a constraint whereby the participle is acceptable only if all of the semantic roles inherent in the case frame are specified in the clause in which it occurs (p. 22). These structures, being adjectivals, are statives, and, as said above, what distinguishes them from regular adjectives is their resultative value.

- (24) *süsle-n-miş* *bir kız*
 decorate-REFL-MİŞ a girl
 ‘An elaborately dressed girl’ (a girl who has dressed elaborately)

As can be easily detected in the discussion here, neither Cinque and Kornfilt nor Aksu-Koç makes a distinction between the finite *-miş* vs. the non-finite counterpart. One should note that the non-finite form of *-miş* discussed above is perfect of result (*-miş+ol-*, *-miş+san-* or the adjectival use of *-miş*). Johanson (1971: 310-314) discusses the combinations with the non-finite *-miş* form with either *ol-* or *bulun-* where he points out that these constructions are interpreted with an additional meaning element such as ‘therewith, as a result of this, by doing this’. The finite form of *-miş*, on the other hand, is a marker of evidentiality/inferentiality and does not at all carry a meaning of perfect or resultativity. One should, therefore, be careful about the form under question.

2.4. Perfect of recent past in Turkish

Turkish expresses perfect of recent past with the suffix *-DI* together with adverbials like *yeni*, *henüz* ‘just, recently’:

- (25) *Ali okul-dan yeni mezun ol-du-ø.*
 Ali school-ABL just graduate-DI-3SG
 ‘Ali has just graduated.’
- (26) *Börek-ler fırın-dan henüz çık-tı-ø.*
 pastry-PL oven-ABL just come out-DI-3SG
 ‘The pastries have just been taken out of the oven.’

As seen in these structures, the interpretation of perfect of recent past occurs as the result of *-DI* and the adverbs *yeni*, *henüz* ‘just, recently’. The structures would be interpreted as perfective without the adverbials. The adverb *yeni* (lit. ‘new’) means ‘just’ in contexts where it occurs with the past suffix *-DI* (and it occurs in the affirmative mode). The adverbial *henüz*, however, can mean either ‘yet’ or ‘just’ depending on the negative or affirmative mode of the sentence. Note that the cooccurrence of these adverbials with the morpheme *-DI* yields perfect interpretation. The occurrence of *henüz* or *yeni* with the imperfective suffix *-(I)yor* or zero marking does not yield a perfect interpretation but present:

- (27) a. *Ayşe henüz çalış-mı-yor-ø.*
 Ayşe yet work-NEG-IMPV-3SG
 ‘Ayşe is not working yet.’
- b. *Ayşe henüz burada değil-ø.*

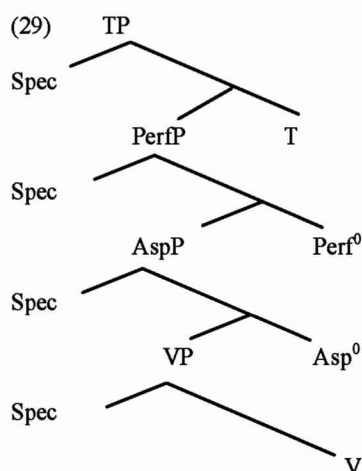
Ayşe yet here not-3SG
 'Ayşe is not here yet'.

- (28) *Ali bunu yeni öğren-iyor-ø.*
 Ali this-ACC new learn-IMPV-3SG
 'Ali is just learning this.'

3. Discussion

As stated at the beginning, the aim of this paper has been to discuss how Turkish would express "perfect". The perfect category has been discussed in quite some detail for Germanic languages, which mark it by an auxiliary and a past participle form. Turkish, however, does not mark perfect as such, but utilizes several forms like the modal/aspectual marker *-mİş*, zero-marking indicating present tense, which gets a default interpretation as discussed by Giorgi and Pianesi (1997), the perfective or past tense marker *-DI*, and the imperfective marker *-Iyor*.

As we have seen above, the occurrence of certain adverbials in the structure leads to the interpretation of perfect, and the type of the adverbial is the crucial factor affecting the type of perfect interpretation. A syntactic account following Cinque (2001) would be to argue that the perfect level adverbials occur in the specifier position of the perfect projection. Kelepir (2000) proposes such an analysis for Turkish claiming that there is a Perfect^0 head in syntax whose Spec position hosts the adverbials. She assumes the following syntactic structure following Iatridou, Anagnostopoulou & Izvorski (2001):



Kelepir assumes that there are two markers for perfect in Turkish: $\emptyset$ and the suffix *-mİş*. We have seen in the previous sections that Turkish expresses the universal perfect with imperfective morphology and tense marking; $\emptyset$ for present tense, *-DI* for

past tense, and *-(y)AcAK* for future¹⁴. Since there is no overt marker for perfect in the universal reading, Kelepir assumes that the Perfect⁰ is $\emptyset$ when it occurs either with non-verbal predicates or with imperfective eventualities. Note that according to this analysis, a structure cannot have the universal perfect reading unless the underlying eventuality is stative or imperfective as claimed also in Iatridou, Anagnostopoulou & Izvorski (2001). Kelepir makes a distinction between the universal perfect (U-perfect) and the existential perfect (E-perfect), which is used as a cover term for all the three uses of the perfect, that is, experiential perfect, perfect of result, and perfect of recent past. She argues that E-perfect is expressed when the underlying eventuality is perfective and the marker of perfect in this case is the suffix *-mİş*. She exemplifies this as follows (examples (30) and (31) are adapted from Kelepir 2000, ex. 41a and 42a):

- (30) *Hasan eve geldiğinde Elif çoktan git-miş-ø-ti-ø./* **git-ti-ø.*
 When Hasan came home Elif already go-MİŞ-COPULA-PAST-3SG/ go-PAST-3SG
 ‘When Hasan came home Elif had already left.’
- (31) *Hasan eve geldiğinde Elif çoktan git-miş ol-acak-ø./* **gid-ecek-ø.*
 When Hasan comes home Elif already go-MİŞ be-FUT-3SG/ go-FUT-3SG
 ‘When Hasan comes home Elif will have already left.’

The left boundary in these sentences is set by the temporal phrase ‘when Hasan came/comes home’, and the right boundary is signaled by the tense, past in (30) and future in (31). This led Kelepir to propose that perfect in Turkish is expressed either by a zero marker yielding the universal reading or by the suffix *-mİş* yielding the existential reading. This is represented in the following chart:

(32) (Kelepir 2000)

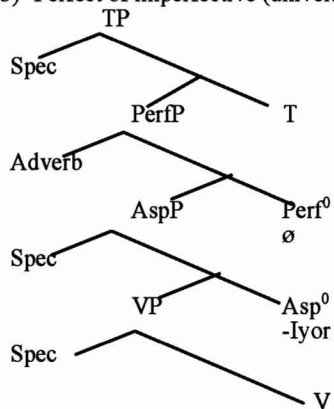
	Aspect	Perfect	Reading
verb	-Iyor (impf)	$\emptyset$	Universal
A/N	--	$\emptyset$	Universal
verb	$\emptyset$ (perfective)	-mİş	Existential

Kelepir revises her analysis and argues that there is in fact no perfective marker at all, i.e. no Asp⁰ (Aspect) hosting $\emptyset$, and the perfective interpretation is argued to be the default interpretation in the absence of the imperfective marker *-Iyor* (see Kelepir

¹⁴ I leave aside the discussion of whether future belongs to the temporal or the modal domain.

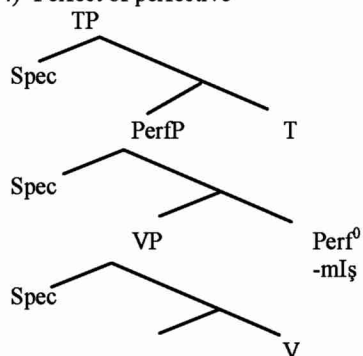
2000 for details). This would mean that there are two different trees for perfect in perfective/imperfective contexts illustrated below:

(33) Perfect of imperfective (universal perfect)



(adapted from Kelepir 2000)

(34) Perfect of perfective



(adapted from Kelepir 2000)

This analysis accounts for the universal perfect in Turkish: Universal perfect reading is possible when the underlying eventuality is imperfective and the adverb occurs in the Spec position of the perfect phrase whose head is not phonologically realized.

There is, however, a problem with respect to the other uses of the perfect. As seen in sentences (30-31) above, Kelepir deals with what she calls “the existential perfect”. But (30-31) are the structures traditionally labeled as “pluperfect” and “future perfect” respectively. Assuming Comrie’s (1985) theory of tense, I claim that perfect is different from pluperfect and future perfect. Comrie makes a distinction between absolute tenses and relative tenses. Absolute tense refers to tenses which take the

present moment as their deictic center (e.g. present, past and future tenses); relative tense, on the other hand, refers to cases where the reference point for location of a situation is some point in time given by the context, not necessarily the present moment (e.g. English non-finite verb forms). There are also absolute-relative tenses which combine these two meanings in that they express a reference point that is situated at, before, or after the present moment; and in addition to that, a situation is located at, before, or after that reference point (Comrie 1985: 65). Pluperfect and future perfect are absolute-relative tenses whereby the situation is located at, before or after the reference point, which is in turn located at, before or after the moment of speech. Comrie is against the parallelism of perfect and absolute-relative tenses. He notes that some languages have a distinct perfect while lacking a distinct pluperfect and future perfect, while others have a distinct pluperfect and future perfect but no perfect. Another evidence against forming a parallelism is the fact that in some languages the formation of perfect on the one hand and absolute-relative tenses on the other does not show parallelism of compositionality, and even in the cases where there is a formal compositional parallelism between perfect and absolute-relative tenses their functions are different (e.g. Portuguese) (see Comrie 1985: 80-81 for details).

The examples Kelepir (2000) discusses as existential perfect are in fact examples of pluperfect and future perfect and not perfect per se. There are different types within the cover term E-perfect, i.e. experiential perfect, perfect of result and perfect of recent past. We have seen in the discussion in the previous sections that these uses of the perfect are mainly expressed by the past tense suffix *-DI* in Turkish. Kelepir’s analysis cannot account for the fact that when the underlying eventuality is perfective the sentence could be interpreted as perfect even though there is no marker *-mİş* in the structure. Recall the examples repeated below:

- (35) a. *Hiç uç-ağ-a bin-di-n mi?* (experiential perfect)
 ever plane-DAT get on-PAST-2sg Q
 ‘Have you ever gotten onto a plane?/ Have you ever traveled by plane?’
- b. *Gözlük-ler-im-i kaybet-ti-m.* (perfect of result)
 glasses-PL-1SG-ACC lose-PAST-1SG
 ‘I have lost my glasses.’ (said when the glasses are still missing)
- c. *Ali okul-dan yeni mezun ol-du-ø.* (perfect of recent past)
 Ali school-ABL just graduate-PAST-3SG
 ‘Ali has just graduated.’

As seen above, the types of perfect, except for the universal perfect, are expressed by *-DI*. Following Kelepir’s approach and assuming again a zero morpheme for perfect in these contexts would make the analysis more complicated since there would be no predictability offered by the analysis. I would like to claim that one could analyze the

examples which led Kelepir (2000) to propose that perfect is expressed by *-miş* in perfective contexts (30-31) as not perfect per se as in the argument of Comrie (1985). This would then mean that Turkish is like Maltese, where there is pluperfect and future perfect distinctly marked with the non-finite *-miş* but no perfect.

In trying to account for the data above, one could claim that the non-finite *-miş* is not the marker of pluperfect and future perfect as such but is a marker of resultativity or high focal postterminality in Johanson's (1971, 2000) sense. I'd like to discuss the structures where *-miş* occurs in order to test the acceptability of this approach. Note that the "pluperfect" is expressed by the suffix *miş+DI* as in (30). Arslan (2001a) discusses different uses of the morpheme sequence *-miş+DI*. I will just give a few examples for the discussion here:

- (36) *O-nun-la sene-ler önce ilk kez burada tanış-tı-k/*
 he-GEN-with year-PL before first time here meet-PAST-1PL
tanış-mış-tı-k.
 meet-MİŞ-PAST-1PL
 'We met here for the first time years ago.'

