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Turkic Languages

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Editorial note

Turkic Languages, Volume 14, 2010, Number 1

The present issue of *TURKIC LANGUAGES* contains contributions on a number of language-specific and comparative issues.

Our journal normally publishes contributions in English. In certain cases, however, papers originally written in other languages may be accepted. This issue contains one paper in Russian and one in German, the two languages that are traditionally the leading media of scholarly communication in Turkic linguistics.

Valentin I. Rassadin's paper presents the small Soyot language of Buryatia, focusing on three layers of Mongolic lexical influence. Rassadin is most famous for his pioneering work on Tofan, formerly called Karagas, and is the creator of the orthography employed for its written variety. The author proposes the introduction of a similar orthographic norm for Soyot.

Ingeborg Hauenschild investigates a Chuvash word for 'saltbush', deriving from a Turkic word that is mostly used for 'liquorice', and raises the question of which factors may have triggered the semantic shift.

Rassadin's paper is not the only contribution describing the linguistic situation in South Siberia. In addition, Valeriya Lemskaya analyzes Middle Chulym data presented in a recently published book, comparing the materials with her own fieldwork data.

Hatice Coşkun deals with question elements embedded as complement clauses in Turkish, discussing three factors that interact to determine the scope of these elements.

Éva Á. Csató and Muzappar Abdurusul Uchurpani deal with two types of Uyghur relative clauses, defined on the basis of the case (nominative or genitive) assigned to their subjects. The first type, showing agreement morphology, is the unmarked type. The second one, with subject-head agreement, is the marked type expressing specific semantic properties.

Gilles Authier presents an in-depth analysis of copying of Azeri morphemes and morphological patterns into the East Caucasian language Kryz, spoken in northern Azerbaijan.

Béla Kempf presents a new explanation of the etymological relationship between the Mongolic and Turkic words for 'stone', a much-debated issue of crucial relevance for the Altaic hypothesis.

Julian Rentzsch presents a so-called transcription text in Georgian script, a Middle Azerbaijani version (1739) describing the birth of Jesus according to the Gospel of Luke. The author compares its linguistic details with materials from other accessible sources.

Ahmet Kocaman devotes an obituary to Doğan Aksan, a leading Turkish linguist, a much-loved teacher and colleague whose publications achieved a high degree of popularity in Turkey because of their clear and accessible style.

Dmitrij M. Nasilov & Irina Nevskaya deal with the life and work of the eminent typologist Vladimir Nedjalkov, known to the readers of *TURKIC LANGUAGES* through his articles on reciprocal constructions, e.g. in Karachay-Balkar, Kirghiz, and Yakut.

It is also our duty to report that Arthur T. Hatto, born on 11 February 1910, passed away on 6 January 2010, just a few weeks before reaching the age of a full century. Hatto was originally a specialist in medieval German language and literature, but extended his scope of interests to comparative research on oral folk literature. In the 1970s he began his highly fruitful studies of Kirghiz heroic epics. He edited two important Kirghiz monuments, *The memorial feast for Kōkötöy-Khan (Kōkötöydün aşı): A Kirghiz poem*, Oxford 1977, and *The Manas of Wilhelm Radloff*, Wiesbaden 1990. Hatto's work on Kirghiz oral epics is dealt with in Daniel G. Prior's instructive article "Sparks and embers of the Kirghiz epic tradition" (*Fabula* 51: 23-37).

Lars Johanson

A true gentleman and a dedicated linguist: Dođan Aksan

Ahmet Kocaman

Kocaman, Ahmet 2010. A true gentleman and a dedicated linguist: Dođan Aksan. *Turkic Languages* 14, 3-6.

Prof. Dođan Aksan has always been one of the key figures in the field of Turkish linguistics. He played a major role in initiating national linguistics conventions, and he spared no effort in establishing linguistics and Turkish linguistic studies as an essential part of scholarly work at Turkish universities. His major contribution, however, was to make the Turkish language and Turkish linguistics an issue of concern for every intellectual in the country. Prof. Aksan died on May 12, 2010, but the Turkish linguistics community will continue to reap the benefit of his scholarly work in the future as well. This brief article is a modest contribution to his sacred memory.

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The Turkish linguistic society was deeply grieved to learn of the death of Prof. Dođan Aksan, the eminent Turkish linguist, on May 12, 2010.

Dođan Aksan was a graduate of the Turkish Language and Literature Department, Faculty of Language, History and Geography, at Ankara University. His Ph.D. thesis was on 'semantic similarities and interactions between Turkish and foreign languages.' For his further academic degrees, he studied folk etymology and seman-

tics from the linguistic point of view, and particularly the latter theme was always his main concern throughout his lifetime. Aksan's contribution to Turkish linguistics goes far beyond the limits of this short assessment, but some basic points should be particularly underlined as a tribute to his notable achievements.

The first thing to be mentioned is his scholarly contribution to the establishment of a linguistics department, which was earlier merely a subdivision of the Turkish Language and Literature Department at Ankara University. He spared no effort to make linguistics a well-established discipline in other universities as well, and he supported every academic endeavour in this regard. He had also a great share in the initiation of the first National Linguistics Symposium at Hacettepe University in 1987 (the 24th of which convened at Middle East Technical University on May 17-18, 2010). Aksan supervised M.A. and Ph.D. theses, but his contribution to the Turkish Linguistic Society (Türk Dil Kurumu) deserves particular mention. In 1970s he acted as the head of the Linguistics and Grammar Section of this society, and during this period, in addition to organizing several scholarly meetings, he supervised and edited several works, of which *Sözcük türleri* (Parts of Speech) 1 and 2 are especially noteworthy.

For the first time a linguist was involved in the study of Turkish grammar. *Türkiye Türkçesi gelişmeli sesbilgisi* (1978) and *Dilbilim seçkisi* (1982) (an anthology of linguistics—translations of articles by well-known foreign linguists into Turkish) are the two books he supervised during this period.

The basic idea underlying all these efforts was to find a common ground for linguists and Turkologists studying Turkish, and it is notably in this area that Aksan rendered a great service to Turkish linguistics and the Turkish language at large.

His three volume *Her yönüyle dil, ana çizgileriyle dilbilim* (1979-1982) is still a bestseller for the general reader and the Turkish and linguistics students interested in the study of Turkish from a linguistic perspective. Within this framework, *Anlambilim ve Türk anlambilimi* (1971, 1998) is worthy of particular mention. It is the first comprehensive work on semantics written in Turkish. The first edition is mainly concerned with lexical semantics; the second edition (1998) goes beyond and includes sentence semantics as well. In this edition, the syntax-semantics interface and unique features of Turkish (reduplication, adjectives, modality, various aspects of equation, *mI* and its semantic contributions to sentence meaning) are studied. Among his contributions, *Türkçenin sözvarlığı* (1996) is of special interest.

First of all, it should be noted that it is one of the few books concerned with the subject from a linguistic point of view. The nature of vocabulary is examined in the introduction, in which Aksan explains that vocabulary is not simply the words as such in the language but that, in addition, it includes idioms, proverbs, set expressions and terminology. Further, he notes that we have to study core vocabulary as it sheds light on the history of the language, helps to explain phonological, morphological, and syntactic changes throughout history and is helpful in understanding its relationship with other languages. His notes on Göktürk, Uyghur, and Karahanlı Turkish vocabulary, and the developments in present-day Anatolian Turkish are

particularly noteworthy. To conclude, he underlines the wealth of Anatolian subdialects in comparison to Standard Turkish, emphasizing the following features: (a) Anatolian dialects contain more words than Standard Turkish (about 90 thousand). (b) Many archaic forms and old forms can still be detected. (c) Instead of foreign words used in Standard Turkish, interesting equivalents can be found, e.g. *daşyağı* for ‘petrol’ and *delikdağ* for ‘tunnel’. (d) In terms of derivation and compounding Anatolian dialects are richer. (e) In addition to proverbs and idioms found in the standard language, there are varied idioms and proverbs.

Aksan was in Germany from 1957 to 1958, and in 1967 as an Alexander von Humboldt scholar, and during his stay there he conducted research and lectured on Turkish linguistics. He always appreciated the research work there. As an eminent Turkish scholar of linguistics, he also had a distinguished place at international linguistics conventions such as the Permanent International Altaistic Conference and the Council of Onomastic Sciences and Mother Tongue Education Network. And through his scholarly work, Aksan did much to make Turkish linguistics known abroad.

Doğan Aksan was even more productive after retirement. He published one book almost every year. *Halk şiirimizin gücü* (1999), *En eski Türkçenin izlerinde* (2000), *Türkiye Türkçesinin dünü bugünü yarını* (2000), *Cumhuriyetin çocukluk, gençlik yılları ve bugün* (2001), *Anadilimizin söz denizinde* (2002), *Dil şu büyüdü düzen* (2003), *Cumhuriyet döneminden bugüne örneklerle şiir çözümlenmeleri* (2003), *Türkçenin zenginlikleri, incelikleri* (2005), *Yunus Emre şiirinin gücü* (2005), *Yaşayınca* (2006), *Türkçenin bağımsızlık savaşımı* (2007), *Türkçeye yansıyan Türk kültürü* (2008) were all published after he retired. In all of these works, his main objective has been to show the wealth and the productivity of the Turkish language in every respect. The style and language used in these works is so explicit that even technical jargon does not cause difficulty in comprehension; e.g. *Türkçenin gücü* and *Türkçenin dünü bugünü yarını* are two such books that are very popular due to their language and style.

The book *Türkçenin bağımsızlık savaşımı* is a recent appraisal of the Turkish language reform and the ensuing developments. In the book, Aksan provides an overall assessment of the reform movement and, noting the influence of foreign languages, especially through the mass media in recent years, puts forward his suggestions in relation to the further success of language planning.

His last book, *Türkçeye yansıyan Türk kültürü*, published in 2008, eloquently shows the relationship between language and culture. Aksan emphasizes that language and culture are bound up in multiple ways, and when we consider language and culture together, we can arrive at the true nature of the Turkish language. To appreciate this, Aksan investigates these relationships in terms of cultural concepts such as man and society (the concepts of woman and man, father and mother, marriage, etc.), life conditions (food culture, drinks, residence and transportation), traditions (phatic expressions), and finally the concept of God and death, and in conclusion he emphasizes once again that in addition to multifarious, exclusive cultural

studies, the study of language too will lead to a much better understanding of the issues. As in all his works, his consistency in explanation, his explicit use of language, makes this book an indispensable, modern guide in the field.

To put it briefly, Aksan's work will always have a unique place in Turkish linguistics. On the one hand, his scholarly achievements demonstrate the power and the productivity of the Turkish language, and on the other hand, through understanding the delicacies and new dimensions of the language, we will come closer to an appreciation of human language at large. His meticulousness in the use of sources, his consistency in argumentation and explanation, and his continuous efforts to relate language, culture and society represent Prof. Aksan's philosophy of language, namely that language is a system rather than a collection of lexis or sentences as such; in this respect, too, Turkish linguistics owes a great deal to him.

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For this brief appreciation, I made use of all the books cited in the essay and the *Dođan Aksan armađanı* (1998) edited by K. İmer and L. Subaşı Uzun, Ankara University.

In memoriam Vladimir P. Nedjalkov

Dmitrij M. Nasilov & Irina Nevskaya

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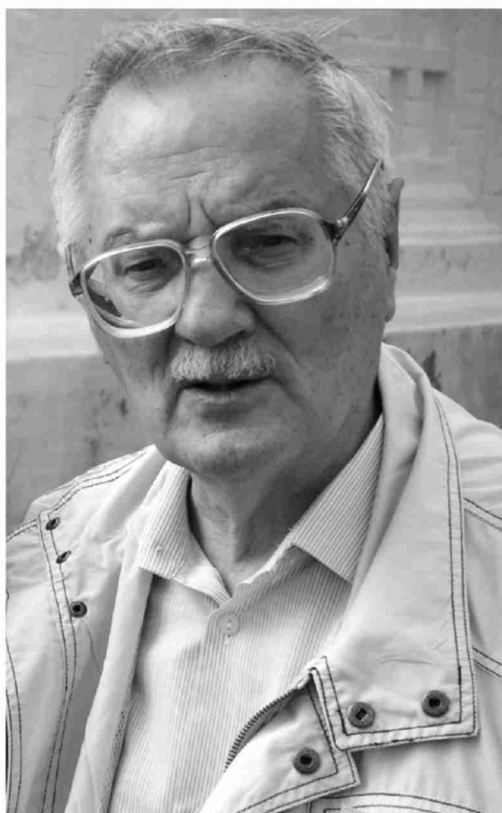


Photo: Éva Á. Csató

During the last decades, we have witnessed an explosion-like increase in typological research. Unfortunately, Turkic language material, with the exception of Turkish, has been used in it very insufficiently. Vladimir Petrovič Nedjalkov was a pleasant, though rare, exception to this rule. In his research, he constantly applied material from various Turkic languages beside dozens of languages of other language systems and other genetic affiliation. Therefore his untimely death on the 21st of July, 2009, is also a great loss for Turcology and Altaistics in general.

