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Turkic Languages

Edited by Lars Johanson

Volume 12, 2008 Number 2

Nasilov & Nevskaya: Obituary Ščerbak •
Rentzsch: Uyghur verb morphology • Bacanlı:
Altay Turkic initiotransformatives • Dolatkah:
A Kashkay folktale • Monastyr'ev: Jakutische
Schrift • Kappler: Contact-induced syntax in
Cypriot Turkish • Nakipoğlu & Üntak: Turkish
verb lexicon • Reviews

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TURKIC LANGUAGES

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Turkic Languages

Edited by
Lars Johanson

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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.

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Editorial note

Turkic Languages, Volume 12, 2008, Number 2

The present issue of *TURKIC LANGUAGES* begins with an obituary of Aleksandr M. Ščerbak, who passed away in January, 2008. Dmitrij Nasilov and Irina Nevskaya draw an interesting picture of the life and work of this great scholar, one of the last representatives of a veritably heroic generation of general Turcologists.

The issue contains six articles, as usual covering very different topics and various parts of the vast Turkic-speaking world.

Vladimir D. Monastyr'ev gives an account of the historical development of the script systems and orthographic norms employed for the Yakut language. The survey includes the script used by the Orthodox missionaries, Otto Böhlingk's alphabet, Semen Novgorodov's phonetic alphabet (1924-1929), the Roman-based script (1929-1939) and the present-day Cyrillic script.

Eyüp Bacanlı deals with phase marking by means of initiotransformative verbs in Altay Turkic, one of the standard languages of South Siberia. The author presents various Altay initiotransformative lexemes, which express both an initial dynamic phase and a posttransformative nondynamic phase. He examines their interaction with case markers and with adverbs indicating direction, temporal limit and duration, as well as the role of auxiliaries in distinguishing the phases.

Julian Rentzsch explores some aspects of modern Uyghur morphology, investigating a number of opaque or irregular forms resulting from morphological reduction as part of grammaticalization processes. The author argues that the forms are products of regular developments and endeavors to reconstruct their no longer obvious origins.

Sohrab Dolatkah publishes an edition of a Kashkay folktale, including transcription, notes on the transcription, translation and comments on the Kashkay oral literature. The author, who is himself a native speaker of the variety in question, has recorded the tale with an informant of the Amaleh tribe of the Kashkay tribal confederation.

Matthias Kappler's contribution is devoted to contact-induced effects on the syntax of Cypriot Turkish varieties, which differ from Turkish varieties of Turkey mainly in the domain of syntax. The syntactic features have not, however, been analyzed sufficiently in previous research. The author compares object and relative clauses introduced by complementizers with corresponding Greek Cypriot constructions, arguing that the constructions have an underlying 'cleft strategy'. He also deals with Cypriot Turkish subjunctive clauses, the modal marker *hazır* and the evidential marker *imiş* in terms of Turkish-Greek language contact.

Finally, Mine Nakipoğlu and Aslı Üntak present a word count of Turkish verbs, a lexicon said to be exhaustive, based on and analyzed according to morphemic criteria.

Three reviews conclude the issue:

Martine Robbeets examines two books on Manchu and Mongolic verbal morphology published by Kyōko Maezono: one on intransitive, transitive, causative and passive verbs, and one on verb formation suffixes.

Béla Kempf reviews a Festschrift presented to the distinguished scholar Denis Sinor on the occasion of his 90th birthday, especially commenting on the Mongolistic contributions to the volume.

Mark Kirchner evaluates a book on language discussions in Turkey published by Astrid Menz and Christoph Schroeder on the basis of papers given at an interdisciplinary symposium held in 2004 in Istanbul. The reviewer particularly comments on the ‘language’ (*dil*) vs. ‘dialect’ (*lehçe*) controversies among Turkish Turcologists.

Lars Johanson

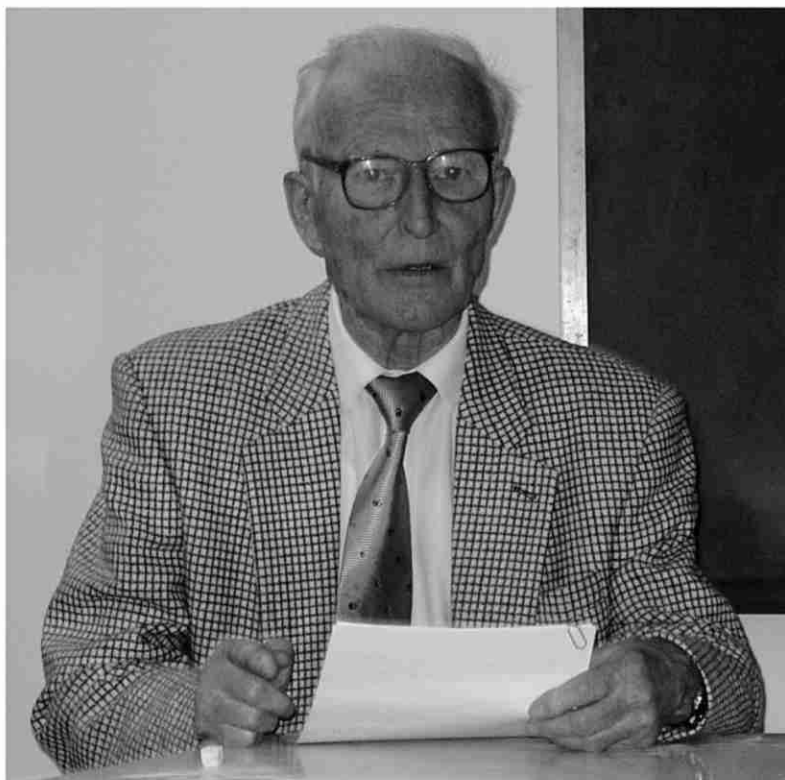
In memoriam Aleksandr M. Ščerbak (1926–2008)

Dmitrij Nasilov, Irina Nevskaya

Nasilov, Dmitrij & Nevskaya, Irina 2008. In memoriam Aleksandr M. Ščerbak (1926–2008). *Turkic Languages* 12, 155-160.

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The famous Russian Turcologist Aleksandr Mixajlovič Ščerbak died on the 28th of January, 2008, after a short illness. He was an exceptionally industrious person, one of those who are sometimes called “workaholics”. He left a rich scientific legacy – about two hundred scientific publications, including ten monographs. He was devoted to his beloved Turcology and spent most of his work and free time on scientific

work. However, on weekends he always found time for active recreation: in summer he would go walking in the forest, in autumn he liked to collect mushrooms, and in winter he went skiing, covering many kilometers with his tracks. Even after reaching eighty years of age, he did not change his habits: shortly before the New Year of 2008, when he was returning from his usual skiing, which appeared to be his last one, Ščerbak suffered a heart attack and died a few days later.

Aleksandr Ščerbak was born on the 18th of December, 1926 in the village of Letnjaja Stavka in the Blagodatnenskij district of the North-Caucasian region, today the Turkmenskij district of the Stavropol'skij region. His father was a bank clerk. The Stavropol'skij region is a vast territory inhabited by peoples belonging to different language families. As a small child Aleksandr played and communicated with native speakers of various Turkic languages (Truxmen, Noghay, Kumyk) and with speakers of the Mongolic language Kalmyk. Already then, in the very first years of his life, his interest in these languages was sparked.

In 1944-1945 Aleksandr Ščerbak served on the fronts of the Second World War. Not far from Budapest he received a severe injury to his back, near the spine. This wound was to cause him great pains in his spine for the rest of his life. For his courage in the war, Aleksandr was decorated with one order and several medals.

After his injuries had healed, Aleksandr entered the Stavropol' Pedagogical Institute, from which he graduated in 1948 as a teacher of Russian language and literature. However, his interest in the Turkic languages caused him to change his specialty. In 1948 he became a postgraduate student at the Institute of Linguistics of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Leningrad. His scientific supervisor was the famous Turcologist Sergej Malov, who evoked in Aleksandr a great interest in Old Turkic and Middle Turkic literature and, in general, in the history of the Turkic and other Altaic peoples.

He successfully defended his doctoral dissertation *Skazanie ob Oguze. K istorii uzbekskogo jazyka* ('The Tale about Oghuz. On the history of the Uzbek language') in 1951. Later, this research became a part of his first book *Oguz-name. Muhabbat-name. Pamjatniki drevneujgurskoj i uzbekskoj pis'mennosti* ('Oguz-name. Muhabbat-name. Old Uygur and Uzbek literary documents'), 1959.

In 1951 Ščerbak became a researcher at the Institute of Linguistics of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Leningrad. He worked there until his last days, astonishing his colleagues with his work regime and with the regularity of his work from 10 in the morning and till 8 at night every day.

Continuing his study of the language of the medieval Turkic texts, Ščerbak published the book *Grammatičeskij očerk jazyka tjurkskix textov X-XIII vv. iz Vostočnogo Turkestana* ('An outline of the grammar of medieval Turkic texts from Eastern Turkestan from the tenth to thirteenth centuries), 1961. This grammar included a survey of the writing systems and of the main grammatical categories of Old Uygur texts from Eastern Turkestan. It was founded on already published texts of Manichean and Buddhist content. It was the first grammar of Old Uygur published in the Russian language and complemented the chrestomathy of Old Turkic texts published

earlier by Ščerbak's teacher Sergej Malov *Pamjatniki drevnetjurkskoj pis'mennosti. Texty i issledovanija* ('Old Turkic writing. Texts and studies'), 1951.

In 1963 Ščerbak published his *Grammatika starouzbekskogo jazyka* ('Old Uzbek grammar') based on an analysis of medieval texts written by °Alī-Šīr Navā'ī's predecessors, those written by °Alī-Šīr Navā'ī himself, by Bābur and other Central Asian authors, including Ata'ī, Aḥmadī, Amīrī, Luṭfī, Sayyid Aḥmad, Ḥaydar Ḥ'arizmī, Quṭbī and others, as well as those written by Muḥammad Šālih, Ṭālī' Imānī, Maḥdī Ḥān. He also used the texts of *yarliks* (orders). These were texts written from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries. Aleksandr Ščerbak's grammar includes a description of the phonetics and of grammar forms used in fine, historical, religious and official literatures. He aimed at defining the historical roots of Modern Uzbek, which he saw in the language of the fourteenth-sixteenth centuries. At the same time he characterized Old Uzbek as a Central Asian variant of the Eastern Turkestan language in the period after the thirteenth century, namely its Karluk-Uygur dialect. The book has a very interesting appendix, *Sistema starouzbekskogo stixosloženija* ('The system of Old Uzbek verse').

Later, Aleksandr Ščerbak edited other medieval texts: he published the texts, Russian translations and comments of *Sal-name* (1974), *Ta'assuk-name* (1980), an extract from Bābur's tractate *Muxtasar* (1969), and some poems by Navā'ī's predecessors (1982).

Runology was a further research direction pursued by Ščerbak. First of all, he was interested in Eastern European runiform inscriptions of the South Russian steppe. His first work in this field was the article "Neskol'ko slov o prijomax čtenija runičeskix nadpisej, najdenyix na Donu" ('A few remarks on the reading of Runic inscriptions found on the Don'), 1954, which was followed by the articles "Znaki na keramike iz Sarkela" ('The signs on ceramics from Sarkel'), 1958, "Znaki na keramike i kirpičax iz Sarkela – Beloj Veži" ('The signs on ceramics and brick stones from Sarkel – Belaja Veža'), 1959, "O nadpisjax iz Kumary (Severnoj Kavkaz)" ('On inscriptions from Kumary, Northern Caucasus'), 1962, "O runičeskoj pis'mennosti v jugo-vostočnoj Evrope" ('On Runic inscriptions in South-Eastern Europe'), 1971. His last work in this field was the monograph *Tjurkskaja runika: Proisxoždenie drevnejšej pis'mennosti tjurok, granicy ego rasprostranenija i osobennosti ispol'zovanija* ('Turkic runiform inscriptions: The origin of the most ancient Turkic script, the borders of its spread and the peculiarities of its use'), 2001, in which he summarized the research on Turkic runiform inscriptions he had been conducting for many years. Here he proposed a new interpretation of the runiform inscription on a stick from Ačik-taš (Talas, Kirgizstan).

Ščerbak was the first to read and to publish the *Ulaangom* inscription from Mongolia (1961) and the *Xerbis-Baary* inscription from Tuva (1961). He also made corrections to the readings of several Jenisey inscriptions that he examined during his field work in Tuva in 1961.

Aleksandr Ščerbak was one of the editors and authors of the well-known *Drevne-tjurkskij slovar'* ('Old Turkic dictionary'), 1969, for which he wrote a considerable number of entries.

In 1965, Ščerbak began work on a scientific topic that became the most important one in his research career, i.e. the comparative grammar of Turkic languages. In 1970 he published *Sravnitel'naja fonetika tjurkskix jazykov* ('Comparative phonetics of Turkic languages'), in 1977 *Očerki po sravnitel'noj morfologii tjurkskix jazykov: Imja* ('Essays on the comparative morphology of Turkic languages. The noun'), in 1981 *Očerki po sravnitel'noj morfologii tjurkskix jazykov: Glagol* ('Essays on the comparative morphology of Turkic languages. The verb'), in 1987, *Očerki po sravnitel'noj morfologii tjurkskix jazykov: Narečie, služebnye časti reči, izobrazitel'nye slova* ('Essays on the comparative morphology of Turkic languages. The adverb, auxiliary parts of speech, onomatopoeic words'), and in 1994 *Vvedenie v sravnitel'noe izučenie tjurkskix jazykov* ('An introduction to the comparative study of the Turkic languages'). In 1968, the first part of this series served as the foundation for his doctoral (habilitation) thesis.

Although the titles of these books do not contain the word "historical", all of them are indisputably grammars of the comparative-historical type. Thus, in his *Fonetika* of 1970, having analyzed the data of modern Turkic languages, he reconstructed the phonology of Proto-Turkic and described the evolution of the phones, material manifestations of Proto-Turkic phonemes. In particular, he reconstructed such fragments of the Proto-Turkic sound system as the origin of the primary long vowels, the evolution of the vocalism, etc.

In his *Očerki po morfologii*, comprising practically all the parts of the speech, he not only compares the nominal and verbal grammatical forms of modern Turkic languages and analyzes their functions, but also reconstructs the Proto-Turkic morphological system and follows its evolution up to the modern state. This allows him not only to show the development of the material forms as such, but also to trace their semantic and functional evolution in all known Turkic varieties, modern and ancient, and to determine their role in the formation of the grammatical categories of these languages.

All the theoretical points in these monographs are based on an analysis of an extensive language material found in the Turcological literature. A considerable part of the material consisted of dialect data, which was revolutionary for those times, because traditional Turcology used to mostly confine itself to literary varieties and written texts. In his research, Ščerbak stressed the distinction between the history of languages as such and that of literary forms of these languages. This distinction had often been neglected by Turcologists.

The final volume of this series contains a critical review of the classifications of Turkic languages, an outline of the development of their phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon, as well as a survey of the theoretical problems involved in the reconstruction of Proto-Turkic. The book also discusses the problem of the genetic relationship between the Turkic languages and other Altaic languages.

The reconstruction of the Proto-Turkic language stratum, both its phonological and its morphological level, became one of Aleksandr's important contribution to Turcology. This turned out to be the second reconstruction in the history of Russian Turcology. The first attempt had been made by B. A. Serebrennikov and N. Z. Gadžieva in their *Sravnitel'no-istoričeskaja grammatika tjurkskix jazykov* ('A comparative historical grammar of the Turkic languages'), 1979. However, their reconstruction did not embrace all the morphological categories. The third attempt to reconstruct Proto-Turkic was undertaken at the Institute of Linguistics of the Russian Academy of Sciences under the supervision of Ė. Tenišev. The results are published in the series *Sravnitel'no-istoričeskaja grammatika tjurkskix jazykov* ('A comparative-historical grammar of the Turkic languages'), consisting of six books (1988-2006). All three reconstructions are of great interest to Turcologists, and an important part of them owes much to the pioneering work of Aleksandr Ščerbak.

Aleksandr Ščerbak was known as an unwavering "anti-Altaist", who did not recognize the genetic relationship between the Turkic languages and other Altaic languages. He expressed his doubts of the so called "Altaic hypothesis" in one of his early books *Ob altajskoj gipoteze v jazykoznanii* ('On the Altaic hypothesis in linguistics'), 1959, and his opinion never changed. Practically in each of the five monographs mentioned above he discussed the Altaic hypothesis and considered the question of a genetic relationship among the Altaic languages as being far from solved. He held the opinion that it is first necessary to resolve the problems of the historical contacts among the Altaic languages. Therefore in his last works he dealt with the Turkic-Mongolic contacts in the historical perspective.

In 1997, Ščerbak published the monograph *Rannie tjurksko-mongol'skie jazykovye svjazi* ('Early Turkic-Mongolic language contacts'), in which he tried to show the intensity of the language contacts over a long period of time. These contacts and complex convergence processes led to the emergence of a unique Turkic-Mongolic language area. In the course of the historical development of this language area, the influence of the Turkic languages on the Mongolic language systems played an increasing role. In this connection, it is very important to investigate the historical stratification of borrowings and the principles underlying their adaptation in the recipient languages, i.e. in the Mongolic languages. According to Aleksandr Ščerbak, the Turkic influence on all levels of the Mongolic languages was so intensive that one can speak of Mongolic languages as mixed ones.

As a result, Ščerbak's next research task was to investigate this convergence and to define the degree of mixing as well as to disclose the inherited Mongolic core. It was this task that his next book, *Tjurksko-mongol'skie jazykovye kontakty v istorii mongol'skix jazykov* ('The Turkic-Mongolic language contacts in the history of Mongolic'), 2005, tried to fulfill. On the basis of profound language material, the author strived to define the Turkic contribution to the development of the Mongolic languages in order to determine the degree of their mixing. Their mixing was predetermined by geographical vicinity, close cultural and economic ties, and various contacts between different separate Turkic and Mongolic peoples. In the early period

(before the thirteenth century), the influence had been mostly a one-sided influence of Turkic languages on Mongolic ones, but from the thirteenth century the influence became two-directional. As a whole, as a result of the historic development of these two language families, a unique Turkic-Mongolic language area formed in Central Asia. This conclusion gave the author reason to doubt the validity of the Altaic hypothesis in view of the early and later contacts between the Turkic and the Mongolic languages and their mutual borrowing.

In his works, Ščerbak also discussed various theoretical problems concerning the synchronic and historical grammars of the Altaic languages in general as well as those of the Turkic languages in particular, namely methods of morphological description, specificity of agglutinative morphology, grammatical categories in the Turkic languages, problems of defining parts of speech, methods of researching the etymology of affixes, applicability of the item and arrangement model to the Turkic material, analogy in Turkic languages, etc. He reacted to Gerhard Doerfer's publications on the status of long vowels in Khalaj in his articles from 1973, 1977 and 1982. In the publications that appeared in 1987, 1992, 1993, he discussed the phenomenon of "zetacism" described by Talat Tekin. He argued against the Nostratic hypothesis (1984, 1989). He also wrote numerous reviews of publications on the Turkic and Altaic languages.

Aleksandr Ščerbak's scientific merits are highly appreciated by the scholarly community. He became an honorable member of the Turkic Linguistic Society in 1989; a corresponding member of the Finno-Ugric Society in 1996. In 1992, he was decorated with the gold medal of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference. He also served on the editorial boards of a number of international and Russian linguistic journals.

In 1991, Ščerbak established the Chair of Altaic Languages at the Institute of the Peoples of the North, the Russian State Pedagogical University named after Aleksandr Herzen in Saint Petersburg. He held the position of Chair until 1995 and taught the courses "Introduction to Altaistic" and "Introduction to Turcology". From 1993, he was the head of the Department of Altaic Languages at the Institute of Linguistic Research of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Saint Petersburg) for several years.

Aleksandr Ščerbak was a bright example of a devoted scientist who defended his scientific views in a very consistent and principled manner and never betrayed them in spite of all the difficulties and blows of fortune that Russian science had to endure during different historic periods. He was equally consistent in his personal principles and always led an open discussion with his opponents. At the same time, he was a very modest and moderate person concerning the circumstances of his life and personal comfort; in his circle of friends and colleagues he was known as a fine storyteller, a nice and congenial fellow, in other words, a real "Aleksandr Bey", as his Turcologist colleagues liked to call him.

Notes on Uyghur verb morphology

Julian Rentzsch

Rentzsch, Julian 2008. Notes on Uyghur verb morphology. *Turkic Languages* 12, 161-169.

This contribution discusses the etymology of selected forms of inflectional verb morphology in Modern Standard Uyghur in a historical-comparative perspective.

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Processes of grammaticalization are often accompanied by morphological reduction. At some point, the etymological origin of a given item is no longer transparent. In many cases, however, it is possible to reconstruct its origin by the means of typological comparison and the evaluation of pre-modern linguistic data.

Some Uyghur aspect items look particularly opaque at the first glance. Moreover, Uyghur verb paradigms offer forms that seem to be irregular. Yet, most of these forms result from regular diachronic developments. It is just that the origin of the ‘irregular’ forms is no longer immediately obvious.

This contribution comments on selected items of the morphological inventory of the Uyghur verb from an etymological perspective. My claims are supported by data from other modern and pre-modern Turkic varieties.

-Edu

The Uyghur item *-Edu* represents the first renewal of intraterminality¹ after the defocalization of the so-called Aorist in *-Vr*.² Today, it is a low focal intraterminal marker [-PAST (+INTRA^{LF})], commonly labelled ‘Present-Future Tense’. The vowel /E/ surfaces as /i/ after consonantal stems and as /y/ after vocalic stems. The original /E/ turns up again in interrogative forms.

The most simple paradigm (i.e. not negated, not interrogative) of *bar-* ‘to go’ looks like this (cf. UETITL 928, Friedrich 2002: 108, De Jong 2007: 124):

	Singular	Plural
1st person	<i>barimen</i>	<i>barimiz</i>

¹ For the terminology, see Johanson 2000.

² For the sake of convenience, the archimorphemes are given in a simplified representative form, e.g. *-Ivatidu* for *-(I)vatidu*, *-Er* for *-(E)r* and *-Vr* for *-(V)r*.

³ That is, /a/ or /e/ according to the sound harmony features of the stem.

2nd person ⁴	<i>barisen</i> <i>barisiz</i> <i>barila, baridila</i>	<i>barisiler</i>
3rd person	<i>baridu</i>	<i>baridu</i>

The word form *barimen* ‘I go, I shall go’ derives from the Middle Turkic morpho-syntactic complex *bara turur men* ‘I am just going’, which consists of the intraterminal converb in *-E* and the Aorist of the verb *tur-* ‘to stand’ (Johanson 1995: 89-90). *Bara turur men* literally means ‘I stand goingly’. This construction arose as a consequence of the defocalization of the Aorist in *-Vr*, which was the sole finite intraterminal item of Old Turkic. The third person form *baridu* (< *bara turur*) preserves traces of the auxiliary *turur*, namely the dental plosive and the high labial back vowel.

The form in *-E turur* existed in Khorezmian Turkic (13th century, Eckmann 1959: 134). In Chaghatay (15th century), the corresponding form was *baradur*, preserving the segment *-dur* in all persons (e.g. 1st person singular: *baradurmen*).

Equivalents to this item exist in many other Turkic languages in various forms: Uzbek has *boradi* with delabialized vowel, Kazakh *baradı*, where *-DI* undergoes palatal harmony, Kirghiz has *barat*, with /t/ being the only remnant of *turur*, and Kazan Tatar has *bara* with no trace of *turur* left. Conversely, Altay Turkic preserves */t/ in all persons: *baradım*, *baradıñ*, *barat*, *baradibis/baradıq*, *baradıñar*, *barat/baradılar* (Baskakov & Toščakova 1947: 282).

The Uyghur respectful 2nd person singular *baridila/barila* obviously derives from **bara tururlar*. This is originally a 3rd person plural.⁵ The form in *-dila* preserves a trace of *turur*. A reflex of *tururlar* is preserved in both variants in the backness of the (original) plural suffix, which appears invariably as *-la*, also in front words (*kélila/kélidila* ‘you come’).

Further traces of *turur* turn up in the 1st person question forms, which are *baramdimen* for the singular and *baramdimiz* (< **bara mu turur biz*) for the plural. These seemingly “irregular” forms (De Jong 2007: 126) are etymologically perfectly motivated, the only irregularity being the unpredictability of the instances in which the element *-di-* turns up. I would suggest that the general tendency to morphological simplification and shortening which has triggered the loss of *-di-* in most of the other forms is overruled by the tendency to avoid the long (“geminated”) consonant /mm/

⁴ The different forms of the second person singular represent different layers of politeness: The usual form is the ending in *-siz*, while *-sen* implies intimacy and *-(di)la* is honorific. The form in *-(di)la* is given as *-la* by Friederich (2002: 108), as *-dila* and *-la* by De Jong (2007: 124) and as *-dila* by UETITL: 928. The normative spelling and pronunciation dictionary UETITL provides an additional plural form in *-sizler*.

⁵ The use of the 3rd person plural as a respectful form for the second person is familiar from other languages, e.g. German *Sie* (which, different from Uyghur, is used both for the 2nd person singular and plural).

in **barammen*, **barammiz*, which would not be an improvement in terms of articulatory simplicity against *baramdimen*, *baramdimiz*.⁶

For the 1st person singular and plural, there are also the alternative forms *baramdim* and *baramduq*.⁷ These are formed in analogy to the “Preterite” in *-Di* (*bardim*, *bardiñ/bardiñiz/bardila*, *bardi*, *barduq*, *bardiñlar*, *bardi*), cf. the remarks on *-Iptu* below.

Standard Uzbek has the question particle following the personal ending: *bora-manmi* ‘do I go?’, *boradilarmi* ‘do they go?’ etc. (cf. Kononov 1960: 209). Consequently, the “irregularities” of Uyghur do not happen in Uzbek.

I should quickly comment on the 2nd person plural form *barisiler* as well: It will be immediately obvious that the personal ending *-siler* always contains a front vowel,⁸ regardless whether the verb it is attached to is front or back. This is a reflex of the frontness of the postponed pronoun this suffix originates from: **bara turur senler*. Note that the corresponding suffix in Kazakh undergoes palatal harmony: *barasıñdar*, *kelesiñder* (cf. Balakaev et al. 1962: 331). Kazakh is more “progressive” than Uyghur in this respect, as the suffix concerned has become harmonized.

-Etti

The low focal intraterminal past [+PAST (+INTRA^{LF})] in *-Etti* is the exact past equivalent to *-Edu*. Both in terms of form and meaning, it is directly related to the Chaghatay form in *-Edur edi*, which in turn can be reconstructed as **-E turur erdi*, hence *baratti* ‘(s)he would go’ < *baradur edi* ‘(s)he was going’ < **bara turur erdi*.

However, this item is often erroneously identified as the past of the so-called Aorist, i.e. < **barar edi* (Pritsak 1959: 560, Friederich 2002: 171). In a review of my book on aspect in Uyghur (Rentzsch 2005, here: p. 94), Yakup (2006: 197) criticizes my etymologization of *-Etti* as “mit Vorsicht zu lesen”. Unfortunately, Yakup does not mention the reason for his objection. I shall nevertheless explain in detail why I am right.

First, morphologically there is no reason to believe that /t/ developed to /t/: A shift like that would be quite unique in the history of Turkic. The process /t/ tends to

⁶ This is of course not to say that forms like **barammen* and **barammiz* are principally impossible. It has just not come to be in the Turkic varieties underlying Standard Uyghur.

⁷ Friederich (2002: 111) gives the singular form *-Emdimen* in parentheses and records *-Emduq* as the only plural form. UETITL (928) gives only the long form (*yazamdimen*, *këtemdimiz*). De Jong (2007: 126) mentions all the forms but records a difference in meaning. There is also different information on the respectful 2nd person singular: UETITL gives *-Emdila*, while both Friederich and De Jong mention *-Emla*. At any rate, all the variants mentioned do occur in written Uyghur texts. – Compare the Uyghur interrogative form *baramduq* with the Altay non-interrogative form *baradiq* already quoted.

⁸ This statement concerns the vowel /e/ only, as there is no systematic opposition between /i/ and */i/ in Uyghur.

undergo in Uyghur is simply the elision of /t/ with a compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, e.g. <kördi> /kõ:di/ (not */kötti/). Moreover, the negative form of *baratti* is *barmaytti* < *barmaydur edi* (an item which is well established in Chaghatay). If *-Etti* were derived from *-Er edi*, the corresponding negative form should be *barmasti* or *barmas idi*.⁹ It is of course completely unthinkable that there was not only a shift /t/ > /t/ in the positive form, but also an additional shift /s/ > /y/ (which is also atypical in Turkic) in the negative form, which would still leave the long /tt/ unexplained.

Further evidence is given by the positive form of stems ending in a vowel: The *-Etti*-form of *başla* ‘to begin’ is *başlaytti* (< *başlaydur edi*); if the assumption *baratti* < *barar edi* were correct, we would expect a form like **başlatti* < *başlar edi*, which we do not get (UETITL 928 (3)).

While the evidence given so far should be enough to prove the development *-Etti* < *-Edu* < **-E turur erdi*, the larger Turkic context provides further facts that support this etymology. Functionally, *-Etti* is the [+PAST] equivalent to *-Edu* not only in Uyghur. Other Turkic languages have corresponding forms going back to **-E turur erdi*, too:

Tatar has *bara idë* ‘(s)he was going’ (TatGram 2: 113-116), which is the anteriorization (+PAST) of the focal intraterminal (“Present Continuous”) in *-E* (*bara* ‘(s)he is going’ < *bara turur*; *kile* ‘(s)he is coming’ < *kele turur*).

Altay has the forms *baratti* and *braatti* (Baskakov & Toščakova 1947: 278), the first of which is almost identical in shape to its Uyghur correspondence. Also Kirghiz is able to anteriorize the intraterminal in *-Et*, resulting in *barat ele* (Imart 1981: 2035-2040).

It is true though, that Standard Uzbek and Kazakh do *not* have a past equivalent to *-Edi*. Instead, these two languages use *-Er edi* as a correspondence to *both* *-Edi* and *-Er* (Kazakh: *barar edi*, Balakaev et al. 1962: 348; Uzbek: *borar edi*, Kononov 1960: 225).¹⁰ The situation in Uzbek may in fact have added to the confusion concerning the Uyghur item *-Etti*.

However, Uzbek dialects do have past correspondences to *-Adi*, and consequently direct correspondences to Uyghur *-Etti*. Shoabdurahmonov (1984: 147-148) mentions forms like *otaddi* ‘he would pass’ and *uraddi* ‘he would beat’ for the dialect of Namangan (Ferghana valley) and *bilætti* ‘he would know’ for the dialect of Qorako‘l (Buxoro province). These forms are erroneously considered a regressive assimilation

⁹ The latter form (*barmasidi*) does in fact exist, namely as the negative form of *bararidi*, which is the past of the “Future” in *-Er*. Cf. UETITL 953 (40).

¹⁰ Yet, it is also possible to use Kazakh *baradi* and Uzbek *boradi* in past contexts, if the feature [+PAST] is sufficiently marked by surrounding items. The same option exists in Uyghur as well (Rentzsch 2005: 55, 76).

of *-ardi* (Shoabdurahmonov 1984: 147); however, in fact they mirror the same development as in Uyghur, i.e. *otaddi* < **ōtedi edi* < *ōtedur ēdi* < **ōte turur erdi*.¹¹

In other Uzbek dialects, there is a morphological type **baraydi*, which is wrongly etymologized as *-(a)r-Edi* > *-(a)-y-Edi* > *-(a)y-di* (Shoabdurahmonov 1984: 147). The form *bāraydim* 'I would go' is recorded for the dialects of Shahrizabz, Qarshi (both in the Qashqadaryo province) and the Qarluq varieties of Southern Tajikistan, forms like *yuriydim* 'I would run' for Qarnob (Qashqadaryo) and forms like *yuræyde* 'he would run' and *haydæ:ydim* 'I would drive' for Forish (Qashqadaryo). Rather than developments from **Ar edi*, these forms are the exact morphological correspondences to Tatar *bara idē*, i.e. formations in which all traces of **turur* have disappeared completely: **bara idi*, **yüre idi*, *(h)*ayday idi*.

Finally, the question form of Uyghur *-Etti* should be commented on. This appears quite regularly as *-Emti*, e.g. *baramtim* 'would I go?' < **bara mu turur ēdim*. The negative question form, and the question form of stems ending in vowels are formed analogously with *-mEmti*, e.g. *barmamtim* 'would I not go?'. The regular form would be **barmaymtim* < **barmay mu turur ēdim* with the unwieldy consonant cluster /ymt/.

-Ivatidu

-Ivatidu and *-Ivatatti* represent the next stage of focal renewal after *-Edu* and *-Etti*. Hence, *-Ivatidu* carries the linguistic value [–PAST (+INTRA^{HF})], while *-Ivatatti* is the anterior correspondence [+PAST (+INTRA^{HF})]. A convenient designation for these items for everyday use could be 'Present Continuous' and 'Past Continuous'.

Once the etymologies of *-Edu* and *-Etti* have been understood, establishing the origin of *-Ivatidu* and *-Ivatatti* is very easy. These renewals of intraterminality are composed of the converb in *-Ib* and the auxiliary *yat-* 'to lie down, to lie' in its *-Edur* and *-Edur ēdi* form respectively. Hence, *bérivatimen* 'I am going' derives from **barīb yatadurmen*. Underlying the latter form is a hypothetical **barīb yata turur men*, which never actually existed as at the time the focal renewal was taking place, the preceding item *-E turur* had already been reduced to *-Edur*. Stems ending in vowels behave as we would expect (*išlevatimen* < **išleb yatadurmen*).

Negation forms are *barmayvatimen* (< **barmay yatadurmen*), involving the negative of the *-Ib*-converb, *-mEy*, and, alternatively, *bérivatmaymen* (< **barīb yatamaydurmen*), with the negation suffix *-mE* on the auxiliary *yat-*. The two forms differ in the scope of the negation: In *barmayvatimen* (the more common form), the intraterminal aspect takes the negated verb into its scope ('Right now, I am [not going]'), the Turkish correspondence being *gitmiyorum*, while in *bérivatmaymen* the negation takes the intraterminal aspect into its scope ('It is not the case that [I am going]'), the Turkish correspondence being *gidiyor değilim*.

¹¹ It is very well possible that these forms were not standardized in Uzbek precisely because they were not recognized as independent forms in their own right.

Given that *-Ivatidu* historically is segmentable into *-Ib* and the *-Edu*-form of *yat-* (i.e. *yatidu*), it does not come as a surprise that the question form is constructed in complete analogy to the corresponding form of *-Edu*: *bërivatamdimen/bërivatamdım* (< **barıb yata mu turur men*), etc.

Focal intraterminals formed with the postverbal *yat-* are found in many Turkic languages of Central Asia, e.g. Kirghiz (*oylop jatat* '(s)he is thinking', Imart 1981: 2140-2143), Kazakh (*kele jatır* '(s)he is coming', Balakaev et al. 1962: 338) and Uzbek.

Uzbek has standardized (at least) two finite focal intraterminals involving *yat-*:

There are forms like *boryapman* (1st person) and *boryapti* (3rd person, Kononov 1960: 211) which derive from **bara yatıbturmen* (**bara yatıb turur men*), etc. (Johanson 1995: 93), i.e. the converb in *-E* with the focal postterminal form ('Perfect') of *yat-* 'to lie down, to lie' (cf. below, *-Iptu*).¹²

Another formation type is *yozayotirman* (Kononov 1960: 212) with an underlying **yaza yata turur men*, which is basically the same type of formation as in Uyghur, except that the main verb is marked with the converb in *-E*, not in *-Ib*. However, the "Uyghur type" with *-Ib* is found in a couple of Uzbek dialects in shapes like *-vât/-vâtı* with phonetic variants going as far as *-ât/-ut*. Shoabdurahmonov (1984: 160) calls this type one of the most productive present tense suffixes of Uzbek dialects ("Hozirgi zamon formasini yasovchi eng mahsuldor affikslardan yana biri"). It occurs in Toshkent and the surrounding dialects, in some dialects of the province of Namangan, in the Qarnob dialect of the province of Samarqand and in the dialects of Qorako'l of the province of Buxoro.

The paradigms are mutually very similar. The forms given for Qarnob can serve as an example: *yâzvâtmaen*, *yâzvâtsaen*, *yâzvâtı*, *yâzvâtmiz*, *yâzvâtsiz*, *yâzvâtı* 'I am/you are/(s)he is/we/you/they are writing' (< **yazıb yatadı* < **yazıb yata turur*). In Toshkent, the /t/ undergoes regressive assimilation: *korvâmmaen*, *korvâssaen*, *korvâtı*, etc. 'I am/you are/(s)he is seeing' (< **körıb yatadı* < **körıb yata turur*). The forms given for Qorako'l deserve special attention: While *getivâtmaen*, *getivâtsaen* and *getivâtı* 'I am/you are/(s)he is going', which closely resemble the corresponding Standard Uyghur forms, look as if they were derived from **ketıb yata turur*, the 3rd person plural is given as *getivâtiptılax* (Shoabdurahmonov 1984: 161). This form, without doubt, has developed from **ketıb yatıbturlar* (i.e. involving the *-Ibtur*-form of *yat-*). Possible explanations for this phenomenon are that either *getivâtmaen*, etc. derive from the same construction, but have lost the /p/, or the data for Qorako'l has been elicited from two different co-existing paradigms. As the dialects of the Ferghana valley that use the **-E yatıbtur*-type for the focal intraterminality (e.g. Andijon) preserve a trace of the /p/ rather than of the /t/, it seems more reasonable that there are two co-existing formation types in Qorako'l. Uzbek dialect forms like

¹² *Yatıbturmen* 'I have lain down, I am lying'; hence: **bara yatıbturmen* 'I am lying goingly' > 'I am going'.

yâzvâtti (< **yazib yataður*), while preserving reflexes of both the /t/ in *yat-* and of the /d/ of *-dur* in the length of /tt/, represent a stronger degree of contraction than Standard Uyghur *yézivatidu*.¹³

As we have seen, in the South East Turkic area intraterminality renewals involving the postverbal segment *-lb yat-* and those involving *-E yat-* occur side by side. While in Uyghur, forms with *-lb yat-* have become standardized, Standard Uzbek prefers forms with *-E yat-*. This is not only true for finite items (e.g. Uyg. *-Ivatidu* vs. Uzb. *-yapti* and *-ayotir*) but also for participles (Uyg. *-Ivatqan* < **-lb yatqan* vs. Uzb. *-ayotgan* < **-E yatqan*). However, during the first wave of renewal of intraterminality after the Aorist in *-Vr*, both languages – and even Turkic languages far beyond the south eastern group – make use of the converb in *-E* (Uyg. *-Edu*, Uzb. *-Adi* < *-E turur*; cf. also the participles Uyg. *-Ediʁan*, Uzb. *-Adigan* < *-E turʁan*).

-Ivatatti

As the Uyghur high focal intraterminal past (“Past Tense Continuous”), *-Ivatatti* is analysable as *-lb* and the *-Etti* form of *yat-* (i.e. *yatatti*); all inflection forms of this item are formed in analogy to *-Etti*:

bérivatattutq ‘We were going’ < **barib yata turur erduq*
barmayvatattutq ‘We were not going’ < **barmay yata turur erduq*
bérivatmayttutq ‘It was not the case that we were going’ < **barib yatmay turur erduq*
bérivatamtutq ‘Were we going?’ < **barib yata mu turur erduq*
barmayvatamtutq ‘Were we not going?’ < **barmay yata mu turur erduq*
bérivatmamtutq ‘Was it not the case that we were going?’ < **barib yatmay mu turur erduq* (cf. UETITL 930 (6))

Further items

The items discussed so far were all intraterminals. These are the forms that look most abnormal and irregular in Uyghur. Finally, I would like to comment on two units outside the intraterminal domain.

The first of these is *-Gilivat-*, which is combined with various aspectual and modal endings (UETITL: 942-948; see also Friederich 2002: 208, De Jong 2007: 131-132) and has imminent meaning (‘to be about to’, cf. Turkish *-mEk üzere*). *-Gilivat-* is composed of the converb *-GEll*, which has final meaning (‘in order to’) and the auxiliary *yat-* ‘to lie down, to lie’.¹⁴ E.g. *barʁilivatimen* ‘I am about to go’ (lit. ‘I am lying in order to go’). Regularly, we would expect a form like **barʁiliyatidu*. The /v/ is either a dissimilation from /i/, or an analogy to *-Ivatidu*. The same phenomenon

¹³ The Turfan dialect of Uyghur has a form in *-(I)vattu* which is similar to the Uzbek dialect forms from Toshkent, Qarnob, etc. (cf. Yakup 2005: 125).

¹⁴ The combination of *-GEll* with *yat-* in the same meaning is already attested in Old Uyghur (Gabain 1974: 132, 163).

can also be observed in the negation form of *-Ivatidu*, which is *-mEyyatidu*, not **-mEyyatidu*.

The second is *-Iptu* (< *-Ib turur*), which is a postterminal item (“Perfect”) with evidential shades of meaning. The paradigm is as follows:

	Singular	Plural
1st person	<i>bəriptimen</i>	<i>bəriptimiz, bəriptuq</i> ¹⁵
2nd person	<i>bəripsen</i> <i>bəripsiz</i> <i>bəripla, bəriptıla</i> ¹⁶	<i>bəripsiler</i>
3rd person	<i>bəriptu</i>	<i>bəriptu</i>

Traces of **turur* turn up in the 1st persons (*bəriip-ti-men* < *barı̄b turur men*, *bəriip-ti-miz* < *barı̄b turur biz*) and in the respectful second person (*bəriip-ti-la* < *bəriip turur-lar*). In early Chaghatay, all persons contained traces of **turur*: *barı̄btur men/sen/biz/siz/lar* (cf. Bodrogligeti 2001: 241). Modern Turkic languages are very diversified in this respect. Some of them preserve remnants of **turur* in the third person only (e.g. Azerbaijani *içibdir*, Rahmati & Buğday 1998: 53; Uzbek *yozibdi*, Kononov 1960: 221; Kazakh *suwrettepti*, Balakaev et al. 1962: 342)¹⁷ while in Kirghiz it appears in all persons (Imart 1981: 1827):

	Singular	Plural
1st person	<i>barı̄ptırmın</i>	<i>barı̄ptırbız</i>
2nd person	<i>barı̄ptırsıñ</i> <i>barı̄ptırsız</i>	<i>barı̄ptırsıñar</i> <i>barı̄ptırsızdar</i>
3rd person	<i>barı̄ptır</i>	<i>barı̄şıptır</i>

Altay Turkic always preserves a trace of **turur*, but optionally deletes the *-Ib*: *bar(ı̄p)turum*, *bar(ı̄p)turuñ*, *bar(ı̄p)tır*, etc. (Baskakov & Toščakova 1947: 283).

The Uyghur 1st person plural variant *bəriptuq* is an analogy to forms like *barduq* ‘we went’, *bérivatattuq* ‘we were going’, etc., which contain the marker /K/, which has developed in most varieties of Turkic in the 1st person plural of the neutral aspect (“Preterite”) in *-DI* and the past copula *idi*.¹⁸

¹⁵ The variant in *-Iptuq* is not mentioned by the UETITL (932 (8)), but does occur in written Uyghur texts.

¹⁶ Friederich (2002: 133) mentions only *-Ipla*, while UETITL (932 (8)) and De Jong (2007: 141) mention only *-Iptıla*.

¹⁷ Compare the forms of the second person singular: Azerbaijani *içibsən*, Uzbek *yozıbsan*, Kazakh *suwrettepsıñ*.

¹⁸ Siberian Turkic forms like Tuvan *keldıvis* ‘we came’ (Isxakov & Pal’mbox 1961: 365), and the form *bârdıvzæ/bârdıvz* ‘we went’ (Šoabdurahmonov 1984: 118) in the Toshkent dialect of Uzbek continue the Old Turkic tradition of *-DVmVz* (cf. Gabain 1974: 112-113).

Note that in Uyghur, although the negation of the converb *-Ip* is *-mEy* (not **-mEp*), a negative perfect in *-mEptu* has been introduced (UETITL 932 (8)), while in Chaghatay a form like *barmaydur* functions as the negation to both the focal intraterminal (present tense) in *-Edur* and the postterminal (perfect) in *-Ibtur* (Schönig 1997: 211-217, Bodrogligeti 2001: 241).

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Phase marking on initiotransformative verbs in Altay Turkic

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In this paper I examine the phase structures and actional content of initiotransformative verb lexemes in Altay Turkic. Initiotransformatives encompass both initial dynamic actions and posttransformative static actions. First, I deal with the internal phase structures of verb lexemes and explain the phenomenon of initiotransformativity as seen in Turkic verbs. Then, I present various Altay initiotransformative lexemes and briefly examine the interaction of these verbs with case markers and adverbs indicating direction, temporal limit and/or duration. Finally, I discuss the important role auxiliary verbs play in distinguishing the two coupled phases of initiotransformatives, i.e. the initial and stative phases. The largest part of my paper is devoted to the analysis of such auxiliary constructions as specifiers of initium, the process leading to initium, finality and state.

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1. Introduction

In this paper¹, I examine the realization of phase specification of initiotransformative (+ti) verb lexemes whose actional content is indefinite due to bipartite actions. The role of complementizers is dealt with briefly, whereas the functions assumed by postverbal constructions (PCs) are analyzed with special attention. I do not examine the interaction of inherent temporal features of actional phrases (APs) and aspectual markers.

According to the well-known Vendlerian verb classification, actions can be separated into four categories: states (know, love, believe), activities (run, walk, swim, push a cart), accomplishments (run a mile, draw a circle), and achievements (reach the top, win the race, be born). To date, some remarks and additions have been made to this classification (Comrie 1976; Taylor 1977; Dowty 1979; Carlson 1981; Verkuyl 1993; Bertinetto 1994; Smith 1997). Johanson's initiotransformatives, which I consider in this paper, constitute a distinct group from the above-mentioned verb classes. In Johanson's classification, Vendler's states and activities are designated

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under the label of nontransformatives, whereas accomplishments and achievements are qualified as finittransformatives (Johanson 1971; 1996; 1999; 2000).

2. Initiotransformatives

Initiotransformative APs were first affirmed by Johanson in his study about aspectuality in Turkish (1971). (+ti) APs cover both an inchoative dynamic action and a subsequent resultant state. Most of them may be defined as inchoative-states, but crosslinguistically there are also certain (+ti) APs which must be named as ingressive-activities because of dynamic second phase, e.g. Turkic *min-* (or *bin-*) 'mount + ride (or be on)', Turkish *git-* 'go away + go', Classical Greek *órnymai* 'get in motion + move', Maltese *mexa* 'set out + walk' (Johanson 1971: 213; 2000: 63, 163). As Johanson states, (+ti) verb lexemes "conceptualize an initial evolutionary turning point as an inherent part of the actional content. They combine the concept of entering a state with that of the state itself" (2000: 62-63; see also 1971: 212-218; 1996: 236-237; 1999: 173-174, 176, 183). Thus, the same lexeme in Turkic languages may express both an initial dynamic and a posttransformative statal action, e.g. *bol-* 'become + be', *yat-* 'lie down + lie', *otur-* 'sit down + sit', *tur-* (or *diñel-*, or *söyel-*) 'stand up + stand' and etc. (+ti) APs may be observed in any language, but, as Johanson points out, "Turkic languages are relatively rich in initiotransformatives" (1999: 173).

Most (+ti) APs are intransitive, although there are certain transitive APs in Turkic languages corresponding to English verbs such as *know*, *understand* and *hide (something)*. The fact that this particular verb type is not included in the well-known classifications is probably due to their limited number and rare usage in the syntax of European languages. However, as a determination of (extra) linguistic reality, some linguists such as Chung & Timberlake (1985), Sasse (1991a; 1991b) and Breu (1984; 1994) have labeled them "inchoative (inceptive)-stative" verbs and accepted them as a particular verb kind in their actional classifications. There are also certain linguists who distinguish inchoative and posttransformational statal actions from other kinds of verbs (Bondarko et al. 1987: 185, 189).

3. Phase marking on initiotransformatives

Actions have three basic phases: initial, course (or statal) and final. Initial or final phases may be relevant or crucial (Johanson 2000: 59). With initiotransformatives, initial limit appears as the crucial and significant factor; with finittransformatives, the crucial limit is the point of finality. Languages possess linguistic devices for specifying transformative or nontransformative phases of APs whose actional content is vague. Transformativization (+T) markers highlight initial phases (by means of inchoative / inceptive / ingressive markers) and final phases (by means of completive / perfective markers); whereas nontransformativization (-T) markers specify the course or statal phases (by means of durative / continuative / imperfective markers). Even though the statal phases of (+ti) APs are more prominent, their actional content

is eventually neutral and unclear with regard to their phase structures. Thus, the ambiguity may be removed by (+T) and (-T) markers (see Johanson 2000; 2004).

In Altay Turkic, case markers may have (±T) effect on the content of verb lexemes. For instance, dative case may specify the (initial or final) limit, e.g. *töjökkö çat-* (mattress:DAT + çat-) 'lie down on the mattress'; whereas locative case may specify statal action, e.g. *töjökkö çat-* (mattress:LOC + çat-) 'lie on the mattress'. Ablative case is used to encode the initial phase of the lexeme *tur-* 'stand up/get up + stand', e.g. *oturğuştan tur-* (seat:ABL + tur-) 'stand up from the seat'. Certain directional adverbs in Altay, such as *caar* 'towards', *tömön* 'down' *örö* 'up' may be utilized to specify the initial action of (+ti) APs, e.g. *steneniñ kiyni caar çajın-* (wall:GEN behind:POSS.3 towards + çajın-) 'hide/put oneself out of sight behind the wall', *örö tur-* (up + tur-) 'stand up', *örö kör-* (up + kör-) 'look up', *tömön kör-* (down + kör-) 'look down'. The type of adverbs may specify the actional content. For example, 'in X time' adverbs, which emphasize some "temporal limit" and "express total indivisible action" suit transformative APs well; whereas 'for X time' adverbs, which signalize "temporally delimiting duration" are appropriate for use with nontransformatives (Johanson 2000: 61; Bertinetto & Delfitto 2000: 199-201). Thus (+ti) APs possessing two evolutionally coupled-phases are suitable with both kinds of adverbs: e.g. *beş çilda üredüçi bol-* (five year:LOC teacher + bol-) 'become a teacher in five years' and *beş çil(din turgununa / ga) üredüçi bol-* (five year[:GEN throughout:POSS.3:DAT / DAT] teacher + bol-) 'be a teacher for five years'. Adverbs implying dynamicity and internal gradual change such as fast, sudden, gradual or slow actions suggest crucial (initial or final) limit, e.g. *araqydañ* 'slowly', *künden künge* 'day after day', *emeşteñ* 'little by little', *türgeñ* 'quickly', *kenerte/kenetiyn* 'suddenly', etc. (cf. Smith 1997: 42, 49, 112-117; Johanson 2000: 73-74; Bertinetto & Delfitto 2000: 205).

Aspectual markers cannot specify or change the actional content; however they may be more or less appropriate with certain kinds of verb types. So, the natural interrelation of aspect and actionality may also help us to specify the actional content. For example, in a narration, historic use of the present tense suffix *-at* often encodes the transformative action. The preterite *-di*, the low-focal postterminal *-gan* and the indirective postterminals *-iptir* and *-gan emtir* usually envisage current resultant states by reference to their inception. High focal intraterminals (progressives) such as *-p çatat* and *-p oturat* may express the inchoative action because of the dynamicity entailed by progressives. In this paper, I will not deal with such interactions. In Altay Turkic, postverbs that are typically appended to the basic verb substratum play the major role in specifying the actional content.

4. Initiotransformative APs in Altay Turkic

Altay possesses a considerable number of (+ti) APs as do other Turkic languages. Some of the (+ti) APs in Altay have a salient process leading to the limit, e.g. *bol-* 'become + be', *tüñey bol-* 'become similar + resemble'. The initial phase of certain (+ti) APs may also have a process in extralinguistic reality, e.g. *uyuqta-* 'fall asleep +

sleep', *ĉat-* 'lie down + lie', *kiy-* 'dress + wear', etc. The initial phase may also appear as momentaneous, e.g. *kör-* 'catch sight of + see', *qorqı-* 'be scared + be afraid', etc. All of them imply a change of state. Some of them indicate both 'become' and 'be'; some indicate both 'getting into a posture' and 'the posture itself'; and the others just indicate 'getting into a state' and 'the state itself'.

Initiotransformativity is based on the capacity of a lexeme to express two different actions that are consecutive. Thus, initiotransformativity is naturally related to the lexicon. Like other Turkic languages, Altay possesses corresponding special verbs that express inchoative actions in the lexicon, such as *qap-* 'seize, snatch', *kiyin-* 'dress, put on' and *ĉoĉı-* 'be scared', along with their (+ti) counterparts such as *tut-* 'hold', *kiy-* 'wear' and *qorqı-* 'be afraid, fear'. Some Altay (+ti) verbs may also have other meanings in the lexicon, which are excluded from this paper.

The initial or the statal phase of the same (+ti) AP may be specified by more than one postverbal construction. Postverbs in Altay Turkic display different stages of grammaticalization, implying more or less desemanticization. Therefore, the root meanings and their related connotations may affect the choice of auxiliary. For example, inchoative actions denoted by the AP *tur-* 'stand up/stop + stand' may be expressed by new derivational APs such as *tura ber-*, *turıp al-*, *turıp qal-*, *turıp kel-*, *turıp iy-*, *tura tüš-*, each of whose actional content and connotations differ from the others. There are also further lexicalizations with postverbs, e.g. *tura ĉügür-* (stand [up]+CONV run) 'start up', *ĉada qal-* (lie [down]+CONV remain) 'expire', etc.

In the next table, the most prominent initiotransformative lexemes in Altay Turkic are presented with their English and Russian equivalents. Note that some equivalents are intrinsically (+ti), whereas some of them predominantly indicate states but may have inchoative uses at syntactic level. Note also that certain Russian inchoative equivalents have perfective/imperfective pairs in the lexicon.