- (37) *Savaş yıl-lar-ın-da ev-in alt-ın-da-ki sığınak-ta*
 war year-PL-3-LOC house-GEN under-POSS3SG-LOC-ADV dugout-LOC
saklan-dı-k/ saklan-mış-tı-k.
 hide-PAST-1PL/ hide-MİŞ-PAST-1PL
 'We hid in the dugout under the house during the war years.'

The examples above are not perfect structures in that there is no interval upon which a predication is made as to whether the event holds throughout the interval or there is at least one occurrence within the interval. There is a modal distinction between the two options given. The first option with the past tense marker can be argued to be perfective, and the second option with the suffix *-miş* plus the past tense marker can be seen as a narrative perfective where the speaker is focusing on the resultative value of the eventuality, or it can also be seen as modal, that is, as a way of expressing what is distant in one's consciousness.

We must also account for the so-called future perfect constructions where the underlying eventuality is marked with *-miş* and followed by the copula plus the future marker as in sentence (31) above (*Hasan eve geldiğinde Elif çoktan gitmiş olacak*. 'Elif will have already left when Hasan comes home.'). Note that the copula *ol-* marked with the future marker is possible in the following combinations:

- (38) a. *gid-iyor ol-acak*
 go-IMPFV be-FUT
 b. *gid-er ol-acak*
 go-HABITUAL be-FUT

- c. *git-miş ol-acak*
go-MİŞ be-FUT
- d. **git-ti ol-acak*
go-PAST be-FUT
- e. **gid-ecek ol-acak*
go-FUTURE be-FUT

As seen above, the copula marked with the future is not possible with the past tense marker and the future marker. It is however grammatical in imperfective and habitual contexts. Treating habituality either as a subcategory of imperfectivity or in the realm of modality,¹⁵ one may argue that Turkish makes a distinction in (im)perfectivity in this case, that is, it marks the imperfective future as in (a) (and (b)), and the only way of marking perfective future would be (c) making use of the suffix *-miş*. Viewing an event via its results is in line with perfectivity in that we see the eventuality as a whole without focusing on the individual phases that make it up but instead focusing on the result. In Turkish it seems that using *-miş* is the only way to express perfectivity in the copular structures discussed above. Thus we may claim that the use of *-miş* in the so-called future perfect cases does not mean that it is the marker of perfect *per se*.

The argument that the suffix *-miş* is the marker of resultativity has been suggested by Aksu-Koç (1988) and Cinque (2001) in different contexts above. Recall Aksu-Koç’s examples such as *kırık vazo* ‘broken vase’ vs. *kır-ıl-mış vazo* ‘broken vase’ [break-PASS-MİŞ vase] = a vase which has been broken. She has argued that the adjectives formed with the suffix *-miş* have the additional information that the state has *resulted* from a preceding process, which is absent in the case of regular adjectives. Cinque (2001: 51) has also argued that the suffix *-miş* is ambiguous between a perfect interpretation and a resultative interpretation (see the discussion above). Arguing that there is no perfect in Turkish, I claim that the non-finite *-miş* is not ambiguous, but is the marker of postterminality as argued by Johanson (1971, 2000) including the resultative meaning in high focal forms.

What we need to take into account is the fact that Turkish uses the finite *-miş* as the marker of evidentiality. The question to be raised is the following: Is there a semantic similarity between the evidential and the resultative (or more generally a postterminal)? The answer to this question is suggested by Johanson (1971), who

¹⁵ Comrie (1985) notes that habituality lies on the boundary of the three systems of tense, aspect and mood but there is empirical evidence that the expression of habituality is integrated into the aspectual or modal system of a language (see Comrie 1985: 40 for further discussion).

points out how evidential markers emerge from a postterminal category; and by Comrie (1976), who states that “the semantic similarity between perfect and evidential lies in the fact that both categories present an event not in itself, but via *its results*” (p. 110) [*italics mine*]. With the evidential, the event is inferred from a result of the action like second hand report or evidence, etc. Johanson (2000: 111 and 121–2) also points out that the high focal postterminals are connected to indirective meanings since they signal property-like states, whereby the event may be manifested only by inference from perception or present knowledge, a conclusion based on given facts, effects, the traces left, or hearsay reports of other people. He argues that the indirective (evidential/inferential) in Turkic has developed from high focal postterminals. Therefore, using the same form as the marker of postterminality and evidentiality is not at all surprising.¹⁶

The above discussion indicates that Turkish does not have a perfect projection in syntax and the perfect interpretation of the sentences discussed throughout this paper emerges as a result of a suitable context and/or a perfect level adverbial interacting at the semantic component.

The effect of context plays a very significant role in the interpretation of perfect. Klein (1992: 539) has pointed out the fact that different readings of the perfect are not due to an inherent ambiguity in the perfect itself. The differences are context-based in that contextual information tells us, for example, that TSit (situation/event time) immediately precedes TT (topic time) (thus, we interpret the structure as perfect of recent past), or that the consequences are still to be felt (in which case we have the resultative perfect).

Tobin (1993), pointing out the importance of context, has argued against assigning different ‘meanings’ to the perfect, which means assigning different functions to the category. Tobin (1993)’s theory assumes that there is an invariant meaning and each distinction is a result of “just a discourse or contextual message derived from the unitary invariant meaning” (p. 9). In the light of these arguments, consider the sentence below, where it is the context which allows us to interpret the structures as perfect: *Sen uçağa bindin mi?* ‘Have you (ever) traveled by plane?’. In a context where children are talking about their ‘experiences’ trying to show each other how ‘experienced’ they are, this sentence would be interpreted as experiential perfect. Note that there is no overt adverbial in the structure. Hence, the perfect interpretation depends highly on the context. Thus, we can argue that context helps the users of the language to decipher the meaning of certain grammatical morphemes in Turkish.

4. Conclusion

Previous accounts of the category perfect have assumed that ‘perfect’ is a hybrid category encompassing both tense and aspect within a specific semantic definition. In

¹⁶ See also Izvorski 1997 for the discussion of present perfect vs. perfect of evidentiality.

this paper I have argued that there is no projection of Perfect⁰ in the syntax of Turkish, that is, there is not a separate perfect marker as such. This, however, does not mean that Turkish does not have a means of expressing the semantics of perfect. The perfect interpretation, I propose, results from the interaction of the temporal/aspectual/modal markers and the adverbials in the structure within the semantic module of the grammar. Consider the following pair of sentences to make this point clear:

- (39) a. *Ali geçen sene mezun ol-du-ø.*
 Ali last year graduate be-PAST-3SG
 ‘Ali graduated last year.’
- b. *Ali yeni mezun ol-du-ø.*
 Ali just graduate be-PAST-3SG
 ‘Ali has just graduated.’

The first sentence is interpreted as a perfective and past sentence where the eventual-ity took place *last year*. The sentence in (b), however, has the adverb *just* and the interpretation the structure gets is the perfect of recent past. Note that the verbs are marked with the same morpheme, i.e. the past tense marker *-DI*. I have argued in this paper that assuming there is a Perfect⁰ projection cannot account for all the structures carrying perfect meaning. Perfect in Turkish is expressed in the semantic module of the grammar, not in syntax.

References

- Aksu-Koç, Ayhan 1988. *The acquisition of aspect and modality: the case of past reference in Turkish*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Arslan, Z. Ceyda 2001a. ‘Perfect’ in Turkish: The real puzzle. MS, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul.
- Arslan, Z. Ceyda 2001b. The perfect in Turkish. Poster presented at *Perspectives on Aspect*, Utrecht Institute of Linguistics OTS, 12-14 Dec. 2001, Utrecht. URL: http://www-uilots.let.uu.nl/conferences/Perspectives_on_Aspect/Proceedings/Arslan.pdf
- Aygen-Tosun, Gülşat. 1998. Split-INFL in Turkish. Unpublished MA thesis, Istanbul: Boğaziçi University.
- Bybee, Joan, Perkins, Revere & Pagliuca, William 1994. *The evolution of grammar: Tense, aspect, and modality in the languages of the world*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Cinque, Guglielmo 1999. *Adverbs and Functional Heads: A cross-linguistic perspective*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Cinque, Guglielmo 2001. A note on mood, modality, tense and aspect: affixes in Turkish. In: Erguvanlı-Taylan, Eser (ed.) 2001. *The verb in Turkish*. (Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today 44.) Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 47-59.
- Comrie, Bernard 1976. *Aspect: An introduction to the study of verbal aspect and related problems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Comrie, Bernard 1985. *Tense*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dik, Simon C. 1989. *The theory of Functional Grammar, Part 1: The structure of the clause*. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.
- Dimitrova-Vulchanova, Mila 1999. *Verb semantics, diathesis and aspect*. München: Lincom Europa.
- Erguvanlı-Taylan, Eser 1997. Türkçe'de görünüş, zaman ve kiplik ilişkisi: {-DI} biçimbirimi. In: Zeyrek, Deniz & Ruhi, Şükriye (eds.) 1997. *XI. Dilbilim kurultayı bildirileri, 22-23 Mayıs 1997*. Ankara: ODTÜ. 1-11.
- Erguvanlı Taylan, Eser 2001. On the relation between temporal/aspectual adverbs and the verb form in Turkish. In: Erguvanlı Taylan, Eser (ed.) 2001. *The verb in Turkish*. (Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today 44.) Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 97-128.
- Giorgi, Alessandra & Pianesi, Fabio 1997. *Tense and aspect: From semantics to morphosyntax*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Iatridou, Sabine & Anagnostopoulou, Elena & Izvorski, Roumyana 2001. Some observations about the form and meaning of the perfect. In: Kenstowicz, Michael (ed.) 2001. *Ken Hale: A life in language*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Izvorski, Roumyana 1997. The present perfect as an epistemic modal. In: Lawson, Aaron (ed.) 1997. *SALT VII*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, 222-239.
- Johanson, Lars 1971. *Aspekt im Türkischen*. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- Johanson, Lars 1994. Türkeitürkische Aspektotempora. In: Thieroff, Rolf & Ballweg, Joachim (eds.) 1994. *Tense systems in European languages*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag. 247-266.
- Johanson, Lars 2000. Viewpoint operators in European languages. In: Dahl, Östen (ed.) 2000. *Tense and aspect in the languages of Europe*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 27-187.
- Kelepir, Meltem 2000. Perfect constructions in Turkish. MS, MIT.
- Klein, Wolfgang 1992. The present perfect puzzle. *Language* 68, 525-552.
- Kornfilt, Jaklin 1997. *Turkish*. London: Routledge.
- Smith, Carlota S. 1997. *The parameter of aspect*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Tobin, Yishai. 1993. *Aspect in the English verb: Process and result in language*. London: Longman.
- Yavaş, Feryal 1980. On the meaning of tense and aspect markers in Turkish, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Kansas.

Turkish verbs in theory and practice

Geoffrey Haig

Geoffrey Haig 2006. Turkish verbs in theory and practice. *Turkic Languages* 10, 271-284.

Traditional descriptions of Turkish tended to portray its rich verbal morphology basically as an inventory of suffixes, in much the same way as phonology was reduced to an inventory of phonemes. With the advent of generative grammar in the 1960s, more sophisticated models have successively been applied to Turkish phonology (e.g. autosegmental accounts of vowel harmony) and to Turkish syntax (e.g. Standard Theory, GB and MP, or RG and offshoots). This situation contrasts sharply with the status of morphology: Advances in theoretical morphology have generally been slow to find their way into Turkish linguistics, despite the obvious potential offered by the language, and the area remains very marginal. The publication of a high-profile book devoted entirely to the verb in Turkish thus signals an important development in modern Turkish linguistics, and offers a unique opportunity for rehabilitating morphology, or at least redressing the balance. This review article of *The verb in Turkish* edited by Eser Erguvanlı Taylan assesses the substantive content of the contributions to the volume, and closes with some more general comments regarding the theoretical background and the range of data considered.