Vladimir Nedjalkov was born on the 4th of January in 1928 in Odessa. His father was in the army. In 1946, he entered the Faculty of the German Language of the Moscow Institute of Foreign Languages named after M. Torez (at present, the Moscow State Linguistic University).

He graduated from the Institute in 1950, and taught German, first at the Stavropol' Institute of Foreign Languages, then at the Pjatigorsk Institute of Foreign Languages; he also taught German in a primary school. His first academic supervisor was Igor' Evgen'evič Aničkov (1897-1978), a linguist and theologian, with whom Nedjalkov worked together from 1950 to 1953 in Stavropol'. Many years later, Nedjalkov paid tribute to the memory of his teacher and prepared a posthumous edition of his scientific legacy (Aničkov, I. E. *Trudy po jazykoznaniju*. Sankt-Peterburg: Nauka, 1977. 510 pages).

In 1959, Nedjalkov became a post-graduate student (*aspirant*) at the Chair of German Philology of the Leningrad Pedagogical Institute named after A. I. Herzen. There, his supervisor was a well-known specialist in Germanic studies and General Linguistics, V. G. Admoni. In 1961, Nedjalkov defended his candidate dissertation "Semantic groups of German verbs with the components *aus-*, *heraus-*, *hinaus-*". That same year he became a researcher at the Leningrad Division of the Institute of Linguistics of the USSR Academy of Sciences (at present the Institute of Linguistic Research of the Russian Academy). Vladimir Nedjalkov's scientific career was connected with the Institute of Linguistic Research all his life and remained its leading researcher up until his last days. In 1971, he defended his doctoral thesis "Causative constructions in German. The analytical causative" (published as *Kausativnyye konstrukcii v nemeckom jazyke. Analitičeskij kausativ*. Leningrad: Nauka, 1971). In 1976, this book was translated into German (*Kausativkonstruktionen*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag [Studien zur deutschen Grammatik, 4]).

The scientific heritage of Vladimir Nedjalkov consists of almost 190 publications. His first scientific works dealt with the methods of second language teaching in primary school. Later, he described German verbal prefixes. All in all, he published about thirty scientific works on Germanic languages. However, it is his work on language typology that brought him world-wide recognition.

Vladimir Nedjalkov was a bright representative of the Saint-Petersburg school of Language Typology founded by Alexandr Alekseevič Xolodovič (1906-1977). On the 1st of April 1961, the Group of Structural and Typological Study of Languages started its work under his leadership at the Leningrad Division of the Institute of Linguistics of the USSR Academy of Sciences. At present, it is the Laboratory of the

Structural and Typological Study of Languages at the Institute of Linguistic Research of the Russian Academy.

Vladimir Nedjalkov and Viktor Xrakovskij, who is the head of the Laboratory now, were the first researchers who entered the Typology Group. The past decades witnessed interesting and fruitful research work that resulted in the publication of a series of individual and collective monographs that were consistently received with great interest by the Russian and international scientific communities. In the first place, we should mention the following books: *Tipologija kauzativnyx konstrukcij* (1969), *Tipologija passivnyx konstrukcij* (1974), *Tipologija resul'tativnyx konstrukcij* (1983), *Tipologija iterativnyx konstrukcij* (1989), *Tipologija imperativnyx konstrukcij* (1992), *Tipologija uslovnyx konstrukcij* (1998), *Tipologija ustupitel'nyx konstrukcij* (2004), *Reciprocal constructions* (2007), *Tipologija taxisnyx konstrukcij* (2009). Four of these books have been translated into English and become accessible to a broader international public: *Typology of resultative constructions* (1988), *Typology of Iterative constructions* (1997), *Typology of imperative constructions* (2001), *Typology of conditional constructions* (2006). These books represent a complex of typological views on the basic verb categories that impact language syntax and are reflected in syntactic structures of diverse languages spoken on all the continents of our planet.

The work in the Typology Group of Xolodovič-Xrakovskij shifted the scientific interests of Vladimir Nedjalkov. Among his new linguistic objects, the Chukchi language gained first place with twenty-four publications, Nivkh, the second with eight publications, was followed by Evenki, Georgian, Abkhaz, Lithuanian, and other languages. Among the Turkic languages, Karachay-Balkar and Yakut were of special interest to him. All in all, he published over 70 typological works.

Although Vladimir Nedjalkov participated in the cooperative work of the Typology Group, he developed his own direction in typological research on verb categories. The most characteristic feature of his scientific approach was very thorough examination of the language material, obligatory interviews of language informants, and research on a broad range of language means that can render the semantic category under study. This work resulted in very detailed classifications of grammatical categories. He considered his informants to be his coauthors, and therefore we see his informants as the coauthors of his articles on Chukchi, Nivkh, Abkhaz, Georgian, Mongol, etc., although it was he who formulated the main content of these publications. He had quite a number of cooperative publications also with his spouse Prof. Emma Geniušienė, who is a native speaker of Lithuanian and has dealt extensively with the category of reflexive. The scientific approach described above is Nedjalkov's "trademark": you can trace it in practically all his publications, and in publications of his students from whom he always demanded ingenuity and exhaustiveness of linguistic facts.

One of Vladimir Nedjalkov's most important and trendsetting contributions was the article on Nivkh taxis, coauthored with G. Otaina (1987). It is well known that Roman Jakobson, who is recognized as introducing the category of "taxis" in its

modern understanding in linguistics, based his research on this category in Nivkh converbial constructions, although he did not give Nivkh examples in his works. The article by Nedjalkov and Otaina, a native speaker of Nivkh, gave an exhaustive description of Nivkh taxis relations. Together with Otaina, Nedjalkov also investigated other Nivkh grammatical categories, those of causative constructions, verbal government, verbal derivation, etc. Similarly, Nedjalkov wrote a number of cooperative works on Chukchi together with a Chukchi native speaker, P. Inänlikej, continuing after the death of the latter together with other informants and colleagues. Thanks to these efforts, Chukchi became a typologically very important language. Similar scientific resonance was evoked by Nedjalkov's research on the morphology of the Turkic verb written on the Karachay-Balkar, Yakut and Kirgiz material. Here, we should mention his publications on the categories of causative passive, resultative, reciprocity, reflexivity, etc. These articles are especially interesting because of the typological comparisons conducted on a broad language material.

Nedjalkov's works were dedicated to various topics, mostly viewed from the typological angle. The most important issues under study were as follows:

- (1) causative constructions in various languages (27 publications);
- (2) ergative constructions, the category of anti-passive (5 publications);
- (3) reflexive constructions (9 publications);
- (4) reciprocal constructions (16 publications);
- (5) resultative constructions (15 publications);
- (6) constructions with predicative actants (5 publications);
- (7) inchoative constructions (5 publications);
- (8) converbs, taxis (12 publications);
- (9) aspect, tense, modality (11 publications).

Already this list, which is far from exhaustive, bears witness to the broad diversity of Nedjalkov's scientific research. During his last years, the most dominant points of interest were reflexive and reciprocal constructions. Vladimir Nedjalkov succeeded in completing his long-term work as the scientific supervisor and editor of the collective monograph *Reciprocal constructions* (Amsterdam & Philadelphia: Benjamins, 2007) that includes forty-four chapters on reciprocal constructions in various languages. These articles are preceded by his theoretical chapter *Typology of reciprocal expressions. Typological questionnaire*. Specialists on various languages and language groups (e.g. Indo-European languages, Australian and North American aboriginal languages, Paleoasiatic languages, Chinese, Japanese, etc.) both from Russia and from other countries including France, Germany, Japan, New Zealand, Holland, Brazil, etc. took part in this cooperative work. In this book, Nedjalkov was also either the sole author or one of the coauthors of twelve chapters on reciprocals in specific languages or language groups (Turkic, Tungusic, Mongol, Buryat, German, Nivkh, Chukchi, Ainu, Japanese, etc.).

Nedjalkov was also a member of the editorial or scientific boards of various scientific editions: (1) *Voprosy Jazykoznanija* (1988-1993); (2) *Studien zur deutschen Grammatik* (Tübingen; since 1992); (3) The London Oriental and African Language

Library (Amsterdam & Philadelphia: Benjamins, since 1994); (4) *Studies in Language* (Amsterdam & Philadelphia: Benjamins, since 1993); (5) *Languages of the World* (München: Lincom Europa, since 1993). From 1995 to 1999, he was a member of the Executive Committee of the Societas Linguistica Europaea. From 1990 to 1994, he was a member of the Scientific Consulting Board *Eurotyp* ("Typology of languages of Europe") in the framework of the Societas Linguistica Europaea (Strasbourg).

Nedjalkov read lectures on typology and on German syntax in various German universities (Oldenburg, Cologne, Bonn, Bremen, Bielefeld, and Freiburg). He participated in numerous scientific conferences in Russia (Moscow, Saint Petersburg, Novosibirsk) and abroad (Tallinn, Cologne, Bucharest, Bologna, Kobe, Vitoria-Gasteiz, Tsukuba, etc.).

Nedjalkov also supervised thirteen candidate and three doctoral dissertations.

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Azeri morphology in Kryz (East Caucasian)

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The paper deals with the copying of morphemes and patterns from Turkic into the morphology of Kryz, an East Caucasian language of northern Azerbaijan. The copied morphemes in question are clitics found in the periphery of the verb system (expressing evidentiality, indefiniteness) and valency-changing morphology imported globally together with Azeri forms, as well as adjective-forming derivational suffixes. The copied structures are more diverse, and have left a mark on many areas of the morphology, in both verb and noun phrases.

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1. Introduction

Most of the data presented here are taken from Authier (2009), which is a complete description of one of the dialects of Kryz, a language belonging to the Lezgian branch of East Caucasian. In this paper we shall discuss some of the issues related to language contact which have left traces in the grammar of Kryz, namely the *global* and *selective* copying (for these terms see Johanson 2006a) of Turkic (Azeri) morphological features.

There are some striking typological similarities between East Caucasian and Turkic languages, in contrast with other adjacent languages or language families such as North Caucasian, South Caucasian (Kartvelian) or Indo-European. For instance, the major strategies for subordinate clauses are left-branching, involving the use of non finite or low-focal elements as heads of subordinate clauses (participles in relative clauses, converbs in adverbial clauses, and masdars (nominalized verbs) in complement clauses); the unmarked word order is also rather similar (basically SOV, GN, AN) in Turkic and East Caucasian.

On the other hand, some very basic features of these two language families contrast sharply and make all the more striking these common points and other, convergence-driven phenomena connecting East Caucasian and Turkic languages. At the noun phrase level, Turkic has only a few, exclusively syntactic cases, while East Caucasian sets world records for nominal declension sizes thanks to its extensive use of spatial cases, which can even distinguish semantic nuances in grammatical relations, e.g. differential subject marking or differential recipient marking. Gender is not grammatically distinguished in Turkic, whereas the morphosyntax of the great

majority of East Caucasian languages is pervaded by gender-number agreement and complex (but mostly agglutinative) morphology, both suffixal and prefixal. Not only verbs but also adjectives tend to agree with their head in East Caucasian, while adjective agreement is never found in Turkic; and while Turkic employs person markers for the category 'subject' on the verb, East Caucasian verbs very rarely agree in person, and verb agreement in gender-number is always with the Single argument or the Patient, i.e. alignment is ergative.

Kryz is a small dialect continuum numbering at most 2000 speakers scattered in fewer than ten small localities of north-eastern Azerbaijan, in the region of Quba. It is unwritten; education in both elementary and intermediate school is in Azeri, which is well known by all adults and used in communication with speakers of other languages. Despite this generalized bilingualism, the grammar preserves typical East Caucasian and specifically Lezgi features. In particular, gender-number agreement with S/P (Single argument or Patient) is prefixed to the root of synthetic verbs. Person is mainly expressed by free pronouns. Word order is head-final (possessor-possessed, adjective-noun, and basically Agent-Patient-Verb); case marking and cross-referencing on the verb are ergative.

The language contact situation between Kryz and Azeri being asymmetrical, the direction of copying has been from dominant Azeri to dominated Kryz. Questions of syntax, e.g. word order, will not be dealt with here. The most obvious result of contact on Kryz morphology is the presence of Turkic morphemes at the margins of the verb phrase (clitics). Less conspicuous effects, such as changes in morpheme order, or the acquisition of morphosyntactic features and semantic distinctions, are more numerous, but demand sharp scrutiny.

We divide the paper into sections treating the two main types of copying at issue. Section 1 describes the Turkic morphemes found on Kryz verbs, verbal compounds, and adjectives, while section 2 presents morphosyntactic patterns found in Kryz and shared with Azeri for which no clear independent parallels are found in related Lezgi languages.

Azeri morphemes on Kryz verbs

In this section, we address three instances of Turkic morphemes integrated into the set of verb categories expressed morphologically in Kryz: the evidential clitic, the conditional-indefinite clitic, and the valency alternation system in compound verbs. Two denominal adjective suffixes have also been copied productively.