Table 1

Altay (+ti) VPs	English equivalent		Russian equivalent	
	1. action	2. action	1. action	2. action
<i>bol-</i>	<i>become</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>stat'</i>	<i>byt'</i>
<i>tüney bol-</i>	<i>come to</i>	<i>resemble</i>	<i>upodobit'sja</i>	<i>poxodit', sxodit'</i>
	<i>resemble</i>			
<i>oorı-</i>	<i>get ill</i>	<i>be ill</i>	<i>zabolet'</i>	<i>bolet'</i>
<i>süü-</i>	<i>fall in love</i>	<i>love</i>	<i>vljubit'sja</i>	<i>ljubit'</i>
<i>uyuqta-</i>	<i>fall asleep</i>	<i>sleep</i>	<i>zasnut'</i>	<i>spat'</i>
<i>ĉat-</i>	<i>lie down</i>	<i>lie</i>	<i>leĉ'</i>	<i>ležat'</i>
<i>otur-</i>	<i>sit down</i>	<i>sit</i>	<i>sest'</i>	<i>sidet'</i>
<i>tur-</i>	<i>stand up</i>	<i>stand</i>	<i>vstat'</i>	<i>stojat'</i>
<i>bil-</i>	<i>come to know</i>	<i>know</i>	<i>üznat'</i>	<i>znat'</i>
<i>oñdo-</i>	<i>come to</i>	<i>understand</i>	<i>ponjat'</i>	<i>ponimat'</i>
	<i>understand</i>			
<i>süün-</i>	<i>get pleased</i>	<i>be pleased</i>	<i>obradovat'sja</i>	<i>radovat'sja</i>

<i>qorqĩ-</i>	<i>be frightened /scared</i>	<i>be afraid, fear</i>	<i>ispugat'sja</i>	<i>bojat'sja</i>
<i>ćara-</i>	<i>grow fond of</i>	<i>like</i>	<i>ponravít'sja, poljubit'</i>	<i>nravit'sja</i>
<i>sanaarqa-</i>	<i>become worried</i>	<i>be worried</i>	<i>zavolnovat'sja, zatoskovat'</i>	<i>volnovat'sja</i>
<i>qayqa-</i>	<i>get suprised</i>	<i>be surprised</i>	<i>udivít'sja</i>	<i>udivljat'sja</i>
<i>ačĩn-</i>	<i>get angry</i>	<i>be angry</i>	<i>rasserdít'sja</i>	<i>serdít'sja</i>
<i>qunuq-</i>	<i>get sorry</i>	<i>be sorry</i>	<i>ogorčít'sja</i>	<i>grustít', ogorčat'sja</i>
<i>erik-</i>	<i>get bored</i>	<i>be bored</i>	<i>soskuchít'sja</i>	<i>skuchat'</i>
<i>uyal-</i>	<i>become ashamed of</i>	<i>be ashamed of</i>	<i>zastydít'sja</i>	<i>stydít'sja</i>
<i>sĩsta-</i>	<i>suffer</i>	<i>suffer</i>	<i>postradat'</i>	<i>stradat'</i>
<i>sana-</i>	<i>miss</i>	<i>miss</i>	<i>soskuchít'sja</i>	<i>skučat'</i>
<i>tut-</i>	<i>grasp, seize</i>	<i>hold</i>	<i>xvatat'</i>	<i>deržat'</i>
<i>ćölön-</i>	<i>repose on, lean</i>	<i>lean</i>	<i>operet'sja</i>	<i>opirat'sja</i>
<i>tayan-</i>	<i>lean</i>	<i>lean</i>	<i>prislónít'sja</i>	<i>prislónjat'sja</i>
<i>ćajĩr-</i>	<i>put smt out of sight.</i>	<i>keep smt. out of sight</i>	<i>sprjatat'</i>	<i>skryvat'</i>
<i>ćajĩn-</i>	<i>put oneself out of sight</i>	<i>keep oneself out of sight</i>	<i>sprjatat'sja</i>	<i>skryvat'sja</i>
<i>kıy-</i>	<i>dress, put on</i>	<i>wear</i>	<i>odet'sja</i>	<i>nosít'</i>
<i>kör-</i>	<i>glance, catch sight of</i>	<i>look, see</i>	<i>zagljánut', uvidet'</i>	<i>smotret', videt'</i>
<i>körün-</i>	<i>become visible</i>	<i>seem, be seen</i>	<i>stat' vidnym</i>	<i>vidnet'sja</i>
<i>qorča-</i>	<i>occupy one's surround- dings</i>	<i>surround</i>	<i>okružít'</i>	<i>okružat'</i>
<i>ilin-</i>	<i>be hung</i>	<i>hang</i>	<i>povesít'sja</i>	<i>viset'</i>
<i>min-</i>	<i>mount</i>	<i>ride</i>	<i>sest' na verx</i>	<i>katat'sja</i>
<i>kāy-</i>	<i>be turned on</i>	<i>be on</i>	<i>zagoret'sja</i>	<i>goret'</i>
<i>ćarĩ-</i>	<i>become enlightened</i>	<i>be enlightened</i>	<i>osvetít'sja</i>	<i>osveščat'sja</i>
<i>qarar-</i>	<i>grow dark</i>	<i>be dark</i>	<i>stemnet'</i>	<i>byt' temnym</i>

4.2. Phase marking with postverbial constructions

Various auxiliaries in Turkic languages operate on basic APs as actional specifiers. They specify the actional content as ingressive/inchoative/inceptive, durative/imperfective, or completive/perfective. They not only clarify the phase structure of APs, but also have descriptive functions concerning spatial direction (deixis), intensity, continuity, temporariness, consistency, permanency, suddenness, inattentiveness, etc. Their functions sometimes change crosslinguistically. In Altay Turkic, it is observed that inchoative/ingressive +T markers such *-A/-y ber-*, *-p al-* and *-p qal-* are typically used to highlight the initial phase of APs. Even though the phases

of (+ti) APs are coherent, these phases are perceivable as two actions; and therefore, especially the initial phase may transact as an independent telic action. That means that as in case of other telic APs, the inchoative action may be specified by completive +T markers indicating completion or suddenness such as *-p sal-*, *-A/-y tüş-* and *-p iy-*, which are typically used to encode the transformation point. There are also directional (or deictic) markers such as *-p kel-* ‘CONV + come’ and *-p bar-* ‘CONV + go (to)’, which are utilized to specify the initial phase of certain (+ti) APs. The statal phase is mainly specified by *-p tur-* and *-p cür-*, both of which express different connotations of actionality.

The *-p başta-* (CONV *B* + begin) auxiliary construction is the universal phase specifier for both transformative and nontransformative verb types; and it may be used with all initiotransformative verb lexemes, e.g. *uyuqtap başta-* ‘begin to sleep’, *süüp başta-* ‘begin to love’, *çajınıp başta-* ‘begin to hide’, etc. It will not be dealt with here since it is not a grammaticalized phase marker but rather a phasal verb.

4.2.1. Inchoative operators

4.2.1.1. *-A ber-* operator

The PC *-A ber-* (CONV *A* + give) always specifies the initial phase of the nontransformative (dynamic and static) and initiotransformative actions, sometimes with a connotation of suddenness (Dyrenkova 1940: 191; Tybykova 1966: 44-45; Baskakov 1966: 46; 1972: 65; 1985: 39; Anderson 2004: 111). It is generally used in the following APs, which are associated with nonagency: *bolo ber-* ‘become’, *uyuqtay ber-* ‘fall asleep’, *oorıy ber-* ‘get ill’, *sıstay ber-* ‘begin to suffer’, *süüy ber-* ‘fall in love’, *qorqıy ber-* ‘get scared’, *oñdoy ber-* ‘come to understand’, *süüne ber-* ‘get pleased’, *körine ber-* ‘become visible’, *körö ber-* ‘give a look’, *qayqay ber-* ‘get surprised’, *çaray ber-* ‘grow fond of’, etc. It seems that during the grammaticalization of the PC *-A ber-*, a metaphor as “to surrender oneself to the realization of an action” has occurred, which is extracted from the denotation of the verb *ber-*. Examples:

- (1) *Udabay Arına tñj oorıy berdi.*
 Shortly after Arina.NOM quite get ill:PRET
 Shortly thereafter, Arina fell quite ill.
- (2) *Čoldñj čanında küzüñilü uylar, qoylor*
 way:GEN nearby:LOC rattle:ADJ cow:PL sheep:PL
kelip çat... Kenetiyn uylar ulustar bolo berdiler.
 come:CONT suddenly cow:PL people:PL become:PRET:3PL
 Near the road, the cows and sheep with bells were (lit. are) coming. Suddenly the cows turned into people.

4.2.1.2. *-p al-* operator

The PC *-p al-* (CONV *B* + take) indicates ability and inchoative/ingressive actions. When it is used to specify initial action, there is an additional meaning of the action being self-benefactive or a subject version, which implies that the action is performed to the benefit of the subject (Dyrenkova 1940: 191; Tybykova 1966: 41-42; Baskakov 1966: 46; 1972: 64; 1985: 38; Anderson 2004: 190-200; Erdal 2004: 261). The PC *-p al-* is usually used within such APs as *bilip al-* ‘become aware of, come to understand’, *ćadip al-* ‘lie down’, *oturip al-* ‘sit down’, *turip al-* ‘stand up’, *kiyip al-* ‘dress, put on’, *ćölönip al-* ‘begin to lean’, *tayanip al-* ‘begin to recline’, *ćajñip al-* ‘hide, put oneself out of sight’, *minip al-* ‘mount’. However, *-p al-* may even specify the statal action with a delimitative reading in *uyuqtap al-* ‘sleep for a while, nap’, the meaning of which may, of course, have developed as a result of change in the core meaning: ‘take a nap (for one’s own benefit)’.

All of these APs correspond to actions that may readily be associated with agency. Agency is sometimes rendered more precisely with certain adverbs, such as *ćazap* ‘carefully’, *keze* ‘intent’, *laptap* ‘attentively’, etc. Examples:

- (3) *Enirler sayın taqtanñ üstine ćadip alala,*
 evening:PL every plank:GEN over:POSS.3S:DAT lie down:CONV
Leningradtñ eske alñip ćadar.
 Leningrad.NOM:ACCrecall:HAB.-P ĆADAR
 Every evening as he lies down on the planks, he keeps remembering Leningrad.

- (4) *Ćarajñ qayqaardan ozo*
 Beauty:POSS.3:ACC be amazed:INF:ABL before
ćay-qılğın bilip alar.
 belief-character:POSS.3:ACC come to know:HAB.FUT.-AR
 Before being amazed by someone’s beauty, one should know/learn his/her character.
 (Altay proverb)

The feature of specifying the initial phase with *-A ber-* is very salient and regular. Certain APs implying agency may also even be used with the PC *-A ber-*. Thus, APs such as *tuda ber-* ‘grasp, catch’, *onđoy ber-* ‘come to understand’, *bile ber-* ‘come to know, learn’, *ćölönö ber-* ‘begin to lean’, *ćajña ber-* ‘hide, put oneself out of sight’, *tura ber-* ‘stand up’, *otura ber-* ‘sit down’, and *ćada ber-* ‘lie down’ may be observed to connote unexpectedly, indiscriminatively, weakly or silently realized actions, some of which may also be carried out by inanimate subjects. Therefore, agency has an effect on the choice of required periphrastic form. For example, while the AP *ćadip al-* ‘lie down’ is always used for human beings (agent), the AP *ćada ber-* ‘lie down’ is more appropriate for animals and inanimate subjects. So, the AP *ćadip al-* corresponds to the Russian verb *leč’*, whereas the AP *ćada ber-* is analogous with the Russian verb *poleč’*. Since ‘becoming’ is generally realized in a non-agentive mode, the AP *bolo ber-* or *bolip qal-* ‘become’ is used; but when ‘becoming’ is performed

by a conscious subject, one should use the AP *bolıp al-*. In (5), the initial action expressed by the AP for inanimate subjects is taking place distributively at present; whereas in (6), the action ‘becoming’ is presented as it was carried out:

- (5) *Qaazalar qandıy éaqşı soyılğılayt. Ğuldudañ*
 bark:PL how nice peel off:REC1:PRES stem:ABL
belen ayılğılap, tulquraya éatqılay beret.
 ready sunder:REC1:CONV abreast lie down REC1:PRES
 Oh, how easily the (pieces of) bark are peeled off. Separating readily from the trunk, they drop/lie down next to each other.
- (6) *Boyınıñ qara mekelerile ğurtsovetiñ*
 own insidious guile:PL:POSS.3:INS rural-council:GEN
predsedateli bolıp alala, bisti sotsializmge braatqan
 chairman:POSS.3 become:CONV us socialism:DAT be going:PART
el-éondu, iç éanıñay kemirerge umzangan
 people:ACC within gnaw:INF:DAT attempt:PART
Bayćürek bazılğan.
 Bayd’ürek:NOM be ousted:POST
 After becoming the chairman of the rural council by means of his insidious guiles, Bayd’ürek, who attempted to manipulate our people, who preferred (lit. who was going to) socialism, was ousted. (Ozonova 1999: 19)

As stated above, the *-p al-* operator is utilized for indicating the initial phase and ability. The ability function occurs particularly when it is used with a negative suffix. Thus, the negative *-p alba-* (CONV *B* + take:NEG) form may express both the initial phase and ability for the same lexeme, *turıp alba-* (stand [up]:CONV *B* + take:not) ‘be not able to stand up’. Ability for the second action is then expressed with the *-p bolbo-* form, e.g. *turıp bolbo-* ‘be not able to stand’. Consider the next example:

- (7) *Ćoo-o, aću, tartqılaba, men anayda turıp albazım.*
 Noo hurtful tug:REC1:NEG I that way stand up:INCH.ABIL:NEG.PRES:1S
 No-oo, it is painful. Do not pull me up. I can not get up that way.

4.2.1.3. *-p qal-* operator

The PC *-p qal-* (CONV *B* + remain) in Turkic languages “realizes semantics of inchoative by revealing the moment of jump into the state, which [had] not previously existed” (Nasilov 1989: 145). This meaning is very much related to the fact that the verb *qal-* is also a (+ti). The lexeme *qal-* intrinsically “covers two phases: the transformative phase ‘to get into a state’ and the following posttransformative phase ‘to remain in that state’” (Johanson 2004: 187). As Rentzsch points out, “-Ip *qal-* frequently operates on intransitive verbs” (Rentzsch 2006: 208). The auxiliary *qal-* in Altay Turkic also operates on certain intransitive (+ti) APs and constructs new

inchoative APs implying non-agency, such as *bolıp qal-* ‘become’, *uyuqtap qal-* ‘fall (sound) asleep’, *oorıp qal-* ‘fall ill’ and *ćajınıp qal-* ‘(for inanimate subjects) put oneself out of sight’, *sanaarqap qal-* ‘become worried’, *qayqap qal-* ‘become surprised’, etc. Examples for inchoative specification:

- (8) *Ćaıı ċiqqan uul bala uyuqtay bererde,*
 newly be born:PART boy child fall asleep:CONV
emegender boylorı da uyuqtap qaldılar.
 grandmother:PL self:PL.POSS.3 CONJ fall asleep:PRET:3PL
 When the newborn baby fell asleep, the grandmas also fell sound asleep.
- (9) *Ömölik bu la ćuuqta ayıldı-ćurttu bolup qalğan.*
 Ömölik.NOM recently house:ADJ-home:ADJ become:POST
 Ömölik has recently gotten married (lit. Ömölik recently has become “with house and home”).
- (10) *Eki ćerde odudaı iş ari-beri ćayqanıp, tolgolıp,*
 two place:LOC fireplace:ABL smoke around swing:CONV twist:CONV
örö ċigıp, agaštardın ortozına qayılıp, ćajınıp qalat.
 move up:CONV tree:PL:GEN amidst fade away:CONV hide oneself:PRES
 At two places, smoke coming out of the stove, rolling, twisting and rising, fades away and hides (lit. puts itself out of sight) among the trees.

4.2.2. Directional operators

The *-p kel-* (CONV *B* + come) and *-p bar-* (CONV *B* + go to) PCs in Altay display themselves as directional markers; and they imply an action taking place towards a crucial limit.

4.2.2.1. *-p kel-* operator

The operator *-p kel-* (CONV *B* + come) may encode both spatial and temporal location of actions. It is generally used with two (+ti) APs as *tur-* ‘stand up + stand’ and *körin-* ‘become visible + seem’, implying completion and a sort of spatial location of action towards the speaker.

- (11) *Saygačı ćoboııp, kemzinip turup keldi.*
 Saygachy.NOM calm down:CONV repent:CONV stand up:PRET
 Saygachy calmed down, felt sorry, and then stood up.

4.2.2.2. *-p bar-* and *-p braat-* operators

The present form of *bar-* ‘go (to)’ and all aspect-tense forms of *barat-* (*braat-*) ‘be going (to)’ with the anterior converb *B* indicate actions in gradual progress towards a

crucial limit. The lexeme *barat-* (or *braat-*) is a progressive variant of *bar-* ‘go (to)’ and has been lexicalized analogically as a result of combination with the progressive marker *-a yatir*: *barayatir* > *baryatir* > *baratir* > *braadiri* ‘is going now’ (cf. Dyrenkova 1940: 192; Baskakov 1952: 371-372). In general, the verb *braat-* is not considered to be a derivational form of the lexeme *bar-*, and is examined in the same way as *bar-* in research related to Altay lexicography and grammar. The lexeme *barat-* (or *braat-*) may accept all kinds of verbal suffixes that are compatible with progressivity. The present form of *bar-* (i.e. *barat* or *braat*) and all aspect-tense forms of *barat-/braat-* (i.e. *braadat*, *braadiri*, *braatqan*, *braatti*, *braadatan*, *braadar*) together with the *-B* converb in Altay Turkic, convey different modes of action with different kinds of actional contents. The verb *braat-* has two basic meanings, both of which have intrinsically progressive readings, e.g. ‘be going to’ and ‘be going’. With the first meaning implying a goal, *-p braat-* is used with transformatives to encode an action in gradual progress towards the crucial limit. This form can also be observed in other Turkic languages with present forms of lexemes which mean “go to”, such as *-p bara(di)*, *-p bormoqda* and *-p gidä*: (Nasilov 1989: 164; Bertinetto et al 2000: 546-549; Gökçe 2007: 107-110, 188-189; Bacanlı 2007: 15-16). The auxiliary *bar-* has not been grammaticalized in expressing initial or final limit, as it is observed in Khakas, Shor and Chulym Turkic (see examples in Anderson 2004: 120-123, 224). Quite the opposite, *-p bar-* in Altay generally signals entry into a state using negative constructions with the meaning of ‘stop’, e.g. *körünbey bar-* ‘stop appearing, disappear’, *unčuqpay bar-* ‘stop speaking’, *ugulbay bar-* ‘stop being heard’, etc.

As stated above, the meaning ‘be going to’ occurs only with verbs indicating transformative actions. Hence, *-p braat-* can be used both with finittransformatives indicating a decisive final limit and with initiotransformatives indicating a decisive initial limit e.g. *ölüp braat-* ‘be (in the process of) dying-’, *ceñip braat-* ‘be (in the process of) winning’, *bolıp braat-* ‘be (in the process of) becoming’, *tüney bolup braat-* ‘be (in the process of) coming to resemble’, *uyuqtap braat-* ‘be (in the process of) falling asleep’, *çölönip braat-* ‘(for inanimate subjects) be (in the process of) lying on/touching’, etc. Alternate readings, such as proximative aspect or immanent future, may sometimes emerge from the central meaning of ‘be in the process of going to the crucial limit’. The present form of *-p bar-* and all aspect-tense forms of *-p braat-* may also indicate the meaning, “the rise or intensification of the process”, which is asserted by Juldašev in reference to *-p ket-* (CONV *B* + go away) operator in Turkic languages (1965: 86), e.g. *qorqıp braat-* ‘be getting more scared’. Finally, when *-p braat-* is used with dynamic nontransformatives, it functions as a spatial deictic operator. Such constructions may be considered within taxis relations indicating synchronic actions, as in *qojondop braat-* ‘be going by singing’, and within phraseologism, as in *çügürüp braat-* ‘be running over (lit. be going by running)’, etc. Examples with (+ti) APs:

- (12) *Kün qırğa éölönip braattı.*
 sun field:DAT be reposing/lying on:PRET
 The sun (looks like it) was going to touch (was in the process of touching) the field.
- (13) *Čyngkys balazı éaar körzö,*
 Čyngkys.NOM child:POSS.3 towards see:COND
ol uyuyqtap braatqan emtir.
 he be falling asleep:PART EVID
 When Čyngkys looked at her child, (she saw that) he was falling asleep.

4.2.3. Completive operators

4.2.3.1. -p sal- operator

The PC *-p sal-* (CONV *B* + put) is an actional operator which indicates that the given action is accomplished determinedly (Dyrenkova 1940: 192; Tybykova 1966: 28-29; Baskakov 1972: 64; Anderson 2004: 123). There are a few examples of inchoative APs formed with basic (+ti) verbs in Altay, such as *éajırıp sal-* ‘put something out of sight’, *kiyip sal-* ‘put on’ and *körıp sal-* ‘give a look’; and this situation implies that the core meaning of the auxiliary, ‘put’, has not yet totally faded away. In Teleut dialect, there is also a derivational lexeme as in *turup sal-* which means ‘stand up’. Examples:

- (14) *Bičikti qayda éajırıp saldıñ?*
 book:ACC where put out of sight:PRET:2S
 Where have you hidden the book?
- (15) *Uylardı ol baya barıp, körıp salgan.*
 cow:PL:ACC s/he just now go:CONV take a look:POST
 She has just now gone and taken a look at the cows.

4.2.3.2. -A tüş- operator

The PC *-A tüş-* (CONV *A* + fall/go down) indicates that the given dynamic action takes place suddenly and that its direction is down (Dyrenkova 1940: 193; Tybykova 1966: 36-37; Anderson 2004: 128), e.g. *otura tüş-* ‘instantly sit down’, *tura tüş-* ‘suddenly stop’, *éada tüş-* ‘lie down as if falling’, *éarıy tüş-* ‘in a flash become enlightened’. Examples:

- (16) *Aydıñ la Körmö abraga éetkileyle,*
 Aydıñ.NOM and Körmö.NOM cart:DAT arrive:REC1:CONV
éajıl-kök ölöngö otura tüşkiledi.
 green-blue pasture:DAT suddenly sit/plop down:REC1:PRET

When Aydıñ and Körnö arrived at the carriage, they plopped down on the green and blue pasture.

- (17) *Mašina eski baraqıardıñ ğanıña tura tüşti.*
 car old barrack:PL:GEN nearby:POSS.3:DAT suddenly stop/halt:PRET
 The car suddenly halted next to the old barracks.

4.2.3.3. -p iy- operator

The PC *-p iy-* (CONV *B* + send) is defined in traditional grammatical studies as “expressing a single event that occurs suddenly” (Tybykova 1966: 31-32; Baskakov 1966: 47; 1972: 63-64). Although Anderson qualified the PC and its phonetical variants in Altay-Sayan Turkics as a perfective marker (2004: 103-111), the derivational forms of the lexemes, which are constructed with *-İbİs-* *-İvİt-* and *-p iy-*, are not considered to be Perfectives in the Russian sense. Even when the PC operates on finittransformative APs, it just indicates the very transformation point of the event, which, in its turn, appears as a subevent of the given event, but not the attainment of the given limit. I have found that it is used in Altay literary texts with such lexemes as *bil-*, *kör-*, *tut-*, *tur-*, *otur-*, *kiy-*, with connotations of sudden, unexpected, cursory or inattentive action. Or it may even be used in an AP indicating the posttransformative phase with the connotation of a cursory action, e.g. (*emeş*) *uyuqtap iy-* ([a little] + *uyuqtap iy-*) ‘to sleep a little’.

- (18) *Arına közin açıp bolboy, ulustardıñ*
 Arina.NOM eye:POSS.3:ACC open:ABIL:NEG.CONV people:PL:GEN
adıñ braatqandarın bilip iydi.
 shoot:REC2:PROG.P BRAAT:PART:PL:POSS.3:ACC come to understand:PRET
 Arina, without opening her eyes, sensed that the people were passing by shooting.
- (19) *biyik beldü ğimjaq oturgıñına qayra kerteye oturıp iydi.*
 high backed soft chair:POSS.3:DAT backward stretching sit down:PRET
 He sat down by stretching back in his high-backed soft armchair.

4.2.4. Second phase operators

The second action indicated by (+ti) APs is statal; therefore, in order to be considered as a statal action, actional operators specifying the nontransformative phase are needed. They are essentially *-p tur-* and *-p ğür-* PCs. But certain uses of *-p otur-* and *-p ğat-* may also qualify as actional. These actional markers must be distinguished from *-p turu*, *-p ğürü*, *-p oturu* and *-p ğat/ğadı/ğadıñı* preaspectual forms, which have progressive or present tense meanings. With the exception of *-p ğat/ğadı/ğadıñı*, the other markers also preserve the actional functions of the PCs. However, certain conventional uses of *-p ğat/ğadı/ğadıñı* also signal actional mean-

ings and specify phase structure. All of them are originally relics of Old Turkic periphrastic markers formed with old present $-(y)Xr$. While the PCs $-p\ tur-$, $-p\ cür-$ and $-p\ otur-$ always need a tense-aspect marker to operate on them, $-p\ \acute{e}at$ indicates continuous tense as a contracted variant of $-p\ \acute{e}ad\acute{i} < -p\ \acute{e}ad\acute{i}r\acute{i}$.

4.2.4.1. $-p\ tur-$ operator

The PC $-p\ tur-$ (CONV B + stand) functions in most Turkic languages as an actional homogenizer specifying statal or course phases of nontransformative action or indicating serial realization of a transformative action. In any event, $-p\ tur-$ (CONV B + stand) is utilized as a nontransformative marker which blocks transformative readings (Johanson 1999: 174; 2004: 183, 186). With initiotransformatives, it suggests posttransformative statal action, e.g. *bilip tur-* ‘know’, *oorip tur-* ‘be ill’, *bolip tur-* ‘be’, *tudip tur-* ‘hold’, *süüp tur-* ‘love’, *qorqip tur-* ‘fear, be afraid of’, *çölönip tur-* ‘be leaning’, *çajınip tur-* ‘hide, keep oneself out of sight’, *kiyip tur-* ‘wear’, *qorçap tur-* ‘surround’, *sıstap tur-* ‘suffer’, *qayqap tur-* ‘be surprised’, etc. In contrast to usage in Karachay, Qumuk and South-western Anatolian dialects, this operator is not used in Altay Turkic with (+ti) verbs such as *çat-* ‘lie’, *uyuqta-* ‘sleep’ and *otur-* ‘sit’, which are in accordance with its own lexical meaning, ‘stand’. The auxiliary is also incompatible with itself; thus, *turup tur-* sounds odd. Example:

- (20) *Eki kelin sanangıladı la sanangıladı.*
 two woman think:REC1:PRET CONJ think:REC1:PRET
Ömölik mında kemdi süüp turganın,
 Ömölik.NOM here who:ACC love:PART:POSS.3:ACC
çek sanangılap tappadı.
 at all guess:REC1:NEG:PRET
 The two women thought for a while. They couldn’t guess at all whom Ömölik loved.

$-p\ turu$ is a relic form of the Old Turkic preaspectual form $-p\ turur$ and preserves the phase marking function of the PC $-p\ tur-$. Therefore, the $-p\ turu$ preaspectual progressive form in Altay never highlights the dynamic inchoative actions expressed by (+ti) APs. Consider the next example:

- (21) *Men andıy nemeni ederiney qorqıp turum, blar.*
 I such thing:ACC do:INF:POSS.3:ABL fear:PROG.-P TURU:1S sir
 I am afraid of doing such a thing, sir.

4.2.4.2. $-p\ cür-$ operator

The PC $-p\ cür-$ (CONV B + move/live) is used as a homogenization device, i.e. for specification of the statal phase with certain (+ti) APs. Its lexical meanings are given as “walk, move” and “live”. When it is combined with nontransformative motion

verbs, the meaning of the auxiliary may be related to ‘moving.’ But when it combines with (+ti) verbs, the meaning of the auxiliary is perceived as ‘living’, which implies that the given action is a characteristic of the subject’s life. This meaning’s use is restricted to only some of (+ti) verbs: those having a statal phase that exists permanently. The APs which have this feature are *bol-* ‘be’, *bil-* ‘know’, *süü-* ‘love’, *oori-* ‘be ill, have an illness’, *qorqi-* ‘be afraid of’, *sista-* ‘suffer’ and *čajin-* ‘hide, burrow’.

Both *-p tur-* and *-p cür-* encode the statal phase of initiotransformatives; but there is a difference between them in regard to temporariness and permanency, e.g. *oorip turgan qargan* (be[come] ill:P TUR:PASTPART + old person) ‘the old person who is ill nowadays/temporarily’, *oorip cürgen qargan* (be[come] ill:P CÜR:PAST.PART + old person) ‘the old person who is ill/has a permanent illness’. This difference is presented in (22) and (23). In the first sentence, the doctor has not yet checked her patient; but it is not long before she discerns that the illness is consistent and serious. Similarly in (24), the action ‘hiding’ is presented as a characteristic of the subject:

- (22) *Oorip turaar* *ba, bilar?*
 be ill:PROG.-P TURU:2PL Q sir/ma’am?
 Are you ill, ma’am?

- (23) *Vrač Kormönin* *edi-qanına,* *čirayına,*
 doctor Kormö.NOM:GEN meat:POSS.3-blood:POSS.3:ABL face:POSS.3:ABL
 tingan *tinijına* *qandiy ooruda*
 inhale:PART breath:POSS.3:ABL which disease:ABL
 oorip cürgenin *bilip algan.*
 be ill:PART:POSS.3:ACC come to understand:POST
 Examining Kormö’s physical features, face and breath, the doctor came to know what
 kind of an illness she had.

- (24) *Qoyondiy qorqınçak bolbo, momon čilap čajınıp cürbe.*
 rabbit:SIM coward be:NEG.IMP mole like hide:NEG.IMP
 Do not be a coward like a rabbit, do not burrow like a mole. (Altay proverb)

4.2.4.3. *-p otur-* operator

The PC *-p otur-* (CONV *B* + sit) indicates progressive and/or continuative action, and may rarely operate on (+ti) verbs, when the action takes place while sitting: *bilip otur-* ‘know, be aware of (while sitting)’, *oñdop otur-* ‘understand (while sitting)’, *saqıp otur-* ‘keep waiting (and sitting)’, etc. Example:

- (25) *Men seni ne aldırgam bilip oturıñ* *ba?*
 I you:ACC why call:POST:1S know:PROG.-P OTURİ:2S Q
 Do you know why I have summoned you?

4.2.4.4. -p *éat*- operator

The PC *-p éat-* (CONV *B* + lie) must be carefully distinguished from the aspectual marker *-p éat*. The latter has continuous tense functions and is further in grammaticalization than the previous three forms. However, there is a linguistic convention pertaining to the use of the aspect marker *-p éat* and the actional marker *-p éat-* with certain (+ti) verbs, especially with those that refuse to combine with *-p tur-* because of the interference of incompatible lexical meanings. They are, as stated above, *uyuqta-* ‘sleep’ and *éat-* ‘lie’. Thus, we can contrast aspectual combinations such as *uyuqtap éat*, which means ‘is asleep (not, ‘falls/is falling asleep’)', and *éadip éat*, which means ‘is lying (not, ‘lies/is lying down’)', with actional combinations such as *uyuqtap éatqan bala*, which means ‘the child who is/was asleep’, and *uyuqtap éadatan bala*, which means ‘the child who used to be (or is always) asleep’. Participle forms have also corresponding predicative functions by means of change in syntactic order of the elements, e.g. *bala uyuqtap éatqan* ‘the child was asleep’, *bala uyuqtap éadatan* ‘the child used to sleep / used to be sleeping’ or ‘is always asleep’. The continuity of certain other actions, which is realized by lying, may also be underscored by means of the *-p éat-* PC. Here we would do well to remember the predication of the (3)rd example, *eske alinip éadar* ‘always keeps remembering (while lying)’. Example:

- (26) *Qargan emegender türülip alala, birüzi*
 old woman:PL scrunch oneself up:CONV some
taqtada, birüzi érde uyuqtap éatılar.
 plank:LOC some floor:LOC be sleeping:PRET:3P
 The old women were sleeping scrunched up, one of them on the planks and one of them on the ground.

Conclusions

Postverbal constructions in Altay Turkic play a crucial role in specifying the phase structure of initiotransformatives and other kinds of verbs; however, they are not constant in usage as in the Russian sense even though some similarities implying code copying from Russian may be observed. Several biverbial lexemes indicating different modes of action may be used for the same event. The most grammaticalized item for inchoativity/ingressivity is *-A ber-* and for stativity, *-p tur-*; however, the first item is restricted in terms of nonagency, and the latter item, in terms of temporary duration. Some of the basic APs refuse to combine with certain PCs which do not match with their own lexical meanings. Finally, combinations of the lexeme *uyuqta-* with PCs *-p iy-* and *-p al-* always express a delimitative reading of the second action.

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Abbreviations

ABIL	ability	GEN	genitive	PART	participle
ABL	ablative	HAB	habitual	PL	plural
ACC	accusative	HAB.FUT	habitual future	POSS	possessive
ADJ	adjective suffix	IMP	imperative	POST	postterminal
COND	conditional	INCH.ABIL	inchoative ability	PRES	present
CONJ	conjunctive	INF	infinitive	PRET	preterite
CONT	present continuous	LOC	locative	PROG	progressive
CONV	converb	NEG	negation	Q	question
DAT	dative	NEG.CONV	negative converb	REC	reciprocal
INS	instrumental	NEG.IMP	negative imperative	S	singular
EVID	evidential	NOM	nomen	SIM	similarity

A Kashkay folktale

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The purpose of this contribution is to present a complete Kashkay folktale told by a woman from the Jāme-bozorgī subtribe of the Amaleh tribe of the Kashkay Tribal Confederation. The tale is transcribed in Turcological notation and translated into English. Some information about Kashkay verbal arts is added.

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Introduction

The Kashkay folktale presented here was recorded from Belqeys Jahāngīrī, a more than 90-year-old woman from the Jāme-bozorgī subtribe of the Amaleh tribe. The recording was made in the house of her elder son, Imamqulu, in January 2007, during one of my field trips to the Kashkay region. Popular legend says that the core family of the Jāme-bozorgī ‘those with big garment’ originated from the Lur of Boir-Ahmad, fled from its khan and was given sanctuary on the territory of the Amaleh tribe. Then many other families, mostly of Turkic origin from different tribes like the Nafar, Bahārlu and others, joined them. They became a subtribe of the Amaleh tribe and shared the same seasonal pastures and migration routes. They have been settling their winter quarters, since the 1970s, in the Khurde-dare, ‘the little valley’, in the Lāristān district, where they have built a village with the same name. The population of the Jāme-bozorgī subtribe is around 800, of which more than 500 settle in their village, while the rest is dispersed over other villages and urban zones of Fars province, e.g. Jahrom.

Čoyānnār¹ bāy. A Kashkay folktale

Transcription

1. Xob, kišiniñ birisi bičarāymış; āvdān čiχmeyrmiş; tāmālīmış, hāyā tāmāl. Arvad gedār bir qonšu āvinā, deyār mān niñ edām, belā odun-modun sānnān onnān alirām čerāg edirām yeyir, ālā burā oturir, iś germeyr. Deyār: “gedārāñ, ālā bu unu apar kemmāj ed, gātī(r) dār dāminā, yāñi serkāleyrāñ kī kilī tekilā, to”ala dārdān oyzā, de āviñ yāñi ruzumuz geddi tut gātī(r), kiši kī čiχdi yāzzīyā kemmāj

¹ Čoyānnār (< Persian čoyondār) means ‘red beet’. Here, since the main character of this folktale has a red face, he is dubbed čoyānnār.

qulunjunä, sän däri içärdän qulf ed, daha däri açmä tä varä gedä zırın olä, älä o tappi dä tuşäsi, gedä gumm olä”.

2. Kişi qowzanär gedär kemmäji tutä; tutär o gäler dār dāmīnā, deyār arvad dāri ač. Dedi: adīñ nādi? Dedi: bilmirām. Dedi: ged hār vāx adīñi bulliñ gāl.

3. Geddi gerdi tä bir yerdä ikki Imamqulu² läyin tefāñ ālīnnā şikal vārayīnnā. Hay huy eddi, şikallār qāçdi. Geddi tutdu beläşini hereft vurdu. Dedi: “xob, bir beläyi zad gerdiñ berkinji geti(r) dāryānān dāryānān dāryānān var ged, sän māñim şikalimī hirkiddiñ?”

4. Geddi gerdi bir du^wardi, berkinji getirdi dāryānān dāryānān dāryānān... tutdulār. Tutdu beläşini hereft vurdulār. Deyār: “oyuruyāñ sän? ko^w ko^w edirāñ du^wardān oyurlāyāñ? Sän beläyi zad gerdiñ de: o^w! ginnā bir ginnā ikki; bārākāt gātīrā işā, çox olä”.

5. Geddi o^wantār, gerdi bir māñim täyin qārri elmiş; şivāñjādi, āzadarligdi, dedi: “o^w! ginnā bir, ginnā ikki”. Burdä dä tox vurdulār. Tox vurullār o, deyār: “geddiñ bir beläki zad gerdiñ, de: germāyāñiz āvvāl aẖir ālä bu ossun”.

6. Geddi gerdi bir toydi(r), dedi: “germāyāñiz āvvāl aẖir ālä bu ossun. Ordä dä ketäyi yedi”.

7. Geddi geddi geddi gerdi tä... bir āşrāfi itirmişlār gāzillār, bāçčā-mādrāsā gāzir. Birisi, bu bāçčā-mādrāsāñi, dedi: “bāx bāx, iñer çoyāñnārdi(r)”. Hārākāt eddi; dedi: “āy bullum!” Gāzdilār, tekişdiñdilər; dedi: “xub, sän āşrāfiyi bulmuşāñ ver”. Dedi: “yo^w, adimī bullum. “Adiñ nādi?”. Dedi: “adim lāttā içinnā”. “Soyan dāyil, kālām dāyil, turub dāyil?” Çoyonnāri demellārdi. Dedi: “yo^w, heç birisi dāyil.” İnni burdä dä vill eddilər.

8. Vardi geddi geddi geddi gerdi bir... daha inni burdä bāxti gātīrir... geddi gerdi bir āvli keçmiş bir erkāni qalmış, bir āvli keçmiş uş-derd yumurtāsi qalmış, birisiniñ bir yayuy ayrıni qalmış, birisiniñ bir saz-o-nayārāsi qalmış, xob, bir torbāsi qalmış. İydi içinä o allī dalīnā o geddi.

9. Geddi geddi gerdi bir div mānzeliñdir; bilmerdi divdi, gerir bir kohnā qāhlādi, hāyā qāhlādi. Gedār qāhlāyā gerir yeddi qazan qātar qomuşlār, altisiniñ altini odlār, altı div gāler baş qoyār içār altisi dä sāqqāt olur. Bir di dār dāmīnnā gezçiymiş bahisab. Deyār: “adam madam issi gālir, yayli badam issi gālir, māñim şāhrimnā iñer adamizad issi gālir”. Deyār: “bu māñim buwam şāhrīdir”. Deyār: “yow, māñim buwam şāhrīdir”. Deyār: “gā(l) şart vurāg, gāl(l) burā, hār kās daş qoydu ālinā seẖdi su ollu, o aparmış”. Div daş qoydu ālinā seẖdi un ollu, o qermizi kişi yumurtāyi ukaladi su ollu. Dedi: “gāl tifiñāg”. O tifiñdi yarim ārşin yol geddi, bu yayuyun ayzini açānnā ikki ārşin geddi, ayrıni vill eddi. Dedi: “inni dä ki apardiñ”. Dedi: “xob, gāl başimiz tikini atāg”. O bir çārāk baş tiki addi, bu erkāni vill eddi. Dedi: “xob, gāl... daha niñ edāg? Hār kās dān yel çixdi sāsi çoxtār ollu, ālä o aparmış”. Geddi bir āv içinä, bu div bir şaqquładānnā... divdān bir yel çixdi munu getirdi o dālig bu dāligā atā; munu atār ottay buttayā. Deyār: “sän ordä çoyāñnār nā iş geyrāñ?”. Deyār: “mān

² *Imamqulu* is the name of the elder son of the storyteller, and this folktale was told at his home and in his presence.

bu dälüg-duşugu tutıräm yel verännä säni yel aparmeyä". Täpiğınan vurännä dări qerrär, dări qerrär, bu dä gedär nayaräyi qoyär bun issinä, här nä vurä. Älä geri qäçirmiş deyrmiş: "ävi yanmışın ossurayı säsänir belä".

10. Gedär gerir bir tilki julu"nnän gälir. Deyär: "hara gedirän? iner çox owqatın tälχdi(r)", deyär: "qurbanın ollum, adamızad bulunmuş ävimi almiş älimnän". Deyär: "gäl bir talä tikiğnän qaz baylä boynumä, baylä quyruquğa tä gedäm alam veräm".

11. Baydı gerdı gälir. Dedi: "χob, tilki kaka, säniñ bu"añ mänim bu"amä yeddi alabärzäñi veräsi, bu birsi hanı altisi daha?". Div eziynän dedi: "aχχey, bu mänı apayır verä bua"sı bedehinä"; qäşdi, ipinän tilkiyi çäkdı o qäşdi; tilki dä onıñ qulunjunnän burä owlannı, orä owlannı, daşa owlannı, dayıllı geddi.

12. Kişi geddi oturdu ämlakiñ issinä; gerdı belä ruzigarı χub olir; gälli etişdi ävinä; dedi: "arvad, dări aç tä gäläm". Dedi: "adıñ nädi(r)?" Dedi: "adım çoyännär, arvad, dăr izimjā açılmış". Gälli arvadı getirdi geddi orä oturdu; yedi, işdi, χoş eddi.

13. Bu dä tāmam ollu. Bu dä çoyännär ämi, çoyännär bāy qessäsi.

Mr. Beet's tale

Translation

1. Well, there was a man who was poor. He would not leave home [to go after work]; he was lazy, yes: lazy. His wife went to a neighbor. She said: "What can I do with him? I borrow wood from you and others to make fire and I bake bread and he eats some, but he sits here and does not go out looking for work". [The neighbor] replied: "I will give you some flour, so make a kemmä³ and take it out of the house and shake it pretending you want to clean off the ashes. Then roll it away and call your husband and tell him: our daily food is gone, go and retrieve it. As soon as your husband is outside, lock the door after him. Don't open it to him, so that he must start looking for work, [necessity is the mother of invention]; let him take this bread as his only grubstake".

2. The man stood up to go after the bread. He retrieved it and came back to the door and said: "My wife, open the door!" His wife asked: "What's your name?" "I don't know", he answered. She said: "Go! Don't come back unless you have found your name".

3. He went away, and eventually he met two men like Imamqulu⁴. Rifles in hand, they were lying in wait of game. He made a noise and the game fled. The peeved hunters caught him and beat him terribly. They said: "Well, if you see this situation again, take your hat (off) and retreat through the low grounds. You startled our quarry".

³ *Kemmä*, is a kind of thick bread, often made from barley flour, and is known as the food of poor people.

⁴ Here, the tale-teller refers to her elder son, *Imamqulu*, and this tale was told at his home and in his presence.

4. He distanced himself from the hunters. [There], he saw a herd [of sheep and goats]. He took his hat off and moved away while crawling through the low ground. He was caught [again] and again was horribly beaten. They told him: "You must be a thief, aren't you? You are sneaking around in order to steal from the herd? If you see this kind of thing you must say: [It is] today one, [may it be] tomorrow two [may God give you abundance!]. Maybe this [benediction] could bless our business and make it thrive".

5. He went a little further where he saw that an old woman like me⁵ had died and there was mourning and they were moaning. He said: "[It is] today one, [may it be] tomorrow two [may God give you abundance!]" Here again, he was beaten severely. As they were hitting him they said: "If you see this kind of thing, you must say: May you not face (this) any more, may this be the first and last [sorrow] you ever have".

6. He went on after this and, there, he saw a wedding ceremony. He said: "May you not face (this) any more, may this be the first and last [sorrow] you ever have". There again, he was thrashed.

7. He went, went, went [much further], and he noticed that a gold coin had been lost and they were looking for it; the school children were looking for it. One of them, one of the pupils said: "Look! Look! He looks like a beet". He ran and shouted: "I found it!" They [caught him and] examined him. "Well, you've found the gold coin, give it to us", they said. He answered: "No, I've found my name". "What's your name?" they asked. "My name has to do with farming", he replied. "Is it onion? Is it cabbage? Is it radish?" They didn't mention 'beet'. He answered: "No, these aren't my name". So, he was released.

8. He then travelled further... and his luck turned... he arrived at a place where a family while moving had forgotten a rope; another family while moving had forgotten some eggs; another had forgotten a butter-churn full of buttermilk; of another had remained a kettle-drum and a trumpet; and a family had forgotten a bag. He collected everything in the bag, put it on his back and went on his way.

9. He went much further and arrived at the house of a demon; he did not know it was the domain of a demon; he noticed only that it was an old castle. "Err, yes, a castle". He entered and saw that there were seven cauldrons; he put six of them on the fire. Six demons arrived and started to drink; all of them died (perished); while the seventh was keeping watch over the door. This demon said: "It smells of human being, it smells of oily almonds; in my domain, seems to me, it smells of a human being". He asserted: "This is the domain of my father". The demon answered: "No, it is that of my father!" He said: "So, come here, let's wager; he who is able to transform a stone into water by pressing it in his hands will win". The demon pressed a stone in his hands and transformed it to flour. And that red man, he rubbed an egg in his hands and broke it, [showing that he converted it to water]. "Now, let's spit". The demon spit about a half meter, and the man, he opened his leather-bottle and squirted buttermilk over two meters. The demon said: "This time too, you have

⁵ Here, the tale-teller refers to herself.

won". "Well, let's throw our hair". The demon threw around a kilogram of his hair; as for the man, he threw the rope. The demon said: "Well, then, what else can we do? "Let's break wind. He who can fart the strongest will win". They went into a room. When the demon broke wind, the man was blown everywhere, and ended hanging from the ceiling. The demon, then demanded of him: "Beet, what are you doing up there?" He said: "I am sealing off all these holes [and windows] so that the wind does not take you when I break wind". The demon kicked down the door and fled. As for the man, he jumped onto the roof and started striking the kettle-drum with all his force. The demon distanced himself from the castle saying: "May his house burn down, he who farts so noisily!"

10. The demon retreated until it met a fox. The fox asked him: "Where are you going? You look miserable". The demon replied: "May I die for you, the man came and took my house by force". The fox said: "Come and make a cord from your hair and attach my neck to your tail, [we will return and] I will retake your house".

11. The man saw they were coming. He said: "Well, my brother fox, your father owes my father seven *Alabärzäni*⁶, here is one of them, where are the other six?" The demon told itself: "Alas! This fox takes me to exchange me against the debts of its father". It fled with the fox in tow. The fox was struck by stones everywhere and perished.

12. The man settled in the property. He noticed that his life had changed for the better. He returned home and said: "My wife, open the door, I want to return". She asked: "What's your name?". "My name is Beet, darling! The door is opened to us", he answered. Then, he took his wife and led her to the castle; they ate there, they drank there, and there they enjoyed life.

13. It is finished. That was the history of uncle Beet, Mr. Beet.

Notes on the transcription

The transcription not only represents phonemes, but also major allophones, thus conveying an idea of the actual pronunciation. For example, front *g* and *k* sounds will, irrespective of their phonemic status, be rendered as *g* and *k* and their back equivalents as *ɣ* and *q*. The transcription is thus relatively broad. For the vowel system the following additional details can be given:

i denotes [i], which is almost always syllable-initial and in word-initial position substitutes for [j]. This sign also denotes a modified front rounded high vowel [y] /ü/, in certain words.

ɨ denotes a retracted and lowered *i* or a [ɪ] vowel, which is never word-initial except in Arabic loan words. It is present almost always in non-first-syllables and especially in case markers and conjugation suffixes. This sign also denotes a modified front rounded high vowel [ɨ] /ü/, in certain words.

⁶ *Alabärzäni*, in Kashkay folklore, is a demon whose skin is striped with white and black.

ĩ denotes [i], which is a centralized vowel corresponding to the back unrounded high vowel [ɯ] in other Oghuz Turkic.

e denotes [e], a higher e phoneme, the so-called ‘closed é’, present in many native words and certain loan words in initial position.

ä denotes the low vowel [ɛ] with all its variants. It should be pronounced [æ], where it follows a front or back unrounded low vowel, i.e. [a] and [ɑ], in the previous syllable.

a denotes the back unrounded low vowel [ɑ], which can alternate with [ɐ], [ɒ], [a] and, in rare cases, can be labialized.

u denotes a back rounded high vowel.

o denotes a semi-closed back rounded vowel [o], and [ɔ] as well, both of them quite frequent in all positions.

Kashkay verbal arts

Folk poetry, proverbs, legendary stories, musical narratives⁷, and folktales are among the genres of Kashkay verbal arts⁸, which are locally documented in Persian translation.⁹ In western publications, this documentation is limited to sporadic efforts made by some anthropologists and linguists. Thus, one would not find more than a few folk poems or some short narrative texts which are, even in this small scale, not well distributed.¹⁰

We know that the Kashkay share a common history with other Turkic-speaking peoples, especially Azerbaijanian, from whom they have detached geographically. The oral traditions, such as folksongs, musical narratives and legends are very similar.

We know, as well, that the Kashkay people not only originated from heterogeneous ethno-linguistic backgrounds, but also coexisted for a long time with other Iranian peoples in southern Iran. Such heterogeneity and long-term multicultural coexistence are well reflected in Kashkay folklore. Thus, one can find motifs, images, concepts and other narrative elements, as well as poetic features common to the Kashkay verbal arts and those of other surrounding non-Turkic peoples like the Persians, Lurs, etc. Though all of these verbal arts are produced in the Kashkay lan-

⁷ The stories narrated by *aşıqlar* ‘folk musicians’ in combination with musical performances.

⁸ Instead of oral literature, I prefer to use the term *verbal arts* proposed by Finnegan (1992).

⁹ However, they have not been published in Kashkay.

¹⁰ The Russian folklorist A. A. Romaskevič collected and published in 1925, for the first time, some Kashkay folk poems. As for narrative texts, some were collected by Gunnar Jarring in the 1940s, later handed over to Éva Á. Csátó and partially published by her in 2006. Doerfer et al. (1990) published a Kashkay corpus, which is mostly composed of literary poems. Concerning folktales, the amplest and most recent corpus was compiled by the author of this article in his master’s thesis at the École pratique des hautes études in 2007.

guage, one finds, especially in folktales, some degree of 'language alternation' in which characters, often marginal ones, switch to speak in one of the local non-Turkic languages.

Generally speaking, Kashkay verbal art is the output of both a common Turkic heritage and the influence of some non-Turkic cultures. This multiculturalism has resulted in the development of the Kashkay verbal arts with easily distinguishable characteristics.

Further documentation of the Kashkay oral traditions is of great importance.

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Die Geschichte der Entwicklung der jakutischen Schrift

Vladimir D. Monastyr'ev

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Yakut very early left the bulk of Turkic languages and underwent a long, isolated development in Northern Siberia. The paper summarizes the history of the scripts used for Yakut, from the signs of the Lena-Baikal runiform documents up to the modern Cyrillic-based script. According to a declaration of September 27, 1990, Yakut and Russian constitute the official languages of the Republic Sakha (Yakutia).

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Tradition

E. I. Ubrjatova, die Autorin der ersten Geschichte der jakutischen Sprachwissenschaft, stellt zu Recht fest, dass unter den Sprachen der Völker des russischen Reiches die jakutische Sprache in bezug auf die vorrevolutionären Sprachstudien eine glückliche Ausnahme darstellt (1950: 9). Diese ältere Tradition wurde von der nächsten Generation jakutischer Sprachwissenschaftler auf vorbildliche Weise fortgeführt.

Runeninschriften und runenähnliche Zeichen

Die jakutische Sprache (Sacha) hat sich sehr früh von der Hauptmasse der Türksprachen abgesondert und einen langen isolierten Entwicklungsweg durchschritten. Die genealogische Linie des Jakutischen beginnt mit einer undokumentierten Türksprache, deren morphologische Struktur der der Orchon-Jenissej-Denkmäler ähnlich gewesen sein dürfte. Als eine Sprache dieser Art betrachtet A. P. Okladnikov die Sprache der Runendenkmäler des Lena-Baikal-Gebiets (1955: 320). In Ost-Sibirien wurden insgesamt mehr als 50 Runeninschriften entdeckt, davon ungefähr 20 in der Baikalsee-Region und an der Mittleren Lena (in Jakutien). Einige von ihnen wurden entziffert, u.a. die Petrov- und Schischkin-Texte und Inschriften der Gegenden Kulun Atach und Aartyk. In den Jahren 1995-2003 wurden in Jakutien neue Runeninschriften und runenähnliche Zeichen entdeckt, die nach Meinung einiger Wissenschaftler von türksprachigen Vorfahren der Jakuten stammen (Levin 2001: 7).

Ikonische Zeichen

Die frühe Existenz einer Ur-Zeichenschrift bei den Jakuten wurde von Forschern wie M. Räsänen, S. E. Malov, A. P. Okladnikov und anderen angenommen. Nach Meinung der jakutischen Forscher, die sich mit der Schriftgeschichte befasst haben, bestand die früheste jakutische Schrift hauptsächlich aus ikonischen Zeichen, verschiedenen Wahrzeichen und Bildern. In Dokumenten des 17.-19. Jahrhunderts dienten sie noch als Unterschriften und Siegel. Diese Schriftzeichen wurden neben der Buchstabenschrift bis in die 30er Jahre des 20. Jahrhunderts verwendet (Xaritonov 1947: 279-284).

Anfänge der Buchstabenschrift

Die Geschichte der jakutischen Buchstabenschrift beginnt im 17. Jahrhundert, als russische Forschungsreisende mit der Erschließung Ost-Sibiriens und des Fernen Ostens begannen und die russische Schrift verbreiteten.

Texte in lateinischer und kyrillischer Schrift wurden im 17. Jahrhundert von N. Witsen und E. I. Ides, im 18.-19. Jahrhundert von F. Strahlenberg, G. F. Miller, J. I. Lindenau und A. F. Middendorf aufgezeichnet. Wenn man diese Aufzeichnungen als frühe jakutische Schriftdenkmäler betrachtet, kann man die Zeit bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts zu Recht als die Periode der Entstehung der jakutischen Buchstabenschrift bezeichnen (Xaritonov 1947: 279-286).