*Geoffrey Haig, Seminar für Allgemeine und Vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft
Universität Kiel, D-24098 Kiel, e-mail: haig@linguistik.uni-kiel.de*

According to calculations made by Jorge Hankamer (1996:403), each verb lexeme in Turkish has well over a million potential different forms. Even though Hankamer's calculations are not without their problems, it remains an undeniable fact that verbs in Turkish have an extraordinarily rich morphological potential, and they are rightly considered to be the pivotal elements in Turkish morphosyntax. The book under review here, *The verb in Turkish* (2001, edited by Eser Erguvanlı Taylan), is dedicated to verbs, and represents therefore a milestone in Turkish linguistics. It also raises correspondingly high expectations. However, despite its title, the book under review does not offer a comprehensive overview of the Turkish verb (an impossible task for a book of this size), but a fairly selective collection of individual contributions by leading scholars from the field of Turkish linguistics. The book grew out of a workshop on clause structure held at Boğaziçi University in May 1999, and the nine chapters of the book clearly reflect these origins: six of the contributors are directly associated with Boğaziçi University, and half of the papers are primarily concerned with syntax rather than with verb morphology, or verb semantics. In her lengthy introduction, Eser Erguvanlı Taylan discusses the background of the volume and provides a careful and balanced summary of each contribution. In this review

article, I will take an admittedly less balanced look at each of the contributions, before turning to some more general points that a book of this scope raises, and also to those points that it does not raise.

The first, and longest contribution is by Engin Sezer, *Finite inflection in Turkish*, whereby “finite inflection” covers tense/aspect, and person agreement—essentially those formants which constitute the category of Infl within the Principles and Parameters framework. Sezer devotes considerable space to the work of Robert Lees (1961, 1962), described here as “the father of Turkish generative linguistics”, whose key insights Sezer rightly considers to have been neglected in much later research. Sezer’s paper is ambitious in its scope, and will be taken as the point of reference for much future work on verbal inflection. It is not possible to do full justice to it here, but I will touch on a couple of aspects which I think may require reconsideration. First, consider Sezer’s scheme for the “inflectional template” of the verb (p. 4):

(1)	Verb stem	Tense1	Tense2	Tense3	Agreement
	<i>gid</i>	<i>-ecek</i>	<i>-miş</i>	<i>-se</i>	<i>-m</i>
	go	FUT	INFER.PST	IND.COND	1SG
	‘If it is the case that they say I will/would go ...’				

Each of the three Tense slots is available to a set of affixes (or clitics, see below):

(2)	Tense1:	-DI, -sE, -mİş, -Iyor, -yEcEG, -Ir/-Er, -yE, -mEli, -mEkte
	Tense2:	i-DI, i-sE, i-mİş
	Tense3:	i-sE, i-mİş

These three represent “categories of forms (suffixes or clitics) which have to appear in a hierarchical order” (p. 4), that given in (1). One reservation with this account is the significance of Sezer’s “Tense3” category. According to the list of forms given in (2) above, Tense3 differs from Tense2 only through the absence of *i-DI*, and as it turns out, the Tense3 category plays virtually no role in the remainder of the chapter; where it is mentioned, it exhibits identical properties to Tense2. The fundamental issue is thus the difference between Tense1 and Tense2/Tense3, and the introduction of a Tense3 category at this point rather confuses the issues. The main difference between Tense1 and Tense2/3 is that the former affix to the stem of a full verb, while the latter are restricted to the defective auxiliary *-i-*, a form duly identified by Sezer as a verb (p. 8), echoing a conclusion reached by several researchers, including Göksel in the same book (see below).

A crucial point that Sezer emphasises is that his tense morphemes are forms with “lexical descriptive content” (p. 4), rather than functional categories. Thus there are observable semantic differences between the formally Tense1 suffixes *-mİş*, *-DI* and *-sE*, and their Tense2 counterparts. For example, the Tense1 *-mİş* has both an inferential past reading, and a present perfect reading. The Tense2 form, *i-mİş*, on the other hand, is always inferential, but can be either past or present (10-11). These semantic facts are

claimed to underlie the impossibility of certain combinations, for example **git-ti=ymış* go-PAST-INFERENTIAL (no reading), where the definite past reading of *-ti* is incompatible with the inferential clitic. Of course one might claim that the semantic differences between Tense1 and Tense2 forms simply follow from their structural differences: one group involves a single tense morpheme, while the other is, per definition, composed of a copular auxiliary (often with zero-realization) and a tense morpheme. Thus we should not expect semantic identity in the first place, unless of course we wish to claim that the auxiliary copula is semantically entirely empty.

A further crucial component in Sezer's theory is a more rigorous account of cliticization, and its interaction with suffixal inflection. While I agree with most of his "clitic theory for Turkish" (p. 35), I am not entirely in agreement with the analysis of the person agreement affixes *-(y)Im*, *-sIn*, *-(y)Iz* and *-sInIz* as clitics, while *-IEr* is treated as an affix. The justification for this move is that according to Sezer, the only clitic that can host another clitic is the interrogative clitic *mI*: "mI has to be the first clitic in the inflectional complex" (p. 35). This explains, among other things, the ungrammaticality of the following:

- (3) **alıyor-um-mu?* Intended reading: 'am I buying?'

Here, the clitic *mI* cannot follow another "clitic". Likewise, the ungrammaticality of the following is accounted for by stipulating that the final tense/mood clitics (underlined) cannot follow the clitic person markers:

- (4) **git-miş-im-di*
 (5) **git-miş-sin-se*

However, it seems to me that there is at least one other means of explaining these constraints: the person markers *-(y)Im*, etc. (unlike the other person paradigm with *-m*, *-n*, etc.) are simply not permitted to host clitics. Or to put it somewhat differently, they always constitute the outer layer of the prosodic word.¹ If we analyse them as clitics, as Sezer does, then we have to account for the fact that unlike the other clitics, they cannot be pronounced separated from their host (there is no alternation *öğretmen-sin/öğretmen* (pause) *sin* 'you are a teacher' that would parallel the possible variants in *öğretmen-din/öğretmen idin* 'you were a teacher').

In sum, although I do not necessarily agree with all aspects of Sezer's analysis, his paper is extremely rich in insights on the finer points of Turkish verbal inflection, and must be required reading for anyone seriously interested in the topic. It is a great

¹ An interesting avenue of further research, not taken up in this paper, would be non-standard colloquial Turkish, where the other set of person endings encroaches into environments reserved for *-sIn*, etc. We then find a corresponding reversal of the order of interrogative clitic and person ending (*gid-iyo-n mu?* instead of standard *gid-iyor mu-sun?* 'are you going').

pity that the other contributions, even those that deal with related topics, do not take up the many issues raised here.

The shortest contribution is Guglielmo Cinque's *A note on mood, modality, tense and aspect affixes in Turkish*. Its "limited goal" (p. 47) is to investigate the order of mood, modality, tense and aspect affixes in the light of some proposals made by the author in Cinque (1999). In that publication, Cinque claims that within the domains of mood, modality, tense, aspect and voice categories, finer sub-distinctions across grammatical heads are found which themselves appear to be rather rigidly ordered. Cinque finds that Turkish largely bears out these predictions. Apparent counter-examples, where for instance a formally identical affix may appear in two different positions, are argued to be instances of two functionally distinct affixes. That is, a difference in position corresponds to a difference in function, despite phonological identity. This contribution, which draws entirely on second-hand data, would have profited from greater attention to the differences between affixal and clitic tense/aspect markers (see the contributions of Sezer and Göksel) or to adverbials, as discussed in Erguvanlı Taylan's contribution. As it stands, it does not really contribute very much to our understanding of these categories and their combinability in Turkish.

In his contribution, *Periphrastic tense/aspect/mood*, Gerjan van Schaaik discusses certain combinations consisting of a tensed verb plus a form of *olmak* 'be, become' which are widely used in Turkish. Drawing on the work of Mixajlov (1961), van Schaaik limits the treatment to three types:

- (6) 1. -yor+olmak; 2. -EcEk+olmak; 3. -Er/mEz+olmak.

His investigation of these constructions draws on a "wide variety of electronic texts" including some transcribed spoken data, and comprising some two million words. Thus van Schaaik's is the sole study that draws on a corpus, rather than on native-speaker (in most cases the authors' own) intuitions. Van Schaaik also provides some frequency data for the occurrence of the constructions under consideration (p. 64), which give valuable insights into their actual usage. (But according to the table on page 64, the combination *-EcEk+olsa-* is not attested in the corpus. As this combination can be heard and read regularly in contemporary Turkish, I assume there is an error in the table at this point.) There is some fairly general discussion on aspect, Aktionsart and mood, but the main theoretical thrust of the chapter concerns how the different categories are related to the "layered structures" of clauses that are assumed in Functional Grammar. Four layers are distinguished: entity/term (1); state of affairs/predication (2); possible fact/proposition (3); speech act/clause (4). Different types of TMA-marker relate to different layers. For example, Tense is considered to apply to level 2 (predication), while inherent modality (e.g. *çalış-abil-* 'be able to work') is considered to be relevant to level 1 (clause). The bulk of the paper is concerned with a detailed semantic analysis of authentic examples.

One of the many issues raised in this chapter concerns the syntactic relationship between *olmak* and the main verb. Consider van Schaaiik's example (22), repeated here as (7) with a simplified gloss:

- (7) [...] *banklarda bazen, bir iki kişi otur-uyor ol-ur-du.*
 on.the.benches sometimes one two person sit-PROG be-PRES-PST
 '[...] there used to be one or two people sitting on the benches.'

Van Schaaiik suggests that the verb form *oturuyor* could be interpreted as the "complement of the independent verb *ol-* 'to happen/occur'" (p. 75). On this analysis, we would no longer have a periphrastic verb form (auxiliary verb plus main verb), but a verb+complement structure. However, van Schaaiik later rejects this analysis because of the "general rule", according to which embedded complement clauses are nominalised (79-80). Nevertheless, I have some doubts; after all, forms such as *oturuyor* are arguably participial in nature, hence bringing them closer to the nominalisations normally used for sentential complements, so the question raised by van Schaaiik does in fact merit more serious treatment. The paper ends rather abruptly with the observation that many of the periphrastic combinations are not compositionally analysable. The question of the semantic contribution of *ol-* to some of these forms remains open.

Like van Schaaiik's paper, Eser Erguvanlı Taylan's contribution *On the relation between temporal/aspectual adverbs and the verb form in Turkish* is also concerned with form/function mapping in the area of tense and aspect. The main motive in the present study is to pinpoint how aspect operates in Turkish, despite the lack of dedicated aspect morphology. In particular, the author focusses on the interaction of certain adverbials with the imperfective, perfective or perfect viewpoint aspects. Her descriptive framework draws heavily on Smith (1997), where the oppositions [$\pm$ telic], [$\pm$ durative] play a crucial role. A welcome outcome of her analysis is that *-yor* is interpreted neither as a present tense marker, nor as a progressive, but as "the general imperfective" (p. 103), which constitutes the unmarked member of an aspectual opposition, contrasting with the marked *-DI* and *-mİş* (both non-imperfective).

The bulk of the analysis involves investigating the compatibility of different adverbs with different elements of Tense/Aspect morphology. Interestingly, she finds that compositional semantics is not always a good predictor of grammaticality. Of particular value is the discussion of the adverb *bile* (p. 118-119), for which the author suggests two homophonous items. The author notes that in Turkish, "aspectual adverbs play a determining role in the overall aspectual interpretation of a sentence" (p. 123). Some of the adverbs considered show features atypical of lexical items, hence resembling more closely aspectual particles. How they can be related to the view of adverbs as specifiers of functional heads is an issue raised for future research.

Another contribution concerned primarily with semantics is Mine Nakipoğlu-Demiralp's paper on *The referential properties of impersonal passive constructions*.

This paper investigates the semantic properties that determine whether a verb in Turkish may form an impersonal passive (IP), a feature that is crucial in classifying verbs as unergative or unaccusative (on the distinction originally drawn by Perlmutter). An important contribution made in this paper is that the ability of a verb to form an IP is not only dependent on the lexical semantics of the verb itself, but also on the tense of the verb. The past tense in *-DI* exerts greater restrictions on IP-formation than the aorist (*-Er/mEz*).

The aspect of lexical semantics considered to be most relevant is what the author terms internal vs. external instigation. Thus a verb such as *ağlamak* 'cry' expresses an event that, while not necessarily volitional, is nevertheless instigated by the subject, who is also in a position to register the 'internally driven changes'. A verb like *erimek* 'melt', on the other hand, implies a change of state instigated by an entity external to the subject, and the latter also lacks the ability to experience the changes. However, the internal vs. external instigation parameter is not sufficient by itself to account for all instances of IPs found with intransitive verbs, and the author is well aware of the difficulties here. The problems are indeed legion, and I can add the following footnote to the discussion: during a talk I gave on passive in Turkish some years ago, I suggested that the verb *pişmek* 'ripen, cook (intr.)' could not be passivized, but someone in the audience objected, citing as an example *Saunada pişilir* 'in the sauna one is cooked'. The lesson to be learned from this, and similar examples, is that lexical semantics alone is by itself insufficient; broader contextual semantics is also operative. Another minor point of contention is the inclusion of *bayılmak* in the list of problematic passive forms, because it lacks (in modern Turkish at least) an active counterpart **baymak*, hence hardly qualifying as a passive (see Haig (2000) for discussion of these fossilised passive forms).