Evidential *-mIş*

The most conspicuous morphological element borrowed by Kryz is the morpheme *-mIş*, an evidentiality-marking clitic related to, but to be distinguished from, the postterminal (perfect) marker *-mIş*. Its semantics are typical of binary evidentiality systems:

non-direct evidence in the past, not necessarily remote:

- (1) *u-cbar ʔa-b-xhr-i k'ul-ci cuxud q'ay-ca-miṣ*
 3-HPL PV-HPL-come.PF-PART house-GEN master die-PERF-EVID
 'The master of the house where they arrived had died.'

hearsay (gnomic):

- (2) *pis-a kar hiçvaxt k'iy-ğar sanxan-de-d-miṣ*
 bad-a work never heart-SUPEL forget-NEGPRS-N-EVID
 'A bad deed is never forgotten.'

inference:

- (3) *ug-ur eb-il siy yilt'-ciz eb-il sil*
 SELFM-ERG wolf-GEN mouth bind-SIMUL wolf-GEN tooth
barkan-ci siyir.c-a ʔaka-ci xhi-ca-miṣ
 horse-GEN sinew-IN stick-SEQ be-PERF-EVID
 '(He understands that) when he tied the wolf's mouth, the wolf's tooth had remained stuck in the horse's sinew.'

mirativity:

- (4) *ğancuq limird-ğar mama, sipayar-ğar an bala,*
 female donkey-SUPEL mummy young.donkey-SUPEL AN baby
mighila limird-ğar papa li-re-miṣ!
 male donkey-SUPEL daddy say-PRS-EVID
 '(The child) would call the she-donkey 'mummy', the donkey-foals 'babies' and the male donkey 'daddy'!

In this mirative use, it is often followed by the enclitic *ki* (itself a copied form: this was originally the Persian mirative marker and complementizer). If bearing on nominal predicates, the clitic has to attach to the indigenous Kryz copula, or to a form of the verb 'be':

- (5) *vun lap namussuz-a adami-ya-miṣ -ki!*
 2 very faithless-A person-COP.M-EVID KI
 'You really are a faithless person!'
- (6) *q'va-r ṣid ya ʔab-miṣ: sundu tur Salavan*
 two-M brother EXIST-HPL-EVID one-HUM.GEN name Salavan
la'a-n tur Ğaf ṣa-re-miṣ
 other-HUM.GEN name Qaf be-PRS-EVID
 'He had two sons: one was named Salavan, the other Qaf.'

As for its combinatory properties with other TAM markers, the evidential clitic is found on most synthetic indicative verb forms and copulas but not on dedicated direct-assertion forms like the aorist, the resultative or the constative progressive. This should be compared with the situation obtaining in Azeri, where, as in Turkish, “the evidential copula *-(y)mış* can attach to all tense-mood-aspect suffixes on a verb stem except for *-DI*, which means witnessed past” (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 80).

However, a diachronic twist ought to be mentioned: in contemporary Azeri, maybe due to the influence of Russian journalistic style, the evidential clitic is considered outdated, and even the evidential value of the perfect tense suffix is becoming obsolete: this tense is defined in grammars as a remote past or a present perfect (see Širaliyev & Sevortjan 1971: 126-127). Moreover, its inflection has been largely rebuilt on the *-Ib* converb (1SG *gäl-miş-äm* but 2SG *gäl-misen* or *gäl-ib-sän* and 3SG *gälib* rather than *gälmişdir*). But Kryz preserves the evidential value of the morpheme as it is still found in Turkish, with a predilection for attaching the clitic to forms of the (indigenous) perfect.

It should be added that the category ‘evidential’ is not unknown in other East Caucasian languages. Within Lezgiç, Budugh, the language most closely related to Kryz, has a sentence-final evidential particle *q'eçik*, of uncertain origin. In Rutul, another sentence-final particle *eyxhi* can be related to a verbal root meaning ‘say’, like the evidential suffix *-lda* found in Lezgian (see Haspelmath 1993: 150).

1.2. Indefinite marker *-sa*

Most conditional clauses in Kryz use an indigenous morpheme *-na* which corresponds closely to the Turkic suffix *-sa*; Kryz *-na* is also used in conditional relative clauses with indefinite interpretation:

(7) *hal-ir lip-na-ni mast leha-ya, ũ-ma-rğa*
 who-ERG say.PF-COND-PST yoghurt black-COP PV-PROHIB-believe
 ‘Whoever will say that yoghurt is black, do not believe (him).’

(8) *a-d hatan yi-xh-na, la ciga işiğ-lu şa-re-ni*
 DIST-notN to_where PV-go-COND DIST place light-with be-PRS-PST
 ‘Wherever he would go, the place would be illuminated.’

In particular, parametric conditional relative clauses which use the relative pronoun *harkan* ‘whoever’ (only in oblique cases; etymologically this is the copied—from Azeri and Persian—quantifier *har* and complementizer *ki*, followed by the distal demonstrative *a-*) are always headed by a form in *-na*:

(9) *harkan-ux kar yiçina zin işlamiş şa-ra*
 whoever-APUD work be.IPF.COND 1 working be-EVT
 ‘I will work for whoever has work for me.’

But Kryz also has verb forms ending in *-sa*, which are found exclusively in other parametric relative clauses and signal conditional-indefinite meaning, as well as on indefinite pronouns containing *-sa* and shaped after the Azeri model.¹

1.2.1. Indefinite relative clauses

Azeri has headless relative clauses containing a conditional verb form (with *-sa* alone or following a TAM suffix) and a question word, with meanings equivalent to those of English clauses employing ‘whatever’, ‘whoever’, etc.

- (11) *nä de-yir-sä, yalan-dir*
 what say-PRS(3)-COND lie-COP3
 ‘All he says is just lies.’
- (12) *kim dövät ed-ir-sä et-sin, män get-mä-yäcäm*
 who invitation do-PRS-COND(3) do-IMP3 1 go-NEG-FUT.1
 ‘They may all invite me, I won’t go.’
- (13) *nä tähär ed-ir-sä et-sin, o, kitab-ı al-a bil-mä-yäcäk*
 how do-PRS(3)-COND do-IMP3 DIST book-ACC take-CV can-NEG-FUT(3)
 ‘Whatever he does, he won’t be able to buy the book.’

This type of conditional clause is named ‘universal’ by (Göksel & Kerslake 2005) and ‘parametric concessive-conditional’ in (Haspelmath 1993). In indefinite relative clauses, Kryz may use the same *-sa* as a clitic after *interrogative* verb forms instead of the indigenous conditional form ending in *-na*. Although these forms are rare, it is worth stating that all interrogative tenses are attested:

- (14) *şıta ʔar ʃa-ri-sa bag ʔaxhir-ci ǵarfar-e*
 how_much be-PRSINTERR-AZ.COND bridegroom arrive.M-SEQ appear-PRS.M
 ‘In one way or another, the bridegroom appears.’
- (15) *duxvar galu.c-a ʃi ǵarç’ar-i-sa u-n galu*
 son.GEN throat-IN what IPF.go.out-INTERR-AZ.COND DIST-HUM.GEN throat(F)
seuhur-ci valt’al-yu
 PV-swell-SEQ tie.MP-PRS.F
 ‘Something having got stuck in his son’s throat, it became swollen and blocked.’

¹ Rather exceptional are conditional forms in which the enclitic *agan* ‘if’, a remote loan from Persian through Tat, follows an assertive form, for instance:

- (10) *vaz u-bi ats’ar-de-d-agan çiz lam varca ask’va-ci-vun?*
 2.DAT PROX-NPL know-NEGPRS-N-IF why DIST high sit-PERF.INTERR-2
 ‘If you don’t know these, why do you perch so high (to preach)?’

- (16) *zin ği-b-ghun-i pıram hata a-skva-ci-zin-sa*
 1 PV-F-begin.PF-PART shirt(F) where PV.put.F-PERF.INTERR-1-AZ.COND
za-v va-rq 'var-de-b
 1-AD PV-find.F-NEGPRS-F
 'I cannot find where I (may) have put this shirt which I had begun to sew.'
- (17) *şı xhi-ci-sa kum aca 'ar kuçmiş-cu*
 what become-PERF.INTERR-AZ.COND village(F) from_there moving-PERF.F
 'Then something happened, and the village moved from there.'
- (18) *hakim.ci-z an şı vu-yi-ni-sa a-n-ir*
 judge-DAT EVEN what give.PF-INTERR-PST-AZ.COND DIST-H-ERG
ta 'cir-ci taraf aqa-c
 merchant-GEN side hold-AOR.N
 'Whatever he gave to the judge, the latter would keep siding with the merchant.'

In one instance, the form marked with *-sa* is added to a future interrogative form and serves to express a worry:

- (19) *zinq 'ay-ca 'ar çixa 'an u-bi hal-iz ğismat şı-yi-sa?*
 1 die.PF-EL after PROX-NPL who-DAT fate be-FUT.INTERR-AZ.COND
 'After I die, upon whom will they be bestowed?'

1.2.2. Coalescence of indefinite pronouns

Azeri indefinite pronouns can be derived from any interrogative base, and take inflection after the morpheme *-sa* (in fact *-(y)sA*, but see below):

- (20) *ömrüm-dä kim-sä-ni incit-mä-miş-äm*
 lifetime.1-LOC who-INDEF-ACC annoy-NEG-PERF-1
 'In all my life I have not hurt anybody.'
- (21) *bu-nu kim-sä-yä ver-di-m*
 PROX-ACC who-INDEF-DAT give-WPST-1
 'I gave it to someone.'

except on locative adverbs (locative arguments behave as in the other cases):

- (22) *kimsä-dä söz de-mä-yä cürät ol-m-ur*
 who-INDEF-LOC word say-INF-DAT audacity be-NEG-PRS(3)
 'Nobody dares to speak out.'
- (23) *kim-sä-dän yox heç imdad*
 who-INDEF-ABL NEG.exist ANY help
 'There is no help from anybody.'

- (24) *harda-sa su ax-id-il-ir*
 where-INDEF water flow-CAUS-PASS-PRS(3)
 ‘There is a leak somewhere.’
- (25) *o-nu mən haradan-sa tam-yır-am*
 DIST-ACC 1 wherefrom-INDEF know-PRS-1
 ‘I know him from somewhere.’

In contrast, Kryz indefinite pronouns inflect for case *before* the indefinite morpheme:

- (26) *hal-ir-sa za leha lem tuğva-cu*
 who.OBL-ERG-INDEF 1.GEN black donkey bring.F-PERF.F
 ‘Someone will have driven my donkey away.’
- (27) *ghar çic-kar-sa şikayat.c-a ʔxhur-cu*
 Snake what.OBL-SUBEL-INDEF complaint-IN come.F-PERF.F
 ‘The snake had come to complain about something.’

It is assumed that in Azeri indefinite pronouns originate from conditional copular relative clauses because the characteristic /y/ of the ancient copula appears after a vowel, for instance in:

- (28) *nä-ysä-ylä*
 what-COPCOND=INDEF-COMIT
 ‘with something’

Likewise in Kryz the (interrogative) copula is *yi*, and since the two nominative forms of these mixed indefinite pronouns end in a vowel, they clearly show that they are based on grammaticalized conditional relative clauses:

- (29) *dahar-ci ʔadi-ğ ti-yi-sa ya^ʃ*
 stone-GEN surface-SUPER who-INTERRCOP-INDEF EXIST(M)
 ‘Someone (= whoever it is) is on the rock.’
- (30) *şi-yi-sa u-nda-ux sa-b fikir ya^ʔ-u*
 what-INTERRCOP-INDEF DIST-HPL-APUD one-F thought(F) EX-F
 ‘Whatever it is they have some idea.’
- (31) *uca şi-yi-sa sa-d sir ya^ʃ*
 here what-COPINTERR-EVER one-N secret COPEX
 ‘There is some mystery here, whatever it is.’

- (32) *tur.id-a ši-yi-sa* *ş'a-ka-c*
 net-IN what-INTERRCOP-INDEF PVstick-AOR.N
 ‘Something (< Whatever it is) is stuck in the net.’
- (33) *a-n-iğ hal ši-u-de-b ki*
 dist-H-SUPER strength(F) be-F-NEGPRS-F ki
şi-yi-sa ixtilat yi-yu
 what-INTERRCOP-EVER story do-DEB
 ‘He did not dare to tell anything.’

However, in Azeri, the indefinite adverb derived from *hara* ‘to where’, which has a final vowel, bears no trace of a copula:

- (34) *adam hâmişâ hara-sa get-mäk istâ-yir*
 person always to_where-INDEF go-INF want-PRS(3)
 ‘The man always wants to go somewhere.’