Das erste Missionarsalphabet

Im Zusammenhang mit der Verbreitung des orthodoxen Glaubens in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts erschienen die ersten religiösen Veröffentlichungen in jakutischer Sprache. 1812 erschien *Molitvy, simvolj very i zapovedi Bož'i* (Gebete, Glaubenssymbole und Gebote Gottes). 1819 folgte ein ins Jakutische übersetzter gekürzter Katechismus, *Sokrašennyj katexizis dlja obučenija junostva pravoslavnomu zakonu xristianskomu, perevedjennyj na jakutskij jazyk, s priloženiem vpered tablizy dlja skladov i čtenija graždanskoj pečati*. Er sollte der Unterweisung der Jugend im christlich-orthodoxen Glauben dienen und enthielt eine Schrifttabelle auf der Grundlage des ersten missionarischen Alphabets, das von dem Geistlichen G. Y. Popov von der Spasski-Kirche in Olekma erstellt worden war. Die zweite Ausgabe erschien 1821 in jakutischer Sprache mit russischem Paralleltext. Diese zwei Auflagen des Katechismus dienten nicht nur der Verbreitung der christlich-orthodoxen Glaubenslehre, sondern auch als Lehrbuch der russischen und jakutischen Schrift.

Das Alphabet von Popov:

Аа	Бб	Вв	Гг	Дд	Ее	Жж	Зз	Ии,
И	Кк	Лл	Мм	Нн	Оо	Пп	Рр	Сс
Тт	Уу	Фф	Өө	Хх	Цц	Чч	Шш	Щ
Ыы	Ьь	Ъъ	Ее	Ҕ	Юю	Яя		

Xitrovs Alphabet

1853 wurde in Jakutsk ein Komitee für Übersetzungen kirchlicher Bücher ins Jakutische gegründet. An die Spitze dieses Komitees berief man den Oberpriester Dimitrij Xitrov, der das Jakutische gut beherrschte. Er erarbeitete eine Transkription, die der jakutischen Aussprache näher ist als die von Popov. 1858 erschien in Moskau Xitrovs Grammatik zum praktischen Zweck des Studiums des Jakutischen und als Lehrbuch für Geistliche und für Jakuten selbst. Xitrovs Alphabet war genauer und geeigneter als das erste missionarischen Alphabet und fand breiten Gebrauch.

Missionare gaben mehr als hundert Bücher in jakutischer Sprache heraus, z.B. *Kniga byt'ja* (Das Buch des Seins, Moskau 1858), *Evangelie* (Das Evangelium, Moskau 1858), *Kratkaja svjaščennaja istorija* (Kurze heilige Geschichte, Jakutsk 1866, *Bukvar' dlja jakutov* (Alphabet für Jakuten, Kazan 1895, 1897, 1898), *Pervonačal'nyj učebnik russkogo jazyka dlja jakutov* (Anfängerlehrbuch der russischen Sprache für Jakuten, Kazan 1895, 1900, 1907). Auch die wichtigsten offiziellen Verordnungen der Behörden wurden ins Jakutische übersetzt.

Böhtlingks Alphabet

Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts begann das wissenschaftliche Studium der jakutischen Sprache. Nach der Rückkehr A. Middendorfs von seiner sibirischen Expedition interessierte sich O. Böhtlingk, einer der größten Orientalisten seiner Zeit, für Middendorfs Arbeiten über die jakutische Sprache. 1851 erschien seine Arbeit *Über die Sprache der Jakuten*, ein epochales Werk der internationalen Turkologie. Dieses Werk diente als Grundlage für ein vergleichendes Studium der türkischen und mongolischen Sprachen. Eine wesentliche Rolle spielte sein jakutisch-deutsches Wörterbuch mit seinen äußerst wertvollen Daten über das Verhältnis des Jakutischen zu anderen Sprachen. Es diente als Grundlage für das berühmte dreibändige *Wörterbuch der jakutischen Sprache* von E. K. Pekarskij.

Böhtlingk leistete einen enormen Beitrag zur Entwicklung der jakutischen Schrift. Als Grundlage für sein Alphabet verwendete er das russische Alphabet und ergänzte es mit Buchstaben für spezifisch jakutische Laute. Die Transkription ist phonetisch und zielt auf eine möglichst genaue Wiedergabe des Jakutischen.

Das Alphabet von Böhtlingk:

Аа	Ää	Öö	Оо	Ии	Ыы	Уу	Ўу	Кк
Хх	Гг	Бб	Нн	Тт	Дд	Нн	Чч	Цц
Нн	Пп	Бб	Мм	Јј	ҕҕ	Рр	Лл	Лл
Сс	Һ							

Publikationen

Im Alphabet von Böhtlingk erschien das erste literarische Werk Jakutiens, A. J. Uvarovskijs *Vospominanija* (Erinnerungen). Das Schriftsystem wurde auch für Pe-

karskijs Wörterbuch und das von ihm herausgegebene Werk *Obrazcy narodnoj literatury jakutov* (Proben der Volksliteratur der Jakuten) verwendet. Die große Bedeutung von Böhlingks Schriftsystem liegt darin, dass es zur Veröffentlichung vorrevolutionärer jakutischer Texte benutzt wurde. In den 1890er Jahren ersetzte es die Missionarsschrift vollständig.

Auf der Basis von S. V. Jastremskijs Grammatik der jakutischen Sprache (1900, 1938), der Übersetzung von *Über die Sprache der Jakuten*, wurde die erste Lehrgrammatik des Jakutischen entwickelt. Die Grammatik enthält auch Beispiele der jakutischen Volksliteratur: 131 Rätsel, 89 Beispiele für Redensarten und Sprichwörter, Auszüge aus den Oloncho-Epen *Kulun Kulluustuur* und *Er sogotox* (s. Sofronov & Ivanov 1992: 67).

Da Böhlingks Schriftsystem vor allem wissenschaftlichen Zwecken diente, stieß die Verbreitung beim Volk jedoch auf gewisse Schwierigkeiten.

Pekarskij

Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts begannen politisch Verbannte mit dem Studium der jakutischen Sprache. Unter ihnen kommt Pekarskij eine besondere Bedeutung zu. Er ist als Verfasser und Redakteur der erwähnten Proben der jakutischen Volksliteratur in drei Bänden und acht Ausgaben (1907-1918) bekannt. Die Reihe beinhaltet vollständige und gekürzte Texte von 19 Oloncho-Epen, u.a. *Djuluruyar Nurgun Bootur* (Nurgun Bootur, der Strebende) von K. G. Orosin.

Bei der schriftlichen Umsetzung der lebendigen und mündlich vorgetragenen Folklorekunst ergab sich, wie P. A. Slepcev (1986: 47-48) bemerkt, eine bedeutende Transformation der Texte: ihre Verarbeitung in Richtung einer literarisch-sprachlichen Normierung. Pekarskijs Proben sind in erster Linie eine folkloristische Publikation, repräsentieren aber auch die Anfänge der schriftlich-literarischen Sprache. Die Historiker F. G. Sofronov und V. F. Ivanov bestätigen, dass die Behauptung, bei den vorrevolutionären Jakuten habe es kein Schrifttum gegeben, unsinnig sei (1992: 68).

Das von Pekarskij herausgegebene, 38 000 Stichwörter umfassende Wörterbuch ist ein Meilenstein der Turkologie. Das Werk erschien insgesamt in 13 Ausgaben (1907-1930), davon fünf vor der Revolution. Es ist zu Recht als Schatzkammer der Sprache und der nationalen Kultur der Jakuten bezeichnet worden.

Im Rahmen eines produktiven wissenschaftlichen Studiums wurde also eine vorrevolutionäre Schrift geschaffen und entwickelt (s. Ubrjatova 1982: 17). Hierzu leisteten politisch Verbannte und russische Wissenschaftler einen unschätzbaren Beitrag. Dieser fand aber nur einen beschränkten Anwendungsbereich und konnte dem breiten Publikum nicht dienen.

Veröffentlichungen nach der Revolution von 1905-1907

Erst nach der Revolution der Jahre 1905-1907 wurden Maßnahmen ergriffen, um die jakutische Schrift weiter zu entwickeln und ihr eine gesellschaftliche Breitenwirkung zu geben. Von 1907 an erschien die sozialpolitische und literarische Zeitung Ja-

kutskij kraj, die aber nach einem Jahr eingestellt wurde und weiter unter den Namen *Jakutskaja žizn'* (1908) und *Jakutskaja mysl'* (1909) herausgegeben wurde. Insgesamt erschienen 70 Ausgaben in russischer und jakutischer Sprache, wobei die jakutischen Beiträge auf der Basis von Böhlingks Transkription gestaltet wurden. Jakutische Themen wurden in vielfältiger Weise behandelt, von Folklore bis hin zu politischen Artikeln.

In dieser Zeitspanne erschienen die ersten belletristischen Werke. A. E. Kulakovskij, der Begründer der jakutischen Literatur, schuf nahezu alle seine Werke in der Periode 1900-1916.

In den Jahren 1912-1913 erschien die erste sozialpolitische und literarische Monatszeitschrift in jakutischer Sprache, *Saxa saḡata* (Die Stimme der Jakuten), die ebenfalls die Böhlingk'sche Transkription anwandte. Sieben Ausgaben wurden gedruckt, literarische Werke von A. E. Kulakovskij, A. I. Sofronov, P. N. Černyx-Jakutskij, Proben der Volkskunst, Geschichten und Gedichte. In dieser Zeit wurde die jakutische Sprache auch für Korrespondenz zwischen gebildeten Zeitgenossen verwendet. Die erwähnten Publikationen legten in der vorrevolutionären Zeit den Grundstein für die Entstehung und Entwicklung der literarischen jakutischen Schriftsprache.

Novgorodovs Alphabet

Nach der Oktoberrevolution im Jahre 1917 begann man noch zielgerichteter für die Entwicklung der jakutischen Schrift zu arbeiten.

Einen unschätzbaren Beitrag leistete einer der bedeutenden Funktionäre Jakutiens, Semen Andreevič Novgorodov (1892-1924), Absolvent der Petrograd-Universität. Er schuf 1917 ein neues jakutisches Alphabet, das 1924 offiziell eingeführt wurde und bis 1929 gültig blieb.

Novgorodov beteiligte sich aktiv am Gießen jakutischer Schriftzeichen für den Druck sowie an der Erstellung und Herausgabe des ersten jakutischen Abc-Buchs und anderer Lehrbücher. Auf der Grundlage des neuen Alphabets erschien 1917 in Jakutsk das Abc-Buch *Saxalyy suruk-bičik* ('Die jakutische Schrift') in einer Auflage von 4000 Stück. Zu jener Zeit lag die Alphabetisierungsrate bei den Jakuten, die 87 Prozent der Bevölkerung ausmachten, bei nur 0,7 Prozent (Dmitriev 1960: 18). 1922 erschien das Abc-Buch *Bastaanny suruk-bičik*, 1923 gefolgt von *Suruk-bičik* und *Aayar kinigä* ('Lesebuch'). Diese Arbeiten wurden von einer Autorengemeinschaft unter Novgorodovs Leitung herausgegeben. Dank des Novgorodov'schen graphischen Systems lernten ca. zehntausend Jakuten lesen und schreiben.

Das Alphabet von Novgorodov:

а(Аа)	в(Бб)	г(Гг)	∫ (Б)	д(Дд)	з(Дьдь)
и(Ии)	й(Йй)	к(Кк)	л(Лл)	м(Мм)	н(Нн)
ҕ(ҕ)	ҕ(Ньнь)	о(Оо)	ѳ(Өө)	р(Рр)	г(Рр)
с(Сс)	һ(Һһ)	т(Тт)	у(Уу)	ү(Үү)	q(Хх)
с(Чч)	ш(Шш)	е(Ээ)	х(Хх)	(сымнаҕас л, Льль)	
ҕ	ҕ (Ыа ыа)	ҕ (Иэ иэ)	ω(Уо уо)	ω(Үө үө)	

Das Alphabet war nach einem strikt phonetischen Prinzip aufgebaut und besaß alle Zeichen zur genauen Bezeichnung der jakutischen Laute. Es war motiviert von dem Wunsch, die phonetische Schrift für breite Volksmassen zugänglich zu machen, und es existierte bis 1929. Novgorodov blieb als Begründer des ersten Alphabets für breite Volksschichten im Gedächtnis der Jakuten.

Jakutisch als Staatssprache

Zwischen 1920 und 1930 wurden mehr als 200 Werke und ca 30 Lehrbücher veröffentlicht. Am 15. November 1923 erschien die erste Ausgabe der heute noch existierenden Zeitung *Кыым*. 1926 wurde ein Buchverlag gegründet.

Die Funktionen der jakutischen Sprache wurden derart erweitert, dass sie praktisch ein universelles Kommunikationsmittel in allen Lebensbereichen wurde und die wichtigsten Merkmale einer Staatssprache gewann. Dieser Status wurde in der Verfassung der Jakutischen Autonomen Sowjetrepublik von 1926 verankert (Slepcev 1995: 8).

Lateinschrift

Im Zuge der Latinisierung der Schrift aller Türkvolker wurde im März 1929 laut Beschluss der Regierung der Jakutischen ASSR als graphische Grundlage der jakutischen Schrift ein einheitliches türkisches Alphabet angenommen, das auf Basis der Lateinschrift entwickelt worden war:

Aa	Bb	Vv	Gg	Qq	Dd	Çç	Zz
Zz	Ii	Jj	Kk	Ll	Mm	Nn	Ŋŋ
Nj nj	Oo	Өө	Pp	Rr	Ss	Hh	Tt
Uu	Yy	Ff	Qq	Cc	Şş	Ьь	
ба ба	le ie	Uo uo	Yө yө				

1930 wurde das jakutische Komitee für das neue türkische Alphabet gegründet und begann sehr aktiv zu arbeiten. 1933-1935 erschienen Lehrbücher für alle wichtigen Fächer der 7-jährigen Schule in jakutischer Sprache. Die vorangegangene gründliche

wissenschaftliche Erforschung der Sprache erlaubte zügige Entscheidungen über die Grundfragen der neuen Schrift und der literarischen Sprache.

Normierung

Im Zusammenhang mit der schnellen Entwicklung der Schrift war die Frage der genormten Schrift so aktuell wie noch nie. Infolgedessen wurden allmählich Regeln der jakutischen Orthographie ausgearbeitet. 1935 erschien das erste russisch-jakutische Wörterbuch, *Russko-jakutskij normativnyj termino-orfografičeskij slovar'* von P. A. Ojunksij. Eine enorme Arbeit wurde geleistet: Normierung der literarischen Sprache, Entwicklung von Prinzipien für Terminologie und Einführung von Rechtschreiberegeln. Ende der 30er Jahre war der Massen-Analphabetismus in Jakutien größtenteils beseitigt.

Nach der Einführung des neuen Lateinalphabets wurde das Schulsystem wesentlich erweitert. Die Jakutisierung der siebenjährigen Schule begann. Beinahe alle Genres der jakutischen Literatur wurden weiterentwickelt. Mit dem Anstieg des Bildungsniveaus der Bevölkerung Jakutiens stieg auch der Bedarf an Kenntnissen der russischen Sprache. Nach der Oktoberrevolution drang eine enorme Menge russischer Wörter in die jakutische Sprache ein, hauptsächlich politische, kulturelle, technische und allgemeinbildende Fachausdrücke. Infolgedessen wurde die Notwendigkeit einer schriftlichen Regelung dieses Teils des Wortschatzes akut.

Kyrillisches Alphabet

In der zweiten Hälfte der 1930er Jahre begann aber bei allen türksprachigen Völkern die Bewegung für den Umstieg vom lateinischen zum russischen Alphabet. Im August 1939 nahm der Oberste Sowjet der Jakutischen ASSR das neue Alphabet auf kyrillischer Basis an und bestätigte es:

Аа	Бб	Вв	Гг	Б	Дд	Дьдь	Ее
Ёё	Жж	Зз	Ии	Йй	Кк	Лл	Мм
Нн	ҥ	Ньнь	Оо	Өө	Пп	Рр	Сс
Һһ	Тт	Уу	Үү	Фф	Хх	Цц	Чч
Шш	Щщ	Ъ	Ыы	Ь	Ээ	Юю	Яя

Orthographieregeln

Gleichzeitig mit dem Alphabet wurden auch die im Institut für Sprache und Kultur entworfenen Grundregeln der jakutischen Orthographie bestätigt. Prinzipiell neu war die Einführung der russischen Schreibart für Stämme russischer Lehnwörter.

1962 wurden die Regeln der jakutischen Orthographie geändert. Die neuen Regeln betrafen hauptsächlich die Schwierigkeiten bei den Wiedergabe russischstämmiger Wörter.

Jedoch lösten die Regeln von 1962 nicht alle Probleme. Eine große Anzahl von Wörtern und Fachausdrücken wurde so geschrieben wie in der russischen Sprache. Ausgenommen waren Wörter der Umgangssprache, die in der Zeit vor der Revolution entlehnt worden waren. Das unaufhaltsame Eindringen russischer Entlehnungen als Ergebnis der Erweiterung des Gebrauchsbereichs der russischen Sprache sowie die Ausbreitung des russisch-jakutischen Bilingualismus machten veränderte Orthographieregeln notwendig.

Die Regierung der Republik Sacha (Jakutien) legte am 14. Februar 2001 neue Orthographieregeln der jakutischen Sprache fest, die hauptsächlich auf dem phonetischen Prinzip basierten. Sie ermöglichten die Schreibung von Lehnwörtern entsprechend den phonetischen Gesetzmäßigkeiten der jakutischen Sprache, z.B. *ostuol* 'Tisch', *massyyna* 'Maschine, Auto', *kinigā* 'Buch', *učuutal* 'Lehrer', und die Schreibung einiger Wörter in zwei Varianten, z.B. *vagon* ~ *boguon* 'Wagen', *drama* ~ *dyraama* 'Drama', *kadr* ~ *kaadyr* 'Kader', *žurnalist* ~ *surunalyys* 'Journalist', *plakat* ~ *bylakaat* 'Plakat'. Die phonetische Schreibweise von Lehnwörtern richtete sich gegen die Zunahme von nicht angepassten Russismen (Slepcov 1990: 41).

Zur Vereinfachung der neuen Rechtschreibung fügten die Verfasser der neuen Orthographie den akademischen Regeln der Rechtschreibung von 1962 einige Änderungen, Ergänzungen und Berichtigungen zu.

Jakutisch und Russisch als Staatssprachen

Auf der Grundlage der neuen Rechtschreibung wird zur Zeit ein 15-bändiges erklärendes Wörterbuch der jakutischen Sprache in Jakutisch und Russisch geschaffen, das in konzentrierter Form den ganzen lexikalischen Reichtum der Sprache widerspiegelt. Dieses Wörterbuch wird ein Garant des staatlichen Status der jakutischen Sprache sein.

Laut der Deklaration vom 27. September 1990 über die staatliche Souveränität der Republik Sacha ist das Jakutische neben dem Russischen Staatssprache der Republik. Zur Zeit werden in Jakutien vier Zeitschriften und sieben Zeitungen herausgegeben. In jedem der 34 Bezirke Jakutiens arbeitet eine Bezirksredaktion. In den Bezirken mit gut entwickelter Industrie und einer Mehrheit der russischsprachigen Bevölkerung werden die Zeitungen in beiden staatlichen Sprachen herausgegeben. In der Zeit von 1990 bis 2005 war ein Anstieg der Veröffentlichungen und Sendungen in jakutischer Sprache zu beobachten. Der größte nationale Buchverlag Bičik publiziert in zwei Sprachen, Jakutisch und Russisch. Fünf von insgesamt neun Theater- und Bühneneinrichtungen arbeiten in jakutischer Sprache.

Wie das Jakutische ist das Russische als Kommunikationssprache bei zahlreichen Volksgruppen Jakutiens und als Arbeitssprache von Firmen anerkannt. Das bewährte Alphabet auf kyrillischer Basis wird unter diesen Bedingungen als das geeignetste betrachtet.

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Contact-induced effects in the syntax of Cypriot Turkish

Matthias Kappler

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The present paper focuses on syntactic features in Cypriot Turkish varieties which are apparently contact-induced, but have not yet been analyzed, or have not been analyzed sufficiently from that point of view in previous research. In the main section of the paper an attempt is made to analyze object and relative clauses introduced by complementizers in relation to similar Greek Cypriot constructions, arguing that these constructs have an underlying cleft strategy. The other sections treat Cypriot Turkish “subjunctive” clauses, the modal marker *hazır* and the dissociative marker *imiş* in the light of language contact. According to this paper, a comparative approach is considered to be indispensable for the analysis of Cypriot Turkish varieties and its main distinctive features from Standard Turkish and mainland varieties, which belong especially to the domain of syntax.

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0. Introduction

The issue of language contacts in Cyprus, which concerns mainly Cypriot Turkish and Cypriot Greek, but also other languages, such as English, Armenian and Cypriot Maronite Arabic, has been discussed in various studies, though not thematically, but only as a means of exemplification in descriptions of purportedly contact-induced linguistic phenomena.* The only exception is Peeters (1997), who however approaches the issue from a sociolinguistic point of view, whereas other publications of this kind (such as the two special issues of the International Journal of the Sociology of Language on “The Sociolinguistics of Cyprus” [168/2004 “Studies from the Greek Sphere”; 181/2006 “Studies from the Turkish Sphere”]) do consider language contact only marginally (cf. Vanci-Osam 2006, or the introduction by Goutsos & Karyole-mou 2004), or as a phenomenon between dialects or dialect-standard varieties (such as Demir & Johanson 2006).¹ Thus, as far as the contact between Cypriot Turkish

* I wish to thank my colleague Stavroula Tsipplakou / Nicosia, for her support and advice on important matters of this article.

¹ It should be added that Vanci-Osam (2006), although she presents interesting material to be studied under the aspect of koineization of Cypriot Turkish, is often inaccurate from the Turkological point of view. To give an example, she insists, in spite of respective critical

and Greek varieties is concerned, previous studies hint at the role of the second language and its effects on the first language, be that Greek or Turkish, but usually without providing data of the “other” language; nor do they analyze the phenomena within a language contact framework. Whereas older studies underline the close relation of Cypriot Turkish to the Anatolian dialects (e.g. Eren 1973, but also Duman 1999), more recent works focus on particular features. The most remarkable of those are the valuable contributions by Nurettin Demir, which provide interesting data for undoubtedly contact-induced syntactic structures, and make the assumption that behind these structures “there must be the role of Greek” without embarking on an in-depth analysis and without providing Greek data.² Although the role of English as a contact language is also underlined sometimes, again no concrete data are given (Demir 2007: 161, 170). One of the latter author’s works (Demir 2007) has the significant title “Language contact in Northern Cyprus?”, although the data are not analyzed within the framework of language contact. I will therefore interpret the question mark in Demir’s title as an invitation for more in-depth research.

remarks from Georgiou-Scharlipp & Scharlipp (1997: 141-142), on the anachronistic “consonant change” $n > \eta$ (Vancı-Osam 2006: 28 and 40, footnote 1) in possessive suffixes, the dative form of the pronoun *banı* and other words where the nasal η is old (such as *deniz* and *öğ*).

- ² E.g. Demir 2007: 169-170 [in his conclusive remarks]: “Die Frage, was hinter den Entwicklungen in den Zyperndialekten stehen kann, ist auf den ersten Blick leicht zu beantworten: es muß wohl das Griechische sein – auch wenn es im Rahmen dieses Beitrags nicht ausführlich begründet werden kann–, denn nur mit dieser Sprache hat das Türkische in Zypern langandauernden, intensiven Kontakt”. Other hints of this kind are Duman (1999: 115), who underlines the ties with the Anatolian dialects: “Bazı bakımlardan Rumca’nın da etkisinin olduğu bilinen Kıbrıs ağızı tabii olarak Anadolu ağızlarının izlerini taşımaktadır”. See also Vancı (1990: 244): “Kıbrıs ağızının söz dağarcığında ve bazı sözcükleri özelliklerinde, uzun yıllar içiçe yaşamış olduğu Rum toplumunun konuştuğu dilin, yani Rumca’nın etkisi oldukça büyüktür.”, and p. 249 (syntax) with some (quite erroneous) Greek examples. Recently again Vancı-Osam (2006: 26): “The dialect of Turkish spoken in Cyprus differs from ST [Standard Turkish] in some ways, with respect to pronunciation, lexicon, and syntax. Demirci and Kleiner (1999) report that these deviations from ST are attributed to the Turkish Cypriots’ long history of coexistence with Greek Cypriots. From a sociolinguistic point of view, this explanation sounds acceptable, as borrowing is the result of language contact”. Subsequently, Vancı-Osam (2006: 27) refers to an unpublished MA thesis (Savoğlu 2001) in order to conclude: “Yet, Savoğlu’s (2001) findings conclude that the origins of the variations in CT [Cypriot Turkish] are not confined to the influence of the Greek language, as the variations in CT show remarkable resemblance to the variations in the other dialects of Turkish”. Although this assertion is partly true (see below), this is a further example of overstressing the ties between Cypriot Turkish and Anatolian dialects and the complete neglect of contact-induced analysis.

In the present contribution I will focus on relative and object clauses, since these have not been treated from a cross-linguistic point of view in previous research³. I will argue that the comparison with the main contact language, Cypriot Greek, clearly shows that both object and relative clauses introduced by complementizers can be traced back to cleft constructions. Subsequently, I will attempt to delineate other contact-induced phenomena in the syntax of Cypriot Turkish varieties presented in previous research, supplying data from the contact language, Cypriot Greek, as well as new phenomena not yet examined. Finally, I will try to argue for the necessity of more comparative research in this field, underlining the possibility of a “comparative grammar of contact-induced language phenomena” for the various languages spoken in Cyprus.

According to most researchers, the main features distinguishing Cypriot Turkish varieties from mainland Anatolian dialects are in the domain of syntax (Demir 2007: 160). The most striking syntactic patterns copied⁴ from Greek (and perhaps partly also from English) occur in embedded clauses, especially in object clauses, relative clauses, and “subjunctive” clauses. Object and relative clauses will be discussed together in the following section, since in the specific case of Cypriot Turkish they present overlapping structures and are, in my view, a product of contact-induced convergence between Cypriot Greek and Cypriot Turkish.

1. Object and relative clauses

1.1. Cypriot Turkish and Cypriot Greek embedded finite clauses introduced by complementizers

Object and relative clauses expressed by participial constructions, (the expected pattern in Turkic languages) do exist in Cypriot Turkish varieties (Demir 2007: 162), though sometimes these clauses are postposed, occurring after the matrix verb. However, we often encounter right-branched embedded clauses as finite constructions introduced by the complementizers *ki*, *şu*, *hani* and the composite form *o şu*. To these forms *şu ki* (not included in published data so far) will be added because, as we will see, it plays an important role in our proposal of how these constructions have developed.

³ An exception is Petrou 2007, which is the first study to compare Cypriot Turkish and Cypriot Greek relative clauses using previously published Cypriot Turkish data. Also Scharlipp 1999 attempted a comparative approach to Cypriot Turkish syntactic structures; however, his paper does not include an in-depth analysis of the presented phenomena.

⁴ Here the terminology of Lars Johanson’s code-copying model is used. The phenomenon in question would be termed “selective copying”, i.e. a copying of selected structural properties, and not of the element as a whole together with its structural properties (“global copying”); see Johanson 2002: 13-18.

It has been observed that the complementizers *ki* (< Persian, also used, though rather restrictedly, in Standard Modern Turkish, see Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 111-112, 457-459), as well as *şu*, *hani* and *o şu* can introduce Cypriot Turkish embedded clauses, as we can see from the following examples, taken from Demir (2007):

- (1) *o gelin ki aldın hiş yaramaz*
 this bride which take.PAST.2S nothing is worth.NEG.PRES.3S
 ‘The bride you married is not worth anything.’ [Demir 2007: 163]
- (2) *benim arkadaşım şu beraberdik onu gördüm*
 my friend.POSS.1S which together.were.1P him/her see.PAST.1S
 ‘I saw my friend with whom I was together.’ [Demir 2007: 164]
- (3) *ha, söyle, şu aradım gendini*
 well tell.IMP.2S that call.PAST.1S him/her
 ‘Well, tell him/her that I called him/her.’ [Demir 2007: 164]
- (4) *annatdı hani gitdi okula*
 say.PAST.3S that go.PAST.3S school.DAT
 ‘(S)he said that (s)he went to school.’ [Demir 2007: 166]
- (5) *anne hatırla o şu gitmiydik?*
 mother remember.PRES.2S that go.PLUPF.1P
 ‘Mother, do you remember that we had gone?’ [Demir 2007: 165]

Examples such as (6) and (7) below come from my own naturalistically-collected data, and they show that in Cypriot Turkish there is another frequently-occurring composite complementizer, *şu ki*.⁵

- (6) *aha bin defa derim saa yemeyesin*
 well a thousand times say.PRES.1S you.DAT eat.NEG.SUBJ.2S
o guduz şeyleri şu ki bilme ne
 that same thing.P.ACC that know.NEG.PRES.2S what
yapacag mideye
 do.FUT.3S stomach.POSS.2S.DAT
 ‘Hey, I told you a thousand times not to eat those things that you don’t know what they do to your stomach.’
- (7) *anladım şu ki güneydesin*
 understand.PAST.1S that south.LOC.COP.2S
 ‘I understood that you were in the south.’

⁵ The following examples come from my own data, unless otherwise indicated.

In the presentation of (1)-(5) above and of other data, Demir (2007: 162) characterizes the function of the embedded clauses introduced by these complementizers as “Attribut zu einem Nomen” (= relative clauses) or “Gliedsatz zu einer übergeordneten Prädikation” (= object clauses), and he states that they “resemble Indo-European bound clauses”. The question is: What aspect of the syntax of Indo-European “bound clauses” do they resemble and how?

To answer this question we will first have to look at the suggested contact language, Cypriot Greek, and then to analyze further other subordinate constructions. With the aid of informants, we reconstructed the Cypriot Greek translations of the above examples as follows:

- (1a) *tuti i niffi pu epcases en aksizi*
 this the bride which take.PAST.2S NEG is worth.PRES.3S
- (2a) *iða toffilon mu pu imastan mazzi*
 see.PAST.1S the.friend.ACC my which were.1P together
- (3a) *pe tu/tis oti/?pu ton/tin epcasa*
 tell.IMP.2S him/her that him/her call.PAST.1S
- (4a) *ipe oti/pu pie sxolio*
 say.PAST.3S that go.PAST.3S school.ACC
- (5a) *mitera, θimase oti/pu epiame?*
 mother remember.PRES.2S that go.PAST.1P
- (6a) *ppe! filies fores lalo su na*
 hey a thousand times say.PRES.1S you to
men trois (etsi) pramata pu
 NEG eat.SUBJ.IPF.2S such things that
en ikseris ti enna kamnun sto stomafi su
 NEG know.PRES.2S what FUT do.PRES.3P to stomach.POSS.2S
- (7a) *ekatalava oti/pu isun {*ise} ston noto*
 understand.PAST.1S that were.2S in the south.ACC

As can be seen from the above Cypriot Greek examples, in all cases the use of the complementizer *pu* is possible, whereas the object clauses (3a-5a, 7a) can also be introduced by the complementizer *oti*.⁶

How did the Turkish Cypriot constructions develop and where do they come from? As far as the etymology of the complementizers is concerned, it has been

⁶ In Standard Modern Greek, however, the use of *oti* is preferred by most speakers.

stated that, except *ki*, a global copy from Indo-European (Persian), they derive from demonstrative and interrogative pronominal forms (Demir 2007: 162-163), namely *o* 'this (here)', *şu* 'that (there)', and *hani* 'where' (< Old Turkic **qani*, **qa(:)ni* in Kāšgārī, cf. Schönig 1995: 181). Correspondingly, the Cypriot Greek complementizer *pu* can be traced back to the interrogative word *pu* 'where', whereas *oti* is originally a correlative pronoun (still used in free relative clauses as indefinite pronoun, and spelled *o,ti* in modern orthography in order to distinguish it from the complementizer), the form *o,ti* consisting of the pronominal part *o* 'which' and the wh-word *ti* 'what', which is also used in interrogative sentences (cf. Holton, Mackridge & Philippaki-Warbuton 2004: 100). The functional shift from interrogatives to complementizers introducing subordinate clauses is a universal development in historical syntax of numerous Indo-European languages (e.g. English *who*, *which*, etc.), termed 'reanalysis' (Harris & Campbell 1995: 50; 61-96). As far as Turkic languages are concerned, the phenomenon occurs in Old Turkic *kim* 'who' and *qayu* 'which' (von Gabain 1974: 189), in many modern Turkic languages (such as Krymchak *angisi ki* [see below], Karaim *kaysi* or Khakas *xayzi* < 'which', cf. Erdal 2002: 130), and, in Turkish varieties of South-Eastern Europe, in Macedonian Turkish (relativizer *ne* < 'what', cf. Matras 2006: 53) and Gagauz (*ani* < 'where', corresponding to Cypriot Turkish *hani*, cf. Menz 2001; and *angi(sı)* < 'which', cf. Menz 1999: 91-95). Usually the reanalysis of question words into relativizers in Turkic languages is cross-linguistically interpreted as a "foreign influence", which is undoubtedly the case, but as Slobin (1986: 280) records, the use of *hani...ya* is frequently used in colloquial Turkish child and adult speech to paraphrase relative clauses, which are acquired relatively late and are difficult to process (see below 1.3.). For this reason an internal development might also have played a role. From a cross-linguistic point of view, though, it seems at first blush that Greek serves as a contact language in the case of *hani* / *pu* (< 'where') and English in the case of *şu*–*o şu* / *that* (as suggested by Petrou 2007: 68), but this hypothesis, to which I also until recently subscribed, will have to be revised in light of a more detailed analysis.

Rather than the English pronoun *that*, the original function of Greek *o-ti* as a correlative pronoun can be more easily compared to the Cypriot Turkish *o şu*-constructions in (5), where the complementizer is composed of two pronominal elements (*o* and *şu*), *şu* probably having undergone a functional shift towards a relativizer (see below). Let us keep as a hypothesis that these types of Cypriot Turkish object clauses have an underlying relative construction. To show this, we shall examine cleft strategies in Cypriot Turkish and Cypriot Greek.

1.2. Cypriot Greek and Cypriot Turkish cleft constructions and their relation to object and relative clauses

First of all we will see that Cypriot Greek uses clefts⁷ in *wh*-questions (see Grohmann & Panagiotidis & Tsiplakou 2006); clefting is coded in the expressions *embu* and *mbu*, both meaning ‘is-(it)-that’, but used in different syntactic contexts (*mbu* obligatorily with *inda* ‘what’, *embu* optionally in all other contexts):

- (8) *pcos {embu} efaen tes kunnes?*
 who.NOM is.3S-that eat.PAST.3S the.ACC nuts.ACC
 ‘Who is it that ate the nuts?’ [Grohmann & Panagiotidis & Tsiplakou 2006: 85]
- (9) *pote {embu} faes tes kunnes?*
 when is.3S-that eat.PAST.2S the.ACC nuts.ACC
 ‘When is it that you ate the nuts?’ [Grohmann & Panagiotidis & Tsiplakou 2006: 85]
- (10) a. *inda mbu kamnis?*
 what.ACC is-that do.PRES.2S
 ‘What is it that you are doing?’
- b. **inda kamnis?*
 what.ACC do.PRES.2S
 ‘What are you doing?’ [Grohmann & Panagiotidis & Tsiplakou 2006: 86]

In contrast with Standard Modern Turkish, where such constructions are completely unknown, Cypriot Turkish also has similar cleft constructions in *wh*-questions, using all the above-mentioned complementizers available for both object and relative clauses:

- (11) *kim{dir} şu ki / şu / o şu / ki / hani geldi?*
 who-is.3S that come.PAST.3S
 ‘Who is it that came?’
- (12) *ne zaman{dır} şu ki / şu / o şu / ki / hani gördün genni?*
 when-is.3S that see.PAST.2S her/him
 ‘When is it that you saw her/him?’
- (13) *ma ne{dir} şu ki / şu / o şu / ki / hani isden?*
 but what-is3S that want.PRES.2S
 ‘But what it is what you want?’

⁷ So-called “clefts” are well known from Romance languages, namely French (*qu’est-ce que...*) and some Northern Italian dialects (*cos’è che...*); cf. the observations and references in Grohmann & Panagiotidis & Tsiplakou (2006: 87-90).

The complementizer in Cypriot Turkish clefted *wh*-questions can be both sentence-initial and sentence-final:

- (14) *şu ki isdeñ nedir?*
that want.PRES.2S what-is3S

- (15) *nedir isdeñ şu ki?*
what-is3S want.PRES.2S that

As for Cypriot Greek *inda* ‘what’ in embedded clauses, we again have exactly the same construction in Cypriot Turkish:

- (16) *arotisa inda mbu kamnis*
ask.PAST.1S what.ACC is-that do.PRES.2S
‘I asked what it is that you are doing.’ [Grohmann & Panagiotidis & Tsiplakou 2006: 16]

- (17) *sordum ne{dir} şu ki / şu / o şu / ki / ?hani yapan*
ask.PAST.1S what-is that do.PRES.2S
‘I asked what it is that you are doing.’

From these examples, we can see that the Cypriot Greek and Cypriot Turkish constructions are strikingly similar. Furthermore, there are cleft constructions in both dialects, where the verb is different from ‘is’, and where we analyze the same complementizers *şu ki* and *o şu* as composite elements indicating an underlying structure that is akin to that of relative clauses:

- (18) a. *biliñ {şu} ki yapacak saña?*
know.PRES.2S that.PRON that.REL make.FUT.3S you.DAT
b. *biliñ {o} şu yapacak saña?*
know.PRES.2S that.PRO that.REL make.FUT.3S you.DAT
c. *kseris inda mbu na su kami*
know.PRES.2S what is-thatFUT you.DAT. make.3S
‘Do you know what (‘that which’) (s)he will do to you?’

- (19) a. *zannedeñ anlayacaklar {şu} ki yazan?*
think.PRES.2S understand.FUT.3P PRO REL write.PRES.2S
b. *zannedeñ anlayacaklar {o} şu yazan?*
think.PRES.2S understand.FUT.3P PRO REL write.PRES.2S
c. *efis tin entiposi oti enna katalavun inda mbu grafis*
reckon.PRES.2S that is-FUT understand.3P what is-that write.PRES.2S
‘Do you think that they’ll understand what (‘that which’) you are writing?’

It can be seen that the complementizers in these examples are made up of a pronominal form (*şu / o*) and a relativizer (*ki / şu*) and that, subsequently, *şu* shifted in 18b and 19b to the function of a relativizer. This latter development becomes even more

obvious when we consider that the above sentences are perfectly grammatical with the omission of the first part of the complementizer, namely *şu* (in 18a/19a) and *o* (in 18b/19b).

This holds even in cases of sentence-initial complementizers:

- (20) *{şu} ki aran bilme ki Türk tarafıdır burası?*
 that call.PRES.2S know.NEG.PRES.2S that Turkish side.POSS.IS.3S here
 ‘Don’t you know that it is the Turkish side you are calling here?’

- (21) a. *{şu} ki aldın hormonludur*
 that buy.PAST.2S hormone.with.is
 b. *{o} şu aldın hormonludur*
 that buy.PAST.2S hormone.with.is
 ‘What you bought is with (contains) hormones.’

- (22) *çino pu yorases en me ormones*
 that which buy.PAST.2S is with hormones
 ‘What you bought is with (contains) hormones.’

It is obvious that *şu ki* and *o şu* in 20 and 21 function as a correlative pronoun just like Cypriot Greek *çino pu* (22), and that the same composite item, or its shortened forms *ki* and *şu*, (1, 2, 6, 18–19) serve as a relative pronoun in a further stage.

Moreover, we can see that in some cases, as in (2) above, an additional pronominal element (here: *onu*) is required for reference, which is coreferential with the extrapolated (and therefore unmarked in case) head noun [benim arkadaşım], since the matrix verb [gördüm] occurs after the embedded clause [şu beraberdik], as is typical of Turkic. These cases of verb-final sentences are quite rare in Cypriot Turkish (as they are in Ottoman and Standard Modern Turkish *ki*-type sentences influenced by Persian syntax), but occur more frequently in other Turkish varieties with contact-induced finite embedded (or rather “adjoined”, see below) clauses, namely in Macedonian Turkish, where the inclusion (of pronominal or adverbial elements) is necessary since, contrary to Cypriot Turkish, the Turkic verb-final order of the matrix clause seems to be more regularly retained and the relative clause is, thus, not embedded, but adjoined to the matrix clause (Matras 2006: 53). The included element in the following Macedonian Turkish example refers to the extrapolated adverb *bura*:

- (23) *şu araba kimindir bura ne duruyor?*
 that car who.GEN.COP here what stop.PROG
 ‘Whose car is that which is parked here?’ [Matras 2006: 52]

In similar cases in our Cypriot Turkish examples, pronominal elements, usually demonstratives, can enforce the occurrence of the head noun in order to make clearer the correlative character of the construction (no. 1 (*o [gelin]*) and no. 6 (*o guduz*) above). Comparing with other Turkic languages, we may observe similar construc-

tions in Krymchak, where one of the complementizers used for relativization (*angisi ki*) is also composed of a pronominal (*angisi*) and a relativizing element (*ki*) (Erdal 2002: 128-139), exactly like Cypriot Turkish *şu ki*.

The link between relative clauses and cleft constructions (cf. also the sentence-initial cleft in 14, 20-21) is evident and probably universal (see Grohmann & Papaniotidis & Tsiplakou 2006: 96-98 and references therein). What makes the Cypriot Turkish case so interesting is the generalized use of the available relativizers, partly reanalyzed from other languages, as complementizers for other types of embedded clauses besides relatives. Arguably a further development is the expansion of the use of the complementizer *şu*, along with its other variants, to object clauses, as can be seen in (3)-(5) and (7). In fact, all the available complementizers can be used in object clauses, as demonstrated in the following expanded version of (7) above:⁸

- (24) *anladım* *şu ki / şu / o şu / ki / hani* *güneydesin*
 understand.PAST.1S that south.LOC.COP.2S
 ‘I understood that you were in the south.’

1.3. Conclusion

In view of the proposed analysis of the Cypriot Turkish complementizers in embedded clauses, I suggest that the Greek cleft construction was copied into Cypriot Turkish with the correlative pronoun *şu ki*, which is composed of a pronominal *şu* and a relativizing *ki*; that *şu* took over the function of the relativizer, leaving vacant the place of the pronominal element, which was occupied by the pronoun *o*, thus merging it into *o şu*; and that, in a further development, *şu* was used alone assuming both pronominal and relativizing functions (ex. 2).

I further assume that this type of Cypriot Turkish object clause has an underlying relative clause and that both object and relative clauses in Cypriot Turkish can be traced back to cleft constructions, which were originally copied from the Cypriot Greek syntactic model. Thus, the English origin of *şu*, as attractive as such a hypothesis might be, has to be rejected. In the same way, the presumed derivation of *hani* from Greek *pu* (both meaning originally ‘where’) cannot be maintained, since reanalysis is a universal feature in the diachronic development of the syntax in each language, and not necessarily a matter of copying.⁹ On the other hand, it is clear that aspects of syntax such as relative and object clauses belong to those parts of the

⁸ This would support a hypothesis explaining the grey area between *pu*- and *oti*-clauses as underlying structure rather than relative clauses in Cypriot Greek cleft constructions, expressed in an extended version of the above-mentioned paper (Tsiplakou & Panagiotidis & Grohmann [in press]).

⁹ Cf. the multifunctional role of the same item (*ani*) in Gagauz, which is modelled not only on Bulgarian (*g)deto* (< *k'de* ‘where’), but also on Russian *čto* ‘what’ (see Menz 2001: 238).

Turkish grammar which, according to Slobin (1986: 273, 288), are most susceptible to change under the influence of other languages since they are also acquired later and are more difficult to process (and thus do not fit into the restriction Matras [2006: 55] inaccurately concludes from Slobin's assertion).¹⁰ The syntactic reorganization of Cypriot Turkish relative and object clauses as subordination undoubtedly remains a contact-induced phenomenon, but this issue seems to go beyond the procedure of "selective copying" of a complementizer and of structural features, such as right-branching syntax. Rather, it seems that the copying of relative structures from Greek into Cypriot Turkish is basically different from copying occurring in other varieties of Turkish, where we do not have the above-mentioned functional shift of various reanalyzed composite complementizers, assuming the validity of our hypothesis that cleft constructions are the underlying structures of *both* relative and object clauses.

2. "Subjunctive" clauses

Embedded modal clauses of the type "isterim gideyim / I want to go" have been dealt with in Demir 2002a, where again he assumes language contact though admitting that his presentation will not analyze this.¹¹ An analysis within a language contact framework has been undertaken by Kappler & Tsiplakou (forthcoming, an extended version of which is in progress); for this reason I will keep the description of this section very short. In the aforementioned paper these "modal clauses" have been named "subjunctive clauses", according to their assumed Cypriot Greek blueprint,¹² –because they include many other common subjunctive structures such as necessity (*lazım gideyim / prepi na pao*), final clauses (*gittim alayım / epia na pjaso*; also available in Standard Modern Turkish), negative imperatives (*yok unudasın / men ksiannis*) and many other cases where in Cypriot Greek the subjunctive is used in lieu of the infinitive, which is no longer available in Modern Greek at large. As in other embedded clauses such as those discussed above, modal clauses are well known in other Turkic varieties that have been in contact with (Indo-European) languages characterized by infinitive loss and extensive use of the subjunctive (Macedonian Turkish, Gagauz, Azeri and others; cf. Matras 2006: 47-50, Menz 1999: 47-62). These constructions, which allow for co-reference between the subject of the matrix and the embedded clause and are usually right-branching, are very obviously different from the Standard Modern Turkish constructions. Assuming that Greek is the main contact language for Cypriot Turkish, we can easily see that the Cypriot Greek

¹⁰ Cf. Johanson (2002: 37-43), who discusses, justifiably with certain reservations, scales of "stability" and "attractiveness" in copy processes; cf. also Harris & Campbell (1995: 131-132).

¹¹ Demir (2002a: 9): "Hier gibt es mehrere syntaktische Neuerungen ... ohne daß näher auf den kontaktlinguistischen Hintergrund eingegangen werden soll."

¹² The term "subjunctive" is not new for Turkic constructions either; see Lewis (1967: 132-137) and (restrictively) Kornfilt (1997: 372).

(and Standard Modern Greek) subjunctive clauses have the same structure as those in Cypriot Turkish, albeit using the complementizer (elsewhere analyzed as “infinitivizer”, since it substitutes for the ancient infinitive) *na* to introduce the subjunctive clause, which further shows a grammaticalized aspectual variation not available in Cypriot Turkish. In Cypriot Turkish this subjunctive construction, a well-known “Balkanism” present in all the South-European languages, is copied into the “imperative-optative” paradigm and substitutes for Standard Turkish infinitival constructions, both with (25a/26a) and without (25b/26b) co-reference:

- (25) a. *θelo na γrafo / γrapso*
 want.PRES.1S to write.SUBJ.IPF./PF.1S
 ‘I want to be writing/ to write.’
 b. *θelo na γrafis / γrapsis*
 want.PRES.1S to write.SUBJ.IPF./PF.2S
 ‘I want you to be writing/ to write.’
- (26) a. *isterim yazayım*
 want.PRES.1S write.SUBJ.1S
 ‘I want to write.’
 b. *isterim yazasıñ*
 want.PRES.1S write.SUBJ.2S
 ‘I want you to write.’

This use of the subjunctive is not restricted to complements of the verb *iste-* ‘want’:

- (27) *beş dakika galdı filim başlasın*
 five minute remain.PAST.3S film begin.SUBJ.3S
 ‘There are five minutes left before the film begins.’
- (28) *unutdum garajı gapadayım*
 forget.PAST.1S garage.ACC close.SUBJ.1S
 ‘I forgot to close the garage.’
- (29) *arçisa na γrafo/γrapso*
 begin.PAST.1S to write.PRES.IPF.1S/writePRES.PF.1S
 ‘I began writing/to write.’

The analysis by Kappler & Tsiprakou (forthcoming) argues that the subjunctive in Cypriot Greek and Cypriot Turkish is used much more productively than in the respective standard languages, and that the contact between the two dialects has probably also played a role in the shaping of the Cypriot Turkish “intensifier” *Idl/(y)dI*, which may be attached to any subjunctive form in order to emphasize the utterance:

- (30) *söyledim genne gelsindi, da gelmedi*
 tell.PAST.1s (s)he.DAT come.SUBJ.3s.COP but come.NEG.PAST.3s
 ‘I persistently told her/him to come, but (s)he didn’t.’

The copula *Idl/(y)dI* is comparable, though not semantically identical, to the Cypriot Greek copula *en / itan / ifen* (not available in Standard Modern Greek), attached to the subjunctive just like the Cypriot Turkish *Idl/(y)dI*:

- (31) *en/itan/ifen na 'rto/'rkumun*
 COP (PRES/PAST/PAST) to come.PERF.1s/PAST.IPF.1s
 ‘I will/would (have) come.’

For the time being, the semantic difference between the two copulae raises some problems, but further research and more in-depth analysis of this phenomenon is underway.

3. The “modal marker” *hazır* + subjunctive

The eventual non-realization of an expected event, expressed in English by ‘almost, nearly, about to’ and in Standard Modern Turkish by lexical entities like *neredeyse*, *az kalsın* and others, or by the verbal suffix *-Ayar-*, is expressed in Cypriot Turkish with the word *hazır* ‘ready’, which introduces a subjunctive clause. Demir (2002b: 107) confirms that this construction is unknown to both Standard Modern Turkish and other Turkish dialects, but he does not mention language contact as a possible reason for its development. Let’s have a look at the Cypriot Turkish example quoted by Demir (2002b: 107) and compare it to possible Cypriot Greek versions:

- (32) *hazır düşeyim*
 ready fall.SUBJ.1s
 ‘I almost fell down’
- (33) *imun etimos na p^heso*
 was.1s ready to fall.SUBJ.PF.1s
 ‘I was about to fall down’

It can be easily seen that the expression is the same in both Cypriot Greek and Cypriot Turkish. Arguably, the Cypriot Turkish marker becomes a lexical copy in Cypriot Greek, with exactly the same syntax and semantics:

- (34) *xaziri na p^heso*
 MOD to fall.SUBJ.PF.1s
 ‘I almost fell down’ [Petrou 2007: 61]

The same sentence would, however be ungrammatical with the copular verb, as in (33), in spite of the transparent etymological relation *hazır* > *etimos* ‘ready’:

- (35) **imun xaziri na peso*
 was.1s MOD to fall.SUBJ.PF.1s

In Cypriot Turkish the past copular verb is possible, though not obligatory, as we have seen above in (32):

- (36) *hazır{ıdım} düşeyim*
 ready{was.1s} fall.SUBJ.1s

It seems that the Cypriot Turkish word *hazır*, a selective copy (calque) from Cypriot Greek *etimos*, is re-copied into Cypriot Greek, where it loses its original adjectival features, and functions as an indeclinable modality marker introducing *na* + subjunctive-clauses, just as other modality markers, such as *prepi* ‘must’, *bori* ‘may’, etc. From the grammatical point of view, it could thus be considered as a case of grammaticalization with a reanalyzed element transforming from a lexeme to a modality marker, due to language contact.

4. The dissociative marker *imiş*

Again it is Demir (2003) who carefully analyzes syntactical and functional issues of the dissociative marker *miş* / *imiş* / *mlş*, which he calls evidential marker, but without any hint at the impact of contact languages. We have here a case of global copying (lexical borrowing) from Cypriot Turkish to Cypriot Greek, i.e. the Cypriot Turkish marker, which has different semantics than the Standard Modern Turkish inferential suffix (y)*mlş*, has been copied into Cypriot Greek as a lexeme (*imif* / *mişimu* and other variants), replacing the Standard Modern Greek dissociative markers *taxa* / *ðiθen*. In both dialects the syntactic position of the marker is free; this is particularly evident in c. in the following examples. (sentence-initial position of the marker):

- (37) a. *Hüseyinmiş diyetde*
 Hüseyin.EVID diet.LOC
 b. *Hüseyin diyetde imiş*
 Hüseyin diet.LOC.EVID
 c. *miş Hüseyin diyetde*
 EVID Hüseyin diet.LOC
 ‘Hüseyin pretends to be on diet (but I doubt that he really is on a diet).’
- (38) a. *o jannis kamni dieta mişimu*
 Yannis make.PRES.3s diet EVID
 b. *o jannis mişimu kamni dieta* / *o jannis kamni mişimu dieta*
 c. *mişimu o jannis kamni dieta*
 ‘Yannis pretends to be on diet (but I doubt that he really is on a diet).’

Interestingly, Cypriot Turkish *miş* as a previously bound grammatical morpheme now assumes independent syntactic status. This is a very rare counterexample to

grammaticalization theory (as set out by e.g. Givón 1971, cf. also Haspelmath 2003; Harris & Campbell 1995: 20), which states that ‘today’s morphology is yesterday’s syntax’, i.e. that processes of grammaticalization usually (possibly universally) led to the ‘demotion’ of syntactically autonomous elements (e.g. pronouns or verbs) to grammatical morphemes, clitics, affixes, etc. Cross-linguistic analysis is lacking for this interesting phenomenon. Another issue which has yet to be investigated is the semantic aspect, since probably the meaning of *miş* / *mişimu* changes according to its syntactic position (as Petrou 2007: 63–64 convincingly argues for Cypriot Greek).

5. ‘Beyond syntax’: suggestions for future research

Apart from syntactic issues, there are also other fields to be considered for further investigation of language contacts in Cyprus, such as morphological aspects of the above phenomena (like the copula *idi* or the dissociative *miş*), and other morphological phenomena which are contact induced. One of them is the extensive use of Cypriot Turkish and Cypriot Greek diminutives; an analysis of this phenomenon in Cypriot Turkish with reference to the Cypriot Greek use of the morpheme is planned by Ahmet Pehlivan (oral communication). Other morphological features which might have their origin in language contact are the use of *Dİr*, the lack of the interrogative suffix *mİ* and its substitution with interrogative intonation, the prevalent use of only one present tense (“*geniş zaman*”) and the semantic shift of the inferential mood (*y)mİş*.