The author also points out that the tense of the verb affects the interpretation of the suppressed argument: a verb form such as *koşuldu* 'it was run' implies, according to the author, a plural interpretation of the suppressed subject, and one that includes the first person (p. 137). The form *koşulur* (with aorist), on the other hand, implies an arbitrary interpretation, unspecified for number (someone/some people, etc.). The different behaviour of these verbs under different tense forms casts doubt on the original explanation of the ergative/unaccusative distinction in Relational Grammar. The author rounds off this well-balanced paper with a sketch of how a scalar view of the unergative/unaccusative distinction can be applied to a subset of Turkish verbs.

Aslı Göksel's contribution is titled *The auxiliary verb ol- at the morphology-syntax interface*. Göksel examines the status of *olmak* as an auxiliary verb in different syntactic configurations. In some contexts, *olmak* makes a significant semantic contribution, witnessed for example in the difference between (8) and (9):

- (8) *gör-müş-tül-m*
see-PERF-PAST-1SG

'I have/had seen'

- (9) *gör-müş ol-du-m* 'I ended up seeing'
 see-PERF ol-PAST-1SG

In other semantic configurations, it is required merely in order to satisfy morphological well-formedness constraints. This is claimed to be the case in, for example, (11):

- (10) *gör-dü-ğ-üm* 'that I saw/am seeing'
 see-PAST-COMPL-1SG
- (11) *gör-müş ol-du-ğ-um* 'that I saw'
 see-PERF AUX-PAST-COMPL-1SG

Note that Göksel analyses the verbal nominalizing suffixes *-DIğ* and *-(y)EcEğ* as a TAM-morpheme and a "complementizer" *-ğ-*; more on this below. The example (11), according to Göksel, "is a paraphrase of at least one of the interpretations of (10), indicating that it has no semantic content in the latter" (152). In these Object Relative Clauses (ORC), *olmak* is "semantically and syntactically inactive" (p. 159). Support for this claim comes from the neutralisation of the semantic distinctions shown above, from the scope of negation, and from the behaviour of clitics. This leads Göksel to exclude *olmak* from the syntactic representation of the ORC: it is not a functional head, and does not head its own projection. Göksel concludes that *olmak* is required in certain ORCs to satisfy requirements of morphological structure.

In a similar vein to Sezer (see above), Göksel argues that the clitic form *-(y)DI* results from the *-DI* plus the obsolete copula. But Göksel's analysis differs significantly from Sezer's. It will be recalled that Sezer refers to two distinct versions of *-DI* (one in his Tense1 morphemes, one in his Tense2). Göksel on the other hand assumes only one suffix *-DI*, and the differences between *-DI* and *-(y)DI* result from the latter being a composite of two morphemes, copula+*-DI*. This analysis is simpler than that of Sezer, and leads to a somewhat different statement of the morphological template for verbal inflection. Regrettably, neither author takes up the challenge of discussing the other's proposals.

Göksel also looks into the sources of the ungrammaticality of (13), as opposed to (12):

- (12) *gör-müş ol-du-ğ-um*
 see-PERF AUX-PAST-COMPL-1SG
 'that I saw/have seen'
- (13) **gör-müş-tü-ğ-üm*
 see-PERF-PAST-COMPL-1SG

Her account draws, among other things, on violations of constraints on "upper limits of affixation" (p. 166). However, there is, I believe, a simpler explanation, but it involves abandoning the view that the nominalizer *-duğ-* is composed of a tense marker

and a complementizer (see above). This explanation runs as follows: In (13), the only possibility to attach an additional tense marker to the suffix *-müs* would be via the copula (that is, a form *-i*+TAM). But the copula is defective, being able to host only three TAM suffixes. It cannot support any of the nominalizing suffixes of Turkish. Hence the ungrammaticality of (13) follows quite simply from the defective nature of the copula, which cannot support the participial suffix *-DIğ*. Thus if we distinguish two distinct simplex suffixes, *-DI* and *-DIğ*, with only the former being able to affix to the defective copula, then we do not have to invoke more complex explanations to account for the ungrammaticality of (13). I take this as an argument against the analysis of *DIğ* as *-DI*+ğ.

Göksel points to the importance of language-specific constraints on morphological structure, suggesting that verbs in Turkish cannot host more than three inflectional suffixes (p. 172). However, we still have to account for forms such as *gel-di-ğ-in-e* (*çok sevindim*) ‘(I was really pleased) that you came’, which exhibits four inflectional affixes, while *yap-tı-k-lar-in-ı* (*iyi bulmadım*) ‘(I didn’t approve of) the things you did’ has five (assuming the analysis of *di-ğ*-, as advocated by Göksel). These examples can of course be argued away on the grounds that the additional suffixes are not verbal, but nominal inflection. But then an account in terms of a surface constraint on “word size” will no longer be adequate, but must be refined through additional stipulations. With this paper, Göksel continues her long line of highly original research on the morphology/syntax interface, an area that has been much neglected in Turkish linguistics. I personally would greatly appreciate more coverage of this topic in the future.

In Jaklin Kornfilt’s contribution, *Functional projections and their subjects in Turkish clauses*, the case-marking of the subject in various kinds of non-finite clause is investigated. As is well known, in this position two possibilities are found: an unmarked case (possibly a Nominative), and the Genitive. She investigates four types of non-finite clause, distinguished according to their external syntactic functions: 1. Argument clauses, which fill argument positions in the thematic grid of the matrix predicate; 2. adverbial clauses, for example various converb types; 3. clauses that fill the complement position of postpositions; 4. relative clauses.

Kornfilt makes reference to the ambivalent nature of nominalized clauses: they exhibit many of the internal properties typical of finite clauses, while at the same time being cast in a “nominal” shell. This form/function mismatch has long been familiar to typologists (see especially Lehmann 1988), and the typological dimensions of the correlation between the form of the NP-internal subjects and the external syntactic functions of those NPs has been much discussed by Lehmann and others. Kornfilt provides a formal representation of such facts by positing, for nominalized clauses in argument positions, a clause-external case-projection (KP) above a “Nominal Agreement Phrase”, in which the Genitive-marked subject takes the Spec-Position. The important point is that the presence of the Genitive on the subject cannot be related solely to the presence of agreement on the embedded predicate, be-

cause in examples such as (14), the subject lacks Genitive, despite agreement on the embedded predicate *çık-tı-ğ-ım*:

- (14) *ben ev-den çık-tı-ğ-ım-da Oya yemek pişir-iyor-du.*
 1SG house-from go.out-PTCPL-1SG-LOC Oya food cook-PROG-PST(3S)
 'When I left the house Oya was cooking.'

The case of embedded subjects such as *ben* in (14) is accounted for by means of a default nominative case assignment, which steps in when the conditions for overt (non-null) case assignment are not met. The relevant condition for the above example is that the embedded nominalization must be theta-governed by the matrix clause in order to permit the embedded subject to be checked for Genitive. The same line of argument is applied to nominalized clauses as complements of postpositions, and in relative clauses. Kornfilt is careful to distinguish embedded subjects which lack overt case because they do not occur in the structural configuration required to assign case, from the kind of caseless subjects with generic/indefinite interpretations (the "semi-subjects" of Haig 1998). Thus not all apparently bare embedded subjects are equal; their lack of overt case arises for very different reasons. The important theoretical contribution of this paper lies in the postulation of the Nominative as the default case for Turkish, and the recognition of distinct motivations for assigning case to embedded subjects: from within the nominalized clause, and from outside it.

Another contribution to theoretical syntax comes from A. Sumru Özsoy, *On 'small' clauses, other 'bare' verbal complements and feature checking in Turkish*. The author points out that certain types of constructions in Turkish pose difficulties for accounts of case checking in the Minimalist Program. The constructions under consideration are the much-discussed sentential complements of the verb *sanmak*, 'believe, consider', such as the following:

- (15) *Herkes ben-i Ankara'ya git-ti-m san-ıyor-muş*
 everyone 1SG-ACC Ankara-DAT go-PAST-1SG consider-PROG-PERF(3S)
 'It seems everyone considered me to have gone to Ankara.'
- (16) *(Biz) sen-i taşın-dı-n san-dı-k.*
 we 2SG-ACC move-PAST-2SG consider-PAST-1PL
 'We considered you to have moved.'

The problem with these structures is that the accusative NPs *beni* and *seni* respectively "have skipped over a possible checking category", namely the Agreement phrase of the embedded clause. Furthermore, they violate the principle of Shortest Move. In sum, on whatever version of Mainstream Generative Grammar one works with, the expectation would be that the Agreement phrase licenses (or checks for) Nominative.

Özsoy discusses three different types of structure, each characterised by a distinct configuration of agreement and case-marking in the embedded clause. She argues for a small clause analysis of at least a subset of these constructions, and against accounts which relate the accusative NPs to matrix clause arguments (I assume this would include the raising accounts of earlier versions of Generative Grammar). A possible solution to the dilemma posed for case theory is that “Turkish distinguishes between strong and weak AgrSP” (p. 229). The weak version of agreement is “absorbed” by the lexical head, and is hence no longer available for case checking. Thus the accusative-marked NP can skip this agreement node and receive case from a higher one. Özsoy’s detailed discussion of these constructions offers considerable insights into the subtleties of its syntax and semantics, as well as spelling out their implications for the Minimalist Program.

There is a long history of research on complementation strategies with *sanmak*, but progress has been consistently hampered by conflicting grammaticality judgments. Brendemoen & Csato (1986) postulated the existence of “two dialects” to account for the variation found, a standpoint adopted by most researchers since and also by Özsoy in her paper. But recently Aygen (2006) and Haig (2006) have pointed out that this explanation is not really satisfactory, and the distribution of the supposed dialects has never been established independently. It is to be hoped that in the future, the theoretical analyses of these constructions may be complemented by empirical investigations where both the conditioning factors behind the variation, and the relative extent of the variants found can be established.

The final chapter in the volume, by Balkız Öztürk, carries the provocative title *Turkish as a non-pro-drop language*. The author argues against the view that overt subject pronouns in Turkish are merely optional exponents of the subject relation, licensed by the agreement morphology. On her view, the use of subject pronouns is determined by discourse pragmatic factors, and hence, is not amenable to a purely structural analysis as the Spec position in the AgrP. In particular, subject pronouns are required when a topic change is to be signalled (17-18), but with topic-continuity, use of the pronoun leads to unacceptable structures (19-20), as in (glosses simplified):

- (17) *Ben geldim. Ama sen gelmedin.*
 I came.1SG but you not.came.2SG
 ‘I came. But you did not come.’
- (18) *Ben geldim. Ama *pro gelmedin.*
 I came. but not.came
- (19) *Ben_i eve geldim. pro_i Kitap okudum.*
 I to.house came.1SG book read.1SG
 ‘I came home (and) read a book.’