This exception is paralleled in Kryz: the indefinite locative adverb *hata* (we do not discuss here the resemblance to Azeri *hara*) takes the form *-sa* after a vowel, without *yi*:

- (35) *Molla-r u-cbar ask'vana b-ar-ci*
 Mulla-ERG prox-HPL.NOM sit.VERB.ADJ HPL-do-SEQ
hata-sa yixh-id
 where-INDEF go.M-AOR.M
 ‘Mulla made them sit and went somewhere.’

For a similar case of copying of the Turkic conditional marker in Kurmanji, see Dorleijn (2006).

1.3. Azeri participle and Kryz auxiliary in verb compounds

In Kryz, the verbal lexicon is made up of two types of verbs: compound verbs consisting of a light verb and another element, and synthetic verbs, which constitute a closed class.

Verbal predicates represented by compound verbs may be of three types: there is a fully genuine type (both the auxiliary and the auxiliariized element are indigenous, see Authier 2009: 250), and two subtypes which involve auxiliariized forms containing the perfective participial Azeri morpheme *-miş*. One is morphologically mixed (*-miş* is added to an indigenous base), the other syntactically mixed (the whole auxiliariized element is a Turkic loan, retaining valency-alternating markers). In the following, we only address those compound verbs that employ a form ending in *-miş*, plus some coalescent forms used without an auxiliary.

1.3.1. Morphologically mixed compound verbs

In morphologically mixed compound verbs, the auxiliariized element is a complex pseudo-participle ending in *-miş* following an indigenous non-verbal base (here *t'il* 'finger' and *miq'e* 'near') to which the Turkic verbalizers *-LA-* (transitive) (ex. 36) or *-LAŞ-* (intransitive) (ex. 37) are added:

- (36) *molla-r yit t'il-le-miş yi-ra ul-e*
 mulla-ERG honey(N) finger-TR.VBLZ-PERFPART do-MANNER eat-PRS.N
 'Mulla eats the honey, taking it with his finger.'

- (37) *zaz miq'e-laş-miş sak!*
 I.DAT near-INTR.VBLZ-PERFPART be.IMP.M
 'Come near me!'

These participial forms based on a Kryz word are rare, and they are not part of a verbal paradigm (i.e. they never appear without an auxiliary).

1.3.2. Syntactically mixed compound verbs

In contrast, compound verbs involving Azeri participles in *-miş* are productive and represent the most important source of new lexical verbs, constantly flowing into the language. The Azeri participles may undergo just a few phonetic adaptations (the suffix *-miş* is not vowel harmonic, and some consonant clusters are simplified).

Some of them are transitive only and use the auxiliary *aric* 'do'.

- (38) *riş-ir ic cihiz hazıramış ar-i*
 girl-ERG REFL.F(GEN) outfit preparing do-OPT
 'Let the girl prepare her nuptial outfit.' (Az. *hazırlamış*)

Intransitive compounds select *xhiyic* 'be(come)' as their auxiliary, for instance:

- (39) *ta 'ciblanmış xhiyic* 'to wonder'
yarvarmış xhiyic 'to implore'
dil(len)mış xhiyic 'to speak up'
evlenmiş xhiyic 'to marry'
artmış xhiyic 'increase', etc.

There are a few exceptions to the preceding rule: some intransitive action verbs (such as *uzmuş aric* 'swim', lit. 'swimming do') select the transitive auxiliary 'do'. All these verbs are tending to become more frequent in the language of younger speakers, and can sometimes replace a genuine verb, e.g. *'urğuric* (believe) is being replaced by *inanmış xhiyic*.

Many of these verbs can switch valency. To do so, they not only have to change their auxiliary, but the Azeri participle also changes, in conformity with the original

valency-modifying morphology. In most valency-alternating pairs of compound verbs, the transitive is unmarked, and the intransitive is derived. The derived intransitive (anticausative or passive) adds *-l* or *-n*, e.g. *yaymiş aric* ‘spread, tr.’ / *yay-il-miş xhiyic* ‘spread, intr.’:

- (40) *musulmançuluğval yay-miş ar-iz sa-r ʔarab ʔaxir-ca*
 Islam spread(TR)-PERFPART do-INF one-M Arab come-PERF.M
 ‘An Arab had come to spread Islam.’
- (41) *ahali-c araca azar-bi yay-il-miş xhi-ca*
 people-GEN among illness-PL spread-ANTICAUS-PERFPART become-PERF
 ‘The illnesses had spread among the people.’
- (42) *u-ndar Peyğamber-ci haqina yaz-il-miş xhi-ci*
 PROX-HPL.ERG prophet-GEN about write-PASS-PERFPART be-PERFPART
kitab-ar uxvats’-re
 book-PL read-PRS.N
 ‘They would read the books about the Prophet.’

This derivation is also very productive with denominal Azeri verbs: the frequential property of the copied feature is retained here, contrary to what was observed for the evidential clitic.

Since instances of auxiliarized forms derived from Kryz indigenous lexemes can be found (see the aforementioned *t’illemiş, miğ’eleşmiş*), we may assume conversely that a number of nouns, for instance *yağ* ‘oil’, must have made their way into the Kryz nominal lexicon by means of this Trojan horse, given examples like the following:

- (43) *va siupel-bi çic-zina yağ-la-miş ar-ci-vun ?*
 2.GEN moustache-PL what-INST butter-VBLZ(TR)-PERFPART do-PERF.INTERR-2
 ‘What have you greased your moustache with?’
- (44) *va siubel-bi çic-zina yağ-la-n-miş xhi-yic ?*
 2.GEN moustache-PL what-INST butter-VBLZ-INTR-PERFPART be-AOR.N
 ‘What is your moustache greased with?’

Some verb pairs have a derived causative in *-t* or *-r*, like *işla-miş xhiyic* ‘work’ / *işla-t-miş aric* ‘make work’ or *kuçmiş xhiyic* ‘change places’ / *kuç-ur-miş aric* ‘help to change places’:

- (45) *yif yiğ işlemiş xhi-yic lazim-e*
 night day work-VBLZ-PERFPART be-MASD necessary-COP
 ‘It is necessary to work night and day.’

- (46) *zin a-cib işla-t-miş yi-ra-b-zin*
 DIST-HPL work-CAUS-PERFPART do-EVT-HPL-1
 ‘I will make them work.’ (Az. *işlätmiş*, compare the non-causative verb in ex. 9)
- (47) *şib fura k’ul-ibe kuç-ur-miş yi-re-b*
 three(F) husband.GEN house-PL.IN move-CAUS-PERFPART do-PRS-HPL
 ‘He arranged the moving of each of his three (daughters) to their husbands’
 houses.’ (Az. *küçürmüş*, for the intransitive counterpart, see ex. 17)

Finally, some verb pairs are equipollent: both verbs are derived from a non-verbal base, one with a valency-increasing (causative) suffix, the other with a valency-decreasing suffix, e.g. *duz-at-miş aric* ‘fix’ / *duz-al-miş xhiyic* ‘get fixed’:

- (48) *i-d-kn-i şay-ri zin duz-at-miş yi-yiya*
 PV-N-remain.PF-PART thing-PL 1 right-TRANS-PERFPART do-FUT-N
 ‘The remaining things I will fix by myself.’ (Az. *düzältmiş*)
- (49) *u-c duz-al-miş şı-yi kar da-d*
 prox right-intrans-perfpart be-futpart work negcop-n
 ‘This is something which cannot be fixed.’ (Az. *düzälmiş*)

The resulting mixed verb phrases are never found to show errors in the selection of the auxiliary or the participial form, and they are used abundantly, with remarkable flexibility:

- (50) *a-c-kar bala turamiş şı-u-de-b (...) halazan*
 DIST-NOTH-SUBEL young being_fertile be-F-NEGPRS-F therefore
da-ux-ts’-i, turatmiş diyi ğatir misal ya²-u
 NEG-bear-IPF-PART producing NEG.do.IPF.PART mule proverb(F) EXIST-F
 ‘No child is ever born of it... therefore, ‘a non-procreating, not-giving-birth
 mule’ is proverbial.’

1.3.3. Mixed coalescent verb forms

The integration of Azeri verbs through the integration of their *-miş* participle is a continuing process, in which the forms involved show more and more signs of adaptation to the preexisting Kryz morphological frame, not only derivational but also inflectional. Consequently, some TAM markers can—albeit rather exceptionally—be added directly to the borrowed participle. These inflection markers are always associated with a perfective stem in Kryz verbal morphology. Attested in such a position are

the sequential converb marked with *-ci*:

- (51) *furi* *əyal-ci* *sayağ* *şaqıldamış-ci* *işa-re*
 man child-GEN like weeping-SEQ cry-PRS.M
 ‘The man cries, weeping like a child.’
- (52) *u-n-var* *ara-la-n-miş-ci* *kum-xvan* *əşxha-re*
 PROX-H-ADEL interval-VBLZ-INTR-PERF.PART-SEQ village-DIR arrive-PRS.M
 ‘Taking leave of this one, he arrives near the village.’

the perfect marked with *-ca*:

- (53) *va* *sus* *azaramış-cu*
 2.GEN bride(NOM) getting_ill-PERF.F
 ‘Your bride has fallen ill.’ (see also ex. 17)

and hortative (1st person imperative) forms marked with *-dam*:

- (54) *zin* *an* *q’ay-iz-karta* *ya-zina* *yaşamış-dam*.
 1 AN die-DAT-UNTIL 2PL-INST living-HORT1
 ‘As for me, I will live with you both until I die.’

The synthetic formations are restricted: other TAM specifications require the use of an auxiliary (see ex. 60 and 71 below).

The Azeri forms in *-miş* are also unavailable for use in attributive function without the Kryz auxiliary (our gloss ‘PERFPART’ thus applies to the Azeri form, not to the analysis of the Kryz verb phrase!), perhaps because their orientedness (in contrast with Kryz participles, which are unoriented, see Authier 2009: 345) demands further explicitation of the valency:

- (55) *duxrar* *išta-t-miş* *ar-i* *əmal*
 son.PL.ERG work.VBLZ-CAUS-PERFPART do.PF-PART trick
 ‘The trick used by the sons.’
- (56) *şad-da-n-miş* *xhi-yi* *Fati*
 happy-VBLZ-INTR-PERFPART be.PF-PART F.
 ‘happy Fati’ (Az. *şadlanmış*)

1.4. Denominal adjectives

Denominal adjectives in *-lu* and privative adjectives in *-suz* are globally copied, without vowel harmony, from Azeri adjectives in *-li* and *-siz*, for instance *işiğ-lu* in example 8, and *namus-suz* in example 5. Often they are copied in pairs like *salağlu* ‘tidy’ / *salağasu* ‘untidy’.

The copied adjectives inflect for Kryz cases if substantivized:

- (57) *varlu-n* *rike*^ʃ
 rich-HUM.GEN farm.IN
 ‘at the farm of the rich’
- (58) *Allah ta ʕalacir* *girt* *ʕaqʕilsuz-ar-iz* *ʕaqʕil* *vu-tir*
 God High-ERG all unintelligent-PL-DAT intelligence give-JUSS
 ‘May God give intelligence to all those who lack it!’

They can also constitute the base for native derivational affixes: *ʕaqʕilsuz-val* ‘lack of intelligence’.

1.4.1. Endowment adjectives in *-Lu*

Other items attested in our corpus are *iddaʕalu* ‘pretentious’, *varlu* ‘rich’, *insaflu* ‘just’, *terbiyalu* ‘educated’, *yaşlu* ‘old’, *xayirlu* ‘propitious’, *ʕamallu* ‘clever’, *farasatlu* ‘skilled’, *aralu* ‘distant’, *xayla aylalu* ‘with a large family’, *ğamlu* ‘sad’, *tilsimlu* ‘magic’, *yaralu* ‘wounded’, *uzaklu* ‘long’, *buylu* ‘handsome’, *imkanlu* ‘affluent’, *yaharlu* ‘saddled’, *uddu alavlu* ‘incensed’, *guclu* ‘strong’, *ʕaqʕillu* ‘intelligent’.

When the nominal base is an abstract noun of Arabic origin in *-at*, the derived Kryz adjective disallows the cluster [tl] and a geminated suffix appears in *ihtiyattu* ‘cautious’, *ʕadalattu* ‘just’, *barakattu* ‘blessed’, *ğiyattu* ‘precious’, *lazzattu* ‘delicious’, *ğabiliyattu* ‘talented’, *hurattu* ‘honored’. These geminated sequences contribute to the integration of the copied adjectives in the Kryz native stock, because gemination is a characteristic feature of a (small) class of them, like *qʕiçʕa* ‘solid’; *qʕilla* ‘thin’; *qʕyilla* ‘salted’; *çʕutʕa* ‘pricky’, *luzzu* ‘white’; as an ideophonic expressive feature, gemination restricted to the word class of adjectives is also found in the Tsezic branch of East Caucasian, for instance in Hunzib, see (van den Berg 1994).

Geographic origin is also expressed by this suffix when relating to non-Kryz locations, for instance *kusnattu* ‘person from Kūsnet’, *şamaxulu* ‘person from Shamakhi’.