Obviously an important aspect of language contact is the mutual borrowing of lexical entities, both in Cypriot Turkish and Cypriot Greek. In contrast to the syntactical and morphological issues described above, lexical copying is a contact phenomenon with much less deep structural impact, and belongs to the framework of so-called “language maintenance” (in opposition to deeper contact issues such as language mixing or creolization). Lexical copying is, we might say, more superficial, but, or rather because of this, much more extended and frequent. Both dialects share a very large vocabulary in all semantic domains, and also common strategies in phraseology making wide use of “calques” can be observed. An important aspect here is the influence of English on both dialects, which share lexical units and meanings traceable back to English as a common contact language. Much has to be done in this field; one of the recent approaches is Ahmet Pehlivan’s study of Cypriot lexical car terminology (Pehlivan forthcoming); a diachronic analysis has been attempted for Turkish loanwords in Greek Cypriot Ottoman texts by Kappler (2005). Another possible approach in terms of cross-linguistic analysis in the research of lexical copies has been undertaken in the field of Arabic “loanwords” present in both dialects, but not available in the two respective Standard varieties (Kappler forthcoming).

Being such a large issue, lexical language borrowing has produced most of the bibliography about language contact in Cyprus generally; however, it is unfortunate that most of the research done so far on both sides lacks a scientific approach, contextualization and analysis. An important step forward for Cypriot Turkish is the new

etymological dictionary by Orhan Kabataş (2007), which provides for the first time valid and documented material for the lexical contact between the dialects and languages on the island.

Issues concerning phonetics have not been researched at all within a contact framework. At first blush there is no structural relation between Cypriot Turkish and Cypriot Greek phonetics, but a deeper analysis done by experts will undoubtedly show contact phenomena (I am thinking about changes like $f > h$ [furun > hurun] in Cypriot Turkish related to $\theta > x$ [θoro > xoro] in Cypriot Greek). On the other hand, an important contribution on phonology is that of Nazmiye Çelebi (2002; cf. also İmer & Çelebi 2006) with her comparative analysis of Cypriot Turkish and Cypriot Greek intonation in interrogative sentences. Of course, there remain a good number of both phonetic and phonological, as well as morphophonological features in Cypriot Turkish that are products of the relation of this dialect with Turkish varieties in Anatolia, and have nothing to do with contact linguistics (examples are the sonorization of consonants, such as $k > g$, or the non-harmony in some suffix vowels, such as *da*, etc.). This also goes for a number of morphological phenomena, such as 1P personal suffix *(y)lk*, which is well known from Central Anatolian dialects.

To conclude, I would like to underline how important a comparative approach is for the analysis of linguistic phenomena in Cypriot Turkish and Cypriot Greek. I would go even further: a comparative approach is not only *important*, but *indispensable* for a true analysis, as can be seen especially in the research of common syntactical patterns, such as relative or subjunctive clauses, in other words, those phenomena which mainly distinguish Cypriot Turkish from Anatolian dialects and other Turkic varieties. A good number of studies have been published by now; the time has come to consider the material within the theoretical framework of language contact. Further analysis may also include other Cypriot languages and dialects, but the main axes for such a prospective comparative grammar would necessarily be the Turkish and Greek varieties spoken on this island.

Abbreviations of grammatical categories in glosses

ACC	accusative	NEG	negative	PRES	present tense (in
COP	copula	NOM	nominative		Cypriot Turkish exam-
DAT	dative	P	plural		ples: <i>(A/T)r</i> -present
EVID	evidential marker	PAST	past tense (in Cypriot		tense)
FUT	future tense		Turkish examples: <i>DI-</i>	PRO	pronoun
GEN	genitive		past tense)	PROG	progressive <i>yor-</i>
IMP	imperative	PF	perfect aspect		present tense
IPF	imperfect	PLUPF	pluperfect	REL	relativizer
LOC	locative	POSS	possessive	S	singular
MOD	modalizer			SUBJ	subjunctive

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A complete verb lexicon of Turkish based on morphemic analysis

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This study presents the first complete verb lexicon of Modern Turkish. An exhaustive investigation of the TDK Dictionary (1998) has shown that the verb count of simplex verbs of Turkish is about 4700. The lexicon is laid out in two appendices: Appendix 1 lists the monosyllabic verbs of Turkish; Appendix 2a groups the derivational morpheme bearing verbs in 34 distinct categories and reveals that the five most productive verb deriving affixes in Modern Turkish are *-IA*, *-IAş*, *-IAn*, *-DA* and *-In*. Appendix 2b comprises Turkish verbs which are identical to adjective and noun roots and compound verbs as listed in the TDK Dictionary. Appendix 2c contains the reflexive, reciprocal and causative verbs of Turkish.

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1. Introduction

Unlike most other languages, Turkish presents a wide array of affixes added to roots in deriving verbs. This paper aims to provide the first complete lexicon of Turkish verbs where the verbs are segmented and classified with respect to the derivational morphemes they bear. To that aim, the Turkish Language Association Dictionary (*TDK sözlüğü*) and the Turkish Writing Guide (*Türkçe yazım kılavuzu*) have been scanned and verbs used in standard Turkish have been categorized regarding their morphemic properties. The primary sources used in the morpheme-based categorization of Turkish verbs have been Banguoğlu (1986) and Korkmaz (2003).

The present study is the first of its kind in its attempt to determine the verb count of Turkish by examining the entire Turkish verb lexicon and providing an exhaustive compilation of verbs. A thorough scanning of the sources mentioned above has revealed that the number of verbs in Turkish is about 4700 (4669). Of these verbs only 221 are monosyllabic. The alphabetical list of the monosyllabic verbs of Turkish has been given in Appendix 1. The present study comprises one more appendix consisting of three parts where an exhaustive morpheme-based classification of Turkish verbs is laid out. Appendix 2a lists Turkish verbs derived by derivational affixes. Appendix 2b comprises verb roots which are identical to nominal and adjectival roots and compound verbs formed with the auxiliary verbs *et-* 'to do',

eyle- ‘to make/do’ and *ol-* ‘to be’. In compiling the compound verbs of Turkish we have restricted ourselves only to verbs that are treated as separate entries in the TDK dictionary, i.e., those verbs in which the nominal and the verb are joined up; hence the list given is a partial list of the compound verbs of Turkish. Finally, Appendix 2c gives a complete list of reflexive, reciprocal and causative verbs of Turkish.

In pursuing a morphemic analysis of Turkish verbs, we sought to complement the classification with information attained from etymological dictionaries such as Clauson (1972), Eren (1999) and Tietze (2002) and have drawn on data from Erdal (1991) to determine the morpheme boundaries of verbs which are not transparent in meaning and morpheme decomposition. In cases where the sources cited have differing views regarding the etymology and the morpheme boundary of a certain verb, we have attempted to provide all the views available on the issue in the end-notes. We would like to remind our reader that this study only covers the verbs of standard Turkish and excludes verbs indicated as colloquial in the TDK dictionary. With these general motivations in place, we proceed to the details of our analysis.

2. An analysis of verbal morphemes of Turkish

The first appendix of this study comprises the monosyllabic verbs of Turkish which are 221 in number. In the remaining verbs there is always a verb deriving affix. The second appendix of this study consists of those Turkish verbs derived by affixation and starts out with a list of bare roots that differ from the list of monosyllabic verbs given in Appendix 1 in being verbs that cannot be further decomposed. In what follows, we attempt to first lay out in what respect monosyllabic verbs listed in Appendix 1 differ from the bare verbal roots.

2.1. Bare verbal roots of Turkish

The question of whether a morpheme-based analysis of the entire verb lexicon of Turkish can be informative as to how many of the verbs can be reduced down to bare roots, in particular to a CV(C) structure, is alluring. In an effort to determine the bare roots of Turkish, we have investigated the roots of the monosyllabic verbs and have observed that in contrast to the majority which are bare roots, there are four monosyllabic verb types which appear to bear a derivational morpheme. These are /y/-ending monosyllabic verbs and the verbs ending in the consonant clusters /rp/, /r/nt/ and /r/lk/. In the case of /y/-ending monosyllabic verbs, there is strong evidence indicating that verbs of the (C)Vy-type were derived from the rare *-(X)d* formative. Evidence regarding the morpheme bearing properties of monosyllabic verbs ending in consonant clusters, however, is less clear-cut, and there appear to be variant views as to whether the monosyllabic verbs ending in /rp/, /r/nt/ and /r/lk/ bear a morpheme or not.

Adapting the analyses of Erdal (1991) and Banguoğlu (1986), in the present work, we have treated verbs such as *doy-* ‘to be satiated’, *duy-* ‘to hear’, *koy-* ‘to put down’, etc. as comprising the affix *-y*, which is an unproductive affix in Modern

Turkish and appears to have become /y/ from the original *-(l)d* form. Erdal (1991: 642-644) discusses an obsolete *-(X)d* formative in Old Turkish which was used to produce middle intransitives from transitive verbs and states that some Old Turkish verbs such as *bud-* 'to be cold; to freeze to death', *sid-* 'to urinate', *sud-* 'to spit', *tod-* 'to be or become satiated' which denote states and activities of the body and the mind are derived with this formative. Tietze (402) makes a similar claim and draws attention to the fact that though some words appear to be etymologically related such as *bud-* 'to be cold' and *buz* 'ice', as no **bu-* verb root has been encountered in Turkic languages the affixal classification of *-d* is somewhat tenuous. Nonetheless, he argues that the presence of forms such as *doy-* (OT **tod-*) 'to be satiated' and *tok-* 'be full' suggest a **to-* root, and the words *siy-* 'to urinate', *sidik* 'urine' and *sik* 'penis' suggest a root **si-* from which all the mentioned forms were derived. As for some other verbs listed as *-y* verbs in our study such as *duy-*, *kay-*, *kıy-*, *koy-*, it is evident that they all derive from the rare formative *-(X)d*. For instance, Clauson (1972: 567) indicates that the verb *duy-* 'to perceive; to hear' comes from OT **tud-*, the verb *kay-* from OT **ka:d-* with the basic meaning 'to bend' or 'to turn oneself' (Clauson 1972: 674)). Clauson (1972: 595) further points out that *koy-* in OT was **kod-* and was derived from the root **ko-*, which originally meant 'to put down'; and, finally, the verb *kıy-* is derived from **kid-* 'to cut into small pieces'. Based on these observations we have classified all *-y* ending verbs of Turkish as derived forms and listed them in Appendix 2a (34) as morpheme-bearing units.

Let us now turn to a discussion of the (C)VCC type monosyllabic verbs and start out with the status of the CVrp type monosyllabic verbs. The verbs *çarp-* 'to strike', *çirp-* 'to tap', *kirp-* 'to clip' and *serp-* 'to sprinkle' are the only monosyllabic verbs of Turkish ending in the cluster /rp/. Information coming from the etymological origins of these verbs reveals that there has been an /r/-insertion in the verbs *çarp-*, *çirp-* and *serp-*. For instance Tietze (2002: 478) points out that *çarp-* has derived from the OT verb root **çap-* and the verb *çirp-* is a variant of the verb *çarp-*. As for the verb *serp-*, he makes a similar observation and argues that it has derived from **sep-*. The verb *kirp-*, however, appears to be challenging with respect to its classification. On the one hand, one can posit that the verb root was originally **kıp-* and as a result of /r/-insertion has become *kirp-* over time just like the previous instances. On the other hand, as Tietze speculates, bringing forth the *aslan* < *arslan* 'lion' example where the sonorant /r/ is agreed to have dropped over time, the verb *kıp-* may have derived from the root *kirp-* as a result of /r/-deletion. Another view about /rp/-ending verbs comes from Korkmaz (2003), where she argues that *p-* was a reduplicative affix in Old Turkish. As the affixal status of /p/ is dubious, we have treated these verbs as a separate class under bare roots. A further piece of evidence supporting our decision follows from an observation of Tietze (2002: 496), where he extends his claims about /r/-insertion in /rp/-ending verbs to /rt/ and /rk/ ending monosyllabic verbs such as *kert-* 'to notch' and *sark-* 'to dangle' and suggests that all these verbs indicate an /r/-insertion rather than deletion. More precisely, *kert-* is argued to have derived from *ket-* and *sark-* from the OT **sak-*.

Monosyllabic verbs of the (C)Vr/nt and (C)Vr/lk type present further challenges. As for the nine monosyllabic (C)Vr/nt verbs of Turkish, such as *art-* 'to increase', *dürt-* 'to poke', *ört-* 'to cover', Banguoğlu (1986) argues for the presence of the affix *-(l)t* and claims that it is the drop of the vowel in the second syllable that yielded such verbs. Clauson (1972) and Tietze (2002) depart from Banguoğlu and show that the etymological origins of *art-* (Clauson 1972: 201), *dürt-* (Tietze 2002: 675), *ört-* (Clauson 1972: 205), *sürt-* (Clauson 1972: 846), *tart-* (Clauson 1972: 534) and *yürt-* (Clauson 1972: 958) do not indicate that the verbs are derived at all, i.e., there is no mention of an affix in the form of *-(l)t*. As for the verbs *çent-* 'to nick' and *kert-* 'to notch', sonorant insertion, more precisely the insertion of /n/ in *çent-*, which is argued by Tietze (2002: 496) to have derived from the root **çet/çit*, and /t/-insertion in *kert-* appear to be at issue, hence there is again no sign of an affix. The last verb belonging to this category is *yont-* 'to carve'. Clauson (1972: 942) states that the verb was originally *yon-* in Old Turkish but is being used as *yont-* in Turkish, and does not account for the final /t/. As there is no mention of an affix in the discussion of the verb *yont-* either, we have listed the verb under bare roots. Like /rp/ ending verbs, /r/nt/ ending monosyllabic verbs have been listed in Appendix 2a under bare roots as a separate category.

The final type of monosyllabic verbs containing a consonant cluster is the group of seven /l/rk/ ending verbs of Turkish, i.e., *burk-*, *kalk-*, *kırk-*, *kork-*, *sark-*, *silk-* and *ürk-*. A close investigation of these verbs also reveals that except for *sark-* 'to dangle' from OT **sak-* which exhibits /r/ insertion, the verbs at issue do not appear to bear any affix. For instance *kork-* 'to be afraid' is considered to be derived from *kori-* or **kori-k-* with the original meaning 'to protect oneself' (Erdal 1991: 646). Clauson (1972: 651) indicates that in all Turkic languages and periods what was common is the form **koruk-* 'to fear'. In the verb *silk-* 'to shake stg.' which is reported to survive in all Turkic languages as *silk-*, *silik-* and *silki-* (Clauson 1972: 826), *ürk-* (Clauson 1972: 221) 'to be startled, scared, frightened' and *burk-* 'twist' (Clauson 1972: 360) there is no evidence for any affix. Finally in the discussion of *kırk-*, which is argued to be the emphatic form of *kır-* 'to shear', and *kalk-*, which is assumed to be related to **kalık*, the emphatic form of *kalı-* (Clauson 1972: 619), we see some indication of an affix; however, we do not think that there is strong evidence for treating these verbs as bearing affixes.

Three other verb forms of the CVCC type which deserve attention are *sars-*, *sürç-* and *tırs-*. We have classified *sars-* 'to ill-use' as a *-sl* verb following Clauson (1972: 854-55), who argues that there is a clear semantic connection between **sa:r-* 'to ill-use (someone)' and *sarsı:-* 'to be harsh, rough', which he concludes is best explained as a simulative of *sa:r* (843). The lack of mention of an affix in the formation of *sürç-* 'to stumble' (Clauson 1972: 845) as well as any discussion of the verb *tırs-* 'be seized with fright and give up on stg.' in the sources consulted, led us to list these verbs under bare roots as verbs of unknown status.

2.2 Verbal stems of Turkish

We have observed that Turkish verbs fall into 34 distinct verb classes based on their morpheme-bearing properties. These classes are *-A*, *-(A)l*, *-AlA*, *-An*, *-Ar*, *-ArIA*, *-At*, *-DA*, *-DAr*, *-I*, *-Ik*, *-I/AkIA*, *-IksA*, *-Il*, *-ImSA*, *-In*, *-Ir*, *-IrgA*, *-IşIA*, *-İştIr*, *-It*, *-KI*, *-KIn*, *-KIr*, *-IA*, *-IAAn*, *-IAş*, *-nA*, *-rA*, *-sA*, *-s(I)*, *-sIn* and *-y*. Verbs belonging to each of these morpheme types are alphabetically grouped in Appendix 2a.

We have pursued a further classification with respect to the most productive affixes, namely *-IA*, *-IAAn*, and *-IAş* affixes of Turkish and classified verbs derived by these affixes, on the basis of whether they are affixed to nominal, adjectival or adverbial roots.

We have offered four subcategories of *-IA* verbs: *-IA* verbs derived by affixation to noun roots (e.g. *arzu+la-* 'to desire', *hedef+le-* 'to aim at') are listed in (25.1); *-IA* verbs derived by affixation to adjective roots rendering transitive verbs (e.g. *ak+la-* 'to acquit', *diş+la-* 'to exclude', *temiz+le-* 'to clean') are given in 25.2(i); a list of adjective roots rendering intransitive verbs e.g. *afal+la-* 'to be flabbergasted', *şiş-man+la-* 'to gain weight') is given in 25.2(ii); and finally section 25.3 comprises a list of adverbial roots from which *-IA* verbs are derived, such as *nice+le-* 'to quantify', *yine+le-* 'to repeat'. As for the verbs which are derived by the affixation of *-IA* to nouns, it is possible to categorize them under many subclasses regarding their semantic properties such as *verbs of containment*: *depola-* 'to store', *dosyala-* 'to file', *fiçila-* 'to barrel' and *kutula-* 'to box', which are derived from the nouns *depo* 'depot', *dosya* 'file', *fiçi* 'barrel', *kutu* 'box' respectively; or verbs denoting activities carried out by use of a certain tool such as *çapa* 'hoe' in *çapala-* 'to hoe', *çekiç* 'hammer' in *çekiçle-* 'to hammer', *diş* 'teeth' in *dişle-* 'to bite', *tırmık* 'scythe' in *tırmıkla-* 'to scythe'. However, we have not pursued such a detailed classification since classifications of that sort, though nonexhaustive, are available in Banguoğlu (1986) and Korkmaz (2003). We have, however, sorted out verbs which are derived with the affixation of *-IA* to onomatopoeic words. Thus verbs such as *cıyak+la-* 'to squeal', *çağ+la-* 'to ripple', *gür+le-* 'to roar', *hor+la-* 'to snore', *tıs+la-* 'to hiss' are listed in Appendix 2a (25.4). A final class of *-IA* verbs that are sorted in this study comprises verbs which look like *-IA* verbs, i.e., they appear to bear the affix *-IA*, but the roots to which this affix is attached are mostly bound and nontransparent in meaning, as can be seen in Appendix 2a (25.6). Verbs such as *an+la-* 'to understand', *bek+le-* 'to wait', *din+le-* 'to listen', *öz+le-* 'to long for' are listed under this category, and information available on the etymological origins of some of these verbs is provided in endnote (14).

For verbs derived by the affixes *-IAAn* and *-IAş*, several subclasses have been offered in an effort to provide semantic distinctions among verbs. Noun+ *-IAAn* verbs have been observed to fall into two subclasses: Verbs such as *akıl+lan-* 'to become wiser; to come to one's senses', *bilinç+len-* 'to become conscious', *heves+len-* 'to become eager to do stg.', *sinir+len-* 'to become irritated' which denote processes, in particular the point reached at the end of the process, are listed in Appendix 2a

(26.1); verbs such as *ağa+lan-* ‘to lord it over someone’, *dayı+lan-* ‘to swagger’, *horoz+lan-* ‘to bluster’, *kabadayı+lan-* ‘to bully’, in which certain nouns are attached to the affix *-lan*, rendering the reading ‘to behave in a certain manner’, have been classified in Appendix 2a (26.2). Furthermore *-lan* verbs which are formed by onomatopoeic roots such as *böbürlen-* ‘to boast’, *mızızlan-* ‘to whine; to make a fuss about trifles’, *seslen-* ‘to call’ are listed in Appendix 2a (26.4).

We have also pursued a subcategorization in the classification of Noun *+laş* verbs and classified these verbs as change of state verbs and verbs denoting reciprocity. In Appendix 2a (27.1.1) verbs of change of state, such as *acı+laş-* ‘to become bitter’, *çöl+leş-* ‘to become desert-like’, *fosil+leş-* ‘to fossilize’, *pıhtı+laş-* ‘to coagulate’, *siyah+laş-* ‘to blacken’, have been listed. Noun *+laş* verbs denoting reciprocity, such as *dert+leş-* ‘to pour out one’s grief to another’, *haber+leş-* ‘to correspond’, *hal+leş-* ‘to confide troubles to one another’, *şaka+laş-* ‘to joke with one another’, *yardım+laş-* ‘to help one another’ are listed in Appendix 2a (27.1.2).

In what follows we will outline the content of Appendix 2b. Though Turkish is commonly held to dissociate between noun, adjective and verb roots in well-defined ways, there are some adjective and noun roots such as *ağrı* ‘pain’, *boya* ‘paint’, *damla* ‘drop’, *ekşi* ‘sour’, etc. which are identical to verb roots. Tietze (2002: 84) points out that in Old Turkish the morpheme *-(l)g* was used to derive verbs from nouns. The drop of the phoneme /g/, as stated in Tietze, rendered verb and noun/adjective forms which are alike such as *acı*, *ağrı*, *bavlı*, *boya*, *damla*, *tat*, *ekşi* and *eski*. With that background, we categorize such verbs as verbs that are identical to noun roots and verbs that are identical to adjective roots in Appendix 2b (1&2). In the same appendix we have also listed some of the compound verbs of Turkish such as *et-* compounds, *eyle-* compounds, *ol-* compounds as listed in the TDK dictionary. As mentioned earlier, compiling the entire compound verb lexicon of Turkish is beyond the scope of this study. Hence in the present work, we have restricted ourselves only to compound verbs which assume a distinct status in the dictionary as being written as a separate entry where the nominal and the auxiliary are joined up. Thus *et-*, *ol-* and other compound verbs which do not have an entry status in the dictionary are not within the scope of this study. More precisely, *et-* verbs such as *affet-* ‘to forgive’, *bahset-* ‘to mention’, *emret-* ‘to command’, *katlet-* ‘to kill’ are included, but nominal compounds in which the nouns and the verbs are not joined up such as *dua et-* ‘to pray’, *nefret et-* ‘to hate’, *yardım et-* ‘to help’ are not covered. The number of all compound verbs of Turkish must be in the order of thousands. Sev (2001), investigating the *et-* compounds of Turkish, concludes that there are about 2000 *et-* compounds in Turkish. Needless to say, a quantitative study of the other compound verbs such as *yap-* ‘to do’, *çek-* ‘to pull’, etc. is needed to determine the exact verb count of Turkish.

Verbs derived by voice affixes such as *reflexive* verbs, *reciprocal* verbs and *causative* verbs have been listed in Appendix 2c. This appendix excludes passive as a voice affix as passivized verbs have an invariant passive reading. As for reflexive, reciprocal and causative verbs, we have observed considerable variation as the verbs

in question behave differently both with respect to their morphemic properties and the readings they convey. This has given rise to a thorough semantic analysis of reflexive, reciprocal and causative verbs. The analysis of reflexivized and causativized verbs has shown that there are several bound roots in Turkish that surface when they are attached to the reflexive or the causative morpheme. To cite a few examples, the roots *avu-*, *dire-*, *kuşa-*, *öğre-*, *tüke-*, which cannot stand alone and hence cannot be listed as a separate entry in the dictionary, surface in the form of reflexivized or causativized forms as in *avun-* ‘to have one’s mind taken off stg.’/ *avut-* ‘to console’, *diren-* ‘to resist’/ *diret-* ‘to insist’, *kuşan-* ‘to gird oneself’/ *kuşat-* ‘to surround; to besiege’, *öğren-* ‘to learn’/ *öğret-* ‘to teach’, *tüken-* ‘to be exhausted’/ *tüket-* ‘to consume’ in Turkish. Similarly the bound roots *alda-* and *yelte-*, which are *-DA* verbs, surface only in reflexivized and/ or causativized forms as *alda-n-* ‘to be deceived’/ *alda-t-* ‘to deceive’ and *yelte-n-* ‘to attempt’. Further examples of such bound roots come from the roots *dada-*, *kaza-* and *ya-*, which when reflexivized, form the verbs *dadan-* ‘to acquire a taste for’, *kazan-* ‘to earn’, and *yan-* ‘to burn’.

To illustrate the need for a detailed consideration of reflexive and causative verbs, let us consider some affix types which allow for reflexivization or causativization only for some of the verbs derived by the affix. For instance, as Appendix 2a (3) shows, there are 27 verbs derived by the affix *-ALA* in Turkish such as *çab+ala-* ‘to endeavour’, *gev+ele-* ‘to hum and haw’, *it+ele-* ‘to keep on pushing’. Of these verbs only 11 can undergo reflexivization such as *hırpalan-* ‘to be buffeted about’ from *hırpala-* ‘to illtreat’, *oyalan-* ‘to keep oneself amused in order to ward off boredom’ from *oyala-* ‘to put someone off to gain time’. When we take a look at *-ALA* verbs that are causativized, we observe again that only 11 verbs can be causativized – see Appendix 2c (3.3.4). For example, an *-ALA* verb such as *çisele-* ‘to drizzle’ cannot be causativized nor can a verb such as *serpele-* ‘to sprinkle down’.

A study of the reflexivized forms of *-ALA* verbs also reveals bound roots such as *debele-*, which appears in the dictionary only when it is reflexivized as in *debelen-* ‘to struggle and kick’. As for the causativized verbs, two examples deserve special mention: *höpürdet-* ‘to slurp’ and *çiziktir-* ‘to jot’. These verbs are also bound roots which, when affixed with the causative morphemes *-t* and *-Dir* respectively, become full-fledged verbs. Therefore a careful segmentation of verbs as to whether they can be attached to the reflexive or the causative morphemes has revealed both the bound roots that surface only in reflexivized and/ or causativized stems and the number of verbs that can undergo these processes.

Most of the affixes used to derive verbs in Old Turkish appear to have survived into Modern Turkish. With respect to the morphemes they possess and the meanings of the morphemes, a thorough comparison of Modern Turkish with Old Turkish is well beyond the scope of this study. Nonetheless, we seek to provide a general overview. Therefore in Section 3 below we intend to lay out some of the similarities and differences between Modern Turkish and Old Turkish.

3. Verb deriving affixes: A comparison of Modern Turkish with Old Turkish

As indicated in Erdal (1991) in Old Turkish (OT) the most productive verb deriving affix, as in Modern Turkish (MT), is the affix *-lA*. (1a) below gives some examples derived by the affix *-lA* which are obsolete in MT.

- (1) *kālin-lā* ‘to provide (a young man) with a bride’, *kuş-la-* ‘to hunt birds’, *ori-la-* ‘to shout’, *övke-le-* ‘to get angry’, *talū-la-* ‘to choose’, *tanuk-la-* ‘to become a witness’, *üdğü-le-* ‘to measure’, *yer-le-* ‘to settle’, *yıd-la-* ‘to smell’, *yığ-la-* ‘to cry’, etc.

Another productive affix of OT, as stated in Erdal (1991: 418), is the transitivity affix *-A* which derives verbs from adjectives/ nouns and has a similar function and meaning to the affix *-lA*. The affix *-A* departs from the affix *-lA* in that unlike the affix *-lA*, which can only be attached to native and nonnative roots, the affix *-A* is attached to native Turkish roots ending in consonants. Examples of *-A* verbs, adapted from Erdal (1991), used in both Modern Turkish and Old Turkish are given in (2a). As the examples indicate, while most verbs still have a transitive function in Modern Turkish, the verb *kana-* ‘to bleed’ is used intransitively. (2b) lists some *-A* verbs which are again obsolete in Modern Turkish.

- (2) a. *at-a-* ‘to nominate’, *benz-e-* ‘to resemble’, *gevş-e-* ‘to soften; to ruminate’, *kan-a-* ‘to bleed a person or animal’, *oyn-a-* ‘to play’, *sin-a-* ‘to acquire experience of; test’, *yaş-a-* ‘to live’
b. *aş-a-* ‘to eat’, *igid-e-* ‘to lie’, *öç-e-* ‘to desire revenge’

Another affix which has functions similar to *-A* and *-lA* verbs and which is known to be widely used in Old Turkish is the affix *-DA*. In Modern Turkish, except for the onomatopoeic verbs such as *civil-da-* ‘to chirp’, *horul-da-* ‘to snore’, we observe the affix only in the verbs *is-te-* ‘to want’, *bağ-da-* ‘to tangle’, *fingir-de-* ‘to behave frivolously’ and *sap-ta-* ‘to confirm’. Erdal (1991: 457) observes that the onomatopoeic *-DA* verbs in Old Turkish such as *turpıl-da-* ‘to quack’, *yelkül-de-* ‘to tremble’ differ from verbs such as *is-te-* ‘to want’ in the sense that the *-DA* affix in the former may come from the verb *de-* ‘to say’. In (3) below some *-DA* verbs of OT which are obsolete in MT are given.

- (3) *ün-te-* ‘to call’, *tl-ta-* ‘to make excuses’, *ok-ta-* ‘to shoot an arrow at something’
(adapted from Erdal 1991: 455-457)

A further affix that needs consideration is the affix *-(I)rKA* which according to Erdal (1991: 458) was a productive affix in OT used to denote feelings and sensations. In MT there are only four *-(I)rKA* verbs as listed in (4a). Some *-(I)rKA* verbs of OT as discussed in Erdal (459-63) are given in (4b).

- (4) a. *basırğa-* 'to feel uneasy', *esirge-* 'to protect from', *indirge-* 'to reduce', *yadırğa-* 'to find stg. strange'
 b. *äsi-rke-* 'to regret the loss of a thing'; *özi-rke-* 'to regard as one's own'
tañ-ırka- 'to find something astonishing'

Two affixes attached to onomatopoeic words, namely the affixes *-KIr* and *-rA* were productive affixes of OT. The affix *-KIr* denoting substance or sound emission as in the MT verbs *fış+kir-* 'to gush', *hay+kir-* 'to bawl', *püs+kür-* 'to spout' can also be observed in the OT verbs exemplified in (5).

- (5) *ka-kir-* 'to clear one's throat', *sı-kir-* 'to whistle', *üş-kir-* 'to hiss'

As for the morpheme *-rA*, in Modern Turkish, we observe the affix in the verbs *kük-re-* 'to roar' and *şak-ra-* 'to sing loudly'. Some examples of the occurrence of this affix in OT are given in (6).

- (6) *mañ-ra-* 'to shout', *mün-re-* 'to belch', *koñ-ra-* '(of male voice) to deepen during puberty', *kald-ra-* 'to rustle (of a garment)'

There are also verb deriving affixes which MT lacks but which are attested in OT. Two interesting examples that can be given for such affixes are *-s(I)rA* and *-İmsIn*. According to Erdal (1991: 507) the affix *-s(I)rA* denotes 'the lack or loss of something' as in the OT examples in (7).

- (7) *kagan-sıra-* 'to lose one's kagan', *ög-sire-* 'to become or be unconscious'
küç-sire- 'to lack or lose strength', *söz-sire-* 'to shut up'

The simulative *-İmsIn* which MT lacks, however, was used to describe an action as mere pretense as in the examples in (8) (Erdal 1991: 531).

- (8) *kıl-ımsın-* 'to pretend to be doing something'; *övke-le-msin-* 'to pretend to be angry',
yığla-msın- 'to pretend to cry'

We would like to conclude this section with a discussion of another interesting discrepancy between MT and OT which is exhibited in the intransitive forming affixes *-I* and *-U* (Erdal (1991:474)). The not very productive OT affix *-U* is known to denote change of state verbs and is argued to constitute a subclass of *-I* verbs which have various other meanings in addition to denoting change of state. As the examples in (9) illustrate the *-U* affix of OT is replaced with the *-Al* and *-laş* affixes in Modern Turkish.

- (9) OT **agr-u-* / MT *ağırlaş-* 'to be or become heavy', OT **az-u-* / MT *az-al-* 'to become less', OT **boş-u-* / MT *boş-al-* 'to become empty', OT **kaln-u-* / MT *kalin-laş-* 'to become thick'

The *-I* verbs, however, in addition to denoting change of states as in (10a), can denote various other meanings as illustrated in (10b).

- (10) a. *öl-i-* ‘to be or to get moist’, *sâmr-i-* ‘to be or become fat’, *yavr-i-* ‘to be or become weak’
 b. *kan-t-* ‘to bleed (int)’, *yıld-t-* ‘to smell’, *sekr-i-* ‘to hop’

As stated earlier, a thorough comparison of the current stage of Turkish with the earlier stages has not been attempted here, rather we have sought to give an overview of some affixes used in MT which are hard to treat as affixes unless accompanied by etymological information coming from the OT sources.

4. Discussion and conclusion

The present study, as the first complete lexicon of Modern Turkish verbs where verbs are morphemically segmented, has shown that there are about 4700 verbs in Turkish which fall into 34 morphemic categories. As table 1 illustrates, the four most productive verb deriving affixes of Modern Turkish are *-IA*, *-IAş*, *-IAn* and *-DA*.

A quick look at table 1 reveals that only the first six affix types, i.e. *-IA*, *-IAş*, *-IAn*, *-DA*, *-In* and *-Il*, have over 60 verbs. In the remaining 28 affix types, the affix and the verb root are so coalesced that a native speaker of Turkish would not be able to consider as an affix the affix *-A* in the verb *oyın-a-* ‘to play’, or the affix *-U* in *büy-ü* ‘to grow’, the affix *-DA* in the verb *is-te-* ‘to want’, the affix *-Ir* in *ot-ur-* ‘to sit’, the affix *-KI* in *o-ku-* ‘to read’, the affix *-KIr* in *ba-ğır-* ‘to shout’, *-nA* in *çiğ-ne-* ‘to chew’, the affix *-rA* in *kük-re-* ‘to roar’, or the affix *-sI* in the verb *yan-sı-* ‘to reflect’.

Table 1. Verbal affix types and number of verbs

Affix type	Number of verbs	Affix type	Number of verbs
1. <i>-IA</i>	953	18. <i>-y</i>	15
2. <i>-IAş</i>	615	19. <i>-It</i>	14
3. <i>-IAn</i>	362	20. <i>-KIr</i>	13
4. <i>-DA</i>	87	21. <i>-rA</i>	11
5. <i>-In</i>	66	22. <i>-DAr</i>	6
6. <i>-Il</i>	64	23. <i>-s(I)</i>	6
7. <i>-A</i>	52	24. <i>-ArlA</i>	5
8. <i>-Ir</i>	40	25. <i>-At</i>	5
9. <i>-I/U</i>	30	26. <i>-nA</i>	4
10. <i>-Al</i>	32	27. <i>-(I)k</i>	5
11. <i>-sA</i>	31	28. <i>-IrgA</i>	4
12. <i>-AIA</i>	30	29. <i>-sIn</i>	4
13. <i>-İştIr</i>	26	30. <i>-KI</i>	2

14. -Ar	26	31. -KIn	2
15. -An	21	32. -IksA	1
16. -I/AkIA	15	33. -İşIA	1
17. -İmsA	15	34. Et-+IA	1

A verb database of Turkish can serve as an important resource not only in morphological processing studies but also in retrograde morphemic analyses and frequency based analyses of both language use and language acquisition.

The finding that the number of monosyllabic verbs does not exceed 221 but that multisyllabic verbs number in the thousands has important implications for language acquisition studies. Nakipoğlu & Ketrez (2006), for instance, has shown that the ratio of monosyllabic verbs to multisyllabic verbs appears to cue the child in the choice of allomorphs regarding the Turkish aorist. As is well known, Turkish multisyllabic verbs are affixed with *-Ir* in the aorist as opposed to monosyllabic verbs, which are attached the affix *-Ar*. 13 monosyllabic verbs in Turkish, however, distort this rule-governed distribution, yielding forms where monosyllabic verbs are attached to *-Ir* rather than *-Ar*, such as *al-ır* 'takes', *ver-ir* 'gives'. Nakipoğlu & Ketrez (2006), studying the path the children follow in the acquisition of aorist has revealed that in early acquisition, Turkish-speaking children produce mainly monosyllabic verbs and have a tendency to use the affix *-Ar* even with the irregularly behaving 13 monosyllabic verbs, yielding errors such as **al-ar* 'takes', **ver-er* 'gives'. Children's choice of the affix *-Ar* with *-Ir* taking monosyllabic verbs appears to be shaped by frequency. The developmental path that children exhibit in the acquisition of aorist further adds to this frequency-dependent acquisition. In particular, Nakipoğlu & Ketrez (2006) have observed that with an expanding verb lexicon, which correlates with the acquisition of more multisyllabic verbs, children encounter more *-Ir* exemplars. More *-Ir* exemplars, however, leads to a reconsideration of the affix that is attached to monosyllabic verbs, where children start producing errors such as **kır-ır* 'breaks' for *kır-ar* and **sür-ür* 'rides' for *sür-er*. We think databases like the one this study provides can serve as an invaluable resource for eliciting the role frequency plays in acquisition studies.

To conclude, with this study we have aimed to deepen our understanding of the morphological structuring of Turkish verbs and morpheme frequency pertaining to verbs. A database to be constructed for compound verbs of Turkish in future work will be a great contribution to determining the exact verb count of Turkish.

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Appendix 1

Monosyllabic verbs in Turkish

A

Aç-, ağ-, ak-, al-, an-, art-, as-, aş-, at-, az-

B

Bak-, ban-, bas-, bat-, bay-, bez-, bıç-, biç-, bil-, bin-, bit-, boğ-, boz-, böl-, bul-, bur-, burk-, bük-, büz-

C

Cay-, coş-

Ç

Çak-, çal-, çarp-, çat-, çek-, çel-, çık-, çırp-, çit-, çiz-, çöz-, çök-

D

Dal-, de-, del-,deş-, dik-, dil-, din-, dit-, diz-, doğ-, dol-, don-, doy-, dök-, dön-, döv-, dur-, duy-, dür-, dürt-, düş-, düz-

E

Eğ-, ek-, em-, er-, es-, eş-, et-, ez-

G

Geç-, gel-, ger-, gez-, gir-, git-, giy-, göç-, göm-, gör-, gül-, gült-

İ

İç-, il-, in-, it-, iv-

K

Kaç-, kak-, kal-, kalk-, kan-, kap-, kar-, kas-, kat-, kay-, kaz-, kert-, kes-, kıl-, kıp-, kır-, kırk-, kırp-, kıs-, kıy-, kız-, kok-, kon-, kop-, kork-, koş-, kov-, koy-, kur-, kus-, küs-

O

Ol-, on-, ov-, oy-

Ö

Öl-, ölç-, öp-, ör-, ört-, öt-, öv-

P

Piş-, pus-

S

Saç-, sağ-, sal-, san-, sap-, sar-, sark-, sars-, sat-, sav-, say-, seç-, sek-, ser-, serp-, sev-, sez-, sik-, sıç-, sığ-, sık-, sız-, sil-, silk-, sin-, sok-, sol-, sor-, soy-, sök-, sön-, söv-, sun-, sus-, sün-, sür-, sürç-, sürt-, süs-, süz-

Ş

Şiş-, şaş-

T

Tak-, tap-, tart-, taş-, tat-, tep-, tık-, tın-, tırs-, toz-, tut-, tüt-, tüy-

U

Uç-, um-, uy-

Ü

Ürk-, üz-

V

Var-, ver-, vur-

Y

Yağ-, yak-, yan-, yap-, yar-, yas-, yat-, yay-, yaz-, ye-, yen-, yer-, yet-, yığ-, yık-, yıl-, yırt-, yit-, yol-, yont-, yor-, yum-, yut-, yüz-

Appendix 2a**A morpheme-based classification of Turkish verbs****0. Bare roots**

aç- 'open'	es- 'blow'	seç- 'choose'
ağ- 'dangle; descend'	eş- 'dig lightly'	sek- 'hop'
ak- 'flow'	et- 'do'	ser- 'spread out'
al- 'take'	ez- 'crush'	sev- 'like'
an- 'call to mind'	geç- 'pass'	sez- 'perceive'
as- 'hang'	gel- 'come'	sıç- 'defecate'
aş- 'pass over'	ger- 'stretch'	sığ- 'go into; fit'
at- 'throw'	gez- 'travel'	sık- 'squeeze'
az- 'go astray'	git- 'go'	sız- 'ooze; infiltrate'
bak- 'look'	göç- 'migrate'	sik- 'fuck'
ban- 'dip into; dunk'	göm- 'bury'	sil- 'wipe'
bas- 'publish; raid'	gör- 'see'	sin- 'penetrate'
bat- 'sink'	gül- 'laugh'	sok- 'insert'
bez- 'be tired of stg.'	güt- 'nurse; lead'	sol- 'fade'
bık- 'get bored with'	iç- 'drink'	sor- 'ask'
biç- 'cut (up); mow'	il- 'tie one thing loosely to another'	sök- 'pull up'
bil- 'know'	in- 'descend'	saç- 'scatter'
bin- 'mount'	it- 'push'	sön- 'deflate; wane'
bit- 'end; cease'	iv- 'be in a hurry'	söv- 'curse'
boğ- 'choke; strangle'	kaç- 'flee'	sun- 'offer'
boz- 'destroy, spoil'	kak- 'push, emboss'	sus- 'be silent'
böl- 'divide'	kal- 'stay'	sün- 'stretch; elongate'
bul- 'find'	kan- 'be satiated'	sür- 'rub on; drive'
bur- 'twist'	kap- 'snatch'	süs- 'butt, toss'
bük- 'wring'	kar- 'shuffle; mix'	süz- 'strain'
büz- 'ruffle'	kas- 'stretch tight'	şaş- 'be suprised'
coş- 'gush'	kat- 'add'	şiş- 'swell'
çak- 'drive in by blows; nail'	kaz- 'dig'	tak- 'attach; put on'
çal- 'play an instrument; steal'	kes- 'cut'	tap- 'worship'
çap- 'rush'	kıl- 'do; perform'	taş- 'overflow'
çat- 'scold'	kıp- 'wink'	tep- 'kick'
çek- 'pull; draw'	kır- 'break'	tık- 'squeeze into'
çel- 'trip'	kıs- 'cut down'	tın- 'make a sound'
çık- 'exit; break out'	kız- 'get angry'	toz- 'saunter about'
çit- 'put together/ darn'	kok- 'smell'	tut- 'hold'
çiz- 'draw'	kon- 'alight; settle'	tüt- 'smoke'
çök- 'collapse'	kop- 'snap; set out'	uç- 'fly'
çöz- 'untie; solve'	koş- 'run'	um- 'hope'
dal- 'dive'	kov- 'drive away'	üz- 'worry'
de- 'say'	kur- 'set up'	var- 'arrive'
del- 'pierce'	kus- 'vomit'	ver- 'give'
deş- 'dig up; rip'	küs- 'be offended'	vur- 'hit'
dik- 'stitch; erect; plant'	ol- 'be'	yağ- 'rain'
dil- 'slice'	on- 'heal up'	yak- ¹ 'burn'
din- 'stop; pass off'	ov- 'rub with the hand'	yap- 'make'
dit- 'pick into fibres; tease'	öl- 'die'	yar- 'split'
diz- 'arrange in a row; string'	ölç- 'measure'	yat- 'lie down'
doğ- 'be born'	öp- 'kiss'	yaz- 'write'
dol- 'fill'	ör- 'knit'	ye- 'eat'
don- 'freeze'		yen- 'win/overcome'

dök- 'pour'	öt- 'chirp'	yer- 'criticize'
dön- 'turn'	öv- 'praise'	yet- 'suffice'
döv- 'beat'	piş- 'be cooked'	yığ- 'pile up'
dur- 'stop'	pus- 'crouch down'	yık- 'demolish'
dür- 'roll up'	sağ- 'milk'	yıl- 'dread'
düş- 'fall'	sal- 'let go'	yit- 'be lost'
düz- 'arrange; counterfeit'	san- 'suppose'	yol- 'pluck'
eğ- 'bend'	sap- 'deviate'	yor- 'tire'
ek- 'sow'	sar- 'wind/wrap'	yum- 'shut'
em- 'suck'	sat- 'sell'	yut- 'swallow'
er- 'reach'	sav- 'dismiss'	yüz- 'swim'

i. CVrp roots

çarp- 'strike; bump; palpitate'	kirp- 'clip; trim'
çırp- 'tap, pat'	serp- 'sprinkle slightly'

ii. (C)Vrt roots

art- 'increase'	sürt- 'rub'	yırt- 'tear'
dürt- 'poke'	tart- 'weigh'	yont- 'chip; chisel'
ört- 'cover'		

iii. CVck root

burk- 'twist'	kork- 'be afraid'	silk- 'shake off'
kalk- 'stand; rise'	sark- 'hang down'	ürk- 'flinch'
kırk- 'shear; clip'		

iv. CVC roots which have undergone sonorant insertion

çent- 'nick'	kert- 'notch'	sark- 'dangle'
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v. CVCC roots with unknown status

sürç- 'stumble; slip up'	yont- 'carve'
tırs- 'be seized with fright and give up on stg.'	

1. -A verbs²

ada- 'vow'	döşe- 'lay down; spread'	öde- 'pay'
ara- 'search'	düze- 'administer dosage;	sına- 'try'
ata- 'appoint'	'(chem) prepare (a for-	sıva- 'plaster'
benze- 'resemble'	mula)'	tara- 'comb'
beze- 'adorn'	ele- 'eliminate'	tıka- 'plug; gag'
bile- 'sharpen'	ene- 'castrate'	tüne- 'perch'
boşa- 'divorce'	esne- ³ 'yawn'	türe- 'spring up suddenly'
buda- 'prune'	gevşe- 'relax'	uğra- 'stop by'
bula- 'smear'	harca- 'spend'	ula- 'join one thing to another'
buna- 'become senile'	işe- 'urinate'	uza- 'grow longer'
çalka- 'rinse'	kana- 'bleed'	üre- 'reproduce'
çise- 'drizzle'	kapa- 'close'	yala- 'lick'
dala- 'bite; sting'	kına- 'reproach'	yama- 'patch'
daya- 'prop up'	koca- 'grow old'	yara- 'be of use'
dene- 'try'	küre- 'shovel up'	yasa- 'legislate'
dile- 'wish for'	okşa- 'caress'	yaşa- 'live'
dola- 'encircle; wind round'	ona- 'approve'	yıka- 'wash'
dona- 'deck'	oyna- 'play'	yumuşa- 'soften'

2. -(A)l verbs⁴

alçal- 'descend'	dönel- 'descend having reached the peak'	sertel- 'become violent'
ayrıl- 'separate'	düzel- 'ameliorate'	seyrel- 'thin out'
azal- 'decrease'	eğril- 'bend'	sivril- 'become pointed/prominent'
boşal- 'empty oneself'	eksil- 'diminish'	şenel- 'become cheerful'
bunal- 'be distressed'	gencil- 'become youthful'	tümsel- 'become round'
çoğal- 'increase'	incel- 'slim'	ufal- 'dwindle away'
çökel- 'subside'	kısal- 'shorten'	yamal- 'camouflage'
çömel- 'squat down'	kocal- 'grow old'	yönel- 'tend'
daral- 'become narrow'	körel- 'become blunt'	yücel- 'become high; rise'
diril- 'be revived'	küçül- 'wane'	yüksel- 'ascend'
doğrul- 'straighten out'	sağal- 'recover'	

3. -AlA verbs⁵

çabala- 'endeavour'	ırgala- 'move; shake'	şaşala- 'be bewildered'
çalkala- 'rinse; gargle'	itele- 'keep on pushing'	sepele- 'sprinkle down'
çisele- 'drizzle'	kakala- 'keep on prodding'	serpele- 'sprinkle down'
deşele- 'scratch up'	kovala- 'chase'	silkele- 'shake off'
durala- 'hesitate'	ovala- 'rub and press with the hand'	sürmele- 'bolt (a door)'
eşele- 'scratch and scabble'	oyala- 'put so. off to gain time'	tepele- 'kill'
evele- 'try to evade'	örsele- 'handle roughly'	tırmala- 'scratch'
gevele- 'hum and haw'	saçala- 'scatter'	ufala- 'crumble; break up'
gezele- 'stroll'	sarmala- 'wrap'	yakala- 'catch'
hırpala- 'illtreat'	sarsala- 'joggle'	yarmala- 'split in two'

4. -An verbs

aban- 'lean over/against'	güven- 'thrust in'	tüken- 'be exhausted'
aldan- 'be deceived'	ilen- 'curse'	usan- 'be tired of'
beğen- 'like'	inan- 'believe'	utan- 'be embarrassed'
bezen- 'be adorned'	kıskan- 'be jealous'	uyan- 'wake up'
diren- 'resist'	kıvan- 'be proud of, glory in'	uzan- 'lie down'
gönen- 'live a content life'	özen- 'be envious'	üsten- 'undertake'
gücen- 'be offended'	tırman- 'climb'	üşen- 'be lazy to do stg.'

5. -Ar verbs

i. -Ar verbs indicating change of color

ağar- 'become white or pale'	göver- 'turn blue or green'	morar- 'turn purple'
bozar- 'become grey/brown or sunburnt'	karar- 'turn black'	sarar- 'turn pale'
çalar- 'become ripe'	kızar- 'turn red; blush'	yeşer- 'become green; bloom'

ii. -Ar verbs indicating change of state

başar- 'succeed'	kabar- 'be puffed out'	tozar- 'become dustlike'
becer- 'carry out skillfully'	kurtar- 'rescue'	uyar- 'warn'
delir- 'become insane'	öner- 'propose'	ürper- 'tremble'
geber- 'die contemptuously'	suvar- ⁶ 'water an animal'	yakar- 'implore'
gider- 'remove; satisfy a desire'	şumar- ⁷ 'spoil'	yalvar- 'beseech'
içer- 'contain'		yaşar- 'fill with tears'

6. -ArIA verbs

içerle- 'resent'	tekerle- 'roll'	yuvarla- 'roll'
toparla- 'collect together'	uyarla- 'adapt'	

7. -At verbs

gözet- 'mind; look after'
ilet- 'convey; transmit'

ornat- 'substitute'
yarat- 'create'

yönet- 'command; govern'

8. -DA verbs

i. Onomatopoeic verbs

bangırda- 'yell loudly'
benilde- 'wake up suddenly and give a bewildered look'
bingıl-da- 'quiver like jelly'
cayırda- 'creak'
cazırda- 'crackle'
cırıl-da- 'chatter; screech'
civıl-da- 'chirp, tweet'
ciyırda- (of paper, cloth) 'make a sound when ripped or torn'
cızıl-da- 'sputter'
cızırda- 'sputter'
cumbulda- 'fall into water and make a splash'
cumburda- 'plop'
çağıl-da- 'burble; purl'
çakıl-da- 'make a clattering sound'
çağırda- 'make a clanking sound'
çatıl-da- 'crackle, creak'
çatırda- 'crackle'
çingırda- 'tinkle'
çıtırda- 'crackle'
dangırda- 'speak boorishly'
dingilde- 'rattle; wobble'
fikırda- 'make a bubbling noise'
fisıl-da- 'whisper'
fişıl-da- 'rustle'
fişırda- 'gurgle; rustle'
fokurda- 'gurgle'
fosurda- 'breathe noisily'
foşurda- 'plash'
gacırd- 'creak'

gıcırd- 'creak'
gurulda- 'rumble'
gümbürde- 'boom; thunder'
gürülde- 'gurgle'
harıl-da- 'make loud and continuous noise'
haşırd- 'make a rough scraping sound'
hırıl-da- 'growl; wheeze'
hışıl-da- 'make a wheezing/rustling noise'
hışırda- 'rustle'
horulda- 'snore'
hüngürde- 'sob'
ışıl-da- 'glimmer'
inilde- 'moan, groan'
kakırda- 'rattle; rustle'
kıkırda- 'giggle'
kımıl-da- 'budge'
kıpırda- 'move slightly'
kıtırda- 'make a crunching noise'
kütürde- 'make a crunching sound'
lıkırda- 'gurgle'
mırıl-da- 'murmur'
mışıl-da- 'sleep soundly'
parıl-da- 'gleam, glitter'
patırda- 'make a knocking noise'
pırıl-da- 'sparkle'
pıtırda- 'make a tapping sound; patter'
pofurda- 'make a popping noise'
sakırda- 'shiver due to fear/cold'

şakırda- '(of rain) to beat; sing'
şangırda- 'make a sound of crashing'
şapırda- 'make a slurping noise'
şarıl-da- 'flow with a splashing noise'
şıkırda- 'rattle; jingle'
şingırda- 'crash; make the noise of breaking glass'
şıpırda- '(of water) to make a lapping noise'
şırıl-da- 'burble'
takırda- 'make a tapping or knocking noise'
tangırda- 'clatter; clang'
tapırda- 'make the noise of foot steps'
tıkırda- 'rattle lightly'
tingıl-da- 'tinkle; clink'
tingırda- 'clink; clang'
tıpırda- 'make a light tapping noise'
tirilde- 'shiver'
tokurda- 'make a bubbling noise with a hookah'
uğulda- 'hum; buzz'
vicırda- 'chirp'
vırıl-da- 'talk incessantly'
vızıl-da- 'buzz, hum'
yelpirde- 'move slightly'
zangırda- 'tremble with teeth chattering'
zımbırda- 'twang; strum'
zingırda- 'rattle'
zırıl-da- 'bitch; blubber'

ii. Other -DA verbs

bağda- 'tangle'
iste- 'want'

fingırde- 'behave frivolously'
sapta- 'confirm; make a price'

9. -DAr verbs

aktar- 'transfer; pass on'
gönder- 'send'
göster- 'show'

kotar- 'dish up food; complete a job'
kaytar- 'jib at a job'
sırtar- 'grin'

10. -I/U verbs

i. -I verbs

berki- 'become stronger'	ışı- 'shine; sparkle'	salkı- 'shrivel; flag'
cıvı- 'become jellylike'	kaşı- 'scratch'	sancı- 'ache gripingly'
eri- 'melt'	kazı- 'erase; scrape'	tanı- 'recognize'
farı- 'become weaker'	mızı- 'quit as soon as things start going against one'	taşı- 'carry'
ılı- 'become lukewarm'		

ii. -U verbs

bürü- 'cover up; enfold'	kürü- 'shovel up'	tozu- 'raise the dust'
büyü- 'grow'	soğu- 'become cold'	ulu- 'howl'
çürü- 'rot'	solu- 'pant'	uyu- 'sleep'
doku- 'weave'	soru- 'suck noisily'	ürü- 'howl (of dogs)'
koru- 'protect'	sürü- 'drag along the ground'	üşü- 'feel cold'
kuru- 'dry'		yürü- 'walk'

11. -İk verbs

acı- 'feel hungry'	birik- 'come together'	gözük- 'appear'
ayık- 'get sober'	gecik- 'be late'	

12. -I/AkIa verbs

açıkla- 'explain'	gıdıkla- 'tickle'	sürükle- 'drag'
ayıkla- 'clean off; pick'	itekle- 'manhandle; goad'	tartakla- 'harass'
didikle- 'tease out into fibres and shreds'	pinekle- 'slumber; doze'	tutukla- 'arrest'
durakla- 'stop once in a while'	savsakla- 'put stg. off with excuses'	uçukla- 'have vesicles'
dürtükle- 'prod'	sayıkla- 'rave; talk in one's sleep'	uyukla- 'doze'

13. -İksA verbs

kanıksa- 'become inured'

14. -İl verbs (reflexive verbs)

asıl- 'be obstinate; insist'	kasıl- 'contract'	sıyrıl- 'sneak away'
atıl- 'dash; rush'	katıl- 'join'	sokul- 'insinuate oneself into'
ayıl- 'come to oneself; sober'	kavrul- 'become scorched, parched'	soyul- 'peel, scale'
bayıl- 'faint'	kaykıl- 'lean back'	sökül- 'come off'
boğul- 'drown'	kesil- 'be exhausted; be curdled'	süzül- 'become thin; glide along swiftly and silently'
bozul- 'rot; break down'	kırıl- 'be hurt; offended'	takıl- 'attach oneself to a person; banter'
burkul- 'be sprained'	kıvrıl- 'be squeezed into a tight place'	tıkıl- 'be cramped into'
bükül- 'be twisted'	koyul- 'be busied with; set to work'	tutul- 'fall in love with; (part of one's body) get stiff'
büzül- 'contract; shrink'	kurul- 'settle oneself comfortably'	üzül- 'worry'
çakıl- 'drop like a rock'	kurtul- 'be free from'	vurul- 'be in love with'
çarpıl- 'become paralyzed'	saçıl- 'be scattered'	yamul- 'become bent to one side'
çekil- 'withdraw; recede'	sağıl- '(of a snake) uncoil itself'	yamrul- 'become uneven and lumpy'
çözül- '(ice) thaw; loosen'	sarıl- 'embrace'	yanıl- 'be mistaken'
dağıl- 'be dispersed'	sarsıl- 'be hit hard by illness, shock'	yarıl- 'split off; cleave'
darıl- 'get cross'	savul- 'stand aside'	yayıl- 'spread'
delin- 'be worn through'		yazıl- 'be enrolled'
devril- 'fall over; capsize'		
dikil- 'stand stiff'		
dökül- 'drop off; fall out'		
durul- 'become quiet; settle down'		

eğil- 'bow'	seril- 'lie at full length on the ground'	yığıl- 'slump'
geril- 'become tense'	serpil- '(of a child) to grow apace'	yıkıl- 'collapse'
irkil- 'be startled'	sıkıl- 'get bored'	yırtıl- 'become torn'
kaçıl- 'clear out of a place'		yorul- 'be tired'
kapıl- 'become carried away'		yumul- 'dig in'

15. -İmsA verbs

anımsa- 'recall'	kaçımsa- 'look for an excuse to avoid doing stg.'
ayırmsa- 'realize'	kötümse- 'disparage'
azımsa- 'regard stg. insufficient'	küçümse- 'belittle'
benimse- 'adopt as one's own; embrace'	özümse- 'assimilate'
çoğumsa- 'regard stg. more'	sayırmsa- 'feign sickness'
duyumsa- 'feel'	söylemse- 'take pains about saying stg.'
gülümse- 'smile'	yokumsa- 'deny the presence of stg.'
gücümse- 'be unwilling to do stg.'	