(20)	<i>Ben_i</i>	<i>eve</i>	<i>geldim.</i>	<i>*Ben</i>	<i>Kitap</i>	<i>okudum.</i>
	I	to.house	came.1SG	I	book	read.1SG

Another reason for disassociating the overt pronouns from agreement morphology stems from their use with certain types of converb (*ben konuşurken* ‘... while I was talking ...’), where the pronouns may occur with verb forms that bear no overt person agreement. A similar set of arguments is also proposed for the genitive pronouns in possessive constructions (SpecDP position), which Öztürk also claims are discourse-determined, rather than reflecting a Spec-Head relation. The author concludes the first two sections by stating that “there is no interdependency between overt pronouns and the agreement morphology in terms of a Spec-Head relation as claimed by the canonical analysis of Turkish”.²

Generally the facts presented are uncontroversial, and have been pointed out by scholars such as Erguvanlı-Taylan (1986) in earlier work. However, the precise nature of the discourse constraints on pronoun retention vs. deletion are not fleshed out in Öztürk’s paper, where she is content to operate with fairly broad categories such as Topic. The main theoretical contribution of her work is to translate these facts into a structural analysis of the clause, presented in sections 4 and 5. The main problem is, according to Öztürk, that if the overt pronouns are generated at a higher level, then we are left with a structure where the subject position remains unfilled, something that “violates the EPP” (Extended Projection Principle, p. 247). Öztürk’s own analysis is to interpret agreement morphology as the VP-internal subject, hence salvaging the EPP. The obvious problem with this analysis is that clauses that lack overt agreement morphology (e.g. *ben konuşurken*) are left without subjects, but this problem is not addressed. The overt pronoun is assigned to a higher position, for which Öztürk adopts a suggestion of Rizzi (1995), according to which there is a ForcePhrase (presumably something like Illocutionary force) above the C-system, and dominating a Topic Phrase (TopP). Öztürk considers the most appropriate position for the overt pronouns to be SpecTopP. A further feature of this analysis is the elimination of the Agreement Phrase from the Inflection domain (p. 254-255). The proposed analysis is claimed to provide a simpler account of the choice of participle in relative clauses, and to be applicable to DPs, for which a TopP is also suggested.

Öztürk points to some important facts regarding the discourse functions of overt pronouns in Turkish, which are indeed ignored by purely structural accounts in terms of Spec-Head relations. But whether her alternative account is sufficient grounds for claiming that Turkish “is” a non-pro-drop language, and just what is implied by that label, are not fully clear to me. Her account essentially leaves languages like English

² Another piece of evidence for disassociating agreement and pronouns, not mentioned by Öztürk, is the existence of semantically-determined verb agreement, such as in the following example, where verbal agreement is first person plural, but this is not formally reflected in the overt pronouns: *Seninle ben caddelerde sokaklarda iki garip yabancı-yız.* ‘You and I, in the streets and alleys, (we are) two destitute strangers.’

and Turkish bearing the same value on the pro-drop parameter, and indeed actually casts considerable doubt on the relevance of the parameter in any general theory of syntax, or of typology. Actually this is a consequence I rather approve of, but the implications are not taken up in the paper.

The contributions to this volume are of a high standard, and each presents an analysis that merits close attention by all specialists in the field. Unfortunately, however, there is a lack of coherence across the individual contributions. For example, Sezer and Göksel both have interesting, and somewhat different, analyses of verb morphology, but neither makes reference to the analysis of the other. Likewise, both van Schaaik and Erguvanlı Taylan deal with similar periphrastic constructions, again with virtually no serious consideration of each other's analysis. Erguvanlı Taylan (p. 124) discusses how adverbs might be treated in the framework of Cinque (1999), but in Cinque's own contribution to the volume under review, no discussion of these issues is forthcoming. Öztürk's analysis of clause structure differs from that of Özsoy and Kornfilt, but again no attempt is made to compare the respective analyses, or to present counter-arguments. Nor is there consistency in glossing: the tense suffix in *gel-iyor* is glossed as PRES2 (van Schaaik), CONT (Sezer), PROG (Cinque) and IMPERF (Erguvanlı Taylan). Such examples could be multiplied at will. This variation will not be a source of confusion for those familiar with Turkish grammar, but it renders comparison across the different analyses difficult for the non-specialist. Lack of coherence is also evident in a good deal of irritating repetition of the basic facts of Turkish grammar (e.g. the types of nominalizations, the differences between clitic and affixal tense suffixes, different relativization strategies, etc.). The book is thus very much a collection of individual contributions on thematically related issues, rather than a book providing representative coverage of the verb in Turkish.

It is unreasonable to judge a book by what it does not contain, rather than what it does. However, a book with the present title arouses certain expectations, so a few words are in order at this point on the thematic and theoretical scope of the book. As far as the topics covered are concerned, the editor states in her introduction (viii) that the volume is mainly concerned with "clause structure in Turkish", which is determined to a great extent by the verb. Thus the emphasis is on syntax and inflectional morphology. It is somewhat surprising that a volume carrying this title should contain no in-depth analysis of valency-changing processes (with the exception of the discussion on passivization of intransitives in Nakipoğlu's paper). Nor, for example, is there any discussion of verbs from a psycholinguistic perspective (acquisition studies), or from a diachronic perspective, or of lexical semantics, and none of the contributors looks beyond the standard language.

As far as the range of theoretical approaches is concerned, the selection is also quite limited: of the nine contributions, six essentially adopt a version of what Culicover & Jackendoff (2005) refer to as "mainstream generative grammar", either Principles and Parameters or the Minimalist Program. The only other theory explicitly endorsed in any of the papers is Dik's Functional Grammar (van Schaaik). Erguvanlı Taylan draws on a broad functional/semantic framework for the analysis of tense and

aspect, and Nakipoğlu is basically theory-neutral. (Although her paper takes up claims put forward in Relational Grammar, it is not framed in RG.) With the exception of van Schaaik, and the references in Sezer, little attention is given to the European tradition of Turkology, although Johanson (1971) already made a seminal contribution to tense and aspect in Turkish. In view of this fairly narrow range of theoretical approaches, the editor's statement that the collection is a "sound reflection of the current state of research in Turkish linguistics" (viii) does not really bode well for Turkish linguistics.

These comments notwithstanding, *The verb in Turkish* is a must for anyone seriously interested in Turkish linguistics, in particular morphosyntax. The papers represent very high standards of scholarship, and have been edited and produced in a very professional manner. I sincerely hope that in the future, other aspects of the verb in Turkish, both thematic and theoretical, may find an outlet of an equally high standard.

References

- Aygen, Gülşat 2006. Morpho-syntactic variation and methodology. Problems and possible solutions. Paper held at the *13th International Conference on Turkish Linguistics*, 16-20 August 2006, Uppsala.
- Brendemoen, Bernt & Csató, Éva 1986. The head of S in Turkish. A comparative approach to Turkish syntax. In: Aksu Koç, Ayhan & Erguvanlı-Taylan, Eser (eds.) *Proceedings of the Turkish Linguistics Conference. August 9-10, 1984* (Boğaziçi University Publications 400.) İstanbul: Boğaziçi University Press. 85-100.
- Cinque, Guglielmo 1999. *Adverbs and functional heads. A cross-linguistic perspective*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Culicover, Peter W. & Jackendoff, Ray S. 2005. *Simpler syntax*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Erguvanlı-Taylan, Eser 1986. Pronominal vs. zero representation of anaphora in Turkish. In: Slobin, Dan and Zimmer, Karl (eds.) 1985. *Studies in Turkish linguistics*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 209-233.
- Erguvanlı Taylan, Eser (ed.) 2001. *The verb in Turkish*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Haig, Geoffrey 1998. *Relative constructions in Turkish*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Haig, Geoffrey 2000. Towards a unified account of passive in Turkish. *Turkic Languages* 4, 215-234.
- Haig, Geoffrey 2006. Simplifying (some of) the syntax of *sanmak*. Paper held at the *13th International Conference on Turkish Linguistics*, 16-20 August 2006, Uppsala.
- Hankamer, Jorge 1996. Morphological parsing and the lexicon. In: Marslen-Wilson, William D. (ed.) *Lexical representation and process*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT. 392-408.
- Johanson, Lars 1971. *Aspekt im Türkischen. Vorstudien zu einer Beschreibung des türkeitürkischen Aspektsystems*. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- Lees, Robert 1961. *The phonology of modern standard Turkish*. (Indiana University Publications, Uralic and Altaic Series 6.) Bloomington : 's-Gravenhage.

- Lees, Robert 1962. A compact analysis for the Turkish personal morphemes. In: Poppe, Nicholas (ed.) 1962. *American studies in Altaic linguistics*. (Indiana University Publications, Uralic and Altaic Series 13.) Bloomington : The Hague. 141-176.
- Lehmann, Christian 1988. Toward a typology of clause linkage. In: Haiman, John & Thompson, Sandra A. (eds.) *Clause combining in grammar and discourse*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 181-225.
- Mixajlov, M. 1961. O perifraščeskix formax v tureckom jazyke. *Kratkie Soob'čeniya Instituta Narodov Azii* 40, 129-135.
- Rizzi, Luigi 1995. The fine structure of the left periphery. In: Haegemann, Liliane (ed.) *Elements of grammar*. Dordrecht: Kluwer. 289-330.
- Smith, Carlota 1997. *The parameter of aspect*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Report

Workshop on “Turkish as a Foreign Language in the Republic of Cyprus” University of Cyprus, Nicosia, November 19-20, 2004

Christoph Schroeder & Martin Strohmeier

Schroeder, Christoph & Strohmeier, Martin 2006. Workshop on “Turkish as a Foreign Language in the Republic of Cyprus” University of Cyprus, Nicosia, November 19-20, 2004. *Turkic Languages* 10, 285-297.

Christoph Schroeder, Department of Comparative Literature, Istanbul Bilgi University, İnönü Cad. No: 28, 34387 Şişli / Istanbul, Turkey, e-mail: schroeder@bilgi.edu.tr

Martin Strohmeier, Department of Turkish Studies and Middle Eastern Studies University of Cyprus, 75 Kallipoleos, P.O. Box 20537, 1678 Nicosia, Cyprus, e-mail: m.strohmeier@ucy.ac.cy

0. Introduction

The Republic of Cyprus has two official languages, Greek and Turkish, but the division of the island after 1974 has led to a division of linguistic labour. Greek is now the dominant language of the Republic of Cyprus, while Turkish is the dominant language in northern Cyprus. After April 2003, however, restrictions on crossing the line that divides the island were lifted, leading to a re-vitalization of contacts between the Greek and the Turkish communities, and to a fast growing demand for Turkish as a Foreign Language (henceforth “TaFL”) in the Greek community. However, the development of teaching methodology, material, curriculum and teacher training for TaFL in the complex political setting of Cyprus are still in their very beginnings.

On November 19-20, 2004, an international workshop entitled “Turkish as a Foreign Language in the Republic of Cyprus” was held at the Department of Turkish Studies at the University of Cyprus. The aim of the workshop was to discuss and develop proposals which might contribute to the establishment of TaFL in the Republic of Cyprus in a way that addresses the specific situation in Cyprus while at the same time meeting the standards of foreign language teaching as developed by the Council of Europe.

In the following, we first briefly report on the language situation in Cyprus, focusing on the recent changes and their implications for the teaching of TaFL. Following that, we summarize the talks and discussions that took place at the workshop.

1. The Background

1.1. Overview

This and the following section are strongly based on Karyolemou (2003) and Goutsos & Karyolemou (2004).¹

The Republic of Cyprus has two official languages, Greek and Turkish. At the same time, due to the colonial past of Cyprus and its close links with the UK,² English is widely spoken and present in public so that it may be said to have characteristics of a second language³ (cf. Davy & Pavlou 2000, McEntee-Atalians 2004).

There are three officially recognized religious minorities in Cyprus: the Maronites (cf. Roth 2004), the Armenians, and the Latins. Furthermore, due to the quick growth of the Republic's economy over the last fifteen years or so, there are a considerable number of migrants from various countries—Russians, Bulgarians, Filipinos, and Sri Lankans, to name just the biggest groups.⁴

The sociolinguistic situations of both Greek and Turkish represent strong cases of diglossia: Greek and Turkish Cypriots clearly perceive the standard and the Cypriot varieties of their native languages in diglossic terms. Cypriot Greek may be said to be valued somewhat higher in the Cypriot Greek community than the Turkish variety is valued in the Cypriot Turkish community; in the latter case this may be due to the close links with the Turkish mainland and the strong presence of mainland Turks in Northern Cyprus.⁵

Data from the October 2001 population census show that the total population of the Republic—not including the population in the Turkish North—was 689,565. At 89.7% (618,455), Greek Cypriots form the vast majority, 0.2% (1,341) are Armeni-

¹ See also Peeters (1997).

² Cyprus is a member of the Commonwealth of Nations, and over 300,000 Cypriot immigrants live in the UK.

³ The difference between foreign and second language refers to the established use of these terms as a non-native language also widely or mainly used outside of the learning situation in the classroom (~ second language) vs. a non-native language almost exclusively acquired and used in the classroom (~ foreign language).