Most interestingly, a couple of mixed copies also occur, like *çam-lu xab* ‘oily = dirty hand’, parallel to the native derivation *çam-a xab* ‘greasy = rich hand’, both formed on the Kryz noun *çam* ‘butter’.

1.4.2. Privative adjectives in *-suz*

The privative suffix is found on adjectives in adverbial use:

- (59) *xabar-suz* ‘unknowingly’
had-suz ‘immensely’
sas-suz samur-suz ‘without the faintest noise’

- (60) *zin Nardan Xatun-suz yaşamiş şa-va-yda-b zin*
 1 Nardan khatun-without living be-F-FUTNEG-F 1
 ‘I will not be able to live without Nardan Khatun.’

When used attributively (ex. 61 & 62) or substantivized (ex. 63), these adjectives take the final attributive *-a* morpheme, which is added as a rule to any adjective whose stem ends in a consonant.²

- (61) *dardsuz-a adami-yar* ‘people without worries’
farsuz-a nukar ‘an unskilled servant’
- (62) *furi-suz-a xinib, q’iq’en-suz-a barkan*
 husband-less-a wife saddle-without-a horse
 ‘woman without a husband, horse without a saddle.’ (Prov.)
- (63) *farru na farsuz-a-n-iğ sa-d*
 skilled and unskilled-ADJ-H.GEN-SUPER one-N
ğiyat ğiy-iz şa-da-d
 value put-INF be-NEG.EVT-N
 ‘The same value shall not be given to the skilled and unskilled.’ (Prov.)

The use of these two copied derivations prevails in moral genres (proverbs and edifying tales): we may assume that the linguistic material was imported together with the cultural context.

2. Kryz morphology based on Azeri patterns (structural copying)

Apart from global copying of morphemes, a relatively large number of morphological features found in Kryz grammar are unexpected or peculiar to this language as a member of East Caucasian, but can be explained by its long-lasting contact with Azeri. These are:

- instances of vowel harmony on both case-inflected nouns and gender-inflected verbs;
- the internal structure of two converb formation patterns, expressing respectively manner and immediacy;
- the very frequent use of subject pronouns as enclitics on finite verb forms and the development of a person-sensitive injunctive paradigm;

² This feature seems to be originally Lezgi; in languages that have it, it seems to be a trace of more elaborate NP internal agreement paradigms as can still be found in Tsakhur and Southern Rutul. But the *-a* attributive morpheme has also been massively copied in Tat, where almost all preposed attributive adjectives evince it, including adjectives in *-li* copied from Azeri: *ye fehmlü-ye odomi* ‘a clever person’.

- the frequent use of a genitive instead of the expected nominative form on NPs in the syntactic position of subject of a nominalized (intransitive) verb;
- a genitive definiteness marking split on possessor NPs.

2.1. Vowel harmony

First a caveat: dissolution of consonant clusters and corollary vowel harmony is well documented in Lezgian languages (see Haspelmath 1993: 56-58 for instances of front / back harmony on the plural marker and labial harmony on oblique stem markers in Lezgian) as well as in other branches of East-Caucasian, like Tsezic, with much less or even no contact with Turkic languages. Thus vowel harmony could well be an inherited feature of the family, structurally linked to the disproportion of consonants versus vowels in the phonological inventory, to the fact that more generally East Caucasian is clearly a member of the North-Eurasian area which Jakobson (1931) found to display secondary correlations on consonants, and to the tendency to have suprasegmental features like pharyngealization spreading from consonants to adjacent vowels. So vowel harmony as a feature of genuinely Kryz affixes might as well not be a result of language contact ... It affects both verbal and nominal inflections, but in rather different ways.

2.1.1. Vowel harmony on inflected nouns

Nouns inflect for a rich case paradigm in all East Caucasian languages, distinguishing nominative *vs* 'oblique' cases derived from an oblique stem, which is usually the form also used for the ergative. In Kryz, oblique cases are based on the form with genitive meaning, and the suffixes used for this genitive-oblique derivation display considerable allomorphy. Among these genitive marking morphemes, *-l*, *-n*, and *-rd* must, for phonotactic reasons (East Caucasian disallows most consonant clusters) take a buffer vowel before the sonorant. The default timbre is [i], but the vowel must be [u] if the root already contains a [u] or any labial (*v*, *b*, *m*) or labialized consonant root-finally. A few contrasting examples are given here:

(64) *liʃ* 'lice' > *liʃ-ird*
t'uʃ 'badger' > *t'uʃ-urd*

(65) *tur* 'name' > *tur-un*
yiğ 'day' > *yiğ-in*

(66) *gvag* 'shred' > *gvag-ul*
ʔaq 'sweat' > *ʔaq-il*

All oblique cases derived from the genitive, then, show the same harmonic vowel.

2.1.2. Vowel harmony on inflected verbs

Kryz verbs have the gender and number of their Patientive or Single argument cross-referenced in a pre-root (post-preverbal) slot.³ The most frequent ('weak') conjugation type has a [u] prefix for feminine indexation, and if a (perfective-marking) sonorant follows the root, its buffer vowel is likewise [u]:

- (67) *yi-q-ir* 'take him!'
y-u-q-ur 'take her!'
- (68) *yi-gh-in* 'go (masculine)!'
y-u-gh-un 'go (feminine)!'
- (69) *ğa-q'-il* 'lie down (masculine)!'
ğva-q'-ul 'lie down (feminine)!'

Other verb affixes like (past tense) *-ni* tend to be pronounced *-nü* in labial contexts, but this is not as systematic as the preceding cases, and we in fact consider [ü] as an allophone and not a phoneme.

2.2. Manner converbs

The widespread use of converbs in adverbial subordinate clauses is a common feature of Turkic and East Caucasian (see Haspelmath & König 1996). Two of the numerous Kryz converbs have lookalike counterparts in Azeri, both formally and semantically.

2.2.1. The simple and reduplicated manner converbs

The simple manner converb is a depictive form parallel to Azeri forms in *-A*:

- (70) *ik-ra riş.i-xvan işa-r-e-ni*
 look-MANNER girl-DIR cry-PRS-PST
 'He was crying while looking at the girl.' (Az. *bax-a* 'looking')
- (71) *sa-b ghar surunmiş şava ʔa-şxhva-ryu*
 one-F snake crawling be.F.Manner PV-come.F-PRS.F
 'A snake comes crawling towards him.' (Az. *sürün-ä* 'crawling')

If reduplicated, the manner converb acquires an affective nuance (the same applies in Azeri):

³ Verbal roots consist of a single consonant, and most of them have preverbs (such as *yi-* and *ğa-*). The gender-number system comprises five 'gender-number agreement classes'. The "feminine" gender-number includes single human female referents and all other animates, as well as many inanimates, plus some abstract concepts.

- (72) *işar-a işar-a li-re ki*
 cry-MANNER cry-MANNERS say-PRS KI
 ‘She said, crying pitifully...’ (Az. *ağla-ya ağla-ya*)
- (73) *u-bi div.ci-r ats’ar-a ats’ar-a duru li-p-ca*
 PROX-NPL demon-E know-MANNER know-MANNER lie PV-say-PERF
 ‘The demon lied on purpose.’ (Az. *bil-ä bil-ä*)

2.2.2. The doubled & negated (immediacy) converb

In Azeri as in Turkish, the juxtaposition of the positive and negative eventual⁴ stems of the same verb equates to a converb form yielding the meaning ‘as soon as’: *gäl-är gäl-möz* (come-EVT come-NEGEVT) ‘as soon as he comes’. In the same manner, Kryz uses a converb composed of two consecutive forms of the same verb, the first of which is homonymous with the Kryz ‘eventual’ tense-mood form:

- (74) *furi ʔa-şxa-ra ʔa-da-şxa-ra xvar ğa-p-d-u*
 man PV-come-EVT=MANNER PV-NEG-COME-MANNER dog PV-F-go.out-AOR-F
 ‘As soon as the man had arrived, the dog jumped out.’
- (75) *halu kalma u-n siy-a ʔar ğa-rfar-a*
 this word PROX-H.GEN mouth-INEL PV-go.out-MANNER
ğa-da-rfar-a dahar zir-ğan la-sl-ic
 PV-NEG-go.out-MANNER stone cow-EQU PV-turn-AOR.N
 ‘As soon as this word came out of his mouth, the rock changed into a cow.’

But note that in Kryz, the second form is non-finite, having infix negation, whereas the eventual negative forms would be *ʔa-şxa-da-r*, *ğarfar-da-r*, with the suffixed negation characteristic for finite assertive verb forms. This is a recent discrepancy. The Kryz forms with suffixed negation are more recent, as demonstrated by external comparison. In the neighbouring language Budugh, where the same copied converb of immediacy is used, both manner converbs and the eventual forms have infix negation, and both positive and negative forms of the eventual are still segmentally identical with the converb, and also share the same pitch accent on the negative infix. The difference in Budugh is prosodic: the positive eventual has initial pitch, like all finite verb forms, while the positive converb has final pitch (for the Budugh data and a detailed reconstruction, see Authier 2010a and 2010b). The development of the Kryz converb copied from the Turkic one is thus more ancient than one of the finite verb forms of the language: it goes back to the stage at which finite and non-finite forms were distinguished only by the position of the

⁴ Following a seminal article by Lazard (1975) on this category in Iranian languages, I use the term ‘eventual’ for the non-focal imperfective (intraterminal) TAM category found both in Turkic and in many East Caucasian languages such as Kryz.

pitch accent, as is still the case in Budugh, and not yet by the externalization of the negation morpheme in final position.

2.3. Person marking on finite verb forms

In Lezgi languages, as in most branches of East Caucasian, persons involved in the predicate frame are not indexed on verb forms as is the case in South or North-West Caucasian, but expressed by free pronouns. Exceptions to this rule are found on one hand in Dargwa languages, in Lak, and in Akhwakh, where the emergence of person marking systems is apparently not related to the free pronominal system, and on the other hand in Tabasaran and Udi (two languages which have had intense contact with Azeri for a very long time), where personal markers are clitics closely related to the free pronouns. In Kryz, the influence of Azeri verb morphology is probably responsible for two patterns of person marking attached to the verb: firstly the extensive use of pronominal clitics to the right of finite verb forms, and secondly, the parallel inflection paradigms for injunctive forms.

2.3.1 Person clitics on finite verb forms

Finite verb forms in Kryz are very often followed by a personal pronoun. Since there are no other exceptions to the rule that every finite clause must be ended by a verb (the only exception to SOV order is in non-finite, sequential clauses: see Authier 2009: 325), these pronouns have to be considered clitics, for instance:

- (76) *vun duxtur-e: dard vats'ar-yu-vaz, darman vuts'-ryu-vun*
 2 doctor-COP.M illness(F) F-know-PRS.F-2.DAT medicine(F) give-PRS.F-2
 'You really are a doctor: you know the illnesses, you give the medicines.'

The cliticization of a personal pronoun is not at all prevented by previous instances of the same pronoun in the same function within the same clause:

- (77) *zin-a-d zi-vaz ʔaǵvats'-ru-zin*
 I-DIST-NOTN 1-2.DAT bring-EVT.F-1
 'I will bring it to you.'

In particular, repetition of the pronoun in postverbal position is quite systematic when its first instance is placed in (preverbal) focus, after a topicalized object:

- (78) *lam ğizil-bi zin sa ʔa-ca-zin*
 DIST gold-PL 1 throw-PERF-1
 'It is I who threw these golden coins.'

Multiple exponence of person marking is a very current phenomenon in Kryz, and all the more striking a feature since explicit arguments are never obligatory.

Note that like Azeri conditional forms in *-sA*, Kryz conditional forms ending in *-na* take personal clitics, although they are not strictly finite (independent) forms:

- (79) *a-xir-çina-vun fura sak, fura yi-çina-vun ibur kiy!*
 PV-sleep-PERF.IF-2 awake be.M.IMP awake cop-IPF.IF-2 ear put.IMP
 ‘If you are asleep, wake up, if you are awake, listen!’

Another interesting phenomenon, with nice parallels in Tabasaran (see Xanmagomedov 1970: 70f.), is that most syntactic functions (not only verb arguments, but also adjuncts) with their afferent case marking can be found on these enclitic personal pronouns—for instance apudlocative in possessive predicates, or superlocative in spatial situations:

- (80) *sa-b kis sucu-zaux*
 one-F hen exist.F-1.APUD
 ‘I only have one hen.’
- (81) *na ʔul, namaʔan qʔil i-b-kin-de-b-ni-zağ*
 neither eye(F) nor head(F) PV-F-remain-NEGPREF-PST-1.SUPER
 ‘Neither eye nor head would have remained on me.’

Note that unlike Tabasaran, Kryz cannot index genitives on these cliticized pronouns: the syntactic domain remains strictly clause-bound.