16. -İn verbs

acın- 'be pitied'	erin- 'melt away; flag'	sakın- 'be cautious; protect oneself'
açın- 'develop'	eşin- '(of animals) scratch up the ground'	salın- 'sway'
ağın- 'roll in the dust/grass'	geçin- 'live; exist; subsist'	sarın- 'wrap/ gird oneself'
alın- 'take offence'	gezin- 'stroll'	savun- 'defend'
arın- 'be purified'	gocun- 'take offence; sulk'	sevin- 'be pleased, happy'
aşın- 'wear out; erode'	görün- 'show oneself; appear'	sezin- 'sense'
avun- 'be consoled'	ıkın- 'strain'	sığın- 'take shelter/ refuge'
bakın- 'look around'	ılın- 'become tepid'	sıkın- 'restrain oneself'
barın- 'take shelter in'	ısın- 'grow warm'	silin- 'wipe oneself'
bulun- 'be present'	incin- 'be hurt; offended'	silkin- 'shake oneself'
bükün- 'writhe with pain'	kaçın- 'abstain'	sürün- 'rub against; grovel'
çarpın- 'struggle; get flustered'	kalkın- '(of a nation) make a material recovery'	şışın- 'get up with self importance'
çatın- 'frown'	karın- 'get mixed due to shaking'	takın- 'put on; assume'
çekin- 'beware'	kasın- 'shrink; contract'	tapın- 'worship'
çevrin- 'keep going round a place to show respect'	kaşın- 'scratch oneself'	taşın- 'move in/ away'
çırpın- 'flutter; struggle'	kazın- 'scratch oneself hard'	tepin- 'stump'
çözün- 'melt'	kırın- 'sway'	tıkın- 'stuff oneself; gulp'
değın- 'mention; touch upon'	kıyın- 'have (a feeling of) griping stomach, aching limbs'	tutun- 'hold onto'
devin- 'move'	ölçün- 'deliberate'	yakın- 'complain'
didin- 'wear oneself out; toil'	övün- 'praise oneself'	yerin- 'feel regret for'
dokun- 'touch'		yetin- 'be contented with'
düşün- 'think'		yırtın- 'shriek in desperation'
edin- 'acquire'		
eğın- 'have a propensity or liking for'		

17. -İr verbs

i. -İr verbs denoting sound and substance emission⁸

aksır- 'sneeze'	hapşır- 'sneeze'	tıksır- 'sneeze with the mouth shut'
anır- 'bray'	osur- 'fart'	tükür- 'spit'
böğür- 'bellow'	öğür- 'belch'	üfür- 'move stg. by blowing'
çağır- 'call out'	öksür- 'cough'	

ii. -İr verbs denoting absorption and contact with a substance

ısıır- 'bite'	sıyrır- 'scrape'	somur- 'suck heavily'
kemir- 'nibble'	soğur- 'suck'	

iii. Other -Ir verbs

ayır- 'set apart'	evir- 'change'	kudur- 'go mad; be attacked by rabies'
belir- 'emerge'	götür- 'take away'	otur- 'sit'
buyur- 'command; rule'	kanır- 'force back, bend; try to twist stg. loose'	savur- 'toss about'
çevir- 'turn over; spin'	kavur- 'broil; char'	seğir- 'twitch'
devir- 'knock over'	kayır- 'give so. preferential treatment'	semir- 'fatten'
devşir- 'gather; pick'	kıvrır- 'fold'	sömür- 'exploit; suck'
eğir- 'spin'	köpür- 'froth, foam'	süpür- 'sweep; brush'
emzir- ⁹ 'nurse'		yoğur- 'knead; mold'
esri- ¹⁰ 'experience a trance'		

18. -İrgA verbs

basırğa- 'feel uneasy'	indirge- 'reduce; demote'
esirge- 'protect from; withhold'	yadırğa- 'find stg. strange, odd'

19. -İşlA verbs

dürtüşle- 'poke repeatedly'

20. -İştIr verbs

i. -İştIr verbs denoting intensity

anıştır- 'imply'	geçıştır- 'pass over (a matter) lightly; brazen'	savuştur- 'parry'
araştır- 'inquire, research'	ılıştır- 'make lukewarm'	soruştur- 'query'
çağırıştır- 'be reminiscent of'	kariştır- 'combine, confuse'	sürüştür- 'rub in gently'
eleştir- 'criticize'	kovuştur- 'prosecute'	takiştır- 'put on a lot of jewels'
		veriştır- 'utter abuse; swear'

ii. -İştIr verbs denoting repetition and continuity

atıştır- 'snack; begin to rain'	itiştir- 'prod and push continuously'	ovuştur- 'rub'
çekıştır- 'pull; criticize maliciously'	kakıştır- 'keep pushing stg. slightly'	saçıştır- 'scatter'
çarpıştır- 'flutter; strike lightly with a stick'	kıpıştır- 'blink'	serpiştir- 'sprinkle'
dürtüştür- 'prod repeatedly'	kırpıştır- 'blink the eyes'	sokuştur- 'inject; interject'
		tıkıştır- 'stuff'

21. -İt verbs

azıt- 'aggravate; exacerbate'	kırıt- 'behave coquettishly'	sırıt- 'grin'
dağıt- 'distribute'	öğüt- 'grind'	sorut- 'stand; wait'
damıt- 'distil'	pekit- 'strengthen; reinforce'	unut- 'forget'
eğit- 'educate'	içit- 'inject'	yalıt- 'insulate'
ısıt- 'warm up'	işit- 'hear'	

22. -KI verbs

oku- 'read'	şakı- 'warble'
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23. -KIn verbs

yutkun- 'gulp'	öykün- 'emulate'
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24. -KIr verbs

bağır- 'shout'	haykır- 'bawl'	pavkır- 'howl (for foxes and jackals)'
çemkir- 'object'	hıçkır- 'sob, hiccup'	

çımır- 'defecate (for birds)
fişkir- 'gush'
geğir- 'burp'

höykür- 'recite prayers
loudly'
kışkir- 'get excited'

püfkür- 'sputter by
blowing'
püskür- 'spout'
sümkür- 'blow one's nose'

25. -IA verbs

25.1. Noun + -IA verbs

açım- 'anatomize, analyze'
aşı- 'polish'
adım- '(of a baby) walk'
adımla- 'measure by pacing'
afişle- 'announce via a
poster; show'
aforozla- 'excommunicate'
afsunla- 'bewitch'
afyonla- 'opiate'
ağaçla- 'forest'
ağla- 'poison'
ağula- 'poison'
aharla- 'smoothen'
akaçla- 'drain'
akortla- 'key'
akşamla- 'stay until evening'
alaşım- 'alloy'
alazla- 'singe'
alçıla- 'plaster'
algıla- 'perceive'
alıntıyla- 'quote'
alkışla- 'clap'
altla- '(logic) subsume'
altıyazla- 'subtitle'
amaçla- 'aim at'
ambalajla- 'pack'
ambarla- 'store'
anaforla- 'steal'
apazla- 'grasp in the hand'
aprele- '(cloth) finish'
arala- 'jar open'
argaçla- 'weave'
arkala- 'back'
arşınla- 'march up and down'
arşivle- 'file'
arzula- 'desire'
asfaltla- 'cover with asphalt'
astarla- 'line'
aşıla- 'implant'
aşla- 'vaccinate'
ateşle- 'ignite'
atkıla- 'weave'
avla- 'hunt'
avuçla- 'take by handfuls'
avurtla- 'brag'
ayakla- 'measure a distance
by pacing'

ayarla- 'calibrate'
ayazla- '(weather) become
cold'
ayıpla- 'reproach'
ayla- 'wait; last'
azarla- 'scold'
azotla- 'nitrify'
badanala- 'whitewash'
bağla- 'tie up'
bağım- 'influence'
bağışla- 'forgive, donate'
baltala- 'axe, sabotage'
balyala- 'bale'
balyozla- 'hammer'
bandajla- 'bandage'
bantla- 'plaster'
barikatla- 'barricade'
basınçla- 'stress'
belgele- 'document'
belgile- 'mark by a trait'
belikle- '(of hair) plait'
belitle- 'display evidence'
benzinle- 'cover with
benzine'
berele- 'bruise'
bestele- 'compose'
beşle- 'quintuplicate'
betimle- 'describe'
bezekle- 'adorn'
bezele- 'make dough balls'
bezirle- 'treat stg. with
linseed oil'
bezle- 'cover with cloth'
bıçakla- 'stab'
biberle- 'pepper'
bilmezle- 'show up
ignorance'
birle- 'make one'
bitle- 'pick the lice off'
bitümle- 'bituminize'
bocala- 'falter'
bodosla- 'explain; propose'
boğazla- 'strangle'
boğumla- 'make a node'
bohçala- 'make a parcel of'
bokla- 'soil, befoul'
bombala- 'bomb'

bordala- 'hit side of a ship'
boyala- 'paint over stg.'
boyla- 'land'
boynuzla- 'cuckold'
bölümle- 'partition'
briketle- 'form briquette'
buğula- 'steam up'
bukağla- 'hobble'
bulgula- 'find'
bulgurla- 'crumble'
bumla- '(of a tyre) burst'
burgula- 'bore stg. with a
gimlet'
burunla- 'lower, degrade'
buzakla- 'calve'
bütçe- 'make a budget'
büyüle- 'allure'
büzgüle- 'make pleats'
camla- 'fit with glass'
ceple- 'earn'
cevapla- 'answer'
cimbızla- 'pluck stg. with
tweezers'
cıvatala- 'bolt'
cilala- 'burnish'
ciltle- 'bind'
contala- 'put gasket'
copla- 'cosh'
cumbala- 'smooth off the
rough edge of stg.'
çalımla- 'dribble'
çamurla- 'muddy'
çapala- 'hoe'
çapla- 'calibrate'
çapulla- 'loot'
çarşaf- 'cover with bed
sheet'
çayır- '(of an animal) graze'
çekiçle- 'hammer'
çekimle- 'attract an object
due to gravitational
forces'
çelikle- 'propagate plants by
cuttings'
çelmele- 'trip so. with one's
foot'
çemberle- 'circumscribe'

çemenle- 'smear with cumin paste'
 çengelle- 'hang on a hook'
 çentikle- 'jag'
 çepelle- 'muddy'
 çerçevele- 'frame'
 çeşitle- '(music) vary'
 çeşnile- '(food) flavour'
 çevrele- 'surround'
 çevrile- 'explain away; impose interpretation'
 çeyizle- 'prepare a bride's trousseau'
 çeyrekle- 'make infants exercise by crossing their legs and arms'
 çıkıla- 'tie up in a bundle'
 çıkınla- 'tie (things) up in a bundle'
 çırçırıla- 'clean cotton with a cotton-gin'
 çıtçıtıla- 'button with press stud'
 çiçekle- 'decorate with flowers'
 çiftlele- '(for an animal) kick'
 çimdikle- 'pinch'
 çimentola- 'cover with cement'
 çimle- 'grass'
 çirişle- 'smear with paste'
 çitle- 'hedge'
 çivile- 'nail'
 çivitle- 'blue'
 çizgile- 'stripe'
 çoğulla- 'pluralize'
 çomakla- 'hit with a club'
 çömlikle- 'make earthenware pot'
 çözümle- 'analyse'
 çubukla- 'beat (a carpet, cushion, etc.) with a stick'
 çulla- 'cover a horse with a rug'
 çuvalla- 'fail in something'
 damgala- 'seal'
 darbele- 'blow; stroke'
 dayakla- 'support with props'
 değerle- 'appreciate'
 değnekle- 'beat with a stick'
 demetle- 'stook'
 demirle- 'anchor'
 demle- 'steep'
 denetle- 'inspect'
 deneyle- 'experiment on/with'

dengele- 'balance'
 depola- 'store'
 derecele- 'grade'
 desenle- 'draw figures'
 destekle- 'support'
 destele- 'bundle'
 dikizle- 'peek'
 dilimle- 'slice'
 dinamitle- 'dynamite'
 dipçikle- 'club with a rifle butt'
 direnle- 'pitchfork'
 dirsekle- 'elbow'
 dişle- 'bite'
 dizele- 'make line of poetry'
 dizginle- 'bridle'
 dizile- 'arrange in a row'
 doğaçla- 'improvise'
 dopingile- 'dope'
 dosyala- 'file'
 dökümle- 'list; make an inventory'
 dölle- 'inseminate'
 dumanla- 'give out smoke'
 duvakla- 'put a bridal veil on a bride'
 düğmele- 'button'
 düğümle- 'tie'
 dürümle- 'fold, pleat'
 düşle- 'imagine'
 düzenle- 'order'
 ebele- 'tag (in children's games)'
 ebrula- 'marble'
 efsunla- 'bewitch'
 egele- 'file'
 ekle- 'add'
 ilintile- 'sew coarsely'
 eklemle- 'articulate'
 elektrikle- 'electrify'
 elle- 'handle'
 emayla- 'enamel'
 encikle- 'whelp'
 endazele- 'measure'
 endeksle- 'index'
 engelle- 'avert'
 ensele- 'cop'
 esinle- 'inspire'
 eşle- 'pair'
 eterle- 'anaesthetize'
 etiketle- 'label'
 etkile- 'impress'
 eyerle- 'saddle'
 ezberle- 'memorize'
 faksla- 'fax'
 faturala- 'invoice'

fiçıla- 'barrel'
 fırçala- 'brush'
 fırınla- 'bake in the oven'
 fisfisla- 'spray'
 fişkıla- 'dung, manure ground with horse dung'
 fidele- 'plant a bed or field with seedlings'
 fihristle- 'make an index'
 filarizle- 'scutch (flax)'
 filizle- 'prune the buds of a plant'
 firketetele- 'pin up (one's hair)'
 fiskele- 'give stg. a flick'
 fişle- 'prepare index card'
 fitille- 'set off'
 fitle- 'set so. against another'
 fitnele- 'snitch'
 flitle- 'spray insecticide'
 formatla- 'format'
 fosfatla- 'phosphatize'
 fotoğrafla- 'photograph'
 frenle- 'brake'
 frezele- 'mill'
 hançerle- 'stab'
 hapazla- 'grasp with the palms'
 harekele- 'vowelize'
 harmanla- 'blend'
 hasırla- 'cover stg. with matting'
 hatılla- 'strengthen a wall'
 hatırla- 'remember'
 gagala- 'peck'
 galvanizle- 'galvanise'
 gammazla- 'snitch'
 garantile- 'guarantee'
 gazla- 'gas'
 gebrele- 'groom a horse with a haircloth glove'
 gecele- 'stay overnight'
 geçegeçle- 'channel surf'
 gemle- 'restrain'
 gezle- 'aim a weapon'
 gıcıkla- 'tickle'
 gırgırla- 'clean the floor with a carpet sweeper'
 gırtlakla- 'strangle'
 göğüsle- 'breast'
 gölgele- 'shadow'
 gölle- 'turn (a place) into a lake'
 gönyele- 'measure stg. with a set square'
 görüntüle- 'display'
 gözlemle- 'observe'

gübrele- 'manure'
 güderile- 'turn into chamois'
 güdümlle- 'guide, direct'
 gümrükle- 'clear stg. at the customhouse'
 gümüşle- 'silver-plate'
 güneşle- 'sunbathe'
 günle- 'set a date'
 güzle- 'spend the autumn (in X)'
 haçla- 'crucify'
 haddele- 'mill'
 hafızla- 'grind'
 halkala- 'make a bangle; surround'
 hamurla- 'cover stg. with dough'
 havuzla- 'dry-dock'
 hecele- 'syllabicate'
 hedefle- 'aim at'
 herekle- 'stake (a vine or plant)'
 hesapla- 'calculate'
 hidrojenle- 'hydrogenize'
 hikaye- 'depict; tell'
 hilalle- 'make a crescent'
 hizala- 'align'
 ıralla- 'shake; joggle'
 ıskala- 'miss the target'
 ıslıkla- 'catcall'
 ıstampala- 'stamp metal'
 ışınla- 'radiate'
 iğnele- 'needle'
 ihbarla- 'snitch'
 ilaçla- 'apply medicine to'
 ilikle- 'button up'
 ilmekle- 'tie in a loop'
 ilmikle- 'tie in a loop'
 imgele- 'envisage'
 imle- 'indicate'
 imzala- 'sign'
 indükle- 'induce'
 inekle- 'bone up'
 iple- 'pay attention to'
 isle- 'smoke'
 ispatla- 'prove'
 ispiyonla- 'inform on'
 istifile- 'stack neatly'
 işaretle- 'mark'
 işle- 'penetrate'
 jelatinle- 'gelatinize'
 jurnalle- 'denounce'
 kafesle- 'con'
 kâğıtla- 'cover with paper'
 kalafatla- 'caulk'
 kalayla- 'tin'

kalburla- 'sift'
 kalıpla- 'mould'
 kamala- 'stab'
 kamçıla- 'whip'
 kancala- 'hook up'
 kangalla- 'coil sth up'
 kanıtla- 'prove'
 kanla- 'stain stg. with blood'
 kantarla- 'weigh with a weigh-bridge'
 kapla- 'cover'
 kararla- 'make a rough estimate'
 karbonla- 'carburize'
 karele- 'square off'
 kargıla- 'spear'
 karıkla- 'open irrigation canal'
 karınla- 'pull up alongside'
 karışla- 'measure by the span of one's hand'
 karla- 'snow'
 karşıla- 'welcome'
 karşıtla- 'offer an opposite view'
 kartonla- 'bind in boards'
 kasala- 'pack in a packing-case'
 kaskola- 'insure a car'
 kaşağıla- 'curry'
 kaşale- 'stamp'
 kaşıkla- 'spoon'
 kaşla- 'place the stone of a ring in the center'
 katıkla- 'eat stg. with bread'
 katla- 'fold'
 katranla- 'tar'
 kavla- 'desquamate'
 kayıtlı- 'enroll'
 kazıklı- 'impale; cheat'
 keçe- 'cover with felt'
 kefele- 'groom a horse with a hair glove'
 kefenle- 'shroud'
 kemerle- 'give the ridge of a book a curve in binding'
 kenetle- 'clamp together'
 kepele- 'catch a ball with hands shaped like a ladle'
 kertikle- 'notch'
 kesele- 'rub the body with a hair glove'
 kılâğıla- 'put a fine edge on a tool'
 kılavuzla- 'guide'
 kılıçla- 'put to the sword'

kılıfla- 'put stg. in a case or cover'
 kınala- 'apply henna'
 kınla- 'put in a sheath'
 kırbaçla- 'horsewhip'
 kırkla- 'complete forty days after an event'
 kısıtla- 'restrict'
 kışla- '(winter) set in'
 kıtıkla- 'fill with refuse of flax'
 kıyasla- 'compare'
 kıyula- 'sail along the coast'
 kızakla- 'slide'
 kilitle- 'lock'
 kille- 'wash laundry with clay'
 kirala- 'rent'
 kireçle- 'lime'
 kirişle- 'string a bow'
 klonla- 'clone'
 klörle- 'chlorinate'
 kolala- 'starch'
 koltukla- 'flatter'
 konakla- 'camp'
 konukla- 'stay overnight'
 konumla- 'position'
 kopçala- 'hook in'
 kopyala- 'copy'
 koşulla- 'condition'
 kotla- 'put down the elevations of places on a map'
 kökle- 'uproot'
 köpekle- 'cringe'
 körükle- 'foment'
 köstekle- 'hamper'
 köşele- 'put stg. at a corner'
 közle- 'grill'
 kredile- 'give credit'
 kremle- 'apply a cream'
 kucakla- 'hug'
 kulaçla- 'swim a stroke'
 kulunla- 'foal'
 kumla- 'sandblast'
 kurcalı- 'tamper'
 kurgula- 'edit'
 kurşunla- 'shoot'
 kuşakla- 'band'
 kutula- 'box up'
 kuzula- 'lamb'
 kükürtle- 'dust with sulfur'
 külle- 'damp down'
 kümele- 'aggregate'
 künde- 'throw by a trick in wrestling'
 kürele- 'shovel up'

- lafla- 'chat'
 lambala- 'candle (eggs)'
 lanetle- 'curse'
 lehimle- 'seal with lead'
 lekele- 'stain'
 lığla- 'silt up'
 lifle- 'scrub with a luffa'
 limanla- 'come into harbor'
 listele- 'list'
 lodosla- '(south wind) blow'
 macunla- 'putty'
 maddele- 'list'
 madikle- 'trick'
 makasla- 'scissor'
 malakla- 'bring forth water buffalo'
 malala- 'trowel'
 markala- 'trademark'
 marnla- 'add marl to soil'
 masajla- 'massage'
 maskele- 'mask'
 maşala- 'crimp (hair) with a curling iron'
 mayala- 'yeast'
 mayınla- 'mine'
 mazotla- 'cover with diesel oil'
 melezle- 'hybridize'
 mihla- 'transfix'
 mihle- 'black list'
 minele- 'enamel'
 montajla- 'assemble'
 mortla- 'die'
 mumla- 'wax'
 muştala- 'hit with fist'
 muştula- 'give so. good news'
 mühürle- 'seal'
 müjdele- 'give so. good news'
 naflatınla- 'put naphthalin among woolens'
 nakışla- 'embroider (a piece of cloth)'
 nalla- 'shoe'
 neşterle- 'lance'
 nikahla- 'marry so. to'
 nikelle- 'plate with nickel'
 nişanla- 'to engage'
 noktala- 'dot'
 notala- 'copy musical notes'
 numarala- 'number'
 oğlakla- 'bring forth a kid'
 okkalla- 'estimate the weight of stg. by holding it in one's hand'
 okla- 'shoot stg. with an arrow'
 oksijenle- 'oxygenize'
 oksitle- 'oxidize'
 omuzla- 'shoulder'
 onayla- 'affirm'
 oranla- 'estimate'
 orantıla- 'proportion'
 orsala- 'hug the wind'
 ortalı- 'center'
 otla- 'grass'
 oyalı- 'detain'
 oyla- 'poll'
 oylumla- 'give stg. a three-dimensional appearance'
 oyumla- '(of plants) be deeply rooted'
 ozonla- 'ozone'
 ödünle- 'make up for'
 öğütü- 'advise so.'
 öksele- 'smear stg. with bird-lime'
 ölçümle- 'appraise'
 önle- 'thwart'
 örgütle- 'organize'
 örnekle- 'sample'
 öyküle- 'narrate'
 özetle- 'summarize'
 özümle- 'assimilate'
 pahlı- 'bevel, chamfer'
 paketle- 'pack'
 palazla- 'grow strong'
 panikle- 'panic'
 parafele- 'initialize'
 parafıla- 'initialize'
 parçala- 'break to pieces'
 parala-11 'maul'
 parkele- 'lay parquet'
 parselle- 'lot'
 paspasla- 'swab'
 patakla- 'belabour'
 pazarla- 'market'
 peçe- 'veil'
 perçinle- 'rivet'
 perdahla- 'polish'
 perdele- 'curtain, conceal'
 peyle- 'have an eye on stg.'
 piyazla- 'marinate'
 planla- 'arrange'
 planya- 'plane'
 plasele- 'place'
 pompala- 'pump'
 ponzala- 'pumice'
 postala- 'post'
 poşetle- 'bag'
 poyrazla- '(North-East wind) blow'
 presle- 'mill'
 puanla- 'grade'
 pudrala- 'powder'
 pulla- 'stamp'
 pusula- 'lay an ambush'
 rakamla- 'number'
 rampala- 'sidling up to; ramp'
 raporla- 'report'
 raptiyele- 'thumbtack'
 raspala- 'scrape the paint or rust off a surface'
 rende- 'grate'
 renkle- 'enliven'
 resimle- 'illustrate'
 rezele- 'latch'
 rimelle- 'wear mascara'
 rötüşla- 'retouch'
 rujla- 'wear lipstick; smear with lipstick'
 rüzgârla- 'bluster'
 sabahla- 'stay awake all night'
 sabunla- 'lather'
 saçmala- 'babble'
 sahnele- 'stage'
 sakatla- 'disable'
 salçala- 'sauce'
 salgıla- 'excrete'
 sandıkla- 'box'
 sanrıla- 'hallucinate'
 sansürle- 'censor'
 sargıla- 'roll a bandage'
 sarkaçla- '(of body parts) dangle'
 savatla- 'engrave'
 savla- 'assert'
 savsakla- 'neglect'
 sayfala- 'paginate'
 sayıla- 'number'
 sayımla- 'make a counting'
 saykalla- 'polish'
 sekile- 'forest a slope'
 selamla- 'greet'
 sendele12- 'stagger'
 sepetle- 'get rid of a tiresome person'
 sepile- 'tan'
 sergile- 'exhibit'
 sıfırla- 'reset'
 sınıfla- 'classify'
 sınırla- 'confine'
 sırala- 'concatenate'
 sırkla- 'stake'

sırla- 'glaze'
 sırtla- 'shoulder'
 sıvala- 'plaster'
 sıvazla- 'stroke'
 sifonla- 'flush toilet'
 siftahla- 'make the first sale
 of the day'
 sigortalı- 'insure'
 silahla- 'arm'
 silikatla- 'silicate'
 silola- 'put stg. in a silo'
 simgele- 'symbolize'
 sinirle- 'hamstring'
 sistirele- 'plane'
 sobele- 'reach base before
 someone else'
 soğanla- 'add onion to a dish'
 solla- 'overtake'
 solukla- 'become pale, faded'
 sonla- 'finish'
 sonuçla- 'bring to an end'
 sopala- 'give a beating to'
 sorgula- 'interrogate'
 soylı- 'recite a poem'
 soyutla- 'abstract'
 söğüşle- 'bleed'
 sönümle- '(oscillation) damp'
 stokla- 'stockpile'
 suçla- 'blame'
 sula- 'water'
 sülfürle- 'sulphurize'
 süngüle- 'bayonet'
 sünnetle- 'circumcise'
 sürgüle- 'bolt'
 sürmele- 'fasten'
 süsle- 'bedeck'
 süzgeçle- 'strain'
 şakulle- 'plumb'
 şamarla- 'slap'
 şandelle- 'kick the ball to-
 wards the goal'
 şartla- 'lustrate'
 şekerle- 'sugar'
 şerbetle- 'charm so. by
 magic'
 şeritle- 'wrap a ribbon around
 stg.'
 şiringala- 'inject'
 şifrele- 'cipher'
 şinikle- 'measure with şinik
 (a measure for cereals
 equalling 10 litres)'
 şişele- 'bottle'
 şişle- 'stab somebody'
 şutla- 'drive away'
 tabakala- 'layer, fold'

tabakla- 'tan'
 takozla- 'chock'
 talanla- 'plunder'
 talaşla- 'cover with sawdust'
 tamamlı- 'accomplish'
 tanele- 'granulate'
 tanıkla- 'provide a witness'
 tanıla- 'diagnose'
 tanımla- 'define'
 tanıtla- 'prove'
 tapala- 'stopper'
 tapanla- 'harrow'
 tapula- 'get title to a piece of
 land'
 tarakla- 'comb'
 tarazla- 'make rough by
 combing'
 tasarla- 'design'
 tasımla- 'reckon'
 tasla- 'affect'
 tasnifle- 'assort'
 taşla- 'lapidate'
 tavla- 'anneal'
 tayla- 'bring forth a foal'
 tebeşirle- 'chalk; smear with
 chalk'
 tedarikle- 'prepare'
 tekle- '(engine) miss'
 tekmele- 'kick'
 tekmiile- 'finish'
 tekrarla- 'repeat'
 telala- 'stiffen with tela'
 telle- 'telegraph'
 terasla- 'terrace (a slope)'
 terazile- 'balance'
 terbiyele- 'cultivate'
 terle- 'sweat'
 tertiple- 'organize'
 testerele- 'saw'
 tetikle- 'trigger'
 teyelle- 'baste'
 tezgâhla- 'plan'
 tezle- 'speed up'
 tıkaçla- 'plug'
 tımarla- '(horse) groom'
 tıpala- 'bung'
 tıraşla- 'crop'
 tırmıkla- 'rake'
 tırmakla- 'scratch'
 tırpanla- 'scythe'
 tipile- '(of a snowstorm or
 blizzard) rage'
 tiple- 'represent a character'
 tirele- 'put a dash'
 titremle- 'pay attention to
 intonation in speaking'

tohumla- 'seed'
 tokaçla- 'beat (washing) with
 a clothes stick'
 tokatla- 'slap'
 topakla- 'form into pellets'
 topla- 'sum'
 toprakla- 'earth'
 topukla- 'prod with one's
 heels'
 torbala- 'bag'
 tornala- 'lathe'
 torpille- 'torpedo'
 törpüle- 'rasp'
 tunçla- 'make bronze'
 turala- 'skein'
 turla- 'tour'
 tuşla- 'press (button)'
 tutamla- 'take a small handful
 of sth'
 tutkalla- 'glue'
 tuzakla- 'lay a trap'
 tuzla- 'salt'
 tümle- 'integrate'
 tünekle- 'perch'
 tüple- 'put in a tube'
 türküle- 'sing a folk song'
 tütsüle- 'fume'
 uğurla- 'send off'
 unla- 'flour'
 üçle- 'make three'
 ünlle- 'cry out; sing'
 üstele- 'persist'
 üstüpile- 'caulk or pack stg.
 with oakum or tow'
 ütüle- 'iron'
 üzengile- 'spur a horse with
 the stirrup'
 vakumla- 'vacuum'
 varakla- 'silver'
 vazelinle- 'cover with vase-
 line'
 vergile- 'impose a tax on'
 vernikle- 'varnish'
 vidala- 'screw'
 vitrinle- 'make a
 shopwindow'
 vurgula- 'emphasize'
 yabala- 'winnow or carry hay
 with a yaba (wooden fork
 with three to five prongs)'
 yaftala- 'label'
 yağla- 'oil'
 yağmala- 'plunder'
 yağmurla- 'turn into rain'
 yalanla- 'impugn'
 yalazla- 'flame'

yaldızla- 'gild'	yazla- 'spend the summer in a certain place'	yumakla- 'clew'
yalpala- 'sway from side to side'	yedekle- 'back up'	yumrukla- 'punch'
yamala- 'vamp'	yeğle- 'prefer'	yumurtla- 'ovulate'
yanıtla- 'answer'	yelekke- 'put feather at the end of an arrow'	yükle- 'load'
yarala- 'wound'	yelkenle- 'sail'	yüzle- 'make representations'
yargıla- 'judge'	yelle- 'blow upon'	zamanla- 'time'
yarıla- 'be halfway through'	yelpazele- 'fan'	zamkla- 'glue'
yarımla- 'halve'	yemle- 'peck'	zarfla- 'envelope'
yarmala- 'split stg. length-wise'	yıldızla- '(of wind) blow from North'	zedele- 'damage'
yasakla- 'ban'	yoğurtla- 'add yogurt'	zehirle- 'poison'
yastıkla- 'cushion'	yongala- 'make a chip'	zimbala- 'staple'
yayımla- 'publish'	yorumla- 'interpret'	zımparala- 'sandpaper'
ayyla- 'spend the summer in the mountains'	yudumla- 'sup'	zıpkımla- 'harpoon'
	yuhla- 'boo'	zırvala- 'drivel'
		ziftle- 'caulk'
		zincirle- 'chain'

25.2. Adjective + -IA verbs

i. Adjective + -IA verbs (transitive)

ağırla- 'accommodate'	durula- 'rinse'	kurula- 'dry'
akla- 'acquit'	düzle- 'smooth'	kutlula- 'offer congratulations to so. on a feast day'
alacala- 'speckle'	erginle- 'enlighten'	marizle- 'beat so. up'
alala- 'camouflage'	esenle- 'greet'	ötele- 'shift'
alla- 'adorn'	eşitle- 'equalize'	özdeşle- 'make identical'
arakla- 'snoop'	geçerle- 'cause to pass'	özüle- 'allocate'
arıla- 'declare that stg. is free from defect'	genelle- 'generalize'	peydahla- 'produce'
aşağıla- 'humiliate'	gerçekle- 'verify'	pakla- 'clean'
bütünüle- 'defragment'	güncelle- 'update'	sıkıla- 'make stg. tight'
çaprazla- 'cross'	hazırla- 'prepare'	tazele- 'freshen'
çiftle- 'make two'	ikile- 'reduplicate'	temizle- 'clean'
değirmile- 'make circular'	karala- 'scrabble'	tersle- 'scold'
denkle- 'even up'	kırkla- 'crumble'	ulula- 'glorify'
dışla- 'exclude'	kireçsile- 'turn stg. into lime'	zorla- 'force'
doğrula- 'corroborate'	kolayla- 'finish the hardest part of a job'	
dörtle- 'quadruplicate'	kötüle- 'denigrate'	

ii. Adjective + -IA verbs (intransitive)

afalla- 'flabbergast'	hamla- 'get soft from lack of work'	serinle- 'get cool'
aykırıla- 'take the short cut'	ihtiyarla- 'grow old'	sersemle- 'become dazed'
bayatla- 'go stale'	pepele- 'stutter'	sıcakla- 'feel hot'
bengile- 'eternalize'	pisle- 'dirty'	şişmanla- 'get fat'
ferahla- 'feel relieved'	rahatla- 'feel at ease'	tırılla- 'be destitute'
genişle- 'broaden'	sakinle- 'calm down'	topalla- 'hobble'
gerile- 'deteriorate'	semizle- 'grow fat'	ucuzla- 'cheapen'
hafifle- 'lighten'	serbestle- 'breathe easily'	yavaşla- 'slow down'
		zayıfla- 'get thin'

25.3. Adverb + -IA verbs

ertele- 'postpone'	nicele- 'quantify'	öncele- 'give stg. priority'
hiçle- 'disregard completely'	nitele- 'qualify'	yinele- 'repeat'
		evetle- 'say yes'

25.4. Onomatopoeic root + -IA verbs¹³

ağla- 'weep'	hırsla- 'growl; snarl'	şakla- 'make a loud cracking noise'
ahla- 'sigh, moan'	hışla- 'make a wheezing or rustling sound'	şakşakla- 'applaud'
carla- 'talk loudly, incessantly'	hohla- 'breathe'	şapla- 'make a smacking noise with the lips or hand'
cırtla- 'screech'	hopla- 'jump'	şarla- 'flow with a splashing noise'
ciyakla- 'squeal'	horla- 'snore'	şırsla- 'make the noise of gently running water'
cızla- 'burn with a sizzling noise'	hortla- 'rise from the grave'	şorla- '(of liquids) flow loudly'
ciyakla- 'squeal'	ihla- 'groan'	tıkla- 'tick'
çağla- 'ripple'	inle- 'moan'	tınla- 'clang'
çatla- 'crack, chap'	kekele- 'stutter'	tırtıkla- 'fleece'
çınla- 'clang; tinkle'	kışkışla- 'shoo'	tısla- 'hiss'
çıtla- 'make a slight cracking sound'	kütla- 'give out a thudding noise'	tosla- 'bump'
defle- 'drive away; expel'	lüle- 'choke down; gulp down'	ufla- 'sigh; express annoyance'
dehle- '(animal) to urge on'	mele- 'bleat'	üfle- 'blow upon'
fırla- 'pop out'	mıncıkla- 'pinch and squeeze'	vakla- 'quack'
fısla- 'fizz'	mırla- 'purr'	vakvakla- 'quack'
fosla- 'fail; be disconcerted'	miyavla- 'meow'	vıcıkla- 'make stg. into a goo'
gakla- 'caw'	ofla- 'grunt with vexation'	vınla- 'buzz'
gıdakla- 'cackle'	parla- 'shine'	vırsla- 'nag'
gırtlal- 'drink tea with sugar kept in the mouth'	patla- 'explode'	vızla- 'buzz'
gurkla- '(of a bird) to sit'	pehpehle- 'applaud'	viyakla- 'squawk'
gurla- 'rumble'	pırsla- 'flutter'	zırsla- 'keep up a continuous noise'
gümle- 'emit a loudly echoing or booming sound'	purpurla- '(of light) blink'	zıpla- 'jump'
gürle- 'roar'	pürtla- 'protrude'	zonkla- 'throb with pain'
harla- 'burn furiously'	pıspışla- 'swing a baby slowly to make him sleep'	
haşla- 'boil'	pohpohla- 'flatter'	
havla- 'bark'	pörtle- 'bulge out'	
hayla- 'drive (an animal) by shouting hay'	puflla- 'blow; puff'	
	püfle- 'puff'	
	sızla- 'ache'	

25.5. -Et + -IA verbs

gözetle- 'observe secretly'

25.6. Other -IA verbs (verbs the roots of which do not have a specific meaning in MT)¹⁴

anla- 'understand'	dazla- 'be picky'	ısla- 'wet'
atla- 'jump'	derle- 'compile'	ısmarla- 'order'
balıkla- 'dive head foremost'	dızla- 'swindle; acquire by fraud'	incele- 'investigate'
başla- 'start'	dinle- 'listen'	irdele- 'explicate'
bekle- 'wait'	eğle- 'amuse'	izle- 'trace'
belinle- 'wake up and blench'	emekle- 'crawl'	keşle- 'ignore'
belirle- 'determine'	etekle- 'crawl to so.'	kokla- 'smell'
belle- 'dig'	eyle- 'do'	kolla- 'watch for'
besle- 'feed'	fistikla- 'sow discord away; provoke'	kutla- 'celebrate'
çakozla- 'suss'	gizle- 'hide'	özle- 'miss'
çitile- '(clothes) rub together while washing'	gözle- 'watch'	payla- 'rebuke'
dağla- 'scorch'	hakla- 'overcome'	rastla- 'encounter'
		sakla- 'cover'
		salla- 'shake'

sapla- 'plunge'
sezinle- 'sense'
söyle- 'say'
tasla- 'affect'

tökezle- 'stumble'
uslamla- 'think; reckon'
yadımla- '(of molecules)
burn'

yasla- 'justify'
yolla- 'send'

26. -lAn verbs

26.1. Noun + -lAn verbs

adlan- 'be named'
ağdalan- 'become
coagulated'
ağırşaklan- '(of a boil) swell;
protrude'
akıllan- 'come to one's
senses'
alakalan- 'show interest in'
alevlen- 'inflammation'
ardaklan- '(of tree) rot due to
fungus'
arılan- 'become clean'
arızalan- 'break down'
arlan- 'be ashamed'
asılan- 'benefit'
ateşlen- 'catch fire'
atlan- 'be skipped'
ballan- '(fruit) get ripe and
sweet'
barklan- 'set up house'
bedirilen- 'become a full
moon'
beneklen- 'become spotted'
benlen- 'get moles'
bereketlen- 'increase'
berelen- 'bruise'
bıyıklan- 'get a moustache'
biçimlen- 'get a form'
bilgilen- 'get knowledge'
bilinçlen- 'become
conscious'
bitlen- 'get infested with
lice'
boğumlan- 'become articu-
lated'
boklan- 'get dirty; be in a
bad situation'
boncuklan- '(of tears, sweat)
become bead-like'
borçlan- 'take on debt'
boyulan- 'grow taller'
boynuzlan- 'grow horns'
böceklen- 'be infested with
insects'
böcelen- 'become infested
with insects'
budaklan- 'pullulate'

buğulan- 'mist over'
bulutlan- 'get cloudy'
buzlan- 'get icy'
canlan- 'awaken'
celallen- 'get into a rage'
cephelen- 'form a front'
cerahatlen- 'suppurate'
cesaretlen- 'take courage'
cezalan- 'be punished'
cihazlan- 'be equipped with
the latest technology'
cisimlen- 'materialize'
coşkulun- 'become
exuberant'
cücüklen- 'send forth shoots;
sprout'
cüretilen- 'dare'
çapaklan- '(of the eye) be-
come gummy'
çarşafılan- '(of women) cover
oneself'
çatallan- 'furcate'
çavlan- 'make noise'
çayırılan- 'graze'
çeğmellen- 'become bow-
like'
çerezlen- 'snack'
çığalan- '(of a horse tail)
stand stiff'
çiçeklen- 'bloom'
çillen- 'get freckles'
çimlen- 'sprout'
çizgilen- 'come to possess
lines'
çöreklen- 'twine'
çukurlan- 'become hollow'
dalgalan- 'fluctuate'
dallan- 'branch'
damarlan- 'become veined'
değerlen- 'gain value'
dehşetlen- 'fear'
demlen- 'be steeped'
dengelen- 'be balanced'
dertlen- 'have troubles'
dillen- 'become chatty'
dişlen- 'gain authority'

dumanlan- 'be filled with
smoke or mist'
duvaklan- '(of a bride) wear
a veil'
duygulan- 'be moved'
düğümülen- 'be tied with a
knot'
edeplen- 'be or become
well-behaved'
efkarlan- 'become
thoughtful or anxious'
elektriklen- 'be electrified'
endişelen- 'be anxious'
eseflen- 'regret'
esinlen- 'be inspired by'
etenelen- 'establish a
chemical relation
between the fetus and
mother'
etilen- 'fatten'
evhamlan- 'be full of false
apprehensions'
ezgilen- 'become rhythmic'
faydalan- 'derive benefit
from stg.'
fenlen- 'know what one is
supposed to know at a
certain age'
ferahlan- 'become spacious
or airy'
feyizlen- 'benefit by'
filizlen- 'sprout'
fiyatlan- 'get expensive'
gamlan- 'be grieved'
gayretlen- 'endeavour'
gazaplan- 'become wrathful'
gazlan- 'become gaseous'
gıcıklan- 'have a tickling
sensation'
göbeklen- 'become paunchy'
görevlen- 'be assigned duty'
görgülen- 'become well-
bred'
gövdelen- 'become bulky'
gruplan- 'be grouped'
gururlan- 'take pride in stg.'
güçlen- 'grow stronger'

güvelen- 'get clothes-moths'
 halelen- 'form a halo'
 hararetlen- 'become heated'
 hareketlen- 'brisk'
 harelen- 'have a sheen'
 hasetlen- 'envy'
 hastalan- 'become ill'
 havalan- 'be aired'
 hayıflan- 'bemoan'
 helecanlan- 'become excited'
 helmelen- 'become like paste'
 heveslen- 'be eager to do stg.'
 heyecanlan- 'become excited'
 hırsılan- 'seethe'
 hışımınlan- 'become furious'
 hızlan- 'gain speed'
 hiddetlen- 'become angry'
 hislen- 'be moved'
 huylan- 'get nervous'
 hüznülen- 'feel sad'
 ışıklan- 'be illuminated'
 ikirciklen- 'get suspicious'
 ilgilen- 'be interested'
 iltihaplan- 'become inflamed'
 ipliklen- 'become threadbare'
 irinlen- 'suppurate'
 isteklen- 'want to'
 işkillen- 'be dubious'
 iştahlan- 'get pleasantly hungry'
 kabuklan- 'grow bark'
 kademelen- 'become gradual'
 kahırlan- 'be grieved'
 kahpelen- 'behave deceitfully; perfidiously'
 kanatlan- 'take wing'
 kanlan- 'become blood stained'
 kapılan- 'take service'
 karıncalan- 'prickle'
 kasavetlen- 'become sad'
 katkılan- 'contain an additive'
 kavlan- 'be desquamated'
 kaygılan- 'worry'
 keçelen- 'become matted'
 kederlen- 'mourn'
 kepeklen- 'become scurfy'
 keyiflen- 'get tipsy'

kıllan- 'become hairy'
 kırçılın- 'become sprinkled with grey'
 kıvamlan- 'reach the right consistency'
 kıvançlan- 'be pleased'
 kıvılcımlan- 'start to give off sparks'
 kıvrımlan- 'become curled'
 kıymetlen- 'become more valuable'
 kibirlen- 'become arrogant'
 kinlen- 'nurture a grudge'
 kirlen- 'become dirty'
 kokorozlan- 'intimidate; challenge'
 kokulan- 'perfume'
 konuşlan- 'deploy'
 konutlan- 'use a place as a residence'
 kökenlen- 'have an origin'
 köklen- 'put forth roots'
 köprülen- 'have a bridge'
 kristallen- 'crystallize'
 kullan- 'use'
 kurtlan- 'get wormy'
 kurumlan- 'be puffed-up'
 kuşkulan- 'feel suspicious'
 kutuplan- 'be polarized'
 kuvvetlen- 'grow stronger'
 küflen- 'get moldy'
 kültürlen- 'become cultivated'
 kümbetlen- 'become dome-like'
 kümelen- 'cluster'
 lezzetlen- 'become delicious'
 mallan- 'acquire property'
 menevişlen- 'have a moiré appearance'
 meraklan- 'worry about'
 merkezlen- 'be centered'
 mevzilen- 'take up a position'
 meyvelen- '(of tree) have fruits'
 mikroplan- 'be infected'
 sporlan- 'sporificate'
 millen- 'silt up'
 mutlan- 'become happy'
 neşelen- 'become cheerful'
 oğullan- '(of bees) swarm'
 öbeklen- 'form a group'
 öçlen- 'cherish a grudge'
 öfkelen- 'grow angry'

örgütlen- 'be organized'
 örümceklen- 'become covered with cobwebs'
 pahalalan- 'become dear'
 palazlan- 'grow strong'
 paralan- 'be torn'
 parazitlen- 'jam'
 paslan- 'become rusty'
 peltelen- 'become jellified'
 pıhtılan- 'become coagulated'
 pipiriklen- 'be afflicted with unfounded fears/suspicions'
 pirelen- 'become infested with fleas'
 posalan- 'deposit a sediment'
 potlan- 'be creased'
 puslan- '(of a cold glass) be misty with condensation'
 pürçeklen- 'become tasselled'
 pürtüklen- 'become knobby'
 pürüzlen- 'become rough or shaggy'
 pütürlen- 'become chilblained'
 raşelen- 'shiver; (of hair) stand on end'
 renklen- 'take on a lively note'
 rutubetlen- 'become damp'
 ruziklen- 'live in destitution'
 rüzgârlan- 'become windy'
 sabunlan- 'soap oneself'
 saçaklan- 'become fringed'
 sakallan- 'sprout a beard'
 sakatlan- 'become disabled'
 sancılan- 'gripe'
 serinlen- 'become cool'
 sevdalan- 'fall passionately in love with'
 sıtmalan- 'get malaria'
 sihirilen- 'be enthralled'
 silahlan- 'become armed'
 silahsızlan- 'become disarmed'
 sineklen- 'become infested with flies'
 sinirlen- 'become irritated'
 sislen- 'get foggy'
 sonlan- 'end'
 sonuçlan- 'result in'
 sorguçlan- 'look like a plume'

sütlen- 'lactate'	temellen- 'become firmly fixed'	umutlan- 'become hopeful'
streslen- 'become stressful'	teşkilatlan- 'get organized'	uslan- 'become well-behaved'
sulan- 'deliquesce'	tırtıllan- 'become infested with caterpillars'	ümitlen- 'become hopeful'
süratlen- 'gain speed'	tiftiklen- 'become fuzzy'	ünlen- 'become famous'
şekillen- 'acquire a shape'	tirfillen- 'become threadbare'	vasıflan- 'become qualified'
şenlen- 'become cheerful'	tohumlan- '(of a plant) develop seed'	yakamozlan- 'form phosphorescence in the sea'
şereflen- 'be honoured'	tomurcuklan- 'bud'	yapraklan- 'become foliated'
şiddetlen- 'become intensified'	torbalan- 'sag'	yararlan- 'benefit'
şimşeklen- '(lightning) flash'	tortulan- 'sediment'	yaşlan- 'grow old'
şuurlan- 'become conscious'	tozlan- 'get dusty'	yelelen- '(of hair) wave in the air'
şüphelen- 'doubt'	tüllen- 'become tulle-like'	yemişlen- 'fruit'
talazlan- '(of silk) be ruffled up'	tümlen- 'be integrated'	yosunlan- 'become mossy'
tanelen- 'granulate'	tümörlen- 'get a tumour'	yurtlan- 'settle'
tasalan- 'worry'	tüylen- 'grow feathers'	yüreklen- 'take heart'
tatlan- '(fruit) get sweet'	uçlan- 'shower down'	zevklen- 'become pleased'
telaşlan- 'get agitated'		

26.2. Noun + -lAn verbs (to behave in a certain manner/ to do X)

ağalan- 'lord it over so.; play the Agha'	erkeklen- 'act like a bully'
babalan- 'become enraged; play the Mafia boss'	horozlan- 'bluster'
büyüklen- 'become haughty'	itlen- 'behave in an ill-mannered way'
cinlen- 'become furious'	kabadayılan- 'bully'
cilvelen- 'act in a coquettish manner'	koçlan- 'become a ram; act violently, bravely'
dayılan- 'swagger'	köpeklen- 'cringe like a beaten dog'
efelen- 'behave in an obstinate and defiant way'	şahlan- 'rear'
	yavuzlan- 'become resolute; bully'

26.3. Adjective + -lAn verbs

acılan- 'become bitter'	huysuzlan- 'fret'
akçılın- 'become whitish, faded'	ivedilen- 'hurry'
aksilen- 'bridle'	kokozlan- 'become poor and destitute'
alacalan- 'become colorful'	körülen- 'become blind/ blunt; get rusty'
arsızlan- 'act in an impudent manner'	mağrurlan- 'be puffed up; give oneself airs'
aydınlan- 'brighten'	mutlulan- 'become happy'
ayrılan- 'become separated; distinct'	pimpiriklen- 'become old and weak'
beyazlan- 'whiten'	pislen- 'get dirty'
bollan- 'get loose'	rahatsızlan- 'become ill'
cıvıklan- 'become sticky, wet'	sabırsızlan- 'grow impatient'
delilen- 'get crazy, mad'	sertlen- 'get tough'
densizlen- 'act in a peevish manner'	siyahlan- 'turn black'
diklen- 'get stubborn'	titizlen- 'fuss about sth'
dinçlen- 'feel refreshed'	yeşillen- 'become green'
esaslan- 'become firmly established'	

26.4. Onomatopoeic root + -lAn verbs

betelen- 'resist obstinately'	mızızlan- 'quetch'
böbürlen- 'boast'	sabuklan- 'talk nonsense'
dırdırlan- 'grumble'	seslen- 'call'
dırlan- 'yammer'	vahvahlan- 'say <i>alas, what a pity</i> '
mızıklan- 'not play the game'	yazıklan- 'say <i>what a shame/ pity</i> '

26.5. Other -IAn verbs

ayaklan- 'rebel'	hallen- 'acquire a new condition'	tıkımlan- 'devour'
bilmezlen- 'pretend not to know'	harılan- '(of animals) become bad-tempered'	uzaklan- 'be coy; feign reluctance'
çıplan- 'become naked; undress'	hoşlan- 'like'	üslen- 'position oneself at a place'
çullan- 'descend'	içlen- 'be emotionally affected'	yankılan- 'echo'
dinlen- ¹⁵ 'relax'	kapaklan- 'fall flat on one's face'	yaylan- 'bounce'
evlen- 'get married'	kaşarlan- 'get used to doing wicked things'	yellen- 'break wind'
gazellen- '(trees) to lose their leaves'	koşullan- 'be conditioned'	yıllan- 'age'
gevezelen- 'chatter'	soluklan- 'take a breath'	sebeplen- 'get a share of the pie'
gönüllən- 'be offended, hurt'	terslen- 'meet with a rebuff'	siperlen- 'take shelter'
güneşlen- 'sunbathe'		sahiplen- 'claim possession of stg.'