⁴ To the latter groups of migrants in Cyprus we also have to add the mainland Greeks and the Pontians in the Republic of Cyprus, as well as the mainland Turks in the Turkish North.

⁵ See Papapavlou (2004) and Pavlou (2004) and the literature given therein for Greek (standard vs. dialect), Demir (2002) for a description of Cypriot Turkish and Kızılyürek & Gautier-Kızılyürek (2004) for the (changing) role of Cypriot Turkish in the Cypriot Turkish community.

ans, 0.5% (3,658) Maronites, 0.04% (279) Latins, and as few as 0.05% (361) declared themselves to be Turkish Cypriots. The remainder either did not declare their ethnic/religious group or were holders of non-Cypriot passports.

The population in the Turkish north, where Turkish is the only official language, is estimated between 80,000 and 89,000, not including the roughly 100,000 Turkish settlers and the 35,000 Turkish soldiers.

With the population in the North being almost totally of Turkish origin (some Maronites and Greek Cypriots remain), we can thus estimate the population of Greek speakers on the island as a whole at more than 71% and the population of Turkish speakers at roughly 22% (including Turkish settlers and soldiers).

1.2. Turkish in the Republic of Cyprus

Goutsos & Karyolemou (2004: 4-5) state:

“The dramatic geodemographic changes that followed the 1974 Turkish invasion have had significant consequences for language structure, both at an interlinguistic (interaction of Greek and Turkish standard and local varieties) and an intralinguistic level (variation between the local varieties and their standard varieties). They also effected the development of sociolinguistic patterns of behaviour with important repercussions on the status of the languages involved. For instance, Greek and Turkish are the two official languages, as stated in the 1960 Constitution. However, in practice the division of the island has been followed by a division of linguistic labour, with the result that Greek has been the dominant language in the administration and government of the Republic of Cyprus, while Turkish is exclusively used for similar purposes in the occupied part.”

A characteristic case is the University of Cyprus in Nicosia, founded in 1989, whose official languages are both Greek and Turkish, although practice has formulated a *de facto* exclusive use of Greek in administration and instruction (Karyolemou 2002, 2003), accompanied, in instruction, by English.

The official status of Turkish in the Republic of Cyprus, then, is in practice reduced to a more or less symbolic use: Laws are issued in the two official languages, state television and radio provide a few Turkish news programs, the banknotes of the Republic of Cyprus give their denominations in Greek and Turkish, the health-warnings on cigarette packets are given in the two languages, etc.

Before ethnic separation in Cyprus began in 1963, bilingualism (of the local dialects) was widespread among the minority group, i.e. the Turkish Cypriots, while much less so among the Greek Cypriots. Many of the older generation of Turkish Cypriots still know some Greek (Özerk 2001, Yağcıoğlu 2003).

To sum up, one might say that, on the individual level, Turkish is a foreign language for the vast majority of Greek Cypriots: Greek Cypriots who grew up in bi-communal villages before the 1960s may remember Cypriot Turkish dialect words or phrases, while to the younger Greek Cypriot generation, Turkish is probably more foreign than it is to any German living in a multi-ethnic part of Hamburg, Berlin or

the Ruhr area. At the same time, the interethnic conflicts or the ideologies of historical memory can be expected to have a negative impact on linguistic attitudes towards the other community's language.

1.3. Turkish as a Foreign Language in the Republic of Cyprus

The situation described above has seen some changes since the spring of 2003 due to a new policy of rapprochement between the island's two communities. In the course of the candidacy status of the Republic of Cyprus in the European Union, the two communities were pressed into negotiations which are intended, in the eyes of the UN and the European Union, eventually to lead to a common state, with the two parts as component federal states. The UN, with the personal engagement of its Secretary General, Kofi Annan, developed a "Basis for Agreement on a Comprehensive Settlement of the Cyprus Problem"—commonly known as the "Annan Plan". This plan, in its Revised Version of Dec. 10, 2002, foresaw that the State of Cyprus should have the official languages Greek and Turkish and that "[t]he official languages ... [should] be taught mandatorily to all secondary school students" (Draft Annex I, §8.4.). That is, within three years after the establishment of the common state, all Greek Cypriot secondary school students would obligatorily learn Turkish as a Foreign Language, and all Turkish Cypriot secondary school students would obligatorily learn Greek as a foreign language.

The Annan Plan was never put into practice—the referendum of April 24, 2004, in which the majority of Greek Cypriots voted against it (while the majority of Turkish Cypriots voted for it), put an end to it, at least for the time being. However, the policy of rapprochement, once initiated, still brought important changes. Three of these are of interest for our subject:

The first change is the most important of all: In April 2003, the authorities of the Turkish North opened up a number of gates at the "Green Line", i.e. the line dividing the two parts of the island. Turkish and Greek Cypriots are now allowed free movement between the two parts of the island. This includes the right for Turkish Cypriots to work in the South or to attend a college or university there.⁶

The second change occurred when in the summer of 2003, the Government of the Republic of Cyprus decided to introduce Turkish as one of the elective foreign languages in the *lykeia*, i.e. the last three years of secondary education, where students study in a course system partly according to their personal interests. Thus, since the beginning of the 2003-2004 school year, *lykeia* students have been able to choose one out of six foreign languages in addition to English (which starts in primary school), i.e. French, Italian, Spanish, German, Russian and Turkish. Students studying Turkish as a Foreign Language elective numbered around 500 in the 2004-2005 school year and nearly doubled in the present 2005-2006 school year. Thus, the demand for Turkish courses is growing.

⁶ Migration from the North to the South is also possible, though it remains restricted.

Also in summer 2003, courses in Turkish as a Foreign Language (TaFL) were established at the two institutions of further education in the Republic of Cyprus, the “Centres for Further Education” and the “State Institute for Further Education”. Unlike all the other courses at these institutions, the TaFL courses (as well as the Greek language courses for Turkish Cypriots) are free of charge. The numbers of participants are impressive. In 2003/04 some 1,300 people attended Turkish courses islandwide. They were distributed among 59 classes of learners in various towns. Turkish seems to be the foreign language with the fastest growing demand on the island.

Apart from the Turkish courses offered at institutions of further education, courses have been established at the University of Cyprus, in some of the colleges, and at the police and military academies; UNOPS (UN Operational Services) also run Turkish courses.

1.4. Turkish as a first language in the Republic of Cyprus

The year 1974 brought an ethnic division of the island that was almost total—but only almost so: Two mixed villages, Pyla and Potamia, remained near the line dividing the two parts of the island. Also small groups of Turkish Cypriots, as well as Turkish-speaking Roma, live in Limassol and Paphos, i.e. in the South. Some Greek Cypriots remain in the North, mostly in the peninsula of Karpasia. Schooling in Pyla is provided by the respective authorities—Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot pupils each have their own school. The Greek Cypriot authorities provide schooling for the Greeks in Karpasia.⁷ The Turkish Cypriot and Roma pupils in Limassol and Paphos, around 45 in numbers attend Greek Cypriot state schools. There are some special programs provided for them in primary school.⁸ Turkish-speaking co-teachers assist the Greek teachers in classes with mixed Turkish-Greek pupils. Pupils with Turkish as their first language, furthermore, have the right to receive some Turkish instruction, which is provided during those hours when the Greek Cypriot pupils have history and religion lessons. The Turkish teachers’ duties are aggravated by the fact that these children hardly speak any Standard Turkish, but rather the Turkish-Cypriot dialect.

2. The Workshop “Turkish as a Foreign Language in the Republic of Cyprus”

The above paragraphs should have made clear that there is a growing demand for TaFL in the Republic of Cyprus. However, the development of teaching methodology, material and curriculum in the complex political setting of Cyprus is still in its very beginnings, if not non-existent. Also, there is no special branch of teacher training for TaFL at the University of Cyprus, nor are there any proposals concerning

⁷ The gymnasium in Rizokarpasa/Dipkarpas, providing lower secondary education, was reopened in September 2004.

⁸ Primary education in the Republic of Cyprus lasts for six years.

how to deal with the specific schooling situation of children whose first language is Turkish.

The authors of the present report organized an international workshop entitled “Turkish as a Foreign Language in the Republic of Cyprus”. The workshop, held on November 19-20, 2004, brought together experts on foreign language teaching and on the teaching of Turkish from various European countries and from Northern Cyprus, teachers of TaFL from Cyprus, and faculty from the Department of Turkish Studies at the University of Cyprus.⁹

The primary aim of the workshop was to discuss and develop proposals which might contribute to the establishment of TaFL in the Republic of Cyprus, in a way that addresses the specific situation in Cyprus while at the same time meeting the standards of foreign language teaching as developed by the Council of Europe.

In the following, we present a summary of the talks and discussions at the workshop.

2.1. Section 1 “Introduction to the topic”

In the first talk of this section, “Language policies and practices in the Republic of Cyprus: Turkish in a new sociolinguistic era”, the speaker, Marilena Karyole mou (University of Cyprus), put forward the view that in an investigation of the status of Turkish in the Republic of Cyprus, a distinction between *de jure*, *de facto* and subjective status should be made. From the viewpoint of the *de jure* status, Turkish has been an official language in the Republic of Cyprus since the foundation of the Republic in 1960. Before 1974, the use of Turkish in state institutions was widespread; for example, civil servants were required to know or to learn the language. The geopolitical changes in 1974 brought important changes in the use of Turkish as an official language, rendering it to written use in symbols of the state only. Concerning the *de facto* status, it is possible to say that until recently, among the island’s two main ethnic groups no organized learning of each other’s language has taken place. Before 1970, there was, however, an unplanned mutual learning of the other group’s dialect. Bilingualism on the island was, then, a bilingualism of the dialects. However, it is difficult to estimate the degree of this bilingualism in terms of both proficiency as well numbers of bilinguals. But even then, bilingualism more frequently took the form of ‘Turkish Cypriot dialect L1—Greek Cypriot dialect L2’ rather than the other way round. The fact that Turkish was the native language of only roughly 20 percent of the population, together with the tendency towards ethnic exclusivity within the groups made it possible that even before 1974, a Greek Cypriot could grow up in Cyprus without having any contact at all with Turkish Cypriots or with the Turkish language. For some social strata and in specific professional environments, intereth-

⁹ Representatives from the Ministry of Education were invited but did not come. Also an expert from TÖMER, Turkey’s largest institute for the teaching of Turkish as a foreign language, was invited, but was not granted permission to come due to Turkey’s non-recognition of the Republic of Cyprus.

nic communication used to take place through English. Bilingualism was never institutionally encouraged in Cyprus, either prior to or after 1974, and remained a largely individual choice. With regard to the subjective status of Turkish in the Republic of Cyprus, it is important to bear in mind that the recent history of conflicts between the communities may have an impact on the attitude of possible learners towards the language. Research carried out by Sciriha (1996) shows the low status Greek Cypriots ascribe to Turkish in comparison with other languages.

The partial lifting of the restriction of movement after 2003 led to an increase in the frequency and type of contact between the members of the two communities, both at the official and at the personal level. This may change the subjective status of Turkish amongst the members of the Greek Cypriot community. It remains to be seen to what extent the revitalisation of contacts as well as the courses of Turkish as a Foreign Language established since then will affect the *de facto* status of Turkish in the Republic of Turkish.

The discussion of Karyolemou's paper paid particular attention to the role that common features of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot dialects could play as a starting point in the teaching of Turkish. A further question regarded the interrelationship between the different status types as developed by Karyolemou, surmising that educational policy could also have a negative impact on language attitudes towards Turkish if this policy gave Turkish a minor status at school and provided it with inadequate teaching material.

In the second introductory talk, "Some remarks on 'Turkish as a Foreign Language' in the Republic of Cyprus", the speaker, Martin Strohmeier (University of Cyprus), gave an overview of the present situation of TaFL in various branches of the educational system. The speaker first summarized language contacts between Turks and Greeks on the island in the 20th century, pointing out that while functional bilingualism was probably wide-spread, in particular among the Turks, an organized learning of each other's language has hardly taken place. The important changes since April 2003, however, have led to lively traffic between both sides of the island, resulting in a revitalisation of language contacts. Since then, the demand to learn Turkish in the Republic of Cyprus has increased enormously, leading to the establishment of hundreds of Turkish courses at schools, institutions of further education as well as private language schools. The speaker also provided some insights into statistics, motivations of learners, needs and problems of Turkish as a Foreign Language in the Republic of Cyprus, based mainly on interviews with teachers (data from the Ministry of Education was not available). Among the minor foreign languages taught in the Republic of Cyprus, Turkish appears to have the fastest growing demand, the numbers of learners outnumbering by now "traditional" foreign languages such as German and Spanish. Most of the time the interest in the language derives from professional or other contacts with or interest in the Turkish community. Teachers of Turkish are generally convinced that the demand for Turkish will continue. There is, however, an urgent need for high-quality teaching material, in-

cluding testing tools, as well as for the development of appropriate curricula both for schools as well as for adult courses.