2.3.2 Person distinctions in the injunctive paradigm

Injunctive forms in ‘canonical’ East Caucasian—for instance in Avar—can be used with any person in subject position (this must be expressed by a free pronoun if it is to be made explicit in the clause). They agree only in gender-number with the S/P argument, like any other verb form.

But Kryz, and to various degrees other Lezgian languages like Budugh or Rutul, have injunctive paradigms in which different forms are dedicated to first, second and third person. This specialization is coupled with formal heterogeneity: the distinct segments have various origins and are unrelated to the free pronouns.

If we compare these paradigms with the situation prevailing in Azeri, the parallel is obvious: Azeri, like other Turkic languages, also has a heteroclititic injunctive paradigm, with person endings much less transparently related to free pronouns than in the other finite verbal paradigms. It shows interference with the optative paradigm (suffix *-A*).

The following table gives the Azeri verb *kəsmək* next to Kryz *kurayc* ‘slay’ in the injunctive forms:

	Az.	Azeri injunctive & optative	Kryz injunctive
1	<i>män</i>	<i>käs-im / käs-ä-m</i>	<i>kura-da-m</i>
2	<i>sän</i>	<i>käs / käs-ä-sän</i>	<i>Mpatient: sakur / Fpatient: saukur</i>
3	<i>o</i>	<i>käs-sin / käs-ä</i>	<i>kura-tir</i>
1pl	<i>biz</i>	<i>ø / käs-ä-k</i>	<i>excl. kura-da-m / incl. kura-da-y</i>
2pl	<i>siz</i>	<i>käs-in / käs-ä-siz</i>	<i>Mpatient: sakur-ay / Fpatient: saukur-ay</i>
3pl	<i>onlar</i>	<i>käs-sin-lär / käs-ä-lär</i>	<i>kura-tir</i>

The corner most resistant to copying in the Kryz paradigm is the second person, where we find a preverb (*sa-*), a characteristically non-Turkic device in imperative marking, and consequently a pre-radical slot for gender agreement with the patient. But note that Kryz, like some other Lezgian languages, has plural agreement with the subject (S/A) in the second person imperative, a clear case of alignment split (Northern branches of East Caucasian do not show a similar infringement on the ergative verb-indexing system).

The third person marking (see ex. 89) is obviously recent, and its origin is relatively straightforward. The morpheme *-tir* is the outcome of the coalescent permissive auxiliary, to be compared with the root of the verb *ya-tr-ic* 'leave'. The resulting mood is a mild optative, and its integration in the injunctive paradigm balances the fact that two other deontic categories (debitive and optative) are found not only with third person subjects but also in the first and second person. All the material here is native, and so far we have no clear copying phenomenon except for the diversification of the paradigm along Turkic outlines (person marking must be an instance of selective, structural copying).

In contrast, the origin of the hortative (first person injunctive) marker *-dam* will certainly be the most interesting one for Turcologists. The marker *-dam* is composed of two elements: *-da-* is an irrealis marker found in Lezgian with future and habitual meanings (non-focal intraterminal, cf. Johanson, 2006b: 172). In the Kryz dialect of Jek, it is a hortative as in Alik, but it bears suffixal agreement:

- (82) *zin vul kura-da-v*
 1 sheep(F) slay-HORT-F
 'I will slay the sheep.'

Since the final element *-m* in the Alik dialect form commutes with *-y* in *-day* in the first person plural exclusive, this *-m* must be interpreted as a first person marker.

It has a double Turkic origin. At first sight, it looks like a copied person marker, but cases of bound affix copying are particularly rare in the domain of person marking. I would suggest instead that this morpheme *-m* entered the Kryz injunctive paradigm as another, discourse-based category, and that it should be related to the Turkic yes/no question clitic *mI*.

The yes/no question clitic *mI* has been borrowed globally by Tat (see Authier to appear (c)), and in a shortened form *-m* in at least two Lezgian languages. It is found

in some Rutul dialects, such as Ixrek, Borch, and Luchek, cf. Alekseev (1994). Kryz, in its Alik dialect, uses it systematically in non-parametric questions:

- (83) *vun q'ay-i-yi-m ? sağa-d-i-m ?*
 2 die.PF-PART-INTERRCOP-Q safe-notN-INTERRCOP-Q
 'Are you dead or alive?'
- (84) *va-z lam leha cif di-rqar-i-m ?*
 2-DAT that black fog NEG-see.IPF-INTERR-Q
 'Don't you see this black cloud?'

Since hortative forms are especially frequent in deliberative questions:

- (85) *kura vul hata-r vu-dam -zin ?*
 slay(PART) sheep where-FROM give-HORT1 I
 'How could I sell an already slain sheep?'

we may assume that the *-m* marker was copied from Azeri as a global question marker and then became further grammaticalized as a first person marker in the injunctive paradigm.

2.3. Genitive subjects of participles

In East Caucasian languages, as in all Turkic languages with the exception of Kashkay and Gagauz, the major strategy for relative clauses is the embedding of a specific, non-finite verb form called the participle, with gapping of the shared argument in the RC, whatever its syntactic function.

But unlike Turkic embedded relative clauses, East Caucasian participles are not oriented, and the same participles can be used to relativize both the 'subject' (Single argument of intransitive / Agent of transitive / experiencer of affective predicates) and other syntactic positions. This is made possible by the fact that in East Caucasian relative clauses, the nominal arguments of embedded verbs retain their case marking. In (ex. 86), the embedded verb being transitive, its subject remains in the ergative case, while in the following (ex. 87), the verb 'know' being semantically affective, its subject is an experiencer expressed in the dative case, as it would be in the corresponding independent clause:

- (86) *a-n-ir v-ar-i har ixtilat.ci-ğ ũ-ma-rğ-a !*
 DIST-H-ERG F-do.PF-PART each story-SUPER PV-PROH-trust-M
 'Do not believe every tale he tells!'
- (87) *va-z ba-d-ats'ar-i adami-yar yiq'iça pis-a-cbar şabareb*
 2-DAT HPL-NEG-know-PART person-PL inside bad-A-HPL be.PRS.HPL
 'Among the people you don't know, some are bad.'

The possibility also remains of dropping the transitive subject altogether although it is not indexed on the participle (which is hardly possible with a transitive participle in Turkic):

- (88) *yi-di-xha* *xhin* *diyar* *şa-rçar-a*
 PV-NEG-mow.PF-(PART) grass late PV-rot-EVT
 ‘Unmown grass rots later.’

In other words, East Caucasian has no argument downgrading.

In contrast, Turkic embedded subjects become adnominal dependents of some nominalized verbs, like the *-DIK-* form heading either complement or relative clauses, and as such they take genitive case marking (like many other RC strategies using the participle in other linguistic families like Indo-European or Uralic), or are at least referenced on the verb by possessive markers.

Kryz has not developed person head-marking in subordinate clauses, but in this language the subject of an embedded participle, whatever its original case marking, can in some situations be downgraded to the status of genitive complement of the participle, thus obviously copying the Azeri case frame. This happens when at least one of the following conditions is fulfilled:

- the RC is very short and the participle is substantivized (ex. 89 & 90):

- (89) *Allahci-r* *va* *i-ka-y* *vu-tir*
 god-ERG 2.GEN PV-want-PART give-JUSS
 ‘May God give you what you want!’

- (90) *za* *ibur-zina* *ts'e^ɛ.il-ir / ts'e^ɛ.il* *li-yi* *i-xha-c-zaz*
 1.GEN ear-INST goat-ERG / goat-GEN say-PART PV-hear-AOR.N-1.DAT
 ‘I heard with my own ears what the goat has said / the goat’s words.’

- the participle is intransitive and the head noun is a name of a place or time (in this case, the non-downgraded nominative case marking is also perfectly grammatical, see ex. 91, 92 & 93):

- (91) *zin* *q'usa-ya,* *za / zin* *riq'ar-i* *vaxt-yu*
 1NOM old-COP.m 1.GEN / 1NOM IPF.die-PART time(F)-COP.F
 ‘I am old, it is time for me to die.’

- (92) *a-nda* / *a-cbar* *kica^ɛar*
 DIST-HPL.GEN / DIST-HPL.NOM work.INEL
ʔa-šta *vaxt-yu*
 PV-IPF.HPL.COME.PART time(F)-COP.F
 ‘It is the time at which they come back from work.’

- (93) *hila za / zin ç i-yi ciga an ats'ar-de-d-zaz*
 now 1.GEN / 1NOM go.IPF-PART place EVEN know-NEG.PRS-N-1.DAT
 'I do not even know the place where they go.'

– the subject of the participle is a reflexive pronoun referring to the subject of the main clause (ex. 94, 95 & 96):

- (94) *dil ic ğva-yn-i cigaç-a a-sk-ryu*
 key(F) SELF.F(GEN) PV.F-PF.take-PART place-IN PV-put-PRS.F
 'She put the key back in the place from which she had taken it.'

- (95) *gada-yar-iz ge yi-qr-i kici-kar reha şa-re*
 boy-PL-DAT SELFHPLGEN PV-catch.PF-PART work-SUBEL confused be-PRS
 'The boys are ashamed of what they have done.'

- (96) *ug i-d-qa-y-ar xinib-ar-iz ixlât yi-ryu*
 SELF.M(GEN) PV-N-see-PART-PL woman-PL-DAT story(F) do-PRS.F
 'He tells the two wives what he has seen.'

The last condition applies if and only if the reflexive pronoun does not have the focusing function of an intensifier ('himself'): in that case it must retain the case marking demanded by the original valency of the verb.

We may sum up the conditions under which subjects take genitive marking by putting forward this tentative criterion: subjects, whatever their semantic role, can or must be downgraded to the syntactic position of possessor if they are part of a presupposed situation (formally manifested by embedding) and if they are less salient than the argument expressed as a possessee.

2.4. Definiteness marking on possessive NPs

In Turkic languages, two case markers are sensitive to the definiteness or referentiality of noun phrases, namely accusative and genitive.

The best-studied is the case for 'definite accusative', whose use on direct objects is comparable with that of the enclitic case marker *-râ* in Persian. This property, both semantic and discursive, has been copied by Udi, an East Caucasian language very heavily influenced by Armenian as well as by Azeri and probably Persian, or its local variant (Armeno-Tat). In Udi, a dative marker is used on definite direct objects, contrasting with zero (nominative) marking on indefinite objects. No instance of the use of a special morpheme for definite objects is found in Kryz, which, like the vast majority of East Caucasian languages, instead marks *non*-definite object NPs by using an indefinite quantifier (*sa-* 'one').

But Kryz seems to display a case-marking contrast between definite and non-definite NPs in the role of adnominal complement or 'possessor'. This contrast, also called 'genitive split' (Lander 2009) is a well-known characteristic feature of Turkic

languages. The Azeri possessive NPs may take either double marking, if the possessor is referential and definite:

- (97) *it-in baş-ı-n gör-ür-äm*
 dog-GEN head-POS3-ACC see-PRS-1
 ‘I see the dog’s head.’

or only head-marking. The omission of the genitive case implies an indefinite or non-referential interpretation:

- (98) *it-ø baş-ı gör-ül-ür*
 dog head-POS3 see-PASS-PRS(3)
 ‘A dog’s head is seen.’ =
 (a) ‘the head of an unknown dog.’ (b) ‘a form like a dog’s head.’

As in all East Caucasian languages, Kryz possessive NPs are exclusively dependent-marking: there is no possessive marker on possessives, except for one single instance in which the Azeri morpheme *-si* may be recognized on the contrastive adverb *la-qata-si* (DISTAL-tomorrow-AZ.POS3) ‘on the following day’, synonymous with the (attested) phrase:

- (99) *yiğ-in qata-si*
 day-GEN tomorrow-AZPOS3
 ‘on the following day’

As for the morphology of the Kryz genitive case, it is quite original if compared with related languages. These usually either have a single morpheme for all nouns in possessor function in Eastern Lezgian languages, or a set of morphemes which vary according to the gender-number and case marking of the head in Western Lezgian: Rutul and Tsakhur (for a description of the spectacular renewal of the morphosyntax and semantics of possessive noun phrases in Budugh, the other Southern Lezgian language, see Authier to appear). In Kryz, the genitive case is highly polymorphic, with grammatical variations reflecting semantic classes (for the semantic classification, which is related to the animacy hierarchy, see Authier 2009). Genitive-marking morphemes are: zero, apophony, *-d*, *-ci* (<*-di*), *-n*, *-l*, *-r*, *-i*, *-rd*, *-a*). The genitive is also the base on which all oblique cases are formed (the common situation in East Caucasian is that the oblique base is used as an ergative case).

Most nouns have only one genitive form:

- (100) *lem-ird yak*
 donkey-GEN meat
 ‘donkey meat / the donkey’s flesh.’