27. -Iaş verbs

27.1.1. Noun+ -Iaş verbs (verbs denoting change of state)

abanozlaş- 'become hard or as black as ebony'	bayraklaş- 'have the status of a flag'	cepheleş- 'solidify in opposition'
abideleş- 'become a monument; be memorialized'	bebekleş- 'become baby-like'	cinleş- 'become smart'
acemleş- 'become Persian'	bedirleş- 'become a full moon'	cisimleş- 'materialize'
acılaş- 'become bitter'	benekleş- 'become spot-like'	cüçükleş- 'bud'
adlaş- 'become a noun'	betonlaş- 'become full with concrete buildings'	çakırlaş- 'become greyish blue'
ağaçlaş- 'become tree-like'	bitkileş- 'become plant-like'	çamurlaş- 'turn into mud; get importunate'
ağdalaş- 'become of the consistency of thick syrup'	bloklaş- 'form a block'	çatallaş- 'bifurcate'
ağışlaş- 'become poisonous'	boklaş- '(for a project, situation) go bad'	çayırlaş- 'become meadowy'
Almanlaş- 'become German-like'	boncuklaş- 'become bead-like'	çeteleş- 'become a gang'
anılaş- 'become a memory'	boynuzlaş- 'become horn-like'	çıbanlaş- 'become boil-like'
anıtlaş- 'acquire a monument status'	bozkırlaş- 'become steppe-like'	çiçekleş- 'become a flower'
apseleş- 'become an abscess'	buğulaş- 'vaporize'	çirozlaş- '(of mackerel) spawn or become thin; turn into nothing but skin and bones'
Araplaş- 'become Arab-like'	buharlaş- 'evaporate'	çizgileş- 'become line-like'
argolaş- 'become slang'	buzlaş- 'get icy'	çocuklaş- 'become childish'
asalaklaş- 'become parasite-like'	buzullaş- 'glaciate'	çölleş- 'become desert'
ayranlaş- 'become like ayran (a drink made of yogurt and water)'	bülbülleş- 'speak fluently'	çukurlaş- 'become hollow'
ayrımlaş- 'become differentiated'	cadılaş- '(of a woman) become ugly and cantankerous'	destanlaş- 'become an epic/legendary'
bağımlaş- 'become dependent on each other'	camlaş- 'become glassy'	deyimleş- 'become an idiom'
bakırlaş- 'turn the color of copper'	cazibeleş- 'become attractive'	dikenleş- 'become thorn-like'
bançolaş- 'become banjo-like'	cemaatleş- 'become a congregation, community'	dişileş- 'feminize'
bayırlaş- '(of a road) rise; get steep'	cennetleş- 'become paradise-like'	domuzlaş- 'become obstinate and disagreeable'
		efeleş- 'become hector-like'
		efsaneleş- 'become a legend'
		ekleş- 'become affix-like'
		erkekleş- 'become masculine'
		eşekleş- 'behave rudely'

eterleş- 'become ether'
 facialaş- 'become disastrous'
 filozoflaş- 'philosophize'
 firavunlaş- 'behave cruelly and despotically'
 formülleş- 'become a formula'
 fosilleş- 'fossilize'
 Fransızlaş- 'Gallicize'
 Frenkleş- 'behave like a European'
 gazlaş- 'become gaseous'
 gerillalaş- 'become a guerrilla'
 göçebeleş- 'become a nomad'
 gölleş- 'become lake-like'
 gruplaş- 'form groups'
 hamurlaş- 'become dough-like'
 hayvanlaş- 'become swinish, become brutish'
 helvalaş- 'become halvah-like'
 hevenkleş- 'become a bunch of fruits'
 hıyarlaş- 'become doltish, turn into a dolt'
 hizipleş- 'separate into factions'
 holdingleş- 'conglomerate'
 horozlaş- 'become a bully'
 hulyalaş- 'become a dream'
 ırmaklaş- 'become river-like'
 ifritleş- 'get angry'
 ihtisaslaş- 'specialize'
 ilahlaş- 'become god-like'
 ilkeleş- 'become a principle'
 insanlaş- 'humanize'
 İslamlaş- 'convert to Islam'
 kadınlaş- 'become feminine'
 kadrolaş- 'place one's men in key places'
 kalıplaş- 'take a fixed form; become stereotyped'
 kalplaş- 'start goldbricking; to start turning out shoddy work'
 karılaş- 'behave like a woman'
 kartelleş- 'cartelize'
 kaslaş- 'become muscle-like'
 katırlaş- 'start acting muleheadedly'
 kavlaş- 'become tindery or punky'

keçeleş- 'mat; felt'
 keçileş- 'become obstinate'
 kelleş- 'become bald'
 kentleş- 'become urbanized'
 kırçıllaş- '{of hair) become grey'
 kireçleş- 'calcify'
 kistleş- 'become cyst-like'
 kişileş- 'become a person'
 klişeleş- 'become a cliché'
 kökleş- 'become established'
 köleleş- 'turn into a slave'
 köyleş- 'become village-like'
 közleş- 'become cinder'
 kullaş- 'serve so. with utter faithfulness'
 kurallaş- 'become a rule'
 kurşunlaş- 'become heavy as lead'
 kuzulaş- 'become as gentle as a lamb'
 külçeleş- 'harden in a lump'
 kütükleş- 'become rude and insensible'
 laçkalaş- 'get slack; loose'
 laikleş- 'become secular'
 lifleş- 'become fiber-like'
 melezleş- 'become cross-bred'
 milletleş- 'become a nation'
 mitleş- 'become a myth'
 modalaş- 'come into fashion'
 mumlaş- 'become wax-like'
 nasırlaş- 'become calloused'
 nesneleş- 'turn into an object'
 neticeleş- 'end'
 odunlaş- 'lignify; get rude'
 okullaş- 'become school-like'
 oluklaş- 'become trough-like'
 organlaş- '(of a living thing) to develop organs'
 ormanlaş- 'become forested'
 oyunlaş- 'become a game'
 ozonlaş- 'become ozone'
 öbekleş- 'become a mass, pile'
 özleş- 'become the consistency of pastry'
 palazlaş- 'grow large'
 partileş- 'become a party'
 pelteleş- 'jellify'
 pıhtılaş- 'coagulate'

piçleş- 'be ruined, turn into a ballup'
 putlaş- 'be idolized'
 resimleş- 'become picture-like'
 robotlaş- 'become a robot'
 Rumlaş- 'become Greek-like'
 Ruslaş- 'become Russian-like'
 sabunlaş- 'saponify'
 sağırlaş- 'become deaf'
 sakızlaş- 'become sticky'
 salgınlaş- 'become an epidemic'
 sapıklaş- 'become a pervert'
 sınıflaş- 'form a social class'
 sıvılaş- 'condense; liquefy'
 simgeleş- 'become a symbol'
 sirkeleş- 'turn sour/into vinegar'
 siyahlaş- 'blacken'
 Slavlaş- 'become Slavic'
 softalaş- 'become very pious'
 sucuklaş- 'sweat'
 şabanlaş- 'become stupid'
 şaşılbaş- 'become cross-eyed'
 şehirleş- 'become urbanized'
 şekilleş- 'take a certain shape'
 şirketleş- 'become a company'
 şistleş- 'become schist-like'
 şuurlaş- 'become conscious'
 tabulaş- 'become a taboo'
 tahtalaş- 'become wood-like'
 tanrılaş- 'become a god'
 taşılbaş- 'fossilize'
 taşlaş- 'become stone-like'
 Tatarlaş- 'become Tatar-like'
 tazılaş- 'become thin, fast'
 tekelleş- 'become monopolized'
 temelleş- 'become permanent'
 tenhalaş- 'become deserted'
 tilkileş- 'become crafty'
 tipleş- 'become representative of stg.'
 tiritleş- 'become old and feeble'
 tirşeleş- 'become pale green'
 topaklaş- 'become lumpy'
 tortulaş- 'become turbid'

tortullaş- 'become sedimentary'	türküleş- 'become a folk-song'	yasalaş- 'become law'
tozlaş- 'become dust-like'	uluslaş- 'become a nation'	yedekleş- 'become a substitute'
tunçlaş- 'become bronze-like'	urlaş- 'become a tumour'	yerlileş- 'become indigenous, native'
turşulaş- 'get crushed to a pulp'	ustalaş- 'become skilled'	yıldızlaş- 'become successful and famous'
tutkulaş- 'become a passion'	uydulaş- 'become a satellite nation'	yöreselleş- 'become local'
tümörleş- 'become a tumor'	uzmanlaş- 'specialize; become an expert'	
Türkleş- 'become like a Turk'	üçleş- 'become triple'	
	yapılaş- 'structure'	

27.1.2. Noun + -Iaş verbs (verbs denoting reciprocity)

ağızlaş- '(of blood veins) open into one another'	hayırlaş- 'conclude a sale with the formula 'hayrım gör' have good luck with it'	ortaklaş- 'enter into partnership with one another'
ahitleş- 'take an oath together'	helalleş- 'forgive one another mutually'	ödünçleş- 'borrow from one another'
antlaş- 'come to an agreement'	hesaplaş- 'settle one's accounts'	öğürleş- 'become familiar; tame'
bayramlaş- 'exchange greetings on the occasion of a religious holiday'	iddialaş- 'bet'	paslaş- '(of football) pass'
bileş- 'be composed or compounded'	inatlaş- 'behave stubbornly towards each other'	paylaş- 'share'
birleş- 'unite'	kamplaş- 'form cliques'	pazarlaş- 'bargain'
cebellleş- 'struggle'	kandilleş- 'greet one another on the five Islamic holy nights'	randevulaş- 'fix an appointment with so.'
cenkleş- 'make a war, fight'	kararlaş- 'be decided, be agreed upon'	restleş- '(of gambling) mutually stake all one's money'
cilveleş- 'court'	karşıtlaş- 'disagree'	senetleş- 'give each other written certification'
çeneleş- 'chat'	kavgalaş- 'quarrel'	sözleş- 'agree together'
çiftleş- '(of animals) mate'	kavilleş- 'come to an agreement'	şakalaş- 'joke with one another'
çiftleş- '(of animals) kick each other using both hind feet at once'	klikleş- 'form a clique'	şartlaş- 'mutually agree to conditions'
davalaş- 'plead to one another'	kutuplaş- 'polarize'	telefonlaş- 'call each other'
dertleş- 'pour out one's grief to one another'	küfürleş- 'swear to one another'	tokalaş- 'shake hands'
dilleş- 'chat'	mahkemeleş- 'sue one another'	uzlaş- 'come to an agreement'
dırılaş- 'squabble in undertones'	mektuplaş- 'correspond by letter'	vedalaş- 'bid each other farewell'
dostlaş- 'become friends'	nöbetleş- 'take turns'	yardımlaş- 'help one another'
eşleş- 'be partners'	odaklaş- '(of light rays, electrons) gather at a point'	yüzleş- 'meet face to face'
haberleş- 'correspond'		
halleş- 'confide troubles to one another'		

27.2. Adjective + -Iaş verbs (change of state verbs)

acayıp- 'become strange'	afallaş- 'be stupefied, astonished'	aksileş- 'become difficult; obstinate'
acemileş- 'become novice like'	ağırlaş- 'become heavier/slower'	aktifleş- 'become active'
açıklaş- 'become lighter in color'	ahmaklaş- 'become like an idiot'	alçaklaş- 'become low, ignoble'
adileş- 'become common or inferior'	akçillaş- 'become whitish'	alenileş- 'become publicly known'
afacanlaş- 'become unruly'	aklaş- 'turn white'	alıklaş- 'become astounded'

- allaş- 'become red'
 altınlaş- 'become gold'
 anaçlaş- 'become mother-like/mature'
 aptallaş- 'become stupefied'
 arılaş- 'become purified'
 arsızlaş- 'become shameless/impudent'
 asabileş- 'become irritable'
 asileş- 'become rebellious'
 askerileş- 'become militarized'
 asrileş- 'modernize'
 aşağılaş- 'become ignoble'
 averseleş- 'come to be wandering aimlessly'
 aykırılış- 'become incongruous; perverse'
 ayrılış- 'distinguish oneself, stand out'
 azgınlaş- 'become randy; excessive'
 azmanlaş- 'become monstrous'
 bağlılaş- 'become committed to so./stg.'
 bağnazlaş- 'become bigoted'
 barbarlaş- 'become barbarous'
 barizleş- 'become apparent'
 basitleş- 'become simple/vulgar'
 başkalaş- 'grow different'
 batılılaş- 'become westernized'
 bayağılaş- 'become coarse; common'
 baygınlaş- 'become languid'
 bedavalaş- 'become free of charge'
 bedbinleş- 'become pessimistic'
 bediileş- 'become beautiful'
 belirginleş- 'become clear/marked'
 bencilleş- 'become selfish'
 bengileş- 'become eternal'
 berraklaş- 'become clear; limpid'
 beterleş- 'worsen'
 beyazlaş- 'get white'
 bezginleş- 'become weary'
 bıçkınlaş- 'become a roughneck'
 billurlaş- 'become crystallized'
 bodurlaş- 'become short'
 boğuklaş- 'become hoarse'
 bollaş- 'become plentiful/get wide'
 bönleş- 'become silly/naive'
 bronzlaş- 'get a tan/become bronze'
 budalalaş- 'become silly'
 bulanıklaş- 'become foggy/dim'
 buruklaş- 'become upset/acrid'
 bücürleş- 'become squat'
 bütünüleş- 'become a unified whole'
 cansızlaş- 'become weak/lifeless'
 cazipleş- 'become attractive/catchy'
 cılızlaş- 'become bony/weedy'
 cılklaş- 'become rotten/festered'
 cıvıklaş- 'become wet, sticky/tiresome'
 ciddileş- 'become serious'
 cimrileş- 'become mean'
 coşkunlaş- 'become exuberant'
 cömertleş- 'become generous'
 cüceleş- 'become dwarf-like'
 çabuklaş- 'fasten'
 çağcılılaş- 'become modernized'
 çağdaşlaş- 'become contemporary'
 çapkınlaş- 'become licentious'
 çaprazlaş- 'become involved and confused'
 çarpıklaş- 'become deviant'
 çatıklaş- 'become sulky'
 çelikleş- 'become steel-like'
 çetinleş- 'become arduous'
 çetrefilleş- 'become complicated'
 çevikleş- 'become agile'
 çılğınlaş- 'become crazy'
 çıplaklaş- 'become naked'
 çiftleş- 'copulate (of animals); pair'
 çigleş- 'become tactless'
 çipilleş- 'become bleary-eyed'
 çirkefleş- 'become loathsome'
 çirkinleş- 'become ugly/indecent'
 çopurlaş- 'become pock-marked'
 çoraklaş- 'become arid/barren'
 çökkünleş- 'become depressed'
 dalgınlaş- 'become absent-minded'
 dargınlaş- 'become cross'
 darlaş- 'get narrow/tight'
 dazlaklaş- 'become bold'
 demirleş- 'become iron-like'
 denkleş- 'be in equilibrium'
 densizleş- 'become peevish'
 derinleş- 'deepen/specialize in something'
 devleş- 'become gigantic'
 dikleş- 'become steep/upright'
 dinçleş- 'become vigorous'
 dinginleş- 'become tranquil/calm'
 dirileş- 'become energetic'
 divaneleş- 'become mad'
 doğallaş- 'become natural'
 dolgunlaş- 'get plump'
 donuklaş- 'become dim/expressionless'
 durulaş- 'become clear/limpid'
 düzleş- 'become flat/straight/plain'
 ebedileş- 'become eternal'
 eblehleş- 'become stupid'
 edepsizleş- 'become ill-mannered/shameless'
 edilgenleş- 'become passive'
 ehlileş- 'become tame'
 enayileş- 'become credulous; fool'
 enezeleş- 'become thin/weak'
 enginleş- 'become vast/boundless'
 ergenleş- 'become adolescent'
 erginleş- 'become mature'
 esenleş- 'become well/safe'
 eskileş- 'become old'
 esmerleş- 'become dark'
 esnekleş- 'become flexible'
 etkinleş- 'become active'

etkisizleş- 'become ineffective'	hinleş- 'become a scoundrel; crafty'	kurulaş- 'become dry'
evcilleş- 'become tamed'	hoşlaş- 'become pleasant and agreeable'	kutsallaş- 'become holy'
fakirleş- 'become poor'	hödükleş- 'become boorish'	kutsileş- 'become holy'
farklılaş- 'become different'	huysuzlaş- 'become peevish'	kütleş- 'become blunt'
farksızlaş- 'become identical'	ılıklaş- 'become tepid'	laubalileş- 'be too free and easy'
faşistleş- 'become fascist'	ıraklaş- 'go far away'	legalleş- 'become legal'
federalleş- 'become federal'	ıssızlaş- 'become desolate'	liberalleş- 'become liberal'
fenalaş- 'get worse; deteriorate; feel faint'	ikileş- 'become two/be doubled'	matlaş- 'become dull, matt'
fersizleş- 'lose radiance; become dull'	ilginleş- 'become interesting'	mavileş- 'turn blue'
fettanlaş- 'become a seducer'	ilkelleş- 'become primitive'	millileş- 'become nationalized'
garipleş- 'become bizarre'	ilsizleş- 'become homeless/nationless'	morlaş- 'turn purple'
garpılılaş- 'become westernized'	insancillaş- 'become humane'	muzırlaş- 'become harmful, detrimental'
gavurlaş- 'become an infidel'	insafsızlaş- 'become unjust/cruel'	muzipleş- 'become prankish; teasing'
gençleş- 'become youthful or vigorous'	irileş- 'grow gradually large'	nankörleş- 'become ungrateful'
genelleş- 'become general'	itleş- 'become contemptible'	nazikleş- 'become polite'
genleş- 'dilate'	ivedileş- 'become urgent'	nefîleş- 'turn dark green'
gerçekleş- 'turn out to be true'	iyileş- 'recover'	netleş- 'become clear'
gerginleş- 'become stretched/strained'	kabalaş- 'become vulgar'	normalleş- 'become normal'
globalleş- 'become global'	kâfirleş- 'become an infidel'	oburlaş- 'become gluttonous, greedy'
güçleş- 'become difficult'	kalınlaş- 'become thick'	olağanlaş- 'become normal'
güdükleş- 'become stumpy'	kartlaş- 'grow old'	olgunlaş- 'become mature/ripe'
gülünçleş- 'become absurd/comic'	katılaş- 'become rigid'	özdeşleş- 'identify'
gümüşleş- 'become silvery'	katılaş- 'become definite'	özelleş- 'become special/private'
güncelleş- 'be up-to-date'	kavileş- 'become strong/robust'	özerkleş- 'become autonomous'
gürbüzleş- 'become robust'	kelleş- 'become bald'	özgünleş- 'become genuine/original'
gürleş- 'become abundant; dense'	kesatlaş- '(of a market) become stagnant'	özgürleş- 'become free'
güzelleş- 'become beautiful/good'	kesinleş- 'become definite'	pahalılaş- 'become costly'
hafifleş- 'get light/silly'	kulıbkılaş- 'become henpecked'	pasifleş- 'become passive'
hainleş- 'become malicious; behave treacherously'	kıraçlaş- 'become arid'	pekleş- 'become stronger/rigid'
halsizleş- 'become weak/tired out'	kırılş- 'turn grey'	pesleş- '(of voice) become soft/low'
hamlaş- 'get soft from lack of work'	kısırlaş- 'become barren'	pintileş- 'become stingy'
hantallaş- 'become clumsy/coarse'	kıtlaş- 'become scarce'	pisleş- 'become dirty'
haraplaş- 'fall into ruins'	kıyaklaş- 'become nice, desirable'	pratikleş- 'become practical'
haşarlaş- 'become naughty'	kızgınlaş- 'become red-hot/get angry'	radikalleş- 'become a radical'
haşinleş- 'become harsh'	kızıllaş- 'turn red'	resmîleş- 'become formal/authorized'
haylazlaş- 'become mischievous'	kıbarlaş- 'become courteous'	revanlaş- 'become harmonious'
hımbıllaş- 'get lazy'	klasikleş- 'become a classic'	rezilleş- 'become contemptible'
hınzırlaş- 'become wicked'	koflaş- 'become hollow/stupid'	sabitleş- 'become stable'
hırçınlaş- 'become ill-tempered'	kolaylaş- 'become easier'	sadeleş- 'become plain'
	korlaş- 'become an ember'	saflaş- 'become pure'
	koyulaş- 'become dark/thick'	
	körleş- 'become blind/ blunt'	
	kötüleş- 'deteriorate'	

sakarlaş- 'become clumsy'	şehirlileş- 'become urbanized'	yabanileş- 'go wild'
sakinleş- 'become calm'	şekerleş- 'become sweet/cute'	yakınlaş- 'draw near, approach'
salaklaş- 'become foolish'	şıklılaş- 'become chic'	yaklaş- 'approach; approximate'
salozlaş- 'become stupid'	şirinleş- 'become affable'	yalçınlaş- 'become craggy'
sarılaş- 'turn yellow'	şirretleş- 'become malicious'	yalnızlaş- 'become isolated'
sarplaş- 'become steep; hard'	tabileş- 'become natural'	yansızlaş- 'become impartial'
sathileş- 'become superficial'	tarafsızlaş- 'become neutral'	yapaylaş- 'become artificial'
semeleş- 'become stupefied'	tatlılaş- 'get sweet/become pleasant'	yapısallaş- 'become structured'
semizleş- 'become fat, fleshy'	tatsızlaş- 'become distasteful/unpleasant'	yassılaş- 'become flattened'
serinleş- 'become cool/chilly'	tazeleş- 'become fresh'	yatkınlaş- 'become inclined to something'
sersemleş- 'become stupefied'	tekleş- 'become sole'	yavanlaş- 'become dull or uninteresting'
sertleş- 'become hard/austere'	tersleş- 'become adverse'	yaygınlaş- 'become prevalent'
sessizleş- 'become quiet'	tetikleş- 'become alert'	yayvanlaş- 'become wide and shallow'
sıcaklaş- 'become warm'	tezleş- 'become fast'	yeğînleş- 'become harsh'
sıklaş- 'become frequent/densely massed'	tıkızlaş- 'become firm and hard'	yenileş- 'become new'
sıskalaş- 'get thin and weak'	ticarileş- 'become commercial'	yerelleş- 'become local'
sıvıklaş- 'become sticky'	titizleş- 'become captious'	yetkinleş- 'become competent'
silikleş- 'become indistinct'	titrekleş- 'become vibrant'	yiğitleş- 'become brave'
sinsileş- 'become sly'	tizleş- 'become shrill'	yobazlaş- 'become bigoted'
sivilleş- 'become civilian'	trajikleş- 'become tragic'	yoğunlaş- 'become concentrated'
sivrileş- 'become pointed'	tuhaflaş- 'get odd/become queer'	yoksullaş- 'become destitute'
soğuklaş- 'get cold'	uçuklaş- 'become pallid'	yozlaş- 'become degenerate'
soluklaş- 'become dim/pale'	ululaş- 'become sublime'	yüzüzleş- 'become brash'
soyutlaş- 'become abstract'	ulusallaş- 'become nationalized'	zebunlaş- 'become helpless and weak'
sterilleş- 'become sterile'	uyanıklaş- 'become vigilant'	zenginleş- 'get rich'
sululaş- 'become watery/too familiar'	uygarlaş- 'become civilized'	zindeleş- 'become energetic and alert'
süflileş- 'become low/common'	uysallaş- 'become amenable'	zirzoplaş- 'become crazy'
şapşallaş- 'become slovenly'	uyuzlaş- 'become mangy'	zorlaş- 'get difficult/hard'
şarkılılaş- 'become easternized'	uzaklaş- 'retire to a distance'	züğürtleş- 'become broke'
şaşkınlaş- 'become baffled'	ürkekleş- 'become timorous'	züppeleş- 'become a fop'
şeffaflaş- 'become transparent'	üstünleş- 'become superior'	
	vahşileş- 'become savage'	
	varsıllaş- 'become wealthy'	
	viranlaş- 'become ruinous'	

27.3. Adverb + -İAş verbs

fazlalaş- 'increase in number'	sahileş- 'become real'
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28. -nA verbs

ağna- 'lie down and roll'	çiğne- 'chew'	kayna- 'boil'	kişne- 'neigh'
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29. -rA verbs

çokra- 'boil'	kıpra- 'move slightly'	südre- 'become drunk'
doğra- 'chop'	kıvra- 'curl up'	şakra- 'sing loudly'

gevre- 'crisp'
kavra- 'grab; cognize'

kükre- 'roar'
sıçra- 'hop; bounce'

titre- 'tremble'

30. -sA verbs

açınsa- '(in geography) reconnoitre'
ağırsa- 'neglect so.; impede stg.'
aksa- 'limp; delay'
aşağısa- 'deride; humiliate'
büyükse- 'accept stg. as big'
çirkinse- 'consider stg. ugly'
çoksa- 'grudge'
duraksa- 'falter'
evse- 'be homesick'
garipse- 'find stg. strange'
gerekse- 'feel the necessity'
hafifse- 'downplay; undervalue'
ıraksa- 'think stg. unlikely'

kanıtsa- 'accept stg. as evidence'
kapsa- 'comprise; cover'
koçsa- '(of a sheep) desire a ram'
kutsa- 'bless; sanctify'
küçükse- 'despise; belittle'
ökse- 'long for; miss'
önemse- 'heed; overrate'
örnekse- 'take as an example'
savsa- 'put off doing stg. continually'
susa- 'be thirsty'

tavsa- 'slacken; abate'
tekese- '(of a female goat) desire a male goat'
umursa- 'care; be concerned about'
uzaksa- 'regard (a person or place) as being far away'
üstünse- 'consider stg. superior'
yakınsa- 'consider stg. to occur soon'
yelse- 'rot; go stale'
yurtsa- 'be homesick'

31. -s(I) Verbs

ansı- 'remember; recall'
çiçeksi- 'become flowerlike; bloom'
düvesi- '(of a heifer) desire a female'

yadsı- 'deny; negate'
yansı- 'reflect'
sars- 'shake'

32. -sIn Verbs

gerekşin- 'feel the necessity of'
zorsun- 'regard as burdensome'

tiksin-¹⁶ 'be disgusted'
yükşün- 'regard as burdensome; grudge fulfilling a promise'

33. -y Verbs

cay- 'swerve; deviate from a purpose'
doy- 'be satiated'
duy- 'hear'
giy- 'put on'
göy- 'burn'

kay- 'slip; slide'
kıy- 'mince, slaughter'
koy- 'put'
oy- 'engrave; carve'
say- 'count; respect'

siy- '(of a dog) urinate'
soy- 'undress; peel; rob'
tüy- 'slip away'
uy- 'conform; agree; fit'
yay- 'spread; scatter'

Appendix 2b

1. Verb roots identical to noun roots

acı- 'hurt; feel pity'
ağrı- 'ache'
boya- 'paint'
damla- 'drip'
etki- 'affect (in chemistry)'

gerek-¹⁷ 'be needful; be lacking'
kayşa- 'fall due to a landslide'
tat- 'taste'

tepki- 'undergo a chemical reaction'
üvey- '(of a dove) coo'
yama- 'patch'
zıbar- '(contemptuously) go to bed; die'

2. Verb roots identical to adjective roots

bavlı- 'train a dog/falcon to hunt'
ekşi- 'become sour'

eski- 'be worn out'
köhne- 'become outmoded'

3. Et- 'do' compounds

addet- 'count; esteem'
affet- 'forgive'

ahdet- 'take an oath'
ahzet- 'accept'

akdet- 'bind, conclude (a bargain)'

akset- 'reflect'	hakket- 'engrave'	mahvet- 'destroy'
atfet- 'direct; attribute'	hallet- 'undo; solve'	menet- 'forbid'
azlet- 'dismiss from an office'	hamdet- 'give thanks and praise to God'	methet- 'praise'
azmet- 'resolve upon; intend'	hamlet- 'load; ascribe'	meylet- 'be inclined'
bahset- 'discuss; mention'	hapset- 'imprison'	naklet- 'transport; narrate'
bahşet- 'grant; forgive'	hasret- 'restrict; restrain'	nakşet- 'decorate'
cebret- 'force; compel'	hatmet- 'conclude; complete'	neşret- 'spread; publish'
cehdet- 'strive'	hazmet- 'digest'	nükset- '(of a disease) recur'
cevret- 'ill-treat'	hazzet- 'rejoice'	raptet- 'bind; fasten'
cezbet- 'draw, attract'	hicvet- 'satirize'	recmet- 'pelt; stone to death'
defet- 'expel; eject'	hisset- 'feel'	reddet- 'refuse'
defnet- 'bury'	hükmet- 'rule'	rekzet- 'set up; erect'
devret- 'turn upside down; turn over to another'	kahret- 'sadden; make so. distressed'	resmet- 'draw'
emret- 'command, order'	kastet- 'subdue; be distressed'	sabret- 'be patient'
faslet- 'separate'	katet- 'traverse'	seyret- 'watch'
feshet- 'abolish'	katlet- 'kill'	sırret- 'make stg. disappear'
fethet- 'conquer'	kavlet- 'agree'	şükret- 'be thankful'
gaslet- 'wash'	kaydet- 'enrol; register'	tabet- 'print'
gaspet- 'seize by force'	keşfet- 'discover'	vadet- 'promise'
guslet- 'wash for ritual purposes'	keyfet- 'enjoy oneself'	vehmet- 'forbode; fear'
haccet- 'make the pilgrimage to Mecca'	küfret- 'swear'	zannet- 'think; suppose'
haczet- 'sequester'	lağvet- 'abrogate; abolish'	zehret- 'take all the pleasure out of sth.'
	lütfet- 'do a favor'	zikret- 'mention'
		zulmet- 'treat unjustly, cruelly'

4. Eyle- 'do' compounds

affeyle- 'forgive'	kahreyle- 'cause to become grieved'	sabreyle- 'be patient'
emreyle- 'command; order'	reddeyle- 'refuse'	seyreyle- 'watch'
		şükreyle- 'be thankful'

5. Ol- 'be' compounds

addol- 'be counted'	hallool- 'be resolved'	reddol(un)- 'be rejected'
affol- 'be forgiven'	kahrol- 'be grieved/ distressed'	sırrol- 'disappear'
azlol(un)- 'be dismissed'	kaybol- 'be lost; disappear'	vadol'un'- 'be promised'
defol- 'go away'	kaydol- 'be enrolled'	vahyol'un'- 'be revealed'
gaşyol- 'swoon; be in ecstasy'	mahvol- 'be destroyed/ ruined'	zehrol- 'spoil one's enjoyment'
	menol(un)- 'be prevented; forbidden'	

6. Other compound verbs

i.

alıkoym- 'keep, detain'	donakal- 'be petrified with horror'	olagel- 'happen now and again'
alıver- 'take stg. smoothly'	düşeyaz- 'be on the verge of falling'	öleyaz- 'almost die'
artakal- 'remain over'	kalakal- 'stand petrified with fear or amazement'	salıver- 'let go; set free'
bakakal- 'stand in astonishment/ bewilderment'	koyuver- 'let go; to just put down'	süregel- '(for stg.) to have gone on (in a certain way) for a long time'
çıkagel- 'appear suddenly'		şaşakal- 'be left dumbfounded by'
çıkarayaz- 'be about to remove stg.'		

ii.

devral- 'take over'	feyzal- 'make progress; be successful'	varsay- 'suppose;
elver- 'be enough; suffice'	öngör- 'envisage'	hypothesize'
		vazgeç- 'give up'

Appendix 2 c

1. Reflexive verbs

1.1. -n verbs (reflexive verbs)¹⁸

avun- 'have one's mind taken off stg.'	korun- 'protect oneself'
aran- 'search oneself, one's pockets; look for trouble'	kuşan- 'gird oneself; dress'
boşan- 'break loose; divorce'	öğren- 'learn'
boyan- 'put on make-up'	örtün- 'cover oneself'
çalkan- '(of news) spread like wildfire'	sıvan- 'roll up one's trousers; get to work'
dadan- 'acquire a taste for; make too free use of'	soyun- 'undress'
dayan- 'endure; lean on'	sürtün- 'rub oneself'
dilen- 'beg'	taran- 'comb oneself'
diren- 'resist'	tıkan- 'choke; lose one's appetite'
dolan- 'revolve; saunter about'	tüken- 'become exhausted'
dökün- 'throw water over oneself'	yalan- 'lick oneself'
dövün- 'beat oneself'	yaman- 'instal oneself; foist oneself'
gerin- 'stretch oneself'	yan- 'burn'
giyin- 'dress'	yarar- 'make oneself serviceable'
kazan- 'win'	yıkan- 'wash oneself'
	kapan- 'shut oneself up, not go out; (of a wound) heal; (of a woman) veil oneself'

1.2. Noun + -IA + -n verbs¹⁹

adaklan- 'become engaged'	gölgelen- 'sit in the shade; become shady'	kenetlen- 'be clamped together'
agaçlan- 'become full with trees'	gümüşlen- 'become silver plated'	keselen- 'rub oneself with a small cloth'
ağılan- 'become poisoned'	halkalan- '(of eye) get wrinkled'	kınsalan- 'become smudged with henna'
aklan- 'become clean'	hamurlan- 'become smudged with dough'	kilitlen- 'become locked'
allan- 'adorn oneself'	haşlan- 'become boiled'	kireçlen- 'calcify; get caked with lime'
arılan- 'become purified'	hazırlan- 'get prepared'	klorlan- 'become chlorinated'
avlan- 'hunt'	ıslan- 'become wet'	kolalan- 'become smudged with starch'
ayazlan- '(of the night) become clear and frosty'	islen- 'become black with soot; smell of soot'	konumlan- 'take position'
bağlan- 'become attached'	kaplan- 'become covered/coated'	köpüklen-* 'become foamy; become smudged with foam'
bütünlän- 'become whole'	karlan- 'become covered with snow; become smudged with snow'	kurşunlan- 'be covered with lead'
büyülen- 'be fascinated, charmed'	katlan- 'become folded; put up with'	kurulan- 'dry oneself'
çamurlan-* 'become muddy; become smudged with mud'	katranlan-* 'be covered with tar; get smudged with tar'	kükürtlen- 'become dusted with sulfur'
çirışlen- 'become smeared with shoemakers' glue'	kaynaklan- 'emanate; grow out of'	küllen- 'die down; be covered with ashes'
eğlen- 'enjoy oneself'		macunlan- 'become smudged with cement, putty'
eklemlen- 'join via joints'		
erginlen- 'become mature'		
eşitlen- 'become equal'		
etkilen- 'be influenced'		
gizlen- 'hide oneself'		

malatlan- 'become smudged with malt'	saklan- 'hide'	tarazlan- '(of fabric) become frayed; dishevelled'
maskaralan-* 'put on mascara; become smudged with mascara'	salçalan- 'become smudged with tomato paste'	tazelen- 'be rejuvenated'
mayalan-* 'ferment; become smeared with yeast'	sallan- 'swing about; waste time'	tebeşirlen- 'become smudged with chalk'
mıhlın- 'become nailed to the spot'	saplan- 'sink into; get an idea fixed in the mind'	tekerlen- 'roll round'
mıknatıslan- 'become magneticized'	sarımsaklan- 'become smudged with garlic'	temizlen- 'clean oneself'
morfinlen- 'feel drowsy from chatting'	sıralan- 'line up'	tertiplen- 'become organized'
mumlan- 'become waxed'	sihirlen- 'become enchanted'	topaklan- 'become lumpy'
mürekkeplen- 'become smeared with ink'	sirkelen-* 'turn into vinegar; become smudged with vinegar'	toplan- 'come together'
nişanlan- 'become engaged'	sözlen- 'become engaged'	tutkallan- 'become smudged with glue'
nişastalan-* 'tun into starch; become smudged with starch'	sürmelene-* 'put on mascara; become smudged with mascara'	tuzlan- 'become smudged with salt'
paklan- 'clean'	süslen- 'adorn oneself'	tükürüklen- 'become smudged with spittle'
pamuklan-* 'become covered with balls of dust or fluff'	şartlan- 'be conditioned'	tütsülen- 'become fumigated'
parçalan- 'fragment; fall to pieces'	şekerlen- '(form sugar crystals) become smudged with sugar'	unlan- 'become smudged with flour'
perdelen- '(of the eye) have a cataract'	taharetlen- 'cleanse oneself (especially after urinating or defecating)'	ütülen- 'bore so. stiff'
pullan- 'flake off; scale off'	talaşlan- 'become smudged with sawdust'	verniklen- 'become smudged with varnish'
		yağlan-* 'become dirty with grease; put on sunscreen'
		yalpalan- 'sway about; lurch'
		yüklen- 'take a load upon oneself'
		zehirlen- 'become poisoned'

1.3. -AlA + -n verbs

çalkalan- 'oscillate; (of sea) be rough'	saçalan- 'come to have fringes'
debelen- 'struggle and kick'	sarmalan- 'bundle up'
eşelen- 'scratch and scrabble'	silkelen- 'shake oneself; jerk oneself out of a somnolent state'
hırpalan- 'be buffeted about, be upset, illtreated'	ufalan- 'crumble'
oyalan- 'keep oneself amused (in order to ward off boredom or sadness); dawdle'	yakalan- 'be captured; be caught'
	zedelen- 'be bruised'

1.4. -ArIa + -n verbs

toparlan- 'pull oneself together'

1.5. -DA + -n verbs

aldan- 'be deceived; fall for stg.'	mırıldan- 'mutter to oneself; babble'	somurdan- 'grumble with a sulky face'
fırıldan- 'spin round'	mızıldan- 'complain'	virıldan- 'mutter continuously'
homurdan- 'mutter; grumble'	mızıldan- 'grumble; complain'	vızıldan- 'complain continuously'
kımıldan- 'move'	sızıldan- 'moan with pain'	yelten- 'attempt; dare'
kıpırdan- 'move slightly'		

1.6. -IkIa + -n verbs

sürüklen- 'drag oneself'

1.7. -İmsA + -n verbs

çekimsen- 'draw back; abstain'

1.8. -rA + n verbs

davran- 'behave; bestir oneself'

iğren- 'be disgusted'

imren- 'envy; long for'

kıvrın- 'writhe; wriggle'

yıpran- 'wear out; grow old'

prematurely'

2. Reciprocal verbs

2.1. Verb + -(I)ş (-I)ş verbs denoting reciprocity)

atış- 'quarrel'

ayrılış- 'separate from one another'

ayrış- 'be decomposed'

bağdaş- 'come to an agreement'

bağırış- 'shout together'

bakış- 'look at one another'

barış- 'make peace with one another'

benzeş- 'resemble each other'

bıkış- 'become tired of each other'

bırakış- 'make a truce'

biliş- 'to become mutually acquainted'

biniş- '(for one thing) to be on top of (another)'

bitiş- 'join; be contiguous'

boğuş- 'be at one another's throat; fight'

bozuş- 'become estranged'

çağırış- 'call one another'

çapraş- 'intersect'

çarpiş- 'strike one another'

çatış- 'come up against one another in dispute'

çekiş- 'pull one another about'

çeliş- 'conflict'

dalaş- '(of dogs) bite one another; quarrel'

danış- 'consult'

dayanış- 'act with solidarity'

dayatış- 'be obstinate with each other'

didiş- 'push each other about; quarrel'

doyuş- 'be mutually satisfied with stg.'

dövüş- 'fight against one another'

dürtüş- 'prod one another'

emiş- 'suck one another'

fisıldeş- 'whisper to one another'

fingirdeş- 'dally with'

geçiş- 'intermix; be diffused'

giriş- 'set about; interfere'

görüş- 'meet and converse'

güreş- 'wrestle'

itiş- 'push one another'

kakış- 'push one another about'

kapış- 'snatch stg. from one another; quarrel'

karış- 'mix'

kavuş- 'meet after a long absence'

kesiş- 'intersect, cross'

kıyış- 'come to an agreement; compete against'

konuş- 'talk'

küstüş- 'get cross with each other'

oynaş- 'play with one another'

ödeş- 'settle accounts'

ölçüş- 'measure oneself against so.'

öpüş- 'kiss one another'

örtüş- 'overlap'

sarmaş- 'embrace one another'

sataş-²⁰ 'seek a quarrel'

savaş- 'fight'

sayış- 'settle accounts with one another'

seviş- 'love or caress one another'

soruş- 'question one another'

sövüş- 'swear at one another'

sürtüş- 'rub against each other; irritate each other'

takış- 'quarrel'

tanış- 'make acquaintance with one another'

tartış- 'argue, dispute'

tepiş- 'kick one another'

tokuş- 'butt one another; collide'

tutuş- 'catch hold of one another; catch fire; quarrel'

uyuş- 'come to a mutual understanding'

vuruş- 'fight'

yakış- 'be suitable or becoming'

yaraş- 'be suitable; harmonize'

yazış- 'write to one another; correspond'

yeniş- 'try to beat one another'

2.2. Verb + -Iş (-Iş verbs denoting action towards a source)

birikiş- 'crowd; come together at a place'

çöküş- 'fall down together'

deriş- 'concentrate'

doluş- 'crowd into a place'

kapış- 'snatch stg. from one another'

sokuş- 'push oneself gently into a place amongst others'

tıkiş- 'be crammed or squeezed together'

toplaş- 'gather together'

üşüş- 'throng; pile on'

yığış- 'crowd together'

2.3. Verb + -İş (-İş verbs denoting action from a source)

çözüş- 'dissociate'	koşuş- 'crowd in; make a concerted rush'
kaçış- 'disperse; flee in confusion'	uçuş- 'fly together'

2.4. Verb + -İş (-İş verbs denoting activity carried out together)

ağlaş- 'weep together; complain continually'	haykırış- 'bawl, shout together'
azış- 'become aggravated'	hırılbaş- 'snarl at one another'
bağırış- 'shout together'	katiş- 'join in; mix with others'
bekleş- 'wait or keep watch together'	kaynaş- 'unite; (of a crowd) swarm'
bölüş- 'divide up; share out'	kıpırdaş- 'move slightly together'
buluş- 'meet; be together with others'	kırış- 'wrinkle'
cıvıldaş- 'chirp together'	ötüş- '(of birds) sing together'
çağırış- 'cry out together; call one another'	sığış- 'go and fit into a confined space with difficulty'
çığırış- 'cry out together or against one another'	titreş- 'shiver; vibrate'
çırpış- 'flutter'	üleş- 'go shares'
fıkırdaş- 'flirt'	ürüş- '(of dogs) howl together'
kıkırdaş- 'giggle together'	vıcırdaş- '(of small birds) chirp together'
gülüş- 'laugh together'	

2.5. Verb + -İş (-İş verbs denoting change of state)

değiş- 'change'	geliş- 'grow up; improve'
dönüş- 'transform'	oluş- 'form'

2.6. Verb + -İş (-İş verbs denoting intensity of action)

çıkış- 'burst out into anger'	karmaş- 'become complicated'
eriş- 'arrive'	kırpış- 'blink'
giriş- 'set about, undertake'	kızıış- 'get angry or excited'
kalkış- 'attempt stg. beyond one's powers'	kokuş- 'stink'
kamaş- 'be dazzled'	pekiş- 'become hard or firm'
	uyuş- 'become numb'

2.7. Verb + -İş (-İş verbs deriving intransitives from transitives)

bulaş- 'be smeared; take in hand'	kırış- 'become wrinkled'
buruş- 'be wrinkled, creased'	savuş- 'slip away; pass'
büzüş- 'be constricted, puckered'	sıkış- 'be closely pressed together; be crowded together; be in straits'
dolaş- 'go around; become tangled'	ulaş- 'reach, arrive at'

2.8. Other -İş verbs²¹

alış- 'be accustomed'	sırmaş- 'importune; annoy'
apış- 'stand helpless; be completely non-plussed'	sıvaş- 'become sticky; adhere'
çalış- 'work; study'	sıvış- 'disappear; decamp'
eğleş- 'rest oneself; reside'	soğuş- '(of earth) absorb water and be dampened'
depreş- 'move; be stirred; relapse'	yanaş- 'draw near; incline'
iliş- 'touch; interfere with'	yapış- 'stick (to one)'
mayış- 'get drowsy'	yılış- 'grin unpleasantly'
	uğraş- 'struggle; strive hard'

2.9. Verb + İA + ş (verbs denoting reciprocity)

anlaş- 'agree'	koklaş- 'smell one another; caress and kiss one another'
bağtlaş- 'agree; contract with'	kucaklaş- 'hug one another'
bağlaş- 'reach an agreement'	kümeleş- 'form groups'
boğazlaş- 'strangle one another'	merhabalaş- 'greet one another'
destekleş- 'support one another'	

elleş- 'touch one another'
 eşitleş- 'become equal'
 etkileş- 'influence each other'
 gagaş- 'peck one another'
 gırtlaklaş- 'strangle one another'
 hırlaş- 'snarl at one another'
 işaretleş- 'make signs to one another'
 karşılaş- 'meet face to face'

pençeleş- 'lock fingers with one another and have a test of strength'
 meleş- 'bleat together'
 rastlaş- 'meet one another by chance'
 selamlaş- 'salute one another'
 söyleş- 'converse'
 süngüleş- 'bayonet one another'
 tolaş- 'exchange blows of the heads'
 yumruklaş- 'exchange blows'

3. Causative verbs

3.1. Monosyllabic verbs causativized by the affix -Ir/-Ar

artır- 'increase'	geçir- 'make or let pass'	sızır- 'cause to ooze out;
aşır- 'convey over a height;	göçer- 'run over'	squeeze (money) out of'
steal'	göçür- 'make migrate; make	şaşır- 'become surprised'
batır- 'make stg. sink'	collapse'	şişir- 'blow up; inflate'
bitir- 'finish; complete'	içir- 'make so. drink'	taşır- 'overflow'
çıkır- 'take off'	kaçır- 'kidnap; elope with'	uçur- 'fly (a plane); cause to
doğur- 'give birth to'	kopar- 'break off; sever'	fly'
doyur- 'nourish, satisfy'	onar- 'repair'	yatır- 'put to bed; deposit'
duyur- 'announce'	pişir- 'cook'	yitir- 'lose'
düşür- 'cause to fall; drop'		

3.2. Verbs causativized by the affix -DİR

3.2.1. Monosyllabic verbs causativized by the affix -DİR

açtır- 'cause to open'	boğdur- 'have so. choked, strangled'	çektir- 'cause to suffer'
ağdır- 'cause to incline to one side'	bozdur- 'cause to spoil/ruin; (cash) change'	çıldır- 'go crazy'
aldır- 'take notice, pay attention; cause to buy'	böldür- 'cause to divide'	çırptır- 'cause to shake out/ clap one's hands; cause (a bird) to flap (its wings)'
andır- 'bring to mind; bear a striking resemblance to'	buldur- 'help so. find stg.'	çizdir- 'have stg. drawn/ marked/ scratched'
arttır- 'increase'	burdur- 'have stg. twisted or wrung'	çöktür- 'cause to collapse; make (a substance) settle'
astır- 'have stg. hung'	büktür- 'have stg. bent; twisted'	çözdür- 'have so. untie or unfasten stg./ solve (a problem)'
aştır- 'cause or allow so. to cross or traverse'	büzdür- 'draw together; make so. constrict stg.'	daldır- 'dip; immerse'
attır- 'make so. thrown/ expelled'	caydır- 'dissuade; deter'	dedir- 'make or let so. say; provoke so. into saying'
azdır- 'lead astray; drive so. wild'	coştur- 'carry away; excite; enthuse'	değdir- 'touch one thing to another'
baktır- 'cause or allow so. to look at; have or let so. look after so.'	çaktır- 'have stg. hammered down; let people take cognizance of stg.'	deştir- 'have stg. dug up'
bastır- 'push down; have stg. printed'	çaldır- 'make so. play; get stg. stolen'	deldir- 'have stg. bored, pierced'
bezdir- 'harass; plague'	çarptır- 'cause or allow (one thing) to hit, strike, or bump (another); cause (someone's heart) to palpitate'	diktir- 'have stg. sewn/planted/ erected'
bıktır- 'tire out'		dindir- 'stop; quench'
biçtir- 'have so. cut and shape or hew'		dizdir- 'have (things) lined up'
bildir- 'declare; notify'		doğdur- 'cause (the sun, the moon, or a star) to rise'
bindir- 'cause to mount; bump'	çattır- 'have so. erect stg. in a makeshift manner'	doldur- 'fill; charge; load'

dondur- 'freeze'	koydur- 'have stg. put somewhere'	söktür- 'have so. uproot; unstitch'
döktür- 'have stg. poured/ cast'	kurdur- 'cause to set up; assemble stg.'	söndür- 'extinguish'
döndür- 'turn; spin'	kustur- 'cause to vomit'	sövdür- 'cause or allow so. to swear at'
dövdür- 'have so. beaten'	küstür- 'offend; hurt'	sundur- 'have so. present stg.'
durdur- 'cause to stop'	ondur- 'improve'	sustur- 'silence'
eğdir- 'bend'	ovdur- 'have/let so. rub/scrub/scour stg.'	sündür- 'stretch'
ektir- 'have (seeds) sown in (a place)'	oydur- 'cause to carve; engrave'	sürçtür- 'cause so. to stumble'
emdir- 'nurse; impregnate; saturate; soak'	ölçtür- 'have so. measure stg.'	sürdür- 'continue'
erdir- 'have so. attain or achieve stg.'	öldür- 'kill'	süzür- 'have stg. drained; filtered'
estir- 'cause to blow'	öptür- 'let so. kiss'	taktır- 'have stg. attached; pinned'
ettir- 'cause so. to do stg.'	ördür- 'have stg. knitted or braided'	taptır- 'cause so. to worship'
ezdir- 'have stg. squashed; crushed; have a group oppressed'	örtür- 'have stg. covered'	tartır- 'have stg. weighed'
gerdir- 'have so. stretch, strain'	öttür- 'blow; cause to sing'	tattır- 'have stg. tasted'
gezdır- 'take so. for a walk, on a tour of (a place)'	sağdır- 'have (an animal) milked'	tuttur- 'cause to hold; keep bothering so.; begin and continue'
giydir- 'dress'	saldır- 'attack'	tüttür- 'smoke'
gördür- 'assign a job to so.'	sandır- 'cause to believe, think'	tüydür- 'make so. leave'
güldür- 'make so. laugh'	saptır- 'cause to turn; divert; deviate'	umdur- 'cause to hope, expect stg.'
indir- 'lower; put down'	sardır- 'cause to wind or wrap'	uydur- 'cause to conform or agree; make up'
ittir- 'shove'	sattır- 'have stg. sold'	vardır- 'let a matter reach a certain point'
ivdir- 'hurry; accelerate'	savdır- 'have so. get rid of so.'	verdir- 'have so. give stg.'
kaldır- 'lift'	saydır- 'cause so. to respect so.; have so. count stg.'	vurdur- 'have so. strike/ kill/ shoot stg.'
kandır- 'beguile; cheat'	seçtir- 'cause to choose'	yaptır- 'have so. do stg.'
kaptır- 'give rein to'	sektir- 'cause to hop, rebound'	yardır- 'have so. split stg.'
kardır- 'have stg. mixed/ blended'	serptir- 'have stg. sprinkle or scatter stg.'	yaydır- 'have so. spread stg.'
kaydır- 'dislocate; slide'	sevdır- 'endear'	yazdır- 'have so. write stg.'
kazdır- 'have stg. dug'	sezdir- 'to cause so. to sense or perceive stg.'	yedir- 'feed'
kestir- 'have stg. cut; doze'	sığdır- 'make stg. fit into a container or place'	yettir- 'spin out'
kıldır- 'have so. perform stg.'	sızdır- 'leak'	yığdır- 'have so. heap, pile, or stack (things)'
kırdır- 'discount; cause to break'	siktir- 'piss off'	yıktır- 'have stg. demolished'
kırktır- 'have stg. fleeced'	sildir- 'have so. wipe; erase'	yıldır- 'daunt; intimidate'
kırptır- 'have so. clip stg.'	silktir- 'have so. shake stg.'	yırtır- 'have so. tear/ rend/ rip stg.'
kıstır- 'corner; have so. turn down or diminish the flow or volume of stg.'	sindir- 'digest'	yoldur- 'have stg. plucked; pulled'
kıydır- 'have so. cut up stg.'	soktur- 'have stg. inserted'	yumdur- 'cause to close (eye)'
kızdır- 'anger'	soldur- 'cause stg. to fade'	yuttur- 'cause to swallow; take in by a lie'
kondur- 'put on; imprint'	sordur- 'have so. ask/ inquire about so./stg.'	yüzdür- 'float (a sunken ship)'
koştur- 'cause to run'	soydur- 'have so. undress another; peel stg.'	
kovdur- 'have one person drive another away'		

3.2.2. -An + -Dir

abandır- 'have so. lean down on'	dayandır- 'lean (one thing) against (another), base stg. on (another).'	inandır- 'make so. believe'
beğendir- 'get so. to like or approve of'		kazandır- 'make so. win, earn'

boşandır- 'cause or allow (a couple) to get a divorce'
bulandır- 'blur; muddy'
dadandır- 'cause to get a taste for'

dilendir- 'have so. beg'
dolandır- 'swindle; cheat'
gönendir- 'bring prosperity to; please'
gücendir- 'make so. be offended'

kıskandır- 'make so. jealous'
özendir- 'make so. desire stg.'
usandır- 'bore; sicken'
utandır- 'make ashamed'
uyandır- 'wake so. up'

3.2.3. -Et + -Dİr

gözetir- 'make so. watch stg. secretly'

3.2.4. Et- + -Dİr

affettir- 'beg so. off'
aksettir- 'reflect; echo'
azmettir- 'cause to resolve upon'

hapsettir- 'have so. put in jail'
hissettir- 'make so. feel'
kaydetir- 'make so. enroll'

keşfettir- 'make so. discover'
meylettir- 'cause to incline'

3.2.5. -İk + -Dİr

acıktır- 'make hungry'
biriktir- 'collect; save up'

çiziktir- 'jot; scribble'
geciktir- 'hold in delay; procrastinate'

3.2.6. -İn + -Dİr

arındır- 'purify'
acındır- 'arouse pity for; ask for sympathy'
açındır- 'cause to grow'
aşındır- 'abrade; corrode'
avundur- 'console; comfort'
barındır- 'shelter; accommodate'
bulundur- 'keep handy; carry'
çözündür- 'solubilize; dissolve'
devindir- 'put in motion, move, impel'
dokundur- 'cause to touch; hint'
düşündür- 'preoccupy; make so. think'
esindir- 'inspire'
geçindir- 'maintain; support'
gocundur- 'cause to take offense'

ıkındır- 'make so. strain (while defecating); make (a woman in childbirth) push'
ılındır- 'warm stg. up slightly'
ısındır- 'cause so. to warm to; cause so. to like'
kalkındır- 'develop; improve'
kaşındır- 'make so. itch; irritate'
sevindir- 'please'
sezindir- 'make so. sense'
sıvındır- 'liquefy (a gas).
silkindir- 'cause so. to shake himself'
süründür- 'make crawl'
tepindir- 'cause to start kicking and stamping (with anger or rage)'

3.2.7. -İş+ -Dİr verbs

i. -İş + -Dİr (verbs denoting change of state)

değiştir- 'change; substitute'
dönüştür- 'transform'

geliştir- 'improve'
oluştur- 'form, constitute'

ii. -İş + -Dİr (verbs denoting intensity of action)

çıkıştır- 'to gather together (a sum of money)'
eriştir- 'convey; bring to a place'
kamaştır- 'dazzle'
kızıştır- 'increase the fury or violence of'

kokuştur- 'putrefy'
pekiştir- 'intensify; stiffen'
uyuştur- 'numb'
yatıştır- 'calm; abate'
yetiştir- 'bring up; convey (news)'

iii. Other -İş + -Dİr verbs

alıştır- 'accustom'
anlaştır- 'make so. come to an agreement with so.'
ayırıştır- 'parse; decompose'

azıştır- 'cause stg. to become aggravated'
bağrıştır- 'cause to shout together'

barıştır- 'reconcile; make peace among'
bitiştir- 'adhere; concatenate'

bölüştür- 'divide stg. among a group'	güreştir- 'make so. wrestle'	sırnaştır- 'make so. to persist exasperatingly in asking for stg.'
bulaştır- 'infect; smear'	iliştir- 'attach'	sıvaştır- 'cause to become sticky'
buruştur- 'crease; wrinkle'	kapiştır- 'incite people to fight with each other'	sövuştür- 'cause to swear at each other'
büzüştür- 'cause to wrinkle/crinkle'	kariştir- 'mix'	sürtüştür- 'rub two things together'
çakiştir- 'superpose'	karmaştır- 'complicate'	taniştir- 'introduce'
çalıştır- 'work so; make stg. work'	katiştir- 'add stg. to a substance'	titreştir- 'cause to tremble'
çarpiştir- 'strike (two things together)'	kavuştur- 'bring together'	tokuştur- 'cause to collide; clink glasses'
çatıştır- 'cause or allow (people) to quarrel, clash'	kaynaştır- 'integrate; fuse'	tutuştir- 'set on fire; cause to quarrel'
depreştir- 'cause to be stirred'	kırıtır- '(of a woman) carry on with a man'	uğraştır- 'cause annoyance to, disturb'
dolaştır- 'take so. out for a walk; wind or tangle stg. around stg. else'	konuştir- 'get/ make so. to talk'	ulaştır- 'cause to reach'
dövüştür- 'cause to fight with one another'	koşuştur- 'rush from one place to another'	uyuştur- 'benumb'
emiştir- 'cause to suck one another'	ölçüştür- 'compare (two things) by putting them side by side'	üleştir- 'share out'
görüştür- 'bring about a meeting between one person and another'	sığıştır- 'to squeeze (people, things) into (a relatively small space)'	yakıştır- 'think stg. becoming to a person; expect stg. of a person'
	sıkıştır- 'press; squeeze'	

3.2.8 -İt + -Dİr

ışittir- 'cause so. to hear stg.'

unuttur- 'cause so. to forget stg.'