In the subsequent discussion, participants stressed the importance of studying the language attitudes towards Turkish among Cypriot Greeks. Equal importance was ascribed to the need for a detailed investigation of the motivations for learning Turkish: What are the needs of learners, in particular those learning the language because it is in some way related to their profession? Furthermore, is it possible to foresee a future development of the needs to learn Turkish?

In the third introductory talk of the workshop, "Language teaching and learning in border regions. A European project: experiences and results", the speaker, Albert Raasch (University of Saarbrücken, Germany), presented insights and experiences from a project "Neighbouring Languages in Border Regions". The project was funded by the Council of Europe Language Center of Modern Languages in Graz in Austria, by the Goethe Institute in Munich, by the official Austrian institution called Kulturkontakt Austria, and by the Talenacademie Nederland in Maastricht. CICERO, the Center of Information and Counselling for Neighbouring Language Teaching and Learning in Border Regions, located in the Talenacademie in Maastricht, is an immediate outcome of this project.

Border regions, as Raasch pointed out, constitute special conditions for the teaching and learning of languages, presenting difficulties as well as opportunities. Linguistic neighbourhood can be regarded as the first source for developing linguistic competence: It is most useful, since it is most functional—provided there are contacts across the border and provided there are transport possibilities for people to cross the border to and from both sides. At the same time, in border regions, it becomes evident that language learning and language teaching are political action and may help to create social cohesion in the region.

Since border regions create specific language needs, e.g. specific professional contacts may exist over the border, it is often necessary to develop specific course syllabi and textbooks which address these needs.

Thus, in the planning of language teaching in border regions it is of vital importance to investigate the framework in which language learning takes place, i.e.

- the reasons for people to learn the language of the neighbour—individual needs, personal contacts, professional needs,
- the status and images of the languages in question,
- the supportive role of the media with regard to contacts across the border,
- the supportive role of parents with regard to the language learning of their children
- the potential for trans-border projects—trans-border school-hopping, trans-border kindergartens, trans-border co-operations between chambers of commerce.

In the ensuing discussion, the concept of "border" was the focus of attention. It was pointed out that in the particular case of Cyprus, on the one hand intercommunal re-

lations were developing on the personal level, while on the other hand the very *existence* of the “border” was still an issue. At the same time, in the multilingual cities of Europe, which host highly vital migrant community languages, “border” could translate over as “neighbourhood”.

2.2. Section 2 “TaFL in Secondary and Adult Education and the European Perspective”

In the talk “Turkish as a Foreign Language in Dutch secondary schools”, the speaker, Kutlay Yağmur (University of Tilburg, the Netherlands) reported on the current practice concerning the teaching of Turkish in the Netherlands. While in primary schools in the Netherlands Turkish is predominantly offered as heritage language education aiming at immigrant children with Turkish as their first language, Turkish in secondary education is organized as modern foreign language teaching. The fact that Turkish is a community (migrant) language in the Netherlands poses particular challenges for the objectives, the curriculum development, the development of teaching material and TaFL teacher training. With regard to teaching material, for example, a change of focus took place during the 1990s, emphasizing intercultural aspects of language teaching instead of traditional monolingual perspectives. In addition, characteristics of Turkish language use in a second language environment have been taken into consideration.

The speaker further pointed to the importance of recent developments in European foreign language policy for the teaching of TaFL. Here, in particular the underlying principles documented in the Common European Framework of References might serve as a model for TaFL. In a similar way, the *Language Portfolio* has turned out to be a very innovative concept leading to creative sub-projects.

The discussion focused on the importance of developing teaching material for TaFL. Yağmur again underlined the necessity for teaching material that focuses on the local settings where Turkish is a community language. Another important characteristic of TaFL is the heterogeneity of the students’ proficiency level in the TaFL class. Students often have some previous knowledge of Turkish due to contact they have had with members of the Turkish community.

In his talk “Tests of Turkish in Dutch schools for secondary education”, the speaker, Tom Duindam (Test Institute CITO, Arnhem, the Netherlands) reported on the development of test material for TaFL in secondary education. Unlike the situation in many European countries, in the Netherlands a so called “test culture” is clearly visible: in all school types and in all phases of the Dutch educational system, test administration is common practice. An important part of these tests are central examinations, the development of which is undertaken by the Dutch Test Institution CITO. Turkish has the status of a modern foreign language in Dutch secondary schools. Accordingly, the CITO institution also develops the tests for Turkish, which concentrate in particular on reading proficiency. The levels of proficiency these tests are aiming at are developed on the basis of empirical investigations in the respective

schools, and norms are set according to the investigations. Plans for the future include the definition of levels according to the Common European Framework, and the further development of a computer-adaptive testing tool TURCAT. The TURCAT program allows the ongoing assessment of a pupil's progress in the development of reading skills.

In the subsequent discussion, particular attention was given to the supportive role high-quality testing can play. On the one hand, the "test culture" in Cypriot schools is not as dominant as it is in the Netherlands. On the other hand, the availability and usage of modern testing material for TaFL could contribute to raising the status of Turkish lessons in secondary schools also in Cyprus. Appropriate tests can have a channeling function in the management and assessment of the quality and standard of the teaching.

In the next talk, "TaFL in the UK: A teacher training perspective", the speaker, Tozun Issa (London Metropolitan University, UK), reported on the current practice of Turkish language teaching in the UK, where Turkish is taught as a modern foreign language in secondary schools and colleges. There are highly innovative teacher training programmes preparing students to teach Turkish and other modern languages in primary and secondary schools as well as colleges and community schools. In these programmes, a child-centered approach is prevalent, i.e. an approach which uses learners' experiences as a starting point in learning.

With regard to the teaching of TaFL in the Republic of Cyprus, the speaker pointed to the importance of creating a classroom environment in which language varieties as well as other culturally relevant experiences are utilized to teach standard Turkish forms. This could mean that common aspects of the Turkish and Greek Cypriot dialects and cultures form a starting point for teaching and have an impact on planning, content and structure of lessons, as well as on the development of material. In the ensuing discussion, in particular the question of a dialect orientation in language teaching was raised. While all participants agreed that the Greek and the Turkish Cypriot dialects indeed shared common properties, mainly words, and that these could form a basis for the teaching of Turkish on the island, a debate unfolded regarding the status that should be attributed to the dialect in the classroom.

2.3. Section 3 "Perspectives on Cyprus"

In his talk "The Reflection of the Cypriot Turkish Dialect on the Education of Students", the speaker, Ahmet Pehlivan (Near East University, Lefkoşa/Nicosia), concentrated on differences between the Turkish standard language and the Cypriot Turkish dialect, and the particular problems Cypriot Turkish schoolchildren have when acquiring standard Turkish literacy patterns. The speaker first gave some general information about the Cypriot Turkish dialect, classifying it as reflecting properties of Anatolian Turkish dialects, while at the same time having specific lexical characteristics stemming from close contacts with Greek and, to a lesser extent, also with English on the island. In the course of the partition of the island, however, a

stronger orientation towards the Turkish standard has taken place. Following this general introduction, the speaker presented the results of an empirical investigation of dialect interference in the writings of Turkish Cypriot school children. These included detailed phonological, morphological, syntactical and lexical observations. It became clear that in teaching Turkish literacy to Cypriot Turkish children, particular attention has to be paid to the differences between the standard and the dialect in order to avoid these types of interference. In the third part of the talk, the speaker presented the results of a questionnaire-based survey conducted with teachers which showed that most teachers were not aware of the particular problems posed by the dialect-standard differences.

In the discussion, the importance of this kind of research for the Republic of Cyprus was emphasized, since in certain places (e.g. Limassol) Cypriot Turkish school children attend primary schools where they are instructed in their primary language, apart from attending Greek lessons. The children are hardly exposed to the Turkish standard and face particular problems when learning to write the standard.

In the talk "TaFL as an academic discipline", Christoph Schroeder (University of Cyprus) aimed at developing proposals for a "Turkish as a Foreign Language" study programme in the department of Turkish Studies at the University of Cyprus. The speaker first pointed out some significant differences between the discipline of TaFL and foreign language studies such as French, English, and German. With regard to the latter, the local need for the academic discipline is primarily created by global communication practices and the need to participate in them. The need for TaFL, however, is usually created by the specific local settings where Turkish figures as some kind of community language (migrant language, neighbour language, border language, minority language). This has important consequences for any TaFL study programme as the programme also focusses on the local settings. For a "TaFL" study programme in the Department of Turkish Studies at the University of Cyprus, this means that courses should not only concentrate on aspects of foreign language teaching methodology and second language acquisition, but must put equal emphasis on Greek-Turkish language contacts, on the structure of the Cypriot Turkish dialect, and on issues of language politics and planning, language awareness, and intercultural communication.

In the discussion, problems facing the implementation of the suggestions into the study programme of the Department of Turkish Studies were discussed. Unlike the Departments of English and French, Turkish Studies also includes historical and sociological topics. Therefore, it would be necessary to decide whether TaFL should constitute a new direction, or whether it should be implemented as part of a language-literature direction. The question of language proficiency posed a particular problem. Clearly, a teacher of Turkish would be expected to have a higher level of language proficiency than a graduate of another language specialisation. This, then, would call for a restructuring of the department's programme.

Last but not least, two teachers of Turkish as a Foreign Language reported on the teaching of TaFL both in secondary schools and in adult institutes of further educa-

tion. They agreed that Turkish will continue to attract students in the future and probably prove more popular than other foreign language courses in the long run. Curiosity about the language of the "unknown neighbour", an interest in being able to communicate with their peers in the North as well as some vague ideas about better job opportunities seem to motivate many students to choose Turkish in secondary school. Another reason for the interest in Turkish may come from the fierce competition among teachers of foreign language electives, who talk students into "their" language in order to keep their jobs—teachers of TaFL are not permanently employed, but hired only if there is a demand for their language.

One of the motivations of students in adult education for learning Turkish is the wish to communicate with people from the Turkish community. Some students, who work as lawyers, policemen, teachers or journalists, also learn the language because they consider it useful in their profession. For civil servants (esp. policemen), prospects for promotion improve with additional qualifications. Elderly learners often are or were inhabitants of what used to be bicommunal villages before 1974.

Teachers generally teach Turkish at different levels and in different institutions, e.g. at high schools and centers of adult education. As they start their courses more or less unprepared, teachers feel that they have to jump in at the deep end. Cooperation, exchange of materials and experiences, which would make the job easier, is heavily dependent on coincidences and personal contacts. Teachers also expressed their opinion that a curriculum, an introduction to the methodology of language teaching and improved teaching and assessment materials were badly needed. Furthermore, they felt that it would be useful to make their students aware of common dialect patterns, since most learners were very interested in this.

2.4. Closing discussion

The closing discussion concentrated on the close interrelation between regional and European aspects of TaFL. Clearly, TaFL in Cyprus is part of TaFL in Europe, and TaFL in Europe has an important and specific place in European language politics. The specific features of Turkish in Europe derive from its different statuses in the European countries: Turkish is a vital migrant language in all Western European countries. At the same time it is an indigenous and an official language in Cyprus, next to Greek. And finally, it is the official and majority language of Turkey, an important future member of the European Union.

The workshop, then, could be regarded as the initiation of a joint venture aiming at a development of TaFL in Europe within the framework of the Council of Europe's initiatives and guidelines of foreign language teaching. A concrete step for this joint venture could be the establishment of a Europe-wide project under the auspices of an institution of the European Council. This project would intend to develop appropriate teaching and testing materials as well as teacher training programs for TaFL in Europe.