The most prototypically referential nouns in Kryz have an unmarked genitive form (or nominative-genitive syncretism). This natural class comprises all proper names:

(101) *Maclis-Ø k'ul*
'Majlis' house'

(102) *ğuba-Ø mahal.c-a*
'in the region of Kuba'

spatial-geographic terms:

<i>nik</i>	'field'	<i>kur</i>	'river'
<i>q'ud</i>	'winter'	<i>q'acil</i>	'stall'
<i>huq'</i>	'meadow'	<i>xal</i>	'roof'
<i>rix</i>	'road'	<i>kum</i>	'village'
<i>q'um</i>	'ground'	<i>huv</i>	'mill'

(103) *huv cuxud*
mill owner
'miller'

(104) *riş buba bigila yipdu*
girl father(GEN) close go.F-AOR.F
'The girl went to her father.'

(105) *kur xhad va-k'va-c*
river water PV-diminish-AOR.N
'The river's water has dropped.'

A major subclass of kinship terms can also be attached to this class; their genitive is unmarked, and among them those ranking highest have a marked nominative (ending in -y):

<i>bubay</i>	'father'	<i>bicay</i>	'wife of the maternal uncle'
<i>umay</i>	'mother'	<i>susay</i>	'wife of the paternal uncle'
<i>babay</i>	'grandfather'	<i>mamaça</i>	'midwife'
<i>daday</i>	'grandmother'	<i>sus</i>	'bride'
(as well as) <i>vul</i>	'sheep'		

(106) *sus mat'-a sa-d dilim yamiş.ci-kar 'arfi-xhici*
bride(GEN) bosom-IN one-N slice watermelon M.enter-BECAUSE
'Having appeared in this bride's bosom as a slice of watermelon...'

Many loans are assigned to this class with unmarked genitive. They can either be ascribed to the subcategories of salient human referents: *q'ahpa* 'prostitute', *darğa* 'judge', *ğari* 'old woman', *xunxura* 'guest', *ğunşi* 'neighbour', *gada* 'boy', *darzi* 'tailor'; or be salient spatial landmarks: *pir* 'sanctuary', *kunc* 'corner'.

Obviously, natural referentiality plays a role in the assignment of genitive markers: the referents of nouns which remain unmarked in possessor function are cognitively most immediately accessible, and they do not need to be related to a marker.

Some nouns, all designating objects or (one, despised) animal, are situated at the opposite end of the salience scale and take an overt genitive marker only if definite or referential:

(107) *nisi-c dad ghala şa-re*
 cheese-GEN taste good be-PRS
 'The cheese is tasty.'

(108) *tufang-ci sas*
 gun-GEN voice
 'The noise of the gun.'

(109) *lu gaç-id yiq'*
 PROX cat-GEN back
 'The back of this cat.'

If these nouns are used as qualifying, non-referential attributes, the unmarked (nominative) form is used instead:

(110) *nisi dad ghala şa-re*
 cheese taste good be-PRS
 'Cheese is tasty.'

(111) *tufang sas*
 gun voice
 'The noise of a gun.'

(112) *gaç yiq' q'um-uğ ğiurq'var-de-d*
 cat back ground-SUPER reach-NEGPRS-N
 'The back of a cat never touches (the) ground.'

While the Turkic overt genitive signals definiteness and bare nouns used as attributes are indefinite or unreferential, in Kryz, only a small subset of nouns for which genitive marking is optional can actually copy the Turkic contrast.

3. Conclusions

Phonological and syntactic features vary considerably in cross-linguistic availability, and both are prominent in Azeri-Kryz contact, but they have not been considered in this paper. As to lexical borrowing, including that of lexical affixes, this is the most obvious feature in morphological convergence. Morphosyntactic copying is not very often taken into consideration in descriptive grammars of small, sociolinguistically dominated languages because its study requires both an understanding of the overall structure of the receiving language and its genetic family, and sufficient insights into the dominant donor language. This is rarely achieved in the field of Caucasian studies, owing to the sheer number and difficulty of the languages to be mastered by the linguist. Only a few native linguists with skills in more than one language of Daghestan have attempted it.

We have seen that the number of Turkic morphemes used in Kryz inflectional or derivational morphology is very limited, but quite frequent in language use once the morphemes have been adopted. We have shown that some Azeri morphemes have made their way into Kryz morphology, and they are not all clitics: some Azeri derivational affixes have also achieved productivity in Kryz.

Acquisition of copied structural features is a more elusive process, more or less prominent according to various sociolinguistic factors such as dialect, age, gender, and level of instruction in the donor language. But we believe we have demonstrated that many more Turkic formal patterns have been copied in Kryz than the amount of globally copied morphological material. Even if less striking at first sight, probably more pervasive in Kryz grammar are Azeri morphological structures: many of the peculiarities of Kryz morphology and morphosyntax within Lezgif and East Caucasian languages as a whole are very clearly due to the copying of Azeri patterns.

The direction of influence in both lexis and syntax has been in most respects from Turkic to East Caucasian, and special studies like the present one are still needed for other East Caucasian languages which have undergone intensive contact with Turkic. But it should be stressed that the copying of morphological structures is probably not totally asymmetrical: however subordinate they may be at the present day, the East Caucasian speech communities which, like Kryz, have had contact with Azeri for many centuries, were probably instrumental in its numerous deviations from the Turkic standard. But this reciprocity has been even less extensively investigated by Turcologists in studies on Azeri, and would be the matter for another study.

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Transcription

The Azeri alphabet is used, with the following additions: /gh/ and /xh/ are velar approximants, /x/ is uvular; /q/ is an aspirated stop, /ǧ/ is an intensive stop when in initial position.

Abbreviations

1,2,3	persons	INTRA	intraterminal
ABL	ablative	F	feminine
ACC	accusative	IN	locative
AD	adlocative	INTER	interrogative
ADR	addressative	M	masculine human
APUD	apudlocative	N	neuter
AZ	Azeri	NEG	negative
CAUS	causative	PF	perfective
COND	conditional	POS	possessive
DAT	dative	PV	preverb
DIST	distal	SELF	reflexive pronoun
EVT	eventual (low focal intraterminal)	SEQ	sequential converb
EXIST	existential copula	SUBEL	subelative= partitive
GEN	genitive	SUPEL	superrelative
H	human		

Question elements in Turkish complement clauses

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The present article deals with the morpho-syntactic characterization of questions embedded as complement clauses in Turkish, and scopal properties of question elements such as the question particle *mi* and *wh*-elements used as arguments. We argue that the scope boundaries of these question elements are determined by the interaction of certain semantic, morpho-syntactic and pragmatic factors. These are the lexical semantics of embedding predicates, the means for complementizing and multiple interrogative constructions occurring within the embedded environment.

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1. Introduction

The aim of this study is to investigate the conditions that determine the scope of question elements within complementation. The term *complementation* refers to the grammatical state where a proposition functions as an argument of a matrix predicate (cf. Noonan 1985: 64). Sentences (1-4) show complement clauses including the pronoun *kim* 'who'.

- (1) *Ahmet [kitab-ı kim-in al-dığ-in]-ı sor-uyor. /*?*
A. book:ACC **who**:GEN take:PART.3SG.ACC ask:PRES
'Ahmet is asking who took the book.'
- (2) *Ahmet [kitab-ı kim-in al-dığ-in]-ı bil-iyor./?*
A. book:ACC **who**:GEN take:PART.3SG.ACC know:PRES
'Ahmet knows who took the book.'
'About whom does Ahmet know that he took the book?'
- (3) *Ahmet [kitab-ı kim-in al-dığ-in]-ı san-ıyor?/*.*
A. book:ACC **who**:GEN take:PART.3SG.ACC believe:PRES
'Who does Ahmet think/believe took the book?'
- (4) *Ahmet [kitab-ı kim-in al-ma-sın]-ı isti-yor?/*.*
A. book:ACC **who**:GEN take:VN.3SG.ACC want:PRES
'Whom does Ahmet want to take the book?'

The above examples illustrate three situations: (1) can in no case be interpreted with an interrogative reading. The example in (2) exhibits an ambiguity between two readings, an interrogative and a declarative one. (3) and (4) only have interrogative readings. In other words, the *wh*-element in (1) has narrow scope, in (2) it has ambiguous scope (matrix or narrow) and in (3) and (4) matrix scope.

The interrogative and declarative readings of (2) are disambiguated through intonation: The interrogative reading is realized with focal stress on the *wh*-element and rising intonation sentence-finally, while the declarative reading has a falling intonation at the end of the sentence (Kornfilt 1995, Aygen 1999, Özsoy 2009).

1.1. Some earlier accounts and problems related to them

Kornfilt (2006,¹ 2007²) claims that the *wh*-elements in *-mAk* and *-mA* complement clauses cannot display any narrow scope, as in (4) since they do not have any CP character, but more a DP character. According to this account, we would be able to get a narrow scope on each *wh*-element within a *-DIK*³ and *-(y)AcAK* complement clause (in Kornfilt's term "factive/indicative type" of complement clauses) since they are more verbal and can refer to tense and aspect while *-mAk* and *-mA* complement clauses (in Kornfilt's term "non-factive/subjunctive type" of complement clauses) are more nominal and cannot refer to tense or aspect.

Aygen (1999: 6) follows Kornfilt (1995: 49, 50) and proposes that *wh*-elements within *-mAk* and *-mA* complement clauses have a matrix scope, since *-mAk* and *-mA*

¹ Kornfilt (2006: 150-151): "Nominalized subjunctive clauses are genuine DPs, i.e. the functional shell dominating the VP has nominal rather than verbal features. Thus, such clauses have no CP, as the CP is a verbal functional projection (cf. Grimshaw 1991); the position of Spec, DP (or, in the terms of Kornfilt 1984, Spec, AgrP, where the Agr is nominal) provides an escape hatch for moving operators, but cannot be a target position for such operators: nominal subjunctive clauses can't be embedded *wh*-questions, nor can they be relative clauses.

Indicative embedded *wh*-questions:

Operaya kimin git-tiğ-ini sordum/duydum/söyledim.
 opera:DAT who:GEN go:NIND.3SG.ACC ask:PAST.1SG / hear:PAST.1SG / tell:PAST.1SG
 'I asked/heard/told/ who went to the opera.'

Subjunctive embedded *wh*-questions are ill-formed:

**Operaya kimin git-me-sini söyledim.*
 opera:DAT who:GEN go:NSBJNCT.3SG.ACC tell:PAST.1SG
 Intended reading: 'I said who should go to the opera.'

² Kornfilt (2007: 34): "There are no embedded infinitival *wh*-questions. Matrix questions with a *wh*-element in an embedded infinitival clause are well-formed."

³ Capital letters in morpheme representations refer to alternations related to vowel harmony and consonant assimilation: *A* refers here to *a ~ e*, *I* refers to the alternation *i ~ ı ~ ü ~ u* while *D* = *d ~ t* and *K* = *ğ ~ k*. Some consonants (like *(y)*) are put in brackets if they are canceled after consonants.

morphemes do not refer inherently to tense or aspect. Our considerations will also cover *-(y)Iş* complement clauses, which are, according to Erdal (1998) and van Schaaijk (2001) more nominal than *-DİK* and *-(y)AcAK* complement clauses and do not have any tense or aspect reference. Below (5b-7b), an argument *wh*-element occurs in different non-finite complement clauses but has the same (matrix) scope and is embedded under the same matrix predicate.

Context: The doctors discuss the appropriateness for a patient (Ali) to get up after his operation.

- (5) a. [*Kim-in kalk-ma-sı*] *doğru değil?* b. [*Ali'-nin kalk-ma-sı*] *doğru değil.*
 who:GEN get up:VN.3SG right NEG A.:GEN get up:VN.3SG right NEG
 'For whom is it inappropriate to get up?' 'It is not appropriate for Ali to get up.'
- (6) a. [*Kimin kalk-ış-ı*] *doğru değil?* b. [*Ali'nin kalk-ış-ı*] *doğru değil.*
 'Whose getting up is not O.K.?' 'Ali's getting up is not O.K.'
- (7) a. [*Kimin kalk-tığ-ı*] *doğru değil?* b. [*Ali'nin kalk-tığ-ı*] *doğru değil.*
 'Concerning whom is it not true that he got up?' 'It is not true that Ali got up.'

The sentences (5a-7a) above trigger the following question, which this paper attempts to provide answers for:

What kind of factors license the interrogative elements to receive a matrix (wide) scope although they are syntactically placed within the embedded clauses?⁴

The previous investigations on *wh*-questions focused on their syntactic properties like *wh*-movement, focus and clause typing, or on the variable semantics of *wh*-elements (Kornfilt 1995, 2006, Aygen 1999, Göksel & Özsoy 2000, Görgülü 2006, Göksel et al. 2008, Özsoy 2009, İşsever 2009).

Regarding some semantic and pragmatic aspects of embedded questions that have not been given sufficient attention in previous studies, the following points should be discussed:

- i. the role of embedding predicates with respect to the scope of the interrogative elements⁵ within the complement clauses

⁴ Kornfilt (1995: 49, 50) has discussed the same question in connection with relative clauses. She assumes that the lacking tense or aspect reference of *-mAk* and *-mA* morphemes is the reason why they are not able to realize relative clauses, while *-DİK* and *-(y)AcAK* are.