3.2.9. -lAn + -Dİr

adlandır- 'name; entitle'	bilinçlendir- 'make so. conscious of stg.'	dillendir- 'cause to become a subject of gossip'
ağaçlandır- 'afforest'	borçlandır- 'debit'	dinlendir- 'let rest'
ağılandır- 'have so./ stg. poisoned'	boyunlandır- 'extend the coverage of stg.'	duygulandır- 'move so. emotionally'
akıllandır- 'bring so. to his senses'	bölümlendir- 'departmentalize'	eğlendir- 'amuse'
alacalandır- 'cause to become pied/ multicolored'	buğulandır- 'mist stg. up'	elektriklendir- 'electrify'
alakalandır- 'concern'	canlandır- 'enliven'	esaslandır- 'consolidate; fortify'
alevlendir- 'inflamm'	cemilendir- 'pluralize'	evlendir- 'marry off'
anlamlandır- 'give meaning to'	cesaretlendir- 'encourage'	faizlendir- 'cause to yield interest'
ateşlendir- 'provoke'	cevaplandır- 'respond'	ferahlandır- 'make spacious'
atlandır- 'provide so. with a mount'	cezalandır- 'punish'	fiyatlandır- 'price'
ayaklandır- 'incite a riot'	çalılandır- 'make a place green by planting shrub'	gazaplandır- 'enrage'
ayazlandır- 'cause to become cold'	çeşitlendir- 'diversify'	gerekçelendir- 'justify'
baharatlandır- 'spice'	çiçeklendir- 'decorate with flowers'	gölgelendir- 'shade'
balıklandır- 'garnish with fish'	çimlendir- 'turf'	görevlendir- 'employ'
ballandır- 'praise extravagantly'	çullandır- 'cause to attack so.'	gruplandır- 'group'
belgelendir- 'document'	dalgalandır- 'wave'	güçlendir- 'strengthen'
biçimlendir- 'shape'	dallandır- 'ramify'	gümrüklendir- 'clear stg. through customs'
bilgilendir- 'inform'	değerlendir- 'evaluate'	hararetlendir- 'excite'
	demlendir- 'steep'	hareketlendir- 'set in motion'
	derecelendir- 'grade'	hastalandır- 'make so. sick'
	detaylandır- 'elaborate'	havalandır- 'air'

heyecanlandır- 'excite'
 hırslandır- 'infuriate'
 hızlandır- 'accelerate'
 hiddetlendir- 'exasperate'
 hudutlandır- 'limit'
 huylandır- 'disturb'
 hüznülendir- 'sadden'
 ışıklandır- 'illuminate'
 ısınlandır- 'cause to become exposed to radiation'
 içlendir- 'cause to become touched; affected'
 ifadelendir- 'make stg. carry a meaning'
 ilgilendir- 'concern'
 ilişkilendir- 'associate'
 isimlendir- 'entitle'
 isteklendir- 'encourage'
 işkillendir- 'arouse so.'s suspicion'
 iştahlandır- 'arouse one's appetite'
 kademelendir- 'separate into graded ranks'
 kadrolandır- 'employ permanently'
 kanatlandır- 'please; exalt'
 kanıtlandır- 'verify'
 kanlandır- 'smear stg. with blood'
 kapılandır- 'place so. in the service of'
 katlandır- 'get so. to endure a difficult situation'
 kaygılandır- 'worry'
 kederlendir- 'aggrieve'
 kıymetlendir- 'increase the value of'
 klorürlendir- 'add / turn into chloride'
 kokulandır- 'aromatize'
 konumlandır- 'position'
 konuşlandır- 'deploy'
 koşullandır- 'condition'
 köklendir- 'root'
 kredilendir- 'cause to take credit'
 kristallendir- 'cause to crystallize'
 kullandır- 'make so. use stg.'
 kurtlandır- 'cause stg. to become infested with worms'
 kurşulandır- 'itemize (a bill)'
 kuşkulandır- 'make suspicious'

kuvvetlendir- 'strengthen'
 küflendir- 'mildew'
 lezzetlendir- 'make (food) taste delicious'
 manalandır- 'give meaning to'
 mayalandır- 'ferment'
 meraklandır- 'make so curious'
 mutlandır- 'make so. happy'
 mutlulandır- 'make so. happy'
 mükâfatlandır- 'reward'
 müziklendir- 'compose music for stg.'
 nemalandır- 'cause to accumulate interest'
 nemlendir- 'moisten'
 neticelendir- 'conclude'
 nitelendir- 'qualify'
 numaralandır- 'number'
 nurlandır- 'cause to become clean and radiant'
 onurlandır- 'honor'
 oyalandır- 'cause to keep so. amused to avoid boredom'
 ödevlendir- 'give so. a duty'
 ödüllendir- 'award'
 öfkelenir- 'anger'
 ölçülendir- 'transfer measurements on a plane'
 örgütlendir- 'organize'
 örneklendir- 'exemplify'
 paslandır- 'corrode'
 payelendir- 'promote'
 pirelendir- 'cause stg. to become infested with fleas'
 projelendir- 'project'
 puanlandır- 'give points; grade (a test)'
 puslandır- 'cause to become hazy'
 renklendir- 'color'
 resimlendir- 'illustrate'
 ruhsatlandır- 'authorize'
 rutubetlendir- 'humidify'
 sallandır- 'suspend'
 sayfalandır- 'paginate'
 seslendir- 'vocalize'
 sıfatlandır- 'qualify'
 sınıflandır- 'classify'
 sınırlandır- 'limit'
 silahlandır- 'arm'
 silahsızlandır- 'disarm'
 sinirlendir- 'irritate'

sislendir- 'smoke'
 sonlandır- 'terminate'
 sonuçlandır- 'conclude'
 sözlendir- 'dub'
 suçlandır- 'accuse'
 sulandır- 'dilute'
 süratlendir- 'accelerate'
 sürüklendir- 'allow stg. to drag on'
 süslendir- 'have so. decked out'
 sütlendir- 'increase lactation'
 şahlandır- 'make a horse rear up'
 şartlandır- 'condition'
 şekillendir- 'shape'
 şenlendir- 'cheer'
 şereflendir- 'honour'
 şiddetlendir- 'aggravate'
 şümüllendir- 'extend the scope of'
 şüphelendir- 'cause so. to suspect'
 taksitlendir- 'make a sum due payable on the installment plan'
 tariflendir- 'describe'
 tarihlendir- 'date'
 tatlandır- 'flavour'
 tavlandır- 'worry'
 telaşlandır- 'alarm'
 tellendir- 'puff'
 temellendir- 'establish firmly'
 teşkilatlandır- 'organize'
 topraklandır- '(for the state) give land to (a landless farmer)'
 töhmetlendir- 'accuse'
 tüylendir- 'fledge'
 umutlandır- 'give hope to'
 ücretlendir- 'fix the market value of stg.'
 ümitlendir- 'give hope to'
 vasıflandır- 'qualify'
 vazifelendir- 'charge so. with a duty'
 vergilendir- 'tax'
 yaylandır- 'make stg. springy'
 yetkilendir- 'authorize'
 yiğitlendir- 'inspire so. with courage'
 yönlendir- 'direct'
 yüreklendir- 'encourage'

3.2.10. -İAş + -DİR

abideleştir- 'make stg. a lasting symbol'	bayındırıştır- 'build up; make prosperous'	damaksıllaştır- 'palatalize'
acayıpleştir- 'make stg. weird'	bedbinleştir- 'make so. pessimistic'	darlaştır- 'constrict'
aceleleştir- 'hurry stg.'	belirginleştir- 'make clear'	demokratikleştir- 'democratize'
acemleştir- 'make stg. Persian'	berraklaştır- 'clarify, make stg. limpid'	denesizleştir- 'cause to be unstable'
acılaştır- 'embitter'	biçimselleştir- 'formalize'	denkleştir- 'offset'
açıklaştır- 'lighten 'a color''	bileştir- 'compound, combine with'	derinleştir- 'deepen'
adileştir- 'make stg. vulgar'	bilimselleştir- 'make stg. scientific'	devleştir- 'cause to become gigantic'
afallaştır- 'astonish'	billurlaştır- 'crystallize'	devletleştir- 'nationalize'
ağdalaştır- 'coagulate'	bireyleştir- 'individualize'	deyimleştir- 'make stg. idiom'
ağırlaştır- 'make heavier'	bireyselleştir- 'make stg. individualistic'	dışlaştır- 'express'
ahenkleştir- 'harmonize'	birleştir- 'unite'	dikleştir- 'steepen'
ahmaklaştır- 'make one act like a fool'	bollaştır- 'widen'	dinamikleştir- 'make stg. dynamic'
akılsallaştır- 'make stg. logical'	buharlaştır- 'evaporate'	dinginleştir- 'passivate'
akışkanlaştır- 'liquefy'	bulanıklaştır- 'blur'	dişileştir- 'feminize'
aklaştır- 'make stg. white'	cansızlaştır- 'make stg. lifeless'	dişilleştir- 'put (a word) into its feminine gender'
akortsuzlaştır- 'make something out of tune'	cazibeleştir- 'make stg. attractive'	divaneleştir- 'cause to become crazy'
aktifleştir- 'capitalize'	cazipleştir- 'make stg. appealing'	dizeleştir- 'poeticize'
alafrangalaştır- 'cause to adopt European style'	cıvıklaştır- 'cause to become squishy'	dogmalaştır- 'make stg. dogmatic'
alaturkalaştır- 'cause to adopt Turkish style'	çabuklaştır- 'speed up'	doğallaştır- 'make stg. natural'
alçaklaştır- 'make stg. low'	çağcılaştır- 'modernize'	doğululaştır- 'cause to adopt an eastern way of life'
alıklaştır- 'cause stg. to be astounded'	çağdaştır- 'contemporize'	doğurganlaştır- 'make so. fertile'
Almanlaştır- 'Germanize'	çapaçullaştır- 'cause to become idle, vagrant'	donuklaştır- 'deaden'
analaştır- 'make so. become like a mother'	çarpıklaştır- 'make stg. crooked'	dramatikleştir- 'dramatise'
anıtlaştır- 'cause to acquire a monument status'	çatalaştır- 'cause stg. to fork'	durgunlaştır- 'make calm'
anlamsızlaştır- 'make stg. meaningless'	çelikleştir- 'make stg. steel-like'	duyarsızlaştır- 'desensitize'
aptallaştır- 'stupefy'	çeteleştir- 'make stg. a gang'	ebedileştir- 'eternalize'
Arapçalaştır- 'make stg. Arabic'	çetinleştir- 'make stg. difficult'	edilgenleştir- 'passivize'
Araplaştır- 'Arabize'	çevikleştir- 'make so. nimble'	efsaneleştir- 'cause to become a legend'
Arnavutlaştır- 'make so./stg. Albanian'	çıplaklaştır- 'denude'	ehlileştir- 'tame'
askerileştir- 'militarize'	çifileştir- 'mate'	ekleştir- 'cause to become an affix'
bağdaşıllaştır- 'become homogenous'	çirkinleştir- 'make so. ugly'	ergenleştir- 'cause to become an adolescent'
bağımsızlaştır- 'make so./stg. independent'	çocuklaştır- 'cause to become childish'	esmerleştir- 'brown'
basıklaştır- 'make stg. flattened, depressed'	çoğullaştır- 'pluralize'	esnekleştir- 'elasticize'
basitleştir- 'simplify'	çopurlaştır- 'make stg. pockmarked'	eşitleştir- 'equalize'
başkalaştır- 'alter, metamorphose'	çoraklaştır- 'make stg. barren'	eşleştir- 'pair'
batılılaştır- 'westernize'	çölleştir- 'cause to become desert-like'	eterleştir- 'etherify'
bayağılaştır- 'vulgarize'	dalgınlaştır- 'make so. abstracted'	etkinleştir- 'activate'
		etkisizleştir- 'deactivate'
		evcilleştir- 'domesticate'
		evrenselleştir- 'universalize'
		fakirleştir- 'impoverish'
		farklılaştır- 'diversify'

faşistleştirir- 'make so. fascist'
 fenalaştır- 'make stg. worse'
 filmleştirir- 'make a movie'
 formüleleştirir- 'formulate'
 Fransızlaştır- 'Gallicize'
 Frenkleştir- 'make stg. European'
 garphılaştır- 'westernize'
 gazlaştır- 'gasify'
 geçersizleştirir- 'invalidate'
 gelenekleştirir- 'make stg. a tradition'
 gençleştirir- 'rejuvenate'
 genelleştir- 'generalize'
 genleştirir- 'cause stg. to expand'
 gerçekleştirir- 'realize'
 gerginleştirir- 'tighten'
 göçmenleştirir- 'make so. an immigrant'
 güçleştirir- 'complicate'
 gülünçleştirir- 'make stg. ridiculous'
 güncelleştirir- 'update'
 güzelleştirir- 'beautify'
 hadımlaştır- 'castrate'
 hafifleştirir- 'lighten'
 hayvanlaştır- 'animalize'
 heykelleştirir- 'turn stg. into a sculpture'
 hiçleştirir- 'reduce so. to a nonentity'
 hikayeleştirir- 'storify'
 hoşlaştır- 'prettify'
 Hıristiyanlaştır- 'christianize'
 hulyalaştır- 'cause to become a dream'
 huysuzlaştır- 'acerbate, preeve'
 ılıklaştır- 'make stg. tepid'
 idealleştirir- 'idealize'
 ilahlaştır- 'divinize'
 ilkleştirir- 'make stg. primitive'
 İslamlaştır- 'Islamize'
 İslavlaştır- 'cause to become Slavic'
 ivedileştirir- 'make stg. quicker'
 iyileştirir- 'cure'
 iyonlaştır- 'ionize'
 kabalaştır- 'coarsen'
 kadifeleştirir- 'make stg. velvet'
 kalınlaştır- 'thicken'
 kamburlaştır- 'hunch up'
 kamulaştır- 'expropriate'
 kangrenleştirir- 'cause stg. to be gangrene'

kanserleştirir- 'turn stg. into cancer'
 kanunlaştır- 'legalize'
 kapitalistleştirir- 'cause to become a capitalist'
 karamsarlaştır- 'make so. pessimistic'
 karikatürleştirir- 'caricature'
 katılaştır- 'solidify'
 kavileştirir- 'strengthen'
 kavramlaştır- 'conceptualize'
 keçeleştirir- 'turn stg. into felt'
 kemikleştirir- 'ossify'
 kesinleştirir- 'make certain'
 keskinleştirir- 'sharpen'
 kısırlaştır- 'neutralize'
 kıvamlaştır- 'thicken'
 kıymetleştirir- 'make stg. valuable'
 kireçsizleştirir- 'decalcify'
 kişiselleştirir- 'personalize'
 kitaplaştır- 'turn stg. into a book'
 klasikleştirir- 'turn stg. into a classical'
 klorürleştirir- 'turn into chloride'
 kocamanlaştır- 'make stg. enormous'
 kolaylaştır- 'facilitate'
 kolektifleştirir- 'make stg. collective'
 komikleştirir- 'make stg. funny'
 korkunçlaştır- 'make stg. terrifying'
 koşutlaştır- 'parallelize'
 koyulaştır- 'darken'
 kökleştirir- 'root'
 köleleştirir- 'mancipate'
 kömürleştirir- 'carbonize'
 körleştirir- 'blind'
 kötüleştirir- 'worsen'
 köyleştirir- 'turn stg. into a village'
 kumlaştır- 'turn stg. into sand'
 kurallaştır- 'make into a rule'
 kuramlaştır- 'theorize'
 kurumlaştır- 'turn stg. into an institution'
 kurumsallaştır- 'institutionalize'
 kutsallaştır- 'sanctify'
 küreselleştirir- 'globalize'
 kütleştirir- 'blunt'
 lifleştirir- 'make stg. fibrous'
 maddileştirir- 'materialize'

makineleştirir- 'mechanize'
 manyaklaştır- 'cause so. to be a maniac'
 masallaştır- 'make stg. a tale'
 matlaştır- 'tarnish'
 mavileştirir- 'make stg. blue'
 maymunlaştır- 'make so./stg. look like a monkey'
 medenileştirir- 'civilize'
 melezleştirir- 'hybridize'
 merkezleştirir- 'centralize'
 merkezleştirir- 'centralize'
 mermerleştirir- 'marbleize'
 meşrulaştır- 'legitimize'
 militanlaştır- 'make so. militant'
 millileştirir- 'nationalize'
 mineralleştirir- 'mineralize'
 minyatürleştirir- 'miniaturize'
 mitleştirir- 'mythicize'
 modalaştır- 'make stg. fashionable'
 modernleştirir- 'modernize'
 monotonlaştır- 'make stg. monotone'
 muasırlaştır- 'contemporize'
 mükemmelleştirir- 'perfect'
 müslümanlaştır- 'cause to become Muslim'
 müzminleştirir- 'protract; cause to become chronic'
 nazikleştirir- 'cause to become polite'
 neftileştirir- 'turn stg. into dark green, naptha'
 netleştirir- 'clarify'
 olağanlaştır- 'make stg. ordinary'
 ormanlaştır- 'afforest'
 ortaklaştır- 'collectivize'
 ölmezleştirir- 'immortalize'
 ölümsüzleştirir- 'immortalize'
 öyküleştirir- 'storify'
 özdeşleştirir- 'identify'
 özelleştirir- 'privatize'
 özerkleştirir- 'make stg. autonomous'
 özgünleştirir- 'make stg. authentic'
 özgürleştirir- 'free'
 özleştirir- 'purify'
 paralelleştirir- 'collimate'
 parlaklaştır- 'make stg. shiny'
 pasifleştirir- 'passivize'
 pekleştirir- 'strengthen'
 pembeleştirir- 'turn stg. pink'

perçinleştir- 'buttress'	sıcaklaştır- 'make stg. warmer'	termikleştir- 'turn stg. into thermic'
pıhtılaştır- 'coagulate'	sıfatlaştı- 'adjectivize'	tezleştir- 'make stg. quicker'
plazmalaştır- 'turn stg. into plasma'	sıkılaştır- 'tighten'	tipleştir- 'characterize'
polimerleştir- 'polymerize'	sıklaştır- 'increase the frequency of stg.'	tiyatrolaştır- 'dramatize'
pratikleştir- 'make stg. handy'	sıradanlaştı- 'banalize'	topaklaştı- 'cause to become lumpy'
profesyonelleştir- 'professionalize'	silikleştir- 'make stg. indistinct'	toplumlaştı- 'turn stg. into society'
programlaştı- 'make stg. into a program'	simgeleştir- 'symbolize'	toplumsallaştır- 'communalize'
putlaştı- 'idolize'	sinemalaştı- 'turn stg. into a movie'	tozlaştı- 'atomize'
radikalleştir- 'radicalize'	sistemleştir- 'systemize'	tunçlaştı- 'turn stg. into bronze'
rasyonelleştir- 'rationalize'	sivilleştir- 'civilize'	Türkçeleştir- 'make stg. Turkish'
resmileştir- 'formalize'	sivrileştir- 'sharpen'	türkleştir- 'Turkify'
robotlaştı- 'robotize'	sloganlaştı- 'sloganize'	Türküleştir- 'make stg. a folksong'
romanlaştı- 'fictionize'	soğuklaştı- 'make stg. cold'	uydulaştı- 'make stg. a satellite'
ruhsuzlaştı- 'cause to become dull'	somutlaştı- 'concretize'	uzaklaştı- 'send away; to estrange'
Rumlaştı- 'cause to become Greek'	sosyalleştir- 'socialize'	uzlaştı- 'reconcile'
Ruslaştı- 'Russianize'	soysuzlaştı- 'cause to degenerate'	üsluplaştı- 'stylize'
sabitleştir- 'firm'	soyutlaştı- 'make stg. abstract'	vatanlaştı- 'turn stg. into a homeland'
sabunlaştı- 'saponify'	sömürgeleştir- 'colonize'	verimsizleştir- 'make stg. unproductive/ infertile'
sadeleştir- 'simplify'	standartlaştı- 'standardize'	yansızlaştı- 'neutralize'
saflaştı- 'purify'	suskunlaştı- 'make so. quiet'	yavanlaştı- 'make stg. dull; tasteless'
sağlamlaştı- 'fortify'	süblimleştir- 'sublimate'	yenileştir- 'renew'
sahileştir- 'cause to come true'	Şarkılaştı- 'make so. eastern'	yerelleştir- 'localize'
sakızlaştı- 'make stg. mastic'	şeffaflaştı- 'cause to become transparent'	yerleştir- 'locate'
sakinleştir- 'pacify'	şehirlileştir- 'urbanize'	yoğunlaştı- 'concentrate'
sanayileştir- 'industrialize'	şekerleştir- 'turn stg. into sugar'	yozlaştı- 'cause to degenerate'
sarılaştı- 'cause to turn yellow'	şemalaştı- 'schematize'	yüzeyselleştir- 'make stg. superficial'
sathileştir- 'make stg. superficial'	şıklaştı- 'titivate'	yüzsüzleştir- 'cause to become impudent, shameless'
saydamlaştı- 'make stg. transparent'	şiirleştir- 'poeticize'	
sembolleştir- 'symbolize'	tabiileştir- 'normalize'	
sendikalaştı- 'turn stg. into a union'	tabulaştı- 'make stg. tabooed'	
sertleştir- 'harden'	tanrılaştı- 'deify'	
sevimlileştir- 'make stg. cute'	tarafsızlaştı- 'neutralize'	
sevimsizleştir- 'make stg. unlikable'	tatlılaştı- 'sweeten'	
seyrekleştir- 'rarefy'	tekelleştir- 'monopolize'	
	tembelleştir- 'cause to become lazy'	
	temelleştir- 'establish firmly'	

3.2.11. -rA + n + -Dİr

iğrendir- 'disgust; sicken'

kıvrandır- 'make suffer, agonize'

imrendir- 'arouse so.'s appetite, make envious'

3.2.12. -sIn + -Dİr

tiksindir- 'make so. be disgusted with stg.'

3.2.13. Nomen + -Dİr

gerektir- 'necessitate'

3.3. Verbs causativized by the affix -t

3.3.1. Monosyllabic verbs causativized by the affix -It

akıt- 'flow'	devit- 'make stg. move'	sapıt- 'go crazy; talk nonsense'
azıt- 'go too far; become unreasonable'	kokut- 'stink; break wind'	sarkıt- 'dangle'
çarpit- 'make crooked or awry'	korkut- 'frighten'	ürküt- 'recoil'

3.3.2. -A + -t²²

adat- 'cause to vow'	döşet- 'cause to lay down; spread (carpet, etc.)'	susat- 'make thirsty'
arat- 'make so. regret or long for stg.'	esnet- 'stretch; make so. yawn'	tarat- 'cause to comb, scan'
benzet- 'liken; mistake a person for another'	gevşet- 'loosen; slacken'	tıkat- 'cause to plug'
bezet- 'cause to adorn'	işet- 'cause so. to urinate'	tüket- 'consume'
bilet- 'cause to sharpen'	kanat- 'cause to bleed'	türet- 'derive'
boşat- 'let so. be divorced'	kapat- 'close'	uğrat- 'cause to stop at/ encounter'
boyat- 'cause to paint'	kuşat- 'surround; besiege'	uzat- 'extend; make longer'
budat- 'cause to prune'	okşat- 'make so. caress, fondle'	üret- 'produce'
bulat- 'cause to smear'	oynat- 'move; cause to play; go off one's head'	yalat- 'cause to lick'
çalkat- 'cause to rinse'	ödēt- 'cause to pay'	yamat- 'cause to darn/ mend'
dayat- 'cause to lean against; fling an accusation or refusal in so.'s face'	öğret- 'teach'	yarat- 'create'
diret- 'insist; show obstinacy'	sınat- 'cause to try/ test'	yaşat- 'cause or allow to live; keep alive'
donat- 'deck out, ornament'	sıvat- 'cause to plaster'	yıkāt- 'cause to wash'
		yumuşat- 'soften'

3.3.3. -Al /-Il + -t

alçalt- 'lower, reduce'	darılt- 'make so. cross'	kocalt- 'age, put years on so.'
ayılt- 'restore so. to full consciousness; sober so. up'	dirilt- 'resuscitate'	koyult- 'thicken; darken'
azalt- 'lessen; reduce'	doğrult- 'put straight or right'	körelt- 'cause to atrophy or decline'
bayılt- 'cause to faint'	durult- 'cause to become lucid'	küçült- 'make smaller'
boşalt- 'empty; evacuate'	düzelt- 'correct; adjust'	sağalt- 'treat; cure'
bunalt- 'distress'	eğrilt- 'bend; warp'	seyrelt- 'dilute; thin down'
büyült- 'enlarge'	eksilt- 'reduce'	sivrilt- 'point; sharpen'
çoğalt- 'increase'	incelt- 'make thin'	şenelt- 'populate; make a place well populated'
çökelt- 'make (a substance) precipitate'	irkılt- 'startle'	ufalt- 'make stg. smaller'
çömlēt- 'have so. squat down'	katılt- 'make so. laugh so hard he chokes'	yanılt- 'belie; mislead'
daralt- 'narrow; contract'	kaykılt- 'cause to lean back'	yönelt- 'direct; orient'
	kısalt- 'shorten; abbreviate'	yücelt- 'deify; elevate'

3.3.4. -AlA + -t

çalkalat- 'have so. shake or rinse'	silkelet- 'have so. shake stg. off'
eşelet- 'cause to scratch about'	şaşalat- 'cause to be bewildered'
hırpalat- 'cause stg. to be buffeted'	tırmalat- 'cause to scratch'
kovalat- 'cause to chase; run after'	ufalat- 'cause to crumble'
ovalat- 'have so. rub or massage stg.'	yakalat- 'cause to catch'
sarmalat- 'cause to wrap'	

3.3.5. -Ar/ -Ir + -t

abart- 'exaggerate'	ağart- 'whiten; clean'	aksırt- 'cause to sneeze'
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anırt- 'cause to bray'	göttürt- 'have so. take stg./ so. from (one place) to (another)'	sarart- 'make stg. turn yellow'
aşırt- 'cause to pass over/ steal'	hapşırt- 'cause to sneeze'	onart- 'have so. repair or restore stg.'
ayırt- 'put aside; reserve'	ısırt- 'cause to bite'	oturt- 'seat; sit so. down'
belirt- 'point out'	içirt- 'cause to drink'	savurt- 'have so. blow about/ scatter stg.'
böğürt- 'cause to bellow'	kabart- 'cause to swell; blister; puff out, fluff; emboss'	seğirt- 'rush; twitch involuntarily'
çağırt- 'make so. call out'	kaçırt- 'have so. help (another) to escape; cause so. to miss (a vehicle, a chance)'	semirt- 'fatten up; plump out'
çevirt- 'cause to turn around/ translate'	kanırt- 'twist loose; bend'	seyirt- 'run'
çıkart- 'cause to take out'	karart- 'blacken'	sıyırt- 'cause to scrape'
çökert- 'cause to collapse, overthrow'	kavurt- 'have stg. roasted'	somurt- 'sulk; frown'
delirt- 'drive mad'	kayırt- 'cause so. to get preferential treatment'	süpürt- 'have so. sweep'
doğurt- 'deliver'	kıvırt- 'have so. curl or twist stg.'	şaşırt- 'put so. out of countenance; confuse; puzzle; bewilder'
düşürt- 'cause to drop; cause to miscarry'	kızart- 'fry'	şımart- 'spoil; cosset'
eğirt- 'have so. spin stg.'	kopart- 'break off; pull off'	şışırt- 'have so. inflate stg.'
emzirt- 'have so. nurse a baby'	kökert- 'layer, propagate (a plant) by layering'	uçurt- 'have so. fly stg.; have so. let stg. fly away'
evirt- 'invert'	köpürt- 'make foam, lather'	ürpert- 'make so. shudder; send a cold chill down someone's spine'
gebert- 'kill'	kudurt- 'enrage so.'	yalvart- 'make a person entreat or implore another; make a person plead with another'
geçirt- 'have so. pass stg. through'	morart- 'make purple; bruise'	yeşert- 'cause (a plant) to leaf out; make (a place) green'
getirt- 'cause to bring, call up, send for'	onart- 'have so. repair or restore stg.'	yoğurt- 'cause to knead/ mold'
gidert- 'cause to remove, eliminate'	oturt- 'sit'	
göçert- 'knock down, demolish'	öğürt- 'cause to belch'	
göçürt- 'cause to collapse or cave in'	öksürt- 'cause to cough'	
	pişirt- 'have so. cook stg.'	

3.3.6. -ArI A + -t

toparlat- 'have so. tidy up'	uyarlat- 'have so. to adapt or modify stg.'	yuvarlat- 'have so. roll stg.'
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3.3.7. -DA + -t

cayırdat- 'make (a fire) crackle or roar'	fırıldat- 'whirl, spin sth. round'	inildet- 'cause to moan; groan'
cazırdat- 'make stg. crackle'	fişirdat- 'cause to fizz, fizzle'	kıkırdat- 'make so. giggle'
cıyırdat- 'cause (paper, cloth) to make a sound when ripped or torn'	fokurdatt- 'make stg. splash'	kımıldat- 'move slightly'
cızırdat- 'make stg. sizzle or sputter'	fosurdatt- 'smoke noisily; puff'	kıpırdat- 'move; stir'
cumbuldat- 'cause to make a sloshing sound'	foşurdatt- 'cause to splash'	kıtırdat- 'crackle'
çakıldat- 'shake stg. noisily'	gacırdatt- 'make stg. creak'	kütürdet- 'snap; crunch'
çatırdat- 'crack'	gıcırdatt- 'make creak; gnash the teeth'	parıldat- 'make stg. gleam'
çingürdat- 'tinkle, jangle'	gümbürdet- 'make stg. thunder, rumble'	patırdatt- 'patter or clatter (one's feet)'
dımbırdat- 'strum, thrum'	hışıldat- 'make stg. rustle'	pıtırdatt- 'make stg. patter'
fıkırdat- 'make stg. bubble and boil'	hışırdatt- 'make stg. rustle'	pofurdatt- 'make stg. puff'
	hopurdatt- 'slurp'	şakırdatt- 'clank, rattle'
	höpürdet- 'slurp; sip noisily'	şangırdatt- 'clink'
	ışıldat- 'make stg. sparkle'	şapırdatt- 'smack'
		şıkırdatt- 'rattle, clink, jingle'
		takırdatt- 'clatter'

tangırdat- 'clang'
 tıkırdat- 'rattle; tap'
 tıngıldat- 'tinkle'
 tıngırdat- 'clink; clang'

tıpırdat- 'tap lightly'
 tokurdat- 'make a hookah
 bubble'

zimbırdat- 'twang; strum on a
 stringed instrument'

3.3.8. -DAr + -t

aktart- 'cause to transfer'
 göndert- 'have stg. sent'

göstert- 'have so. show, indicate, denote stg.'

3.3.9. -I/-U + -t

ağrı- 'hurt; cause pain'
 avut-²³ 'console; delude'
 berkit- 'fortify; reinforce'
 büyüt- 'enlarge; grow; raise'
 cıvıt- 'cause stg. to degenerate
 into something else'
 çürüt- 'make stg. decay; refute
 stg.'
 dokut- 'have stg. woven'
 erit- 'melt'
 ılıt- 'make tepid or slightly
 warm'

ışıt- 'illuminate'
 ıgıt- 'bend'
 incit- 'hurt; offend; strain'
 kazıt- 'have stg. scraped or
 scraped off'
 kaşı- 'make so. scratch stg.'
 korut- 'have stg. protected'
 kurut- 'dry'
 soğut- 'cool; alienate'
 solut- 'make so. pant for
 breath'
 sürüt- 'make stg. drag'

tanıt- 'introduce; present'
 taşı- 'have so. carry or
 transport stg.'
 tozıt- 'raise dust; go nuts'
 ulut- 'make stg. howl'
 uyut- 'cause to sleep'
 üşüt- 'cause to feel cold; catch
 cold'
 yürüt- 'walk so.; perform;
 steal'

3.3.10. -I/AkIA + -t

açıklat- 'make so. explain stg.'
 ayıklat- 'have stg. picked over/ shelled'

duraklat- 'bring to a standstill'
 sürüklet- 'have so. drag stg./so.'

tutuklat- 'have so.
 arrested'

3.3.11. -İmsA + -t

anımsat- 'remind of'
 benimset- 'get or allow so. to appropriate stg.;
 consider or treat stg. as his/her own; get so. to
 accept stg.'

duyumsat- 'make so feel stg.'
 gülümset- 'cause so. to smile'
 özümset- 'make so. digest, assimilate stg.'

3.3.12. -KI + -t

okut- 'educate; instruct'

şakıt- 'make so. sing'

3.3.13. -Kİr + -t

bağır- 'make so. shout'
 fışkırt- 'make stg. gush or squirt'
 haykırt- 'cause so. to shout'
 geçirt- 'cause so. to burp'

hıçkırt- 'cause so. to hiccup'
 kışkırt- 'provoke, incite'
 püskürt- 'spray; dust'
 sümür- 'blow one's nose'

3.3.14. -IA + -t

açkıl- 'have stg. polished'
 afallat- 'astonish'
 ağırlat- 'have one person
 entertain another'
 ağlat- 'make so. cry'
 akaçlat- 'have stg. drained'
 akortlat- 'have stg. keyed'
 akşamlat- 'cause so. to stay
 until evening'
 alçıl- 'have stg. plastered'

algıl- 'cause to perceive'
 aralat- 'have stg. opened
 slightly'
 astarlat- 'have stg. lined'
 aşılat- 'embarrass'
 aşıl- 'have so. vaccinated'
 ateşlet- 'have so. shoot a gun'
 atlat- 'overcome'
 avlat- 'have stg. hunted'
 ayarlat- 'have stg. adjusted'

ayazlat- 'cool stg. by putting it
 out in the cold'
 aydınlat- 'enlighten'
 azarlat- 'have so. scolded'
 badanalat- 'have stg.
 whitewashed'
 bağışlat- 'get so. to donate
 stg.'
 bağlat- 'have so. tie stg. up'

- bandajlat- 'have stg. bandaged'
başlat- 'initiate'
bayatlat- 'make stg. stale'
beklet- 'make so. wait'
bellet- 'cause to learn by heart'
beslet- 'have one person feed another'
beyazlat- 'whiten'
bıçaklat- 'have so./stg. stabbed'
bocalat- 'cause to baffle'
boğazlat- 'have so. slaughtered'
bollat- 'loosen; make plentiful'
bombalat- 'have a place bombed'
boynuzlat- 'have so. cuckolded'
bütünlet- 'have stg. completed'
camlat- 'have stg. covered with glass'
cıyaklat- 'cause to squawk'
cılalat- 'have so. polish stg.'
ciltlet- 'have a book bound'
coplat- 'have so. struck with a truncheon'
cumbalat- 'have so. smooth off the rough edge of stg.'
çamurlat- 'have so. muddy stg.'
çapalat- 'have so. mattock (earth, plants)'
çarşaflat- 'have a sheet sewed to a quilt'
çatlat- 'crack'
çayırлат- 'put (an animal) out to pasture'
çemberlet- 'cause to encircle'
çerçevelet- 'have stg. framed'
çıkılat- 'have things bundled in a cloth'
çınçınlat- 'clink glasses when toasting'
çınlat- 'make stg. reverberate'
çıtlat- 'drop a hint'
çimentolat- 'have stg. cemented'
çivilet- 'have stg. nailed'
çukurlat- 'make stg. concave'
çuvallat- 'have things put in a sack; cause so. to fail'
- dağlat- 'have so. cauterize a wound'
damgalat- 'have so. seal'
dehlet- 'cause to urge an animal'
demetlet- 'have stg. tied up in bunches'
depolat- 'have so. store'
derinlet- 'deepen'
dinlet- 'have so. listen'
dipçiklet- 'cause to be clubbed with a rifle butt'
dişlet- 'have so. bite'
düzlet- 'make flat'
eğelet- 'have stg. filed with a file'
eklet- 'have stg. added to'
ezberlet- 'have so. memorize stg.'
ferahlat- 'make spacious'
fırçalat- 'have stg. brushed'
fırınlat- 'have stg. kiln-dried'
fırlat- 'throw'
foslat- 'flatten'
galvanizlet- 'have stg. galvanized'
geçerlet- 'cause to pass'
genişlet- 'widen'
gerilet- 'cause to go back'
gözetlet- 'have so. spy on another'
gözlet- 'have so. keep an eye on'
gümlet- 'make stg. bang'
gümüşlet- 'have stg. silver-plated'
güneşlet- 'expose stg. to the sun'
hafiflet- 'lighten'
harlat- 'poke up a fire'
harmanlat- 'cause to blend'
haşlat- 'have stg. boiled'
hatırlat- 'remind'
havlat- 'cause to bark'
hazırlat- 'have stg. prepared'
hecelet- 'have stg. syllabicated'
hesaplat- 'have stg. calculated'
hırlat- 'cause to snarl'
hoplat- 'bounce'
hortlat- 'cause to arise again'
ıslat- 'soak'
ısmarlat- 'have so. order stg.'
ihtiyarlat- 'age so.'
ikilet- 'cause to double'
- ilerlet- 'improve'
imzalat- 'have stg. signed'
incelet- 'have stg. examined carefully'
inlet- 'cause so. to moan'
işlet- 'operate'
izlet- 'cause to watch; have so./stg. followed'
kalaylat- 'have stg. tinned'
kalburlat- 'have stg. sifted'
kalınlat- 'thicken'
kalıplat- 'have stg. blocked'
kamçılát- 'have so. flogged'
kaplat- 'have so. cover stg.'
karalat- 'have so. slander so.'
kaselet- 'have stg. put in a bowl'
kaskolat- 'have a car insured'
kaşağılat- 'have stg. curried'
kaşelet- 'have stg. stamped'
kaşıklát- 'have so. spoon fed'
kataloglat- 'have stg. catalogued'
katlat- 'have stg. folded'
katranlat- 'have stg. covered with tar'
kavlat- 'make stg. peel'
keselet- 'have so. rub one's body with a bath glove'
keskinlet- 'cause to become sharp'
kışlat- 'settle (a group of nomads) in (a sheltered place) for the winter'
kilitlet- 'have so. lock stg.'
kirlet- 'dirty'
kodlat- 'make so. code/codify'
koklat- 'make so. smell stg.'
kolalat- 'have stg. starched'
körlet- 'blind'
kundaklat- 'cause to swathe/sabotage'
kurşunlat- 'have so. shot; have so. covered with sealer'
kütlet- 'pound on sharply'
lûplet- 'gulp down'
macunlat- 'have stg. impasted'
miyavlat- 'make (a cat) meow'
mühürlet- 'have so. put stg. under seal'
nemlet- 'dampen'
otlat- 'put an animal out to pasture'

özlet- 'make so. long for'	semerlet- 'have stg. saddled'	tırmaklat- 'have stg. scratched/ clawed'
paketlet- 'have stg. packed'	serinlet- 'cool'	tırpanlat- 'have stg. scythed'
paralat- 'make so. tear; rip up stg.'	sersemlet- 'obfuscate'	tırtıklat- 'cause so. to steal stg.'
parçalat- 'have stg. pulled to pieces'	seslet- 'cause to listen to'	tokatlat- 'have so./ stg. slapped'
parkelet- 'have stg. parqueded'	sıralat- 'have so. list (things) in order'	toplat- 'have so. gather or collect (people, things)'
parlat- 'polish'	sıvazlat- 'let so. stroke oneself'	tornalat- 'have stg. lathed'
parsellet- 'have a land divided into parcels'	sızlat- 'cause stg. to ache'	tökezlet- 'cause to stumble'
paslat- 'cause stg. to rust'	siyahlat- 'blacken'	törpület- 'have stg. rasped'
paspaslat- 'have a place mopped'	söylet- 'make so. say'	ucuzlat- 'cheapen'
patlat- 'make explode'	sulāt- 'have so. irrigate (an area)'	ünlet- 'have so. called out'
paylat- 'have so. scolded'	süslet- 'have so. decorate'	ütület- 'have stg. ironed'
pençelet- 'cause (animals) to claw at each other'	şaklat- 'crack'	yağlat- 'have stg. lubricated'
pislet- 'contaminate'	şaplat- 'smack'	yaldızlat- 'have so. gild or silver stg.'
poşetlet- 'have stg. put into a plastic bag'	şişlet- 'cause to stab so.'	yargılat- 'have so. judged/ tried'
rahatlat- 'relieve'	şişmanlat- 'fatten'	yavaşlat- 'slow down'
raptiyelet- 'have stg. thumbtacked'	tamamlat- 'have so. complete stg.'	yayımlat- 'have stg. published'
rötuşlat- 'have stg. retouched'	taşlat- 'have so. throw stones at so./stg.'	yinelet- 'have so. repeat stg.'
sabahlat- 'cause so. to stay awake'	tekrarlat- 'have so. repeat stg.'	yumurtlat- 'cause (an animal) to lay eggs'
saklat- 'have so. hide stg.'	temizlet- 'have so. clean stg.'	yüklet- 'have stg. loaded in/on'
sarımsaklat- 'have garlic added to stg.'	tepelet- 'bring about the defeat of (an enemy)'	
	terlet- 'make so. sweat'	
	tıklat- 'click'	
	tınlat- 'clang'	

3.3.15. -nA + -t

çığnet- 'make so. chew stg.'	kaynat- 'boil'
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3.3.16. -rA + -t

doğrat- 'make so. cut up'	kavrat- 'get so. to comprehend; cause to grasp'	sıçrat- 'splash; dash'
gevret- 'make stg. crisp; brittle'	kıvrāt- 'curl or twist tightly'	titret- 'pulsate; vibrate'
		yıprat- 'fray; wear out'

3.3.17. -sA + -t

aksat- 'hinder, delay'	tavsāt- 'make stg. fall away from its prime'
susāt- 'make so. thirsty'	

3.3.18. -sI + -t

yansıt- 'reflect'

3.3.19. Verbs identical to noun root + -t

acı- 'hurt'	ağrı- 'cause to ache'	damlat- 'pour out drop by drop'
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3.3.20. Verbs identical to adjective root + -t

arı- 'cleanse; purify'	ekşit- 'render sour'	eskit- 'wear out'
eğrit- 'make crooked; bend'	ergit- 'cause to melt'	kocat- 'cause to grow old'

Notes

- ¹ According to Clauson (1972: 897) and Nişanyan (2002) the verb *yak* is derived from the root **ya*. Clauson, in particular indicates that *k-* may be an emphatic marker. There appear to be two distinct types of *-(I)k* affixes in Turkish, one deriving intransitives and the other deriving inchoatives (Tietze 2002: 20). As the verb *yak-* is a transitive verb, it is not compatible with the first function; however, it seems to be compatible with the inchoative function of *-(I)k*. Nonetheless, we refrain from committing ourselves to classifying the */k/* in *yak* as an affix as we have no conclusive evidence regarding its morphemic status in the historical sources we investigated.
- ² We do not have conclusive evidence regarding the affixal status of some of the verbs listed as *A-* verbs in Turkish. More precisely verbs such as *buda-* 'to prune' < OT **buti-* or *buta-*, *dala-* 'to bite' < Mongolian *tala*, *daya-* < OT **taya*, *dile-* 'to wish for' < OT **tile*, and *döşe-* 'to lay down, spread' < OT **töşe-* may not host the *A-* affix as the etymological origins cited in Tietze indicate. Nonetheless we leave the classification as it is. As for one of the verbs listed as *A-* verbs, *ara-* 'to search', we would like to point out that Clauson (1972: 217) and Tietze (2002: 189) consider the verb as derived from the OT verb *arka-*, however, the *arka-* > *ara* development cannot be accounted for.
- ³ Tietze (2002: 743) argues that the OT verb *esne-* 'to yawn' is derived from the noun *esin* 'breeze' + the verb forming affix *-A*. Erdal (1991: 419), however, argues that the verb *esne-* 'to yawn' is different from the OT verb *äsne-* 'to blow' which is related with *es-in* 'breeze'.
- ⁴ According to Banguoğlu (1986) the verbs *incel-* 'to slim', *kısal-* 'to shorten', *ufal-* 'to dwindle away' are derived from the OT verbs *inç-ke-l-*, *kıs-ga-l-*, *yuw-ga-l-*, which exhibit an obsolete *-KA* affix + the passive morpheme.
- ⁵ We have categorized the verbs *sarmala-* 'to wrap', *sürmele-* 'to bolt', *turmala-* 'to scratch' and *yarmala-* 'to split in two' as *-ALA* verbs. Banguoğlu (1986) and Korkmaz (2003) claim that these verbs are in fact derived with the affix *-mALA*. Considering the fact that historical sources such as Clauson (1972) and Tietze (2002) do not mention a *-mALA* affix in Turkish, an *-ALA* classification for these verbs appears to be more appropriate. As for the verbs *çabala-* 'to endeavour' and *ufala-* 'to crumble' also discussed in this section, some etymological information would be in order. According to Tietze (2002: 461), the verb *çabala-* 'to endeavour' has to be decomposed as *çab-* 'to strive' + affix *-ALA*; hence segmentation of the verb as *çaba* 'effort' + *la* is incorrect. The verb *ufala-* 'to crumble', as discussed in Clauson (1972: 4) is derived from the verb root *uv-* 'to crush; to reduce to powder'.
- ⁶ The verb *suvar-* 'to water livestock' comes from the root *su:v* and the transitivizing affix *-gar* (Clauson 1972: 786).
- ⁷ Lack of any evidence about the etymology of the verb *şımar-* 'to spoil' forced us to categorize it as an *-Ar* verb.
- ⁸ The verbs *böğür-* 'to bellow' and *tükür-* 'to spit' listed under the verbs of sound and substance emission resemble the *-KIr* verbs listed in Appendix 2a (23). Erdal (1991: 466) draws attention to the fact that the verbs *bağır-* 'to shout' and *geğir-* 'to belch' are *-KIr* verbs which are attested to be **ba-kır-* and **kä-kir-* in Old Turkic sources. According to Erdal the presence of the Mongolian cognate *bar-kira-* and the Modern Turkish

expression *bar bar bağır-* ‘to yell loudly’ suggests that the final /t/ was dropped from the end of the verb’s first syllable by dissimilation. Due to lack of evidence regarding the etymology of the verbs *böğür-* and *tükür-*, we categorized these verbs as *-Ir* verbs, not *-KIr* verbs.

- ⁹ According to Clauson (1972: 250) the verb *emzir-* ‘to nurse’ comes from the OT **emülz-*, which is stated to be the causative of *em-* ‘to suck’, and hence means ‘to cause to suck’.
- ¹⁰ The verb *esri-* ‘to experience a trance’ comes from the OT verb **esür-* (Clauson 1972: 251). The substitution of the sounds in the word is argued to have given rise to the root *esri-*. Hence we have treated the word as derived from *-Ir*.
- ¹¹ According to Nişanyan (2002) the verb *parala-* ‘to maul’ comes from the Persian noun *pare* ‘piece’ + the affix *-lA*.
- ¹² We have no information regarding the origin of the verb *sendele-* ‘to stagger’ which resembles *-AlA* verbs in Turkish. Based on Nişanyan’s explanation of the word *sende*, which he believes is originally a Persian word meaning ‘anvil’, we have classified the verb as *sende* + *le-*, thinking that it may have first referred to the action performed when using the tool *sende* ‘anvil’ and then may have undergone a semantic change.
- ¹³ Two of the onomatopoeic verbs listed here, *ağla-* ‘to weep’ and *sızla-* ‘to ache’, need special attention. The verb *ağ-la-* comes from the OT root **ığ* ‘to weep’ (Clauson 1972: 85). Clauson points out that the verb *sız-la-* is derived from the root *sız* ‘ache, pain’ (1972: 863).
- ¹⁴ The roots of *-lA* verbs listed in 25.6 are bound roots and do not have a specific meaning in Turkish. Investigation of the etymology of some of the verbs has revealed, however, that the root had a specific meaning in OT. Some verbs of this category are listed below:
An-la-: The verb *an-la-* ‘to understand’ is derived from the root *an* ‘understanding, intelligence’ (Clauson 1972: 186).
Bel-le-: Tietze (2002: 311) states that the root *bel* ‘sign’ appears to be related to OT **belgü* as cited in Clauson (1972). The verb *belle-* ‘to learn and keep in mind’ is derived from the root *bel* with the affixation of *-lA*.
Belir-le-: The verb is derived by the affixation of *-lA* to the OT root **belgür* ‘to appear’, ‘to become manifest’.
Bek-le-: According to Clauson (1972: 326) *bek-le-* ‘to wait’ is a derived verb from the root *bek-* ‘firm, solid, stable (323) with wide developments of meaning. Originally it meant ‘to fasten, secure’, then the meaning became ‘to keep secure’ and thus ‘to watch over’. Later the meaning became ‘to watch for, to expect’ and finally merely ‘to wait’.
Bes-le-: Tietze (2002: 322) states that *besle-* ‘to feed’ is derived from the noun root *besi* ‘yem’ and the affix *-lA*. He also cites Räsänen (1969) according to whom the root is related with the Persian word *bas* ‘enough’.
Dız-la-: The verb *dızla-* ‘to swindle’ is derived from the OT root **dız* ‘naked, bald’ with the affix *-lA* and hence means ‘to swindle someone leaving him/her naked’.
Haş-la-: Nişanyan (2002) argues that the verb comes from the Armenian *xaşel* meaning ‘to cook by boiling in water’.
Din-le-: Clauson (1972: 522) and Erdal (1991: 448) indicate that *din-le-* ‘to listen to’ is a derived noun from **tıñ* probably meaning ‘breath’.
Söy-le-: According to Clauson (1972: 863) the verb *söyle-* is derived from *söz* ‘to speak, say’. It is reported to have become *söyle-* in the 13th century for some unexplained reason.
Öz-le-: Clauson (1972: 287) considers the root of this word to be *öz*, meaning ‘the core or center of something’ hence the verb *özele-* ‘to desire’. Nişanyan, however, relates this verb

with the roots *ök-/ög-* meaning ‘mind, remembrance’, hence the verb *özle-* according to Nişanyan means ‘to call to mind’.