While, on the one hand, the development of TaFL in Cyprus could benefit from experiences made elsewhere in Europe, on the other hand, the Cypriot particularities bring with them specific challenges and potentials. Thus, possibilities of trans-border exchanges, of tandem-learning, and of the integration of common aspects of the dialects into the teaching of Turkish could be explored. Accepting the challenge of the local particularities in combination with a European orientation would not only further the development of TaFL on the island. It would also mean that TaFL in Cyprus would accept a role in the development of friendly relations between the Greek and the Turkish communities, and in the development of intercultural competences. It is vital, however, that the educational institutions of the Republic of Cyprus recognize the important role TaFL is able to play in the development of good relations between the two communities in Cyprus.

References

- Davy, Jim & Pavlou, Pavlos 2000. Cyprus as a simple ESL society. *Proceedings of the XII. International Conference of the Greek Association of Applied Linguistics*. 209-215.
- Demir, Nurettin. 2002. Kıbrıs ağızları üzerine. In: Nurettin Demir & Turan, Fikret (eds.) 2002. *Scholarly depth and accuracy. A festschrift to Lars Johanson*. Ankara: Grafik. 100-110.
- Goutsos, Dionysis & Marilena Karyolemou 2004. Introduction. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 168, 1-18.
- Karyolemou, Marilena. 2002. When language policies change without changing. *Language Policy* 1, 213-236.
- Karyolemou, Marilena. 2003. "Keep your language and I'll keep mine": Politics, language, and the construction of identities in Cyprus. In: Dedaic, Mirjana & Nelson, Daniel N. (eds.) 2003. *At war with words*. Berlin: de Gruyter. 359-384.
- Kızılyürek, Niyazi & Gautier-Kızılyürek, Sylvaine 2004. The politics of identity in the Turkish-Cypriot community and the language question. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 168, 37-54.
- McEntee-Atalianis, Lisa J. 2004. The impact of English in postcolonial postmodern Cyprus. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 168, 77-90.
- Özerk, Kamil Z. 2001. Reciprocal bilingualism as a challenge and opportunity: The case of Cyprus. *International Review of Education* 47, 253-265.
- Papapavlou, Andreas 2004. Verbal fluency of bidialectal speakers of SMG and the role of language-in-education practices in Cyprus. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 168, 91-100.
- Pavlou, Pavlos 2004. Greek dialect use in the mass media in Cyprus. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 168, 101-118.
- Peeters, Yvo J. D. 1997. Cyprus. In: Goebel, Hans et al. (eds.) 1997. *Contact linguistics: An international handbook of contemporary research*, 2. Berlin: de Gruyter. 1525-1532.
- Roth, Arlette 2004. Le parler arabe maronite de Chypre: observations à propos d'un contact linguistique pluriséculaire. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 168, 55-76.
- Sciriha, Lydia 1996. *A question of identity: Language use in Cyprus*. Nicosia: Intercollege Press.
- Yağcıoğlu, Dilek 2003. Kıbrıs'ta çokdillilik olgusu. *Dilbilim Araştırmaları* 13, 27-40.

Turcologica

Herausgegeben von Lars Johanson

Volume 60: Marcel Erdal,
Irina Nevskaya (Ed.)

Exploring the Eastern Frontiers of Turkic

2006. XIV, 263 pages, pb
ISBN 978-3-447-05310-5
€ 68,- (D) / sFr 116,-

The papers brought together in the present volume deal with grammatical, lexical, onomastic and historical issues of non-Muslim Turkic languages and dialects spoken in South Siberia, in Mongolia and in China, and with the areal and genetic relationships between them. All of these varieties are socially dominated by non-Turkic languages; many of them are acutely endangered and, in general, insufficiently described. A number of the articles deal with the oral traditions (i.e. epics, proverbs) of the peoples speaking these varieties. Some typological issues concerning the Turkic languages of the area are also touched upon.

Volume 62: Lars Johanson,
Christiane Bulut (Ed.)

Turkic-Iranian Contact Areas

Historical and Linguistic Aspects

With the editorial assistance of
Sevgi Ağcağül and Vanessa Karam

2006. VII, 333 pages, 3 ill., hc
ISBN 978-3-447-05276-4
€ 58,- (D) / sFr 99,-

The volume contains a selection of articles dealing with Turkic-Iranian contacts in a

historical and linguistic perspective. The aim is to highlight some aspects of the long and intensive symbiosis between Turkic and Iranian peoples. Most articles are based on contributions to two international conferences convened at the Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz by the Turcological research group within the interdisciplinary research program (Sonderforschungsbereich) 295 of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. The focus is on historical and linguistic aspects of Turco-Iranian contacts in the South Anatolian and West Iranian area.

Volume 64: Martine Irma Robbeets

Is Japanese Related to Korean, Tungusic, Mongolic and Turkic?

2005. 975 pages, hc
ISBN 978-3-447-05247-4
€ 148,- (D) / sFr 250,-

Where does Japanese come from? The linguistic origin of the Japanese language is among the most disputed questions of language history. One current hypothesis is that Japanese is an Altaic language, sharing a common ancestor with Korean, Tungusic, Mongolic and Turkic. But, the opinions are strongly polarized. Especially the inclusion of Japanese into this classification model is very much under debate. Given the lack of consensus in the field, this book presents a state of the art for the etymological evidence relating Japanese to Korean, Tungusic, Mongolic and Turkic. The different Altaic etymologies proposed in the scholarly literature are gathered in an etymological index of Japanese appended to this book.

HARRASSOWITZ VERLAG • WIESBADEN
www.harrassowitz-verlag.de • verlag@harrassowitz.de



Turcologica 68

2006. 215 Seiten, br
ISBN 978-3-447-05344-0
€ 48,- (D) / sFr 83,-

Wladimir Monastyrjew

Jakutisch

Kleines erklärendes Wörterbuch des
Jakutischen (Sacha - Deutsch)

Jakutisch ist eine Turksprache, die in der Teilrepublik Rußlands Sacha von etwa 350.000 Menschen gesprochen wird und die Merkmale von alttürkischer und mongolischer Sprache aufweist. Das vorliegende Wörterbuch ist ein Derivat des Sacha-Russischen Akademielexikons* und umfasst 5400 Stichwörter in Umschrift u.a. auch Einträge aus Literaturlexik, Folklore, Phraseologismen und bildhafte Wörter. Mehrdeutige und altmodische Wörter sind gekennzeichnet. Dadurch kann das Wörterbuch auch einen Beitrag zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung in der Turkologie leisten und als kleines historisches Spracharchiv bezeichnet werden.

* Nauka Verlag, Moskau

HARRASSOWITZ VERLAG • WIESBADEN
www.harrassowitz-verlag.de • verlag@harrassowitz.de

Turkic Languages

Edited by
Lars Johanson

in cooperation with
Árpád Berta, Hendrik Boeschoten, Bernt Brendemoen,
Éva Á. Csató, Peter B. Golden, Tooru Hayasi,
Dmitrij M. Nasilov, Irina Nevskaya, Sumru A. Özsoy,
with the editorial assistance of
Sevgi Ağcagül and Vanessa Karam

10 (2006)

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

The journal *TURKIC LANGUAGES* is devoted to linguistic Turcology. It addresses descriptive, comparative, synchronic, diachronic, theoretical and methodological problems of the study of Turkic languages including questions of genealogical, typological and areal relations, linguistic variation and language acquisition. The journal aims at presenting work of current interest on a variety of subjects and thus welcomes contributions on all aspects of Turkic linguistics. It contains articles, review articles, reviews, discussions, reports, and surveys of publications. It is published in one volume of two issues per year with approximately 300 pages.

Manuscripts for publication, books for review, and all correspondence concerning editorial matters should be sent to Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. Lars Johanson, Turkic Languages, Institute of Oriental Studies, University of Mainz, 55099 Mainz, Germany. The e-mail address johanson@uni-mainz.de may also be used for communication.

Books will be reviewed as circumstances permit. No publication received can be returned.

Subscription orders can be placed with booksellers and agencies. For further information, please contact: Harrassowitz Verlag, 65174 Wiesbaden, Germany; Fax: 49-611-530999; e-mail: verlag@harrassowitz.de.

Publication of this journal was supported
by a grant of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft.

© Otto Harrassowitz GmbH & Co. KG, Wiesbaden 2006

This journal, including all of its parts, is protected by copyright. Any use beyond the limits of copyright law without the permission of the publisher is forbidden and subject to penalty. This applies particularly to reproductions, translations, microfilms and storage and processing in electronic systems.

Printing and binding by Memminger MedienCentrum AG

Printed on permanent/durable paper

Printed in Germany

www.harrassowitz-verlag.de

ISSN 1431-4983

Contents

Turkic Languages, Volume 10

Editorial note by Lars Johanson	1
Editorial note by Lars Johanson	153

Articles

Vladimir P. Nedjalkov: Reciprocal constructions of Turkic languages in the typological perspective	3
Gregory D. S. Anderson & K. David Harrison: <i>Ös tilı</i> : Towards a comprehensive documentation of Middle and Upper Chulym dialects.....	47
Lars Johanson: Indirective sentence types	72
Fikret Turan: Turkish glosses in the Pahlavi-Oghuz Turkish glossary <i>Pahlavī-Āmīz</i> : A linguistic and textual analysis	88
Nadir Engin Uzun: A hierarchical explanation against the distinction of nominal copular sentences in Turkish	109
Nalân Kızıltan: The comprehension of humorous texts by Turkish first graders ..	129
Nathan Light: An 8th century Turkic narrative: Pragmatics, reported speech and managing information	155
László Károly: Some remarks on the Yakut suffix + <i>SXt</i>	187
Julian Rentzsch: Actionality operators in Uyghur	193
Teija Greed: On Tatar converb clauses and their argument structure	220
Z. Ceyda Arslan-Kechriotis: “Perfect” in Turkish.....	246
Geoffrey Haig: Turkish verbs in theory and practice.....	271

Report

Astrid Menz & Christoph Schroeder: Recent changes in the Turkish language debate.	147
Christoph Schroeder & Martin Strohmeier: Workshop on “Turkish as a Foreign Language in the Republic of Cyprus”	285

Review

Astrid Menz: Review of Margarete I. Ersen-Rasch. <i>Türkische Grammatik für Anfänger und Fortgeschrittene</i>	150
--	-----

Turcologica

Herausgegeben von Lars Johanson

Volume 64: Martine Irma Robbeets

Is Japanese Related to Korean, Tungusic, Mongolic and Turkic?

2005. 975 pages, hc
ISBN 978-3-447-05247-4
€ 148,- (D) / sFr 250,-

Where does Japanese come from? The linguistic origin of the Japanese language is among the most disputed questions of language history. One current hypothesis is that Japanese is an Altaic language, sharing a common ancestor with Korean, Tungusic, Mongolic and Turkic. But, the opinions are strongly polarized. Especially the inclusion of Japanese into this classification model is very much under debate. Given the lack of consensus in the field, this book presents a state of the art for the etymological evidence relating Japanese to Korean, Tungusic, Mongolic and Turkic. The different Altaic etymologies proposed in the scholarly literature are gathered in an etymological index of Japanese appended to this book.

Volume 67: Éva Csáki

Middle Mongolian Loan Words in Volga Kipchak Languages

2006. 258 pages, pb
ISBN 978-3-447-05381-5
€ 58,- (D) / sFr 99,-

The book deals with Mongolian loanwords in the Kipchak Turkic languages Tatar and Bashkir of the Volga area. After the sudden

rise of the Chingisid Empire, Middle Mongolian exerted a vehement influence on the languages spoken in the subdued territories. This was the case even in the north-westernmost part of the empire. Tatar and Bashkir borrowed numerous Middle Mongolian words that reflect the culture of the Mongols of that age. In the following centuries, this vocabulary underwent significant changes in phonetics, morphology, semantics, and stylistic values. Middle Mongolian is reflected differently even in the languages of the so-called Altaic family. The author examines changes on both the Mongolian and the Kipchak side. The material provides valuable data that document important processes of the language history of the region. The book tries to capture characteristic elements of a language contact that has resulted in a variety of substantial loans belonging to many different semantic layers.

Band 68: Wladimir Monastyrjew

Jakutisch

Kleines erklärendes Wörterbuch des Jakutischen (Sacha - Deutsch)

2006. 215 Seiten, br
ISBN 978-3-447-05344-0
€ 48,- (D) / sFr 83,-

HARRASSOWITZ VERLAG • WIESBADEN

www.harrassowitz-verlag.de • verlag@harrassowitz.de