- ¹⁵ Tietze (2002: 623) argues that the verb *dinle-n-* ‘to rest’ is the reflexivized form of the verb *dinle-* ‘to listen to; to be silent’.
- ¹⁶ We have no information about the etymology of the verb *tiksin-* ‘to be disgusted’.
- ¹⁷ According to Clauson (1972: 744), the word *gerek* ‘be needful’ comes from the nominal/ adjectival root *kergek*.
- ¹⁸ The verbs *dadan-* ‘to acquire a taste for something’, *kazan-* ‘to earn’ and *yan-* ‘to burn’ have roots which are not verbs in MT. The OT sources show, however, that they are derived from the roots **dada-*, **kaza-* and **ya-*, respectively, with the affixation of the reflexive morpheme *-n*. Tietze (2002: 544) argues that the root *dada-* ‘taste’ comes from the root *t/dad + a*. Recall that *-A* derives verbs from nouns and adjectives. Clauson (1972: 683) indicates that the verb *kazan-* is derived from the OT verb **kazğan* ‘to earn, to gain’, hence the verb *kazan* is the reflexive form of the OT verb **kaz-ğa*. The affix *-ga* is argued to be a very old verb in OT. Like the verb *yak*, the verb *yan-* ‘to burn’ is derived from the root **ya-* (Clauson 1972: 942). Unlike the affix in *ya-k*, however, there is consensus among the sources consulted that the *n-* affix in *yan* is a reflexivization affix.
- ¹⁹ The verbs which are marked with (*) in section 1.2 of Appendix 2c can be morphologically segmented both as *Noun + -LA + -n* and *Noun + LAN* verbs. When the verbs are decomposed as *Noun + LAN*, the verbs denote states which happen on their own, internally without any agentive intervention, such as *Cildi yağlan-dı* ‘His skin became oily’. In a sentence such as *Güneşlenmeden önce yağlan-dı* ‘He put on sunscreen before he sunbathed’ the verb *yağlan-* has to be decomposed as *yağ+ la- + -n* where *-n* is the reflexivizing morpheme. Unlike the first sentence where there is no agent, in the second sentence, the activity is carried out by an agent.
- ²⁰ The verb *sataş-* ‘to seek quarrel’ has its origin in the OT root **satğa-* ‘to tread, or trample on something’ (Clauson 1972: 800; Erdal (1991: 612)).
- ²¹ In 2.8 we have listed *-Iş* verbs for whose roots we have no etymological information or whose potential root is not transparent in meaning. Below information about two of these verbs, *alış-* and *apış-*, is given.
 - i. The MT verb *alış-* ‘to get accustomed to’ is derived from the OT *al-* ‘to take, to receive’ and denotes reciprocity by means of the affix *-Iş*. According to Clauson (1972: 153) the verb has acquired the meaning of ‘to be accustomed to something’ only in Turkish.
 - ii. The verb *apış-* ‘to stand helpless; to be astonished’ according to Tietze (2002: 187) is derived from the root *apış-* ‘to stand with legs apart’. Furthermore when it is attached to the reciprocal affix *-Iş*, due to haplology one of the *-Iş* affixes dropped. Hence *apış+ış* has become *apış-*. In exemplifying the process of haplology, Tietze (2002: 187) gives the example of *savaş+ ı* which due to haplology has been shortened to *savaş-* ‘to fight’. A further note on the issue comes from Nişanyan (2002) who draws attention to the Armenian words *abus* ‘stupid’ and *abşil-* ‘to become stupid’ which may be related with the verb *apış-* in Turkish.
- ²² In Appendix 2c, Sections 1.1 and 3.3.2 contain several bound roots in Turkish which surface in MT in the form of causativized and reflexivized verbs. In what follows we will look into the etymological origins of some of these verbs.

- i. The verbs *diren-* 'to resist' and *diret-* 'to insist' in Turkish are the reflexivized and the causativized forms of the OT root *tirä-* 'to prop against; to support' (Erdal 1991: 620); (Clauson 1972: 532).
 - ii. In MT the word *kuşa-* is a bound root from which the causative verb *kuşa-t* 'to surround; to besiege' and the reflexive verb *kuşa-n-* 'to gird oneself' have derived. Both Clauson (1972: 665) and Erdal (1991: 422) state that the verbs must have derived from the OT root *kurşa-* 'to gird; to surround', which appears to be related with *kur-* 'belt (originally worn by a man)'. Erdal, in particular, states that though there is no affix like *-şA* in OT, the similarity between *kur-* and *kurşa-* cannot be ignored.
 - iii. According to Clauson (1972: 114) the verbs *öğret-* 'to teach; to accustom someone to something' and *öğren-* 'to learn' are derived from the OT root **öğre-*, which is assumed to be related to the root *öğür-*, which originally meant 'a herd (especially of horses), but now usually means 'to tame, to domesticate (an animal)' (Clauson 1972: 112). In the present study *öğre-t-* has been categorized under *-A+ -t* causative verbs and *öğre-n-* as an *-A+ -n* reflexive verb as the verbs appear to end in the affix *-A*.
 - iv. The verb *tüket-* 'to bring to an end; to consume' is the causative form of the OT root **tüke-* 'to come to an end' (Clauson 1972: 479).
- ²³ The verbs *avut-* 'to comfort someone; to amuse or distract someone' and *avun-* 'to take comfort in something' are the causative and the reflexive forms of the OT root **avı-* 'to enjoy oneself, take pleasure in' (Clauson 1972: 7, 12).

Reviews

Martine Robbeets: Review of Kyōko Maezono, (1) *Intransitiv-, Transitiv-, Kausativ- und Passivverben im Mandschu und Mongolischen*. (Tunguso-Sibirica 18.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007. 159 pages. ISBN: 978-3-447-05360-7, (2) *Verbbildungs-Suffixe im Mandschu und Mongolischen*. (Tunguso-Sibirica 19.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007. 184 pages. ISBN: 978-3-447-05361-7

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1. Identifying the works

In both of these volumes the author makes a historical comparative study of verbal morphology in Manchu and Mongolian, based on material from corpora dating back to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and translated from Manchu into Mongolian or vice versa. Verbs and verbal suffixes are compared in the concrete context of the translated sentences in which they appear. Although the two volumes share basic material and approach, the nature, purpose and topic of each are radically different. Whereas the first volume (Tunguso-Sibirica 18) is a contrastive typological study that deals with functional parallels between Manchu and Mongolian, the second volume (Tunguso-Sibirica 19) contains a comparative genealogical study that addresses the question of linguistic affiliation. The former study concentrates on markers of verbal inflection in the category of diathesis such as transitive, intransitive, causative and passive, while the topic of the latter study is verbal derivation, comparing suffixes that derive verbs from nouns and verbs.

In spite of these differences I have chosen to evaluate both volumes in a single review because they are published as subsequent volumes in one series, have the same author and year of publication, and approach the same texts in a similar way. The main source underlying these studies is the *Manjou Shihlu* (1636), a Manchu dynastic genealogy written in Manchu, Mongolian and Chinese, in a version edited in 1781. Additional sentence samples are taken from the *Erdeni-yin Tobči* (1662), the classical chronicle on the history of the Mongols that was translated into Manchu in 1790. The approach taken in both volumes is to compare verbal morphology in the context of full sentences along with their translations. According to the author, the advantage of this procedure lies in the fact that the functions of the verbal suffixes are illustrated more accurately than would be the case when using lists of verb pairs (vol 18, 146: “Dadurch, daß die Wörter meistens in Sätzen und nicht in der lexikalischen Auflistung

angeführt wurden, wurden ihre Bedeutungen und Funktionen im Gebrauch konkret dargestellt"). As I will illustrate in a critical evaluation of the proposed cognates below (cfr. Ma. *-ca-* / *-ce-* / *-co-* denominal cooperative, Ma. *-ra-* / *-re-* / *-ro-* medium, Ma. *-cile-* denominal verb suffix, Mo. *-lǰa-* cooperative), her approach proves to be more fruitful for the contrastive and comparative typological study of the first volume than for the historical comparison of derivational suffixes of the second one.

In what follows, I will, for each volume separately, provide a theoretical background, describe the content and evaluate some theoretical issues. By way of conclusion, I will offer a joint assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of both works and briefly comment on the general significance of these volumes for the field.

2. Volume 18

In the first volume Maezono compares diathetical markers in Manchu and Mongolian from a contrastive typological viewpoint. Instead of studying concrete form-meaning correspondences in particular markers, she makes a comparative study of functional features and examines the category of diathesis in the abstract. In the goals section of the book (p. 11) the author claims that the typological contrasts and similarities between the languages under inspection can be used as a measure for genealogical classification. In this respect she refers to a study on the role of syntax in establishing genealogical relationship, written by Fokos-Fuchs in 1962. However, the author does not meet this goal in her analysis, as she restricts herself to factual comparisons, without going into theoretical issues.

Typological similarity may result from genealogical retention, but not necessarily so. Other possible motivations for structural parallels are coincidence, universal implicational tendencies (Greenberg 1966; Dryer 1992; Plank 1998), areal diffusion and substratum interference. Although it remains extremely difficult to distinguish between these different determinants of typological similarity, there is ongoing research unmentioned by the author that contributes to understanding stability of typological features (see especially Johanson 2002; Nichols 1992, 1995, 2003 and Maslova 2000).

Although Maezono does not rely on the typological comparisons advanced in her work, she makes it clear to the reader that she believes that Manchu and Mongolian share a common origin. Interestingly, she bases her argumentation on form-function matches instead of using the typological arguments referred to in the goals section. On p. 16, for instance, she finds that the elative or directive suffixes are cognate: "Die folgenden Beispielwörter zeigen, daß die NN-Suffixe (Ma) *-ši* und (Mo) *-ǰši* hinsichtlich der Formen sowie der Funktionen bzw. Bedeutungen auf den gleichen Ursprung zurückzuführen wären, von denen die Form (Mo) *-ǰši* älter als (Ma) *-ši* sein soll". On p. 34, she proposes a list of cognate verb roots including Ma. *bi-* 'sein' and Mo. *bü-* 'id.', Ma. *yabu-* 'gehen' and Mo. *yabu-* 'id.', Ma. *dasa-* 'in Ordnung bringen' and Mo. *ǰasa-* 'id.', Ma. *gabta-* '(mit dem Bogen / der Lanze) schießen' and Mo. *qarbu-* 'id.', Ma. *hori-* 'einschließen, sperren' and Mo. *qori-* 'id.', Ma. *ka-*

‘(ab)sperren, belagern, umgeben’ and Mo. *qaya-* ‘id.’, Ma. *saci-* ‘(ab)hacken’ and Mo. *čabči-* ‘id.’, Ma. *tata-* ‘(ab)ziehen’ and Mo. *tata-* ‘id.’, Ma. *temše-* ‘streiten’ and Mo. *temeče-* ‘id.’.

It is not just a detailed theoretical framework -as it relates to the issue of using typological evidence as genealogical evidence- which is missing: what is also lacking is an up-to-date background on how the major empirical observations made in the book relate to other scholarly works on the subject.

The main similarities between Manchu and Mongolian diathetical constructions observed by Maezono are the following. Causatives derived from intransitive verbs mark the agent with an accusative suffix (p. 66-72), whereas causatives derived from transitive verbs mark the direct object with an accusative suffix and the agent with a second accusative or with a dative-locative suffix (p. 72-74). In the latter case, Mongolian, unlike Manchu, may also mark the agent with an instrumental suffix. From the examples on p. 88-90 it appears that dative-locative marked agents tend to be restricted to permissive causative constructions (“Zulassung vom Subjekt”). Maezono further finds two types of passive constructions in Manchu and Mongolian (p. 97-106). In the first type, a prototypical passive, the subject is the direct receiver and the agent is marked in the dative-locative. In the second type, which we can refer to as an adversative passive because the subject is negatively affected, the direct receiver is marked in the accusative and the agent is marked in the dative-locative.

As one of the most eye-catching contrasts, Maezono refers to the use of a causative-passive suffix in Manchu against the absence of such a polysemy in Mongolian (p. 22, 55): “Ein auffallender Unterschied zwischen den beiden Sprachen ist jedoch, daß im Mandschu das gleiche Suffix wie für die Transitiv-Kausativverbbildung auch für die Passivverbbildung verwendet wird, während im Mongolischen dafür selbständige Suffixe vorhanden sind”. However, she adds examples (p. 95-96) of Mongolian causative constructions in which the subject is the receiver of an unexpected action, where a passive interpretation is possible, pointing out that: “... die letzten der oben als Kausativ angeführte Beispiele zeigen sogar eine dem Passiv ähnliche semantische Funktion”.

The correlation between passive and causative observed in Manchu and to a certain extent in Mongolian is a somewhat mysterious correlation in view of the difference in syntactic characteristics of these verbal categories. Although it is left unexplained by Maezono, similar polysemies are attested cross-linguistically, and in the Transeurasian languages (Japanese, Korean, other Tungusic languages and Turkic languages) in particular. This polysemy finds its explanation in the historical development of passives across the world. The pathway of this development involves a permissive, a causative of the ‘let’ type and an adversative passive or a reflexive-causative construction (Johanson 1974, 1975; Keenan 1985: 262-263; Babby 1993; Malchukov 1993; Haspelmath 1990: 46-49, Robbeets 2007b). A semantic difference between causative and passive is that the former denotes two situations, whereas the latter denotes only one situation. A syntactic difference is that the initial subject becomes the direct object of causation, whereas it becomes the indirect object of the passive construction. The

permissive occupies a common ground between the two categories. Semantically it denotes two situations (Subject did not do sth. and agent does V because of that) as the factitive causative does (Subject did sth. and agent does V because of that), but the causation in permissives is nonvolitional (Subject did not want V to happen) and due to a nonoccurrence of an action. Syntactically, as with the passive, the agent can become the indirect object of the permissive construction. In Japanese, the native language of the author, for instance, the causative conversion of intransitives transforms the initial subject into an agent with the dative-locative suffix *ni* for permission and with the accusative suffix *wo* for coercion (Martin 1988: 292-293).¹ Malchukov (1993: 372) illustrates how in causative constructions of Even transitives, the agent is marked with an accusative suffix for factitives, whereas it is marked with a dative suffix for permissives. This is reminiscent of the dative-locative marked agents in permissive causatives in Manchu and Mongolian observed by Maezono. The availability of adversative passives in Manchu and Mongolian is paralleled by similar constructions in Japanese and other Tungusic languages. Malchukov (1993: 382-383) characterizes the Even adversative passive as a verbal category which combines the semantic features of a prototypical passive (one situation) on the one hand and the permissive causative (nonvolitional) on the other. This typological framework could account for the main empirical observations made by Maezono and correlate them as implicational features of causative-passive development.

3. Volume 19

In the second volume Maezono compares verb derivative suffixes in Manchu and Mongolian from a historical comparative viewpoint. Her purpose is to determine whether some of these suffixes can be traced back to a common origin. She situates her work against the background of the Altaic affiliation question, defining the Altaic languages as being made up of the Manchu-Tungusic languages, the Mongolic languages and the Chuvash-Turkic languages. In reference to the scholarly literature on this subject, she leaves out some of the more recent contributions that also include Japanese and Korean such as Starostin et al. 2003 and Robbeets 2005. Investigating shared verbal morphology as an indicator of genealogical relationship between the languages under investigation, the author fills a considerable gap in Altaic literature.

Although this reviewer is in agreement with the conclusion that some derivational suffixes indicate that Manchu and Mongolian are genealogically related, this does not mean that every single etymology or every line of argumentation advanced by the author is found acceptable. Suffixes for which the author explicitly states that they come from a common origin in the sense that they (p. 100:) “sollen sowohl von den

¹ For many speakers Japanese *Kodomo-ni gakkou-ni ika-se-ru* (child-dat. school-dat go-caus.-ind.) ‘let the child go to school’ seems to have a softer implication than *Kodomo-o gakkou-ni ika-se-ru* (child-acc. school-dat. go-caus.-ind.) ‘make the child go to school’.

Formen als auch von den Funktionen her auf einen gleichen Ursprung zurückgehen” are the Mongolian forms *-da-/ -de* (p. 68), *-la-/ -le-* (p. 100), *-ra-/ -re-* (p. 137) and *-siya-/ -siye-* (p. 150) along with their Manchu cognates. Suffixes for which she notes a formal and functional similarity without tracing them back to a common origin are the Mongolian forms *-du-/ -dū-* (p. 16, 87), *-ča-/ -če-* (p. 33, 56), *-čila-/ -čile-* (p. 62), *-lja-/ -lje-* (p. 91) and *-ldu-/ -ldū-* (p. 15) along with their Manchu parallels. In reference to formally and functionally similar suffixes in the other Tungusic languages, Japanese, Korean and the Turkic languages, genealogical retention can be supported from a wider Transeurasian perspective for Mo. *-da-/ -de-* and *-la-/ -le-* (Robbeets 2007 a & b, forthcoming). The comparison of Mo. *-lja-/ -lje-*, *-siya-/ -siye-*, *-ra-/ -re-*, *-čila-/ -čile-* and *-ldu-/ -ldū-* is problematic due to an illegitimate internal analysis. The shared properties between *-du-/ -dū-* and *-ča-/ -če-* can more easily be attributed to code-copying.

Although Maezono provides only a single example of a verb which includes the suffix Mo. *-lja-/ -lje-*, namely (p. 91) *gilbalja-* ‘schimmern’ and although she does not attempt to define the functional load of the suffix, it is legitimate to posit a formant MMo. *-lja-/ -lje-* in reference to verbs expressing multiple actants such as MMo. *a’ulja-* ‘pay one’s respects to, meet’, *bol-* ‘become’ => *bolja-* ‘make an appointment’, verbs expressing multiple objects such as MMo. *si’a* ‘bone stone (n.)’ (over **si’ala-?*) => *si’alja-* ‘play with bone stones’, *unji-* ‘rest, halt’ => *unjlja-* ‘hang down (e.g. of feet)’, *alhun* ‘be missing’ => *alja-* ‘be in distress’, and verbs expressing multiple occurrences in rhythmic motions such as MMo. *sicabalja-* ‘crawl’, *darbalja-* ‘jiggle’, *gilba-* ‘gleam’ => *gilbalja-* ‘glimmer’. It is illegitimate, however, to analyze Mo. *-lja-/ -lje-* as a compound of a deverbal noun suffix *-l* and a denominal verb suffix **-ja-/ -je-* since we lack internal evidence for the latter segment. Reconstructing Mo. **-ja-/ -je-* in reference to a Manchu look-alike *-ja-/ -je-/ -jo-* is methodologically circular because it presupposes genealogical affinity in an attempt to demonstrate affinity. Besides, although the semantics of the Manchu formant are left undescribed by Maezono, Ma. *-ja-/ -je-/ -jo-* is described by Gorelova 2002: 237, 242-243 as a derivative suffix used to form verbs which denotes the duration or intensity of the mental or emotional process which a person experiences (e.g. *golohon* ‘fright’ => *golohonjo-* ‘to be exceedingly frightened’). The semantic comparison to the Mongolian cooperative **-ja-/ -je-*, if ever it existed formally, would require some additional explanation.

Another problematic semantic analysis is that of the suffix Mo. *-siya-/ -siye-*, which the author characterizes as (p. 150:) “Intensivität” in contrast with Poppe’s (1954: 65) analysis as a suffix used “to express acknowledgement of the qualities expressed by the primary noun, e.g. *sayin* ‘good’ => *sayišiya-* ‘approve’”. The examples provided by Maezono, Mo. *jöb* ‘richtig’ => *jöbsiye-* ‘für recht halten’ Mo. *buru yu* ‘Fehler, Unrecht, böse’ => *buru yusiya-* ‘für unrecht halten’; Mo. *örü* ‘Innen, Herz, Innere’ => *örüsiye-* ‘Gnade gewähren’ all contradict her own analysis and confirm Poppe’s. Applying the correct semantics reduces the quality of the functional match with the so-called Manchu intensive, which Gorelova (2002: 236) describes as a “derivative suffix used to form verbs to denote durative and continuous actions, e.g.

Ma. *banahu:n* 'lazy' => *banahu:ša-* 'be lazy'. The verb (p. 150) Ma. *sayiša-* 'für gut halten' is likely to be a case of direct verbal insertion, copied from WMo. *sayišiya-* 'approve'. The formal comparison is not without problems either because we have to suppose phonological reduction in Manchu. Besides, unlike Mongolian, the Manchu suffix is also used to derive duratives from verbs (Gorelova 2002: 242-432) and since it has no cognate in the other Tungusic languages, Benzing (1955: 1067) treats it as a phonological alternant of the Manchu *-ca-* intensive.

On p. 46 the author proposes a deverbal formant Ma. *-ra-* /*-re-* /*-ro-*, which she compares to the medium or anticausative Mo. *-ra-* / *-re-*. There is, however, no evidence for such a suffix in Manchu. Maezono provides only a single example, namely Ma. *colgon* 'Bergspitze, hochragender Berg' => *colgoro-* 'hervorragen, übertreffen', but this example is invalid because it illustrates denominal rather than deverbal derivation.

Evidence is also missing for a denominal verb suffix Ma. *-cile-* 'geziemend handeln', for which Maezono gives only a single example with front vocalism in Ma. *deo* 'jüngerer Bruder' => *deocile-* 'sich als jüngerer Bruder richtig verhalten'. Gorelova (2002) does not mention this suffix in her grammar. Besides, the verb mentioned by Maezono can better be analyzed as a *-la-* / *-le-* derivation of the noun Ma. *deocin* 'Pflicht des jüngeren Bruders'.

There is no attempt to draw a distinction between code-copying and genealogical retention as a probable account for the shared properties. The author finds, for instance, that (p. 86-89): "Die Entsprechung der NV-Suffixe (Ma) *-du-* (NV) - Mo *-du-* / *-dū-* (NV) kommt im Textkorpus hauptsächlich in den Verben (Ma) *jabdu-* 'Zeit/Gelegenheit haben, etw. zu tun' - Mo. *jabdu-* 'id.' vor. Es gibt im Mongolischen das Nomen (Mo.) *jab* '(freie) Zeit' und davon abgeleitet mehrere Wörter, während im Mandschu lediglich das Verb (Ma) *jabdu-* belegt ist". Since the suffix has only a single occurrence in Manchu and since the verb is morphologically complex in Mongolian while it is unsegmentable in Manchu, it goes without saying that we are dealing with a verbal borrowing from Mongolian into Manchu.

From the lack of internal evidence for Ma. *-du-*, it follows that a second comparison proposed by the author, namely (p. 15) the reciprocals Ma. *-ndu-* and Mo. *-ldu-* / *-ldū-* is based on an illegitimate morphological analysis. The author suggests treating these suffixes as compounds of a deverbal noun suffix Ma. *-n* and Mo. *-l* followed by the obscure common segment **-du-*. Besides being methodologically circular, this comparison disregards the fact that Ma. *-ndu-* goes back to pTg **-ldu-* (Benzing 1955: 1069). The comparison of the Tungusic and Mongolian reciprocals is far more elegant and simple without segmentation.

The author's assumption (p. 33) that Mo. *-lča-* / *-lče-* is morphologically complex, on the other hand, is legitimate because both the deverbal noun suffix *-l* and the denominal cooperative verb suffix *-ča-* are attested in Mongolian. The data seem to suggest that the cooperative Mo. *-ča-* was originally limited to denominal derivation, whereas Mo. *-ldu-* was used as a deverbal cooperative. Attached after verbal nouns in *-l*, the denominal suffix was reanalyzed as *-lča-* in analogy with *-ldu-* and Mo. *-ča-*

transferred to verbal bases. This scenario suggests that the deverbal cooperative *-ca-* / *-ce-* / *-co-* has entered and spread in Manchu as the result of extensive borrowing of Mongolian verb stems. In order to reduce the copying factor, we need examples of a denominal cooperative Ma. *-ca-* / *-ce-* / *-co-*. However, Gorelova (2002: 243, 250-51) and Benzing (1955: 1067) restrict the use of this suffix to deverbal derivation. Unfortunately, Maezono provides us only with a single example in support of denominal derivation, namely (p. 61) **ama* 'Hinten, Rücken, Norden' in *amaga* 'später, künftig', *amala* 'hinten, später, danach, hinterher', *amargi* 'Hinterseite, Rückseite, Norden', *amari* 'nachdem' => *amca-* 'nachgehen, nachfolgen, nachsetzen, verfolgen'. Finding more examples could help us distinguish between code-copying and genealogical retention.

In the conclusion the author recognizes that in cases of massive copying of verb bases along with derivational suffixes, the suffixes may spread in the recipient language and attach independently to unrelated bases. However, she claims that it is unlikely that non-native suffixes would be attached to borrowed bases. She takes the Manchu verb *dayisela-* 'vertretungsweise verwalten, verwesen', derived from a Chinese borrowing Ma. *dayise* 'Vertreter' and the denominal verb suffix Ma. *-la-* / *-le-* / *-lo-* as an indication that the Manchu suffix is native, i.e. not copied. Since speakers do not store diachronic information on productive suffixes, the logic of this argument is unclear. Other arguments against code-copying of verbal morphology are not given in the books, but reference can be made to Robbeets (2007b & forthcoming).

4. Conclusion

Coming to a joint analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of both volumes, a major methodological shortcoming is that Maezono restricts herself to comparisons at a synchronic level in order to draw conclusions about long-range diachrony. Whereas the tools of historical linguistics, internal and external reconstruction, could help us access forms and functions in proto-Tungusic or proto-Mongolic, Maezono does not attempt to go back further in time than the linguistic forms synchronically attested in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Above we have shown for instance how internal reconstruction could give us an insight into the historical development of the Mongolian cooperative suffix *-lǰa-* / *-lǰe-*, how external comparison with the Tungusic languages could lead to the reconstruction of the cooperative pTg **-ldu-*, or how typological comparison with other Tungusic languages such as Even could provide information on the diachronic origins of passive morphology. In this respect it is unfortunate that no reference is made to comparative Tungusic perspectives such as those in Benzing 1955, to an up-to-date analysis of Manchu grammar as Gorelova 2002, to a typological reference work on Mongolic as Janhunen 2003 or to general typological studies such as the ones cited above.

A practical inconvenience for readers who are not fluent in Manchu and Mongolian is the lack of interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses that give information about the meanings and grammatical properties of words and bound morphemes. Using

uniform glossing rules would have prevented many disturbing additions between brackets “(wörtlich: ...)”.

The volumes contain only a few typographical mistakes or smaller misinterpretations such as (vol. 18, p. 96:) “*ene kelen* (=Agens)” for [*ene kelen* (=dir. Obj.)], (vol. 18, 150; vol. 19, p. 177:) Fokus-Fuchs [Fokos-Fuchs] and (vol. 18, p. 154:) Paitsak [Pritsak].

In spite of their weaknesses, both works have many strengths. Although controversy marks the literature on the genealogical relationship of Manchu and Mongolian, many linguists would agree on at least one point, namely that shared verbal morphology could help unravel the question. Altaic literature in general abounds with lexical comparisons, but relatively little research has been done in the field of comparative verbal morphology. In this respect Maezono’s contributions fill a considerable gap in Altaic comparative linguistic literature. The further strengths of her work lie in the originality of her approach comparing translations of historical documents in order to retrieve linguistic information, the well-balanced selection of linguistically relevant passages and the accurate description and translation of sample sentences. Her work provides a solid empirical base for further theoretical research.

Although the volumes are written in German by a Japanese author, the phrasing is clear and exact in a way that it is easily accessible to native as well as non-native speakers of German with a moderate command of the language. Elementary knowledge of Manchu and Mongolian would help the reader to overcome the inconvenience caused by the missing glossing system. The volumes can be recommended to students and researchers of Manchu-Tungusic and Mongolic linguistics, but also to those with an interest in the history and development of the Transeurasian languages (Japanese, Korean, Tungusic, Mongolic and Turkic) in general. Typologists working on topics that relate to valency and historical linguists interested in controversial cases of language classification and in the impact of language contact will also benefit from reading these books. These readers will gain more by taking these two volumes into account than they would lose by not reading them.

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Béla Kempf: Review of *Florilegia altaistica. Studies in honour of Denis Sinor on the occasion of his 90th birthday*. Edited by Elena V. Boikova and Giovanni Stary with the assistance of Elizabeth and Charles Carlson. (Asiatische Forschungen 149.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006.

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This Festschrift is a collection of papers presented to Denis Sinor by colleagues and friends on the joyous occasion of his 90th birthday. The volume begins with the selected Altaistic bibliography of Denis Sinor (vii-xvii), followed by the essay in honour of Denis Sinor by Barbara Kellner-Heinkele (1-10). The reader gets an insight into the everyday life of Denis Sinor, and we also learn how Uralic and Altaic Studies, but especially Altaic Studies, were built up by him in the United States.

The rest of the volume consists of 17 scholarly papers, which I will briefly introduce below.

Vladimir D. Alpatov presents a comparison of the concepts and approaches regarding the phonetic and grammatical units in European and Japanese linguistic tradition (11-19).

Ágnes Birtalan, after a classification of the Mongolian shamanistic texts, enumerating 24 genres, gives a detailed typology of the genre *dūdlaga* (21-39). The classification was carried out according to the spheres of use, thus (1) pure shamanic genres (*dūdlaga*, *tamlaga*, *dātgal*), (2) genres used primarily in non-shamanic spheres (*magtāl*, *jūxel* and *xarāl*, *cacal* or *sacal*, *dallaga*, *xurailga*, *xelēlge/xelelge/xelex üg*, *šiwšleg*, *myālālga*, *beleg demberelīn üg*), and (3) genres of literary origin (*jalbiral*, *öčig*, *ailtgax (üg)*, *san*, *serjīm*, *unšlaga*, *sudur*, *tügel*, *taxilga*, *tūx*, *yos*, *ugiyal*).

The genre called *dūdlaga* ‘invocation or calling’ is the most widespread genre of the Mongolian shamanistic tradition. According to Birtalan, “*dūdlaga* is on one hand, a general genre designation indicating shamanistic texts, but on the other hand, it is the main genre of a shamanistic ritual requiring an altered state of consciousness and incorporating numerous other genre fragments, even non-ritualistic ones”. Her typology lists the following components of the *dūdlaga*: (1) addressing and invoking the spirit(s); (2) the descriptive, enumerative sections (inserted *magtāl*); (3) narratives about the story of the spirit, usually from times when he/she was a human being; and (4) enumeration of requests and the offerings offered to the invited spirits. These are the usual parts of a *dūdlaga* recited outside the ritual. Those recited in rituals contain several additional “modules”, depending on the purpose of the ritual, requests of the clients.

I am sure that it is a typographical error,² the usual Literary Mongol form of the Khalkha word *dūdlaga* is not *dayudlaga* but *dayudalya*.

Elena V. Boikova, in her paper *The Mongolian factor in the history of Russia (Turn of the 19th and the 20th Centuries)* (41-50), discusses how the “Mongolian question” evolved from a minor factor to a priority of the Russian foreign policy, and compares the approaches of Qing China and that of Russia towards Mongolia.

Lars Johanson, in his paper “*Der Orientalist*” als “*Turkologe*” (51-59) gives interesting complementary data on the life story of the ill-fated Lev Nussimbaum, who, under the pseudonyms Essad Bey and Kurban Said, in a short period published several informative books on Orientalist topics in the German part of Europe, all of which became bestsellers in their time. However, from this paper we learn that although Nussimbaum attended some Turkological lectures, his works contained many errors.

Sergej Grigorevič Kljaštornyj, in his paper *The Asian aspect of the early Khazar history* (61-67) guides us to the beginning of the history of Khazar people. Without entering into the details, Kljaštornyj attempts to prove that the Khazars were genetically related to the Ogur-Oghuz tribes.

In their philosophical paper *The birth of the world history in the Mongol Empire: History education in Modern Japan* (69-83) Hidehiro Okada and Junko Miyawaki-Okada introduce us to the traditional approach to history in Japan, according to which originally there were three branches: Japanese history, Occidental history and Oriental history, according to the division of civilizations into Japanese, Chinese and Mediterranean-West European ones. After several unifications and divisions of these three branches, the reform of the educational system after the Second World War incorporated Occidental History and Oriental History under World History, excluding however the history of Japan. The authors also illustrate the approach to the concept of “history” of other civilizations (Indian, Islamic, American, Mediterranean, Chinese).

After that, a quite surprising statement follows: “The world history has begun from the Mongol Empire” (81). That means that it was the Mongol Empire which for the first time connected the Chinese and the Mediterranean worlds.

In the paper by Tatiana Pang (85-91) three versions of a poem composed by Emperor Qianlong are compared to one another. The first of them is the original in the Manchu language, the second is its versified translation into Chinese, while a third version is in Manchu again, but this latter one is a prose version, probably re-translated and based on the Chinese version.

Rodica Pop gives an account of the image of matrimonial kinship among the Mongols (93-104).

Doubtlessly, the most fitting paper to the occasion is that of Alessandra Pozzi *A birthday banquet for our guest of honour Professor Denis Sinor à la mode of the ancestors of Manchu People* (105-118), in which the author introduces the mysteries of

² In general, the volume unfortunately contains more typographical errors than acceptable.

the versatile Early Manchu cuisine to the reader. We learn from this paper that “thanks to generous nature and to preserving techniques, nothing was missing at the table of the Manchus: from vegetables to game, to livestock and poultry meat, to aquatic product, to fruit, everything that is necessary for a complete, healthy diet was represented” (107-108).

Jean Richard writes about the military cooperation of the Franks and the Mongols in the Middle East (119-128).

András Róna-Tas presents *Etymological notes on Hungarian gyapjú* ‘wool’ (129-132). This etymology is part of a work written together with Árpád Berta, in which the authors “revisit all etymologies of Hungarian words being or suggested to be of Turkic origin”. According to Róna-Tas, the Hungarian word *gyapjú* is of Turkic origin, though its etymon is not the verb *yap-*, but the “imitative” word *yap-* expressing the curling of the hair.

The detailed genealogical lineage of the family of Chinggis Khan is compiled by Volker Rybatzki in his paper *Genealogischer Stammbaum der Mongolen* (135-192). The paper is extremely useful for those who are interested in Mongol onomastics, since Rybatzki compares the relevant data of the different sources.

Alice Sárközi writes about how the ideology of conquering the world appears in the Mongol written sources. She cites the Seal of Güyük and the message of Ögödei to Béla IV, which state that the Mongols received their mission from Heaven to rule over the nations of the world. It is interesting to note how the approach towards ruling appears here. The texts do not speak about countries to conquer but peoples (*il bulγa irgen* in the first case, and “subicientes mihi se exaltare et deprimare adversantes” in the second). There is, however, a misread passage cited from the Altan tobči. On p. 194 Sárközi writes “... *ejelegsen-iyen ejelegül-ün: qadayuǰılaysan-ıyan qadayalayulun*” ‘[I send you] for the administration of what I have seized, for the preservation of what I have toiled’. *Qadayuǰılaysan-ıyan* must be *qatayučılaysan-ıyan* here, meaning ‘what I have firmed/hardened’. The paper illustrates how the straightforward wording about the cruelty of the Mongols during their wars of conquest changes after their adoption of Buddhism as a religion.

The volume also contains an article by the recently deceased Aleksandr Mixajlovič Ščerbak which describes the project of an etymological dictionary of the Manchu-Tungus languages, in which the material of the “Comparative dictionary of the Manchu-Tungus languages” would be corrected and supplemented with etymological notes (209-214). Among his examples he lists the Evenki word *aduk* ‘big’, which he claims to be a copy of Yakut *artıq* ~ *orduq* ‘surplus, superfluous’ (211). Ščerbak himself admits the difficulty of the etymology, as there is no other example which would show the disappearance of an inlaut *-r-*. If one searches for a Turkic original of the Evenki word, I think it would be more preferable to trace it back to Turkic *adıg* ‘bear’.

Giovanni Stary, in his paper *Two names for one country? Manchu Solho and Coohiyan — ‘Korea’* (215-219), points out the distinction in use of the Manchu designations Solho and Coohiyan in the different Manchu sources. Both indicate

Korea, but while the first one was used as a geographical and ethnic designation, Coohiyan indicates the ruling dynasty of Korea.

Edward Tryjarski, in his paper (221-226), quotes fragments based on the memoirs of Faustyn Ciecierski, a Polish Catholic priest, who was condemned to forced settlement and labor in Nerchinsk in 1798-1801. Tryjarski has collected those parts of the memoirs that reveal the nature of tea barter between Chinese merchants and the population of Dauria (that is the mountainous region east of Lake Baikal). The author also sheds light on the production and consumption of “kirpičnyj čaj” (tea in bricks) and various strong alcoholic drinks like vodka and milk brandy.

Hartmut Walravens, in his paper *Fünfehn Kamelladungen Gelehrsamkeit. Russische Bücherkäufe in Peking im Jahre 1821* (227-251), gives a catalogue based on the inventory-list of the Chinese and Manchu books bought by Egor Fedorovič Timkovski in China in the year of 1821. We learn that the books were bought for the Imperial Library in Sankt-Petersburg (29 items), for the Library of the Asiatic Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (20 items) and for the Oriental Institute planned to be set up in Irkutsk (19 items).

Mark Kirchner: Review of Astrid Menz & Christoph Schroeder (eds.), *Türkiye’de dil tartışmaları* [Language discussions in Turkey]. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2006. 257 pages.

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The volume under review is edited by two German scholars who were employed in academic institutions in Turkey at the time of publishing. It contains ten highly interesting papers presented at an interdisciplinary symposium entitled *Türkiye’de Dil tartışmalarında yeni yönelimler* “New Directions in Language Discussions in Turkey” held at Bilgi University İstanbul in 2004. The range of the topics under discussion is rather broad. Colleagues from departments of English or German studies may wonder how it is possible to discuss questions of the status of minority languages, orthographic issues and problems related to the language vs. dialect status within a language family in a single volume. Besides that, some papers are clearly scientific in their approach while others are written in a more or less journalistic style. What may look rather accidental and disparate to colleagues in more established disciplines is actually a very important contribution for the discussion in Turkey and in Turkology. There are two reasons for that: Firstly, sociolinguistic issues and language politics are less established as a field of research in Turkology, which is and was dominated by

traditional philological approaches and by structural linguistics. Secondly, language issues are a highly politicized topic in Turkey. Several major questions can hardly be discussed in an open atmosphere because of national taboos. In most cases the general political attitude of the author determines the discussions. This book is an important step toward developing less biased discussions in Turkey and in Turkology and bringing together divergent positions. However, the present book is far from presenting a neutral, purely academic perspective on these issues. It is to the same degree a volume about “language discussions” as it is a contribution to ongoing discussions. With this in mind, the author of this book review cannot refrain from commenting on some never ending discussions.

The first paper, on “Turkish after 1980” (11–23), is by Murat Belge, who is the author of many important contributions in the fields of Turkish politics, society and language. The author gives a general outline of the development of Turkish after the 1980 coup d'état. According to Belge, major factors are the end of the language reform process and the development of private radio and television channels. In connection with the end of the language reform, which was in fact a project of language purification, Belge wonders why Turkish leftists identified themselves with a movement which can be suspected of having close relationship with racist and nationalist ideology (12). When we take Kemalism as an anti-imperialist, anti-religious modernist movement, it is not astonishing that leftists could identify with many aspects of this movement—and that the military junta put an end to language purification, which had developed from a Kemalist to a “socialist” project. Murat Belge is not very positive about the development of Turkish in the past 25 years. In a conversational tone, he complains that new unintelligible idiomatic expressions and wrong syntactic features have emerged from the incompetent translations of foreign films (18). Belge's pessimistic criticism of language in (new) media bears the imprint of pessimistic conservative language critics when he laments over incorrect use of original Arabic vowel length and Persian *izafet*-constructions in contemporary Turkish and proposes the introduction of Ottoman Turkish as an elective in Turkish schools (21).

Bernt Brendemoen's paper “Deviations and Norms in Popular Linguistic Discourse” (25–39) is a thorough evaluation of Turkish popular discussions on problems in the field of lexicon and orthography. Astrid Menz, one of the editors, treats “Turkish Spelling in Spelling Guides and in Practice” (41–71) and Tefik Turan makes some comments on “Literary Criticism as Linguistic Criticism” (73–82). M. Berk Balçık's paper “Language Politics in Turkish Television” (85–118) should be read in the context of Belge's aforementioned contribution. He agrees with Belge in pointing to the fact that liberalization and de-monopolization of the national Turkish broadcasting market was of major significance for the development of Turkish language and culture, but he cannot agree with those who are constantly bemoaning the degeneration and loss of correct Turkish as a consequence of this process (94). The second part of Balçık's paper is a critical analysis of the developments and discussions in Turkey when it was decided in 2004 in the context of EU negotiations to permit, under very limited conditions, TV-broadcasting in the language of Muslim minorities.

Nurettin Demir's article (119-146) on the status of Turkic languages other than Turkish (the English translation of the title in the English summaries at the end of the book is not correct and obscures Demir's thesis!) is an attempt to argue for the official Turkish position which denies language status to Turkic languages like Uzbek, Tatar, Kazakh, etc., defining them instead as Uzbek Turkish, Tatar Turkish, Kazakh Turkish, etc. – and Turkish as the language of a whole language family. According to the official Turkish point of view, the members of 'Turkish' as a language family are not languages, *dil*, but a kind of dialects, *lehçe*. Interestingly, adherents of this approach do not use the term *lehçe* for Turkish, the official language of the Republic of Turkey. Not unlike other discussions in the field of language and politics in Turkey, the discussion whether other Turkish languages are really "languages" has been highly politicized. Turkish Turkologists who employed the internationally accepted nomenclature for the other Turkic languages were often suspected of supporting the Soviet politics of creating many small nations with national languages. What is analyzed as divide and conquer politics by many, not only Turkish scholars, can probably be better understood as circumstances wherein those politicians who were responsible for implementing the official language politics of the Soviet Union applied the conditions in the closely related Slavic languages to the Turkic languages in question. In addition it should be noted that the development of several Turkic languages as independent literary languages had begun many years before the October Revolution. Demir (119-120), however, gives the impression that Turkic languages are a product of artificial separation and language engineering. The fact that in Turkish *Türkçe* is the denomination of the official language of Turkey as well as the denomination of all Turkic languages as a language family causes several problems that do not exist in other language families. However, Turcologists in Turkey like Demir could have easily accepted or created a terminology like *Türkçe* "Turkish" vs. *Türk dilleri* or *Türkî diller* "Turkic languages" if there had been a wish to separate the name of the most important language of this language family from the name of the language family as a whole. Mingling both concepts is part of a more general concept which insists on the "Turkishness" of the speakers of Turkic languages living outside Turkey. Thus the language of the Tatars and of many other Turkic peoples is called *Tatar Türkçesi*, lit. "Tatar Turkish," etc., despite the fact that these denominations are refused by the local peoples. Demir is aware of that (143), but he even uses the denomination *Türk* in designations beyond languages. Thus, in Demir's terminology as well as in the commonly used Turkish terminology, the Central Asian Turkic speaking republics are named *Türk cumhuriyetleri* "Turkish republics" (142), which in fact implies a close relationship between these ethnically rather heterogeneous states and the Republic of Turkey in a more than purely linguistic sense. Without a doubt, the denomination system used in Turkey can be useful when varieties spoken outside Turkey are clearly descendents of Turkish, like *Bulgaristan Türkçesi* "Turkish of Bulgaria". In the search for objective measures for defining the language vs. dialect status of "entities" such as Tatar or Uzbek, Demir discusses mutual intelligibility. This is the most interesting part of his paper (133–136). He is right when he says that unprepared tests based on written

texts are not a suitable base for the evaluation of mutual intelligibility. Such tests may be useful when they are applied in combination with other, more elaborate methods, such as the evaluation of the learning process on a time scale. Mutual intelligibility and the use of mutual intelligibility in foreign language teaching is an important research field in the study of Romance languages, which form a language group similar in the degree of mutual intelligibility to the Turkic languages. In Turkish academic or popular discussions, the degree of mutual intelligibility between Turkic languages is generally exaggerated. Demir (135) quotes statements of Turkish Turkologists who believe that Turks working in Kazakhstan will understand 80% of everyday Kazakh within six weeks. In practice, the Turkish claim denying the language status of other Turkic languages does not motivate students to invest much effort in learning these languages. In Turkey, even in the academic field of Turkology, few students or scholars have relevant active competence in other Turkic languages. In his article Demir goes to some length to show that those few Turkish Turkologists who use the international denomination system for the members of the Turkic language family had originally accepted the official Turkish position and changed their opinion after going abroad. He gives the impression that these scholars unnecessarily argued against the established denomination system (128–132). The international position is discussed in brief by Demir under the heading “Yabancı Bilim Adamlarının Görüşleri” (‘The opinions of foreign scholars’ 137–139). The author mentions Wilhelm Radloff’s famous “Versuch eines Wörterbuchs der Türk-Dialekte” (1893–1911), but he fails to notice that the state of the art handbook and the present journal are both entitled “Turkic languages”. Turkish is the largest and most elaborate language within the family of Turkic languages. It has great potential to serve one day as a lingua franca in the independent Turkic-speaking republics of the former Soviet Union in addition to Russian if the speakers of Turkish are not suspected of disregarding and undervaluing the richness and the tradition of other Turkic languages.

Özlem Eraydın Virtanen’s contribution on “Language Politics in Turkey in the Light of European Union Relations” (147–184) casts a light on the development of the legal status of languages other than Turkish spoken on the territory of the Republic of Turkey. The first part of her paper (–162) is a general introduction to the problem; in the second part the reader finds interesting material and critical analyses especially on the restrictive attitude of the Turkish government towards the languages of Muslim minorities and on recent changes in this politics. Together with Balçık’s paper, the reader obtains valuable information on a topic that is often discussed without deeper knowledge in international newspapers and journals. In her argumentation, Eraydın Virtanen supports demands of the European Union and stresses that she does not know of any historic situation where the recognition of minority language rights has led to the partition of a country (180). This sounds rather strange in light of what happened in the Soviet Union and in several Eastern European countries during the last decade of the 20th century. The volume under review contains three more papers: Meryem Şen’s empirical study “Attitudes towards Regional Dialects” (185–208) investigates the attitudes of Turkish standard language speakers towards the various regional dialects

of Turkey. Christoph Schroeder gives an excellent survey on “Turkish as a Mother Tongue or as a Foreign Language and the Teaching of Turkish in Western Europe” (209–228). Schroeder recommends taking into consideration the fact that children who learn Turkish as a mother tongue in Western Europe may be more successful if Turkish were taught considering the real bilingual and diaspora-Turkish background of the pupils. The last paper of the book by Zeynep Kızıltepe and Seran Doğançay-Aktuna is on “The Status of Foreign Languages in Turkey with an Emphasis on Higher Education” (229–240).

The volume was reviewed in several Turkish newspapers and journals; a second edition is being prepared in these days. All this shows a vivid interest in Turkish languages politics, in sociolinguistic and related issues. The volume edited by Menz and Schroeder is an important step to establishing new research fields in Turkology.

Turcologica

Herausgegeben von Lars Johanson

73: Şerife Özer

Die nominale Wortbildung im Altosmanischen

Am Beispiel der Übersetzung von
Ta'labîs »Qışaş al-Anbiyâ« aus dem
14. Jahrhundert

2008. IX, 132 Seiten, br
ISBN 978-3-447-05726-4
€ 34,- (D) / sFr 59,-

75: Hendrik Boeschoten

Alexander Stories in Ajami Turkic

2008. Ca. 164 pages, 8 ill., pb
ISBN 978-3-447-05725-7
Ca. € 39,80 (D) / sFr 69,-

77: Ingeborg Hauenschild

Lexikon jakutischer Tierbezeichnungen

2008. IX, 188 Seiten, br
ISBN 978-3-447-05747-9
€ 58,- (D) / sFr 99,-

Das Wörterbuch erfasst zum einen Gattungs- bzw. Artnamen von wilden und domestizierten Tieren, zum andern Kollektiva und an Geschlecht, Alter oder Funktion gebundene Benennungen. Die in der üblichen Transkription wiedergegebenen Lemmata sind alphabetisch angeordnet, gefolgt von der deutschen Bezeichnung, dem der modernen Nomenklatur angepassten zoologischen Terminus und den entsprechenden sprachlichen Belegen; bei regional oder lokal

gebräuchlichen Begriffen ist zusätzlich der Dialektbereich angeführt. Ergänzt werden die Einträge durch eine wörtliche Übersetzung oder eine Angabe zur Etymologie, durch Verweise auf Varianten und Synonyme sowie auf Tiernamen aus Nachbarsprachen, bei denen ein Zusammenhang mit einem jakutischen Ausdruck bestehen könnte, der Lehnweg jedoch unklar ist.

78: Lars Johanson,
Martine Robbeets (Eds.)

Verbal morphology and the historical comparison of the Transeurasian languages

2009. Ca. 300 pages, pb
ISBN 978-3-447-05914-5
Ca. € 48,- (D) / sFr 83,-

The present volume brings together prominent specialists in the field who explore potentially shared features of verbal morphology among the Transeurasian languages and search for the best way to explain them. Important issues dealt with include the following: How useful is verbal morphology really in establishing genealogical relations among languages? Is there concrete evidence for cognate verbal morphology across the Transeurasian languages? Is it possible to draw wider connections with Indo-European and Uralic? How to distinguish between genealogical retention and copying of verbal morphology? In which ways can typological similarities be significant in this context?

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Angelika Landmann

Türkisch

Grammatisches Lehrbuch
für Anfänger und Fortgeschrittene

2008. Ca. 300 Seiten, 1 Audio-CD, br
ISBN 978-3-447-05889-6
Ca. € 39,80 (D) / sFr 69,-

Angelika Landmanns „Grammatisches Lehrbuch“ löst das erstmals 1942 erschienene und bereits 1986 von der Autorin überarbeitete „Lehrbuch der türkischen Sprache“ von Herbert Jansky ab. Es richtet sich an Anfänger und Fortgeschrittene und ist geeignet für den Unterricht sowohl an Universitäten wie auch an Volkshochschulen und entspricht dem Gemeinsamen Europäischen Referenzrahmen A1–B2.

Da sich das Türkische zum einen in seinem Aufbau grundlegend von den indogermanischen Sprachen unterscheidet, zum anderen aber sehr regelmäßig ist, wird in insgesamt 84 kurzen und übersichtlich gehaltenen Lektionen zunächst die Grammatik Schritt für Schritt erläutert und anhand von Tabellen und einfachen Beispielen veranschaulicht. Der anschließende Übungsteil umfasst kurze Sätze und Dialoge, die das Gelernte vertiefen sollen. Den Abschluss bilden Dialoge zu Themen des Alltags sowie Texte zu Landeskunde und Geschichte. Die zahlreichen eingefügten Fotos entstanden auf den Reisen der Autorin zwischen den Jahren 1968 und 2008.

Auf die Lektionen folgen ein Schlüssel zu den Übungen, eine Vokabelliste zu den einzelnen Lektionen sowie ein alphabetisches Wörterverzeichnis. Der Anhang enthält Übersichten über die deutschen Nebensätze und ihre türkischen Entsprechungen, die im Buch behandelten türkischen Suffixe sowie die türkischen Verbformen.

Margarete I. Ersen-Rasch

Baschkirisch

Lehrbuch für Anfänger und
Fortgeschrittene

Unter Mitarbeit von
Firdaus G. Khisamitdinova und
Zinnur G. Uraksin
Mit zwei Audio-CDs

2009. Ca. 253 Seiten, 2 Audio-CDs, br
ISBN 978-3-447-05730-1
Ca. € 49,80 (D) / sFr 86,-

„Baschkirisch für Anfänger und Fortgeschrittene“ ist das erste deutschsprachige Lehrbuch für die baschkirische Sprache, eine Türkssprache, die heute von über einer Million Menschen vor allem in der zu Russland gehörenden Republik Baschkortostan gesprochen wird.

Mit einem kommunikativ-kognitiven Ansatz führt das Lehrbuch in dreißig Lektionen anhand von abwechslungsreichen Übungen, Dialogen zu relevanten Alltagssituationen sowie authentischen Texten und einer auf die Lektionen abgestimmten Grammatikbeschreibung in die baschkirische Sprache ein. Neben ergänzenden Grammatiktabellen, Wörterverzeichnissen und einem Schlüssel zu den Übungen enthält dieses Lehrbuch zwei Audio-CDs mit Aufnahmen von Muttersprachlern, die auch den Selbstlernenden einen direkten Zugang zum Baschkirischen ermöglichen.

„Baschkirisch für Anfänger und Fortgeschrittene“ richtet sich an Turkologen und Turkologiestudierende sowie an alle an den Türkssprachen Interessierten und entspricht dem Gemeinsamen Europäischen Referenzrahmen A1 bis knapp B2. Kenntnisse des Türkischen und des kyrillischen Alphabets werden nicht vorausgesetzt.

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Catharina Dufft (Ed.)

**Turkish Literature and Cultural
Memory: "Multiculturalism"
as a Literary Theme after 1980**

Mizân 16

2008. Ca. 200 pages, pb
ISBN 978-3-447-05825-4
Ca. € 48,- (D) / sFr 83,-

The emergence of Turkey as a nation-state at the beginning of the twentieth century was accompanied by a radical alienation from the multinational Ottoman Empire and its multicultural heritage. This break resulted in a gap in the collective memory of Turkey, turning the country's recent history into a "blind spot" reflected as well in Turkish literature, which for decades was largely marked by the absence of any mention of the country's multicultural past. It was only in the years following the coup d'état of 1980 that the tendency towards (re-)discovery of "multiculturalism" as a literary theme, based on the Ottoman and Turkish past, emerged, resulting in the development of a new cross-social discourse that continues still today.

The contributions in this book are the result of an international workshop held as part of the University of Giessen's Collaborative Research Center Memory Cultures (SFB 434). They cover theoretical as well as sociopolitical aspects of cultural memory within the Turkish context and include comparative and transnational analyses of the theme in Turkey's recent cultural production. This collection covers significant ground, from the "Turkification" policies of the early Republican Era to Yaşar Kemal's epic depictions of the aftermath of the Turkish-Greek population exchange, as well as Diyarbakir's multicultural life as remembered in works by the Turkish-Armenian author Mîgirdîç Margosyan and multilingual Kurdish author Mehmet Uzun, and much more.

Barbara Kellner-Heinkele,
Joachim Gierlichs, Brigitte Heuer (Eds.)

**Crimea, Caucasus, and the
Volga-Ural Region:
Islamic Art and Architecture
in the European Periphery**

Abhandlungen für die Kunde
des Morgenlandes 63

2008. Ca. 284 pages, 141 ill., pb
ISBN 978-3-447-05753-0
Ca. € 68,- (D) / sFr 116,-

This edited volume brings together current research on the art, architecture, and archaeology of the northern littoral of the Black Sea, the Crimea, the Caucasus, and the Volga-Ural regions, covering the time span from the Seljuk period to the twentieth century. The authors are researchers and museum specialists from Georgia, Germany, the Russian Federation, Turkey, and Ukraine. A number of articles focus on recent archaeological excavations and ongoing restoration projects. Others deal with traditional applied arts and architectural decoration, as well as development of graphical arts, painting, and architecture in the modern period. A third group presents special museum collections in Berlin, Dresden, and Tbilisi, and discusses neglected research topics, such as medieval art in the Northern Caucasus and the Islamic heritage in Daghestan and Georgia. The 21 articles are accompanied by 139 unpublished photographs in colour.

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