⁵ In this paper we consider only the argument *wh*-words in complement clauses. The adjunct *wh*-words will be investigated in future work.

- ii. the interaction between complementizing means, lexical semantics of embedding predicates and multiple question elements

The organization of this paper is as follows: Section 2 provides the morphosyntactic properties of complementation and some earlier approaches to complement clauses in Turkish. In section 3, the independent structure of questions and the role of question elements are described. In the same section we deal with the way the embedding predicates interact with interrogative complement clauses and the scope of question elements. A summary follows section 3.

2. Complementation in Turkish

There are basically two types of complementation in Turkish: finite complement clauses (sentential complements) and non-finite ones (nominalized complements). Turkish complement clauses are mostly formed by using morphological non-finite means in their predicates, mainly the participles in *-DİK* and *-(y)AcAK* and the verbal nouns in *-mA_k*, *-mA⁶* and *-(y)Iş⁷* (Erdal 1998, Erguvanlı-Taylan 1998a). What makes them nominal is the possessive and the case marking (except the one with *-mA_k*) on their nominalized predicates. Note that the overt subject of the embedded clause takes the genitive marker. On the one hand, they have sentential properties, i.e. the nominalized predicate can govern further arguments within embedded clauses and may bear mood and tense/aspect markers to a certain degree. Unmarked canonical complementation is left branching. Some right branching uses of nominalized complement clauses may represent presupposed or old information (Erdal 1999; Erguvanlı 1984). The basic word order of complement clauses is similar to that of main clauses.

Non-canonical complementation has a finite structure and may be left or right branching (Schroeder 2000; Kerslake 2007). It may use the free complementizers *diye* and *ki* or be without them; i.e. direct (bare) complement clauses. The complementizer *diye* is derived from the verb *de-* ‘to say’ and occurs in all Turkic languages and in Old Turkic with its quotative character (Erdal 2004). It occurs in modern Turkish mostly in informal registers; the complementizer *ki*, on the other hand, may occur in both formal and informal registers (Schroeder 2002: 76, 77). Furthermore, *ki* and *diye* are not interchangeable. While complement clauses with *diye* are only left branching, complement clauses with *ki* are only right branching;

⁶ For the contrast between derivational and inflectional functions of *-mA* and *-(y)Iş*, see Kural 1993, Erdal 1998, and van Schaaik 2001.

⁷ The complementation morphemes *-mA*, *-DİK* and *-(y)AcAK* have been called “gerund” or “gerundive” within the generative framework (Underhill 1976, George & Kornfilt 1981). Kural (1993) calls *-(y)Iş* “gerundive” and *-mA* “infinitive”, while Pamir-Dietrich (1995) splits the “gerunds” into two groups: “factive nominals” (*-DİK* or *-(y)AcAK*) and “action nominal” (*-mA*).

i.e. the complementizer *ki*, which is a borrowing from Persian, introduces the complement clause (Johanson 1992).⁸

2.1. Some approaches to complementation in Turkish

The major approaches to Turkish complement clauses are of two types:

i. The formal syntactic approach, which depends on the framework of generative grammar and emphasizes the tense/aspect and subject reference of embedded clause. It has been pursued by Underhill (1976), George & Kornfilt (1981), Kornfilt (1997), Kural (1993). They classify the *-DİK* complement clauses with non-future and *-(y)AcAK* complement clauses with future tense reference and call them “fact complements” which refer to facts. The *-mA* and *-mAk* complement clauses with no tense reference have been classified as “act complements” which refer to an activity, action or state in general terms. This distinction goes back to Lees (1965) and has been followed mostly by syntactically oriented approaches (Kornfilt 1995, 1997, Özsoy 1999, Göksel & Kerslake 2005).⁹ The issue of how to capture the phenomenon of factivity is discussed in the following subsection.

ii. The semantic approach, which focuses on the lexical semantics of the embedding predicates as the determining factor in the choice of complementizing means. This approach has been adopted by Erguvanlı-Taylan (1998a), Csató (1998), Özsoy (1999), van Schaaik (2001) and Çiğler (2002). Relating to temporal values of *-DİK* and *-(y)AcAK* complement clauses there are different accounts within the semantic frame. For example Erguvanlı-Taylan (1998a), Çiğler (2002) and Keleşir (2007) state that *-DİK* complement clauses are not restricted to past or present and compatible with future adverbials as well. Furthermore, *-(y)AcAK* complement clauses are not restricted to future and can be modified by past adverbials. Erguvanlı-Taylan (1998a) argues that *-DİK* complement clauses may convey a modal reading which refers to certainty and *-(y)AcAK* complement clauses may refer to probability or possibility.¹⁰

Previous studies relating to complementation generally focused on the *-mAk/-mA* and *-DİK/-(y)AcAK* complement clauses and gave no attention to *-(y)İş* complement clauses except a few studies like Kural (1993), Erdal (1998) and van Schaaik (2001). The neglect of *-(y)İş* may be due to a misconception that this morpheme does not occur as often as others (Korkmaz 2003: 907; Kerslake 2007). The observations of

⁸ The subordinator *kim* was used in Old Turkic since the 9th century with a similar function, possibly indicating contact with an Indo-European language (Erdal 2004: 435).

⁹ Bazin’s (1968: 114-126) approach looks similar to this one, which has been followed by Erdal (1998). He argues that *-mA* complement clauses convey a virtual act which refers to will, desire and fear, while *-DİK* complement clauses convey a real act which refers to past or present.

¹⁰ For a detailed discussion and data see Taylan (1998a).

Kural (1993), Erdal (1998) and van Schaik (2001) show that the morpheme *-(y)Iş* has a number of morpho-syntactic functions; it

- (i) has no specific time reference
- (ii) can express a countable single instance reading,
e.g. *ikinci / her gelişim* ‘my second coming / each time I come’
- (iii) can express the manner in which an action is performed
- (iv) can refer to an ongoing process
- (iv) is existentially presupposed
- (v) is not compatible with matrix predicates related to will, obligation, necessity, permission or possibility
- (vi) is compatible with modification by converbs and frequency adverbs
(Kural 1993, Erdal 1998, Schaik 2001, Göksel & Kerslake 2005).

2.2. A digression on factivity

A further point is the topic of *factivity*, which has been dealt with differently by syntactic and semantic approaches. According to the syntactic account, a factive interpretation requires a tense/aspect marked complement clause, while the semantic approach is based on lexical semantics of embedding predicates. Concerning factivity we follow Erguvanlı-Taylan (1998a), who adopted the lexical semantic interpretation of Kiparsky & Kiparsky (1971). Accordingly, a verb is factive if it presupposes the truth of the proposition expressed in its complement clause. Under this account, verbs like *regret* and *remember* are classified as factive and verbs like *think* and *want*, as non-factive.

Erguvanlı-Taylan (1988: 344) states that *-DIK* complement clauses without time adverbials are interpreted as having non-future reference but get readings with present or future reference when accompanied by present or future adverbials.¹¹ Therefore, it seems difficult to consider the *-DIK* and *-(y)AcAK* complement clauses to carry a specific time reference, a point on which the factivity definition of the syntactic account is based. She also points out that with a *-DIK / -(y)AcAK* restricted distinction of factivity falls short since they are not always used with factive matrix predicates, as in (8); *-mA* complement clauses, which are considered to be non-

¹¹ Erguvanlı-Taylan argues that *-DIK* conveys in (a) the modal reading of certainty, i.e. it expresses a planned activity which is (according to the speaker) certain to take place, while in (b) *-(y)AcAK* expresses a probability or possibility (Erguvanlı-Taylan 1988: 345):

- (a) *[O-nun yarın sahne-ye çık-tığ-ın]-ı duy-du-n mu?*
(S)he:GEN tomorrow stage:DAT go:PART.3SG.ACC hear:PRET.2SG.Q.PTCL
‘Did you hear that he is going on stage tomorrow?’
- (b) *[O-nun yarın sahne-ye çık-acağ-ın]-ı duy-du-n mu?*
(S)he:GEN tomorrow stage:DAT go:PART.3SG.ACC hear:PRET.2SG.Q.PTCL
‘Did you hear that he would be going on stage tomorrow?’
(Erguvanlı-Taylan 1988: 344)

factive according to the syntactic account, may, on the other hand, be embedded under factive predicates too, as in (9).

- (8) *[Bu mektub-u Ali'-nin yaz-dıg-ın]-a inan-ıyor-um.*
 this letter:ACC A.:GEN write:PART.3SG.DAT believe:PRES.1SG
 'I believe that Ali wrote this letter.' (Erguvanlı-Taylan 1998a).
- b. **Bu mektubu Ali'nin yaz-ma-sına inanıyorum.*
- (9) *[Baba-m-ın parti-ye gel-eme-me-sin]-e çok üzül-dü-m.*
 father:1SG.GEN party:DAT come:IMPSB.VN.3SG.DAT very to be sad:PRET.1SG
 'I was very sad that my father could not come to the party.'

In connection with discussions on presuppositions (information backgrounded and taken for granted), empirical tests are applied to determine the conditions under which they keep their characteristics; these consist of negation, interrogation, conditional and modal contexts (Kiparsky & Kiparsky 1971: 345, Chierchia & McConnell-Ginet 2000: 350, Beaver 2001: 18, 19). The constancy of a presupposition under these tests determines the factivity of the matrix predicate, as in (10a-d), but not in (11):

- (10) *Anne-m [baba-m-ın git-me-sin]-e çok üzül-üyor.*
 mother:1SG father:1SG.GEN go:VN.3SG.DAT very to be sad:PRES
 'My mother is very sad that my father went/is going /is going to go away.'¹²

Applying the presupposition tests:

- a. *Anne-m [baba-m-ın git-me-sin]-e çok üzül-mü-yor.*
 mother:1SG father:1SG.GEN go:VN.3SG.DAT very to be sad:NEG.PRES
 'My mother is not very sad that my father went/is going /is going to go away.'
- b. *Anne-m [baba-m-ın git-me-sin]-e çok üzül-üyor mu?*
 mother:1SG father:1SG.GEN go:VN.3SG.DAT very to be sad:PRES.Q.PTCL
 'Is my mother very sad that my father went/is going /is going to go away?'
- c. *Anne-m [baba-m-ın git-me-sin]-e çok üzül-üyor-sa tansiyon-u çık-abil-ir.*
 mother:1SG father:1SG.GEN go:VN.3SG.DAT very to be sad:PRES.COP.COND
 blood pressure:3SG rise:PSB.AOR

¹² A *-mA* complement does not, if not accompanied by any time adverbial and if no context is supplied for the sentence, refer to any specific time and can, therefore, have these three readings.

'My mother may get high blood pressure if she becomes very sad that my father went/is going/is going to go away.'

- d. *Anne-m [baba-m-un git-me-sin]-e çok üzül-me-meli.*
 mother:1SG father:1SG.GEN go:VN.3SG.DAT very to be sad :NEG.OBL
 'My mother must not be very sad that my father went/is going /is going to go away.'

The presupposition of (10, 10a-d) is *Babam gitti/gidiyor/gidecek*. 'My father went/is going/is going to go away.'

- (11) *Anne-m [baba-m-un git-me-sin]-i çok iste-di.*
 mother:1SG father:1SG.GEN go:VN.3SG.ACC very wish:PRET
 'My mother very much wanted my father to go away.'

Furthermore, an utterance which contradicts the truth of the presupposition of a previous factive matrix predicate is not allowed, e.g. the utterance in (10) cannot be followed by a discourse part such as in (12). A non-factive matrix predicate such as *iste-* 'to want' (11) can, however, be followed by such an utterance, since there is no presupposition which would be contradicted.

- (12) *Ama babam gitmedi.* 'But my father did not go/has not gone away.'

Kural (1993: 26) states that *-(y)Iş* complement clauses are existentially presupposed, similar to the possessive *-ing* gerunds of English. The reason why *-(y)Iş* complement clauses are not compatible with non-factive predicates like *iste-* 'to want' or *um-* 'to hope' seems to be related to the presuppositions. If the presupposition tests are applied to an utterance with *-(y)Iş* complement clause as in (13), the presupposition *Ali bugün derse geç kaldı*. 'Ali was late to class today.' is kept constant.

- (13) *Hoca bugün[Ali'-nin ders-e geç kal-ış-in]-a çok kız-dı.*
 teacher today A.:GEN lesson:DAT be late:VN.3SG.DAT very get angry:PRET
 'Today the teacher got annoyed that Ali came late to class.'

3. Questions

With the term *question* we mean a response-seeking sentential utterance uttered due to an information deficit on the part of the speaker (Searle 1971: 100, Wunderlich 1976: 181).

Turkish yes/no questions (14) and alternative questions (15) are realised with the question particle *mi* which follows either the whole sentence or the phrases in its

scope.¹³ *mI* accords with vowel harmony, is unstressed but is written separately; sentence stress is usually placed immediately before it.¹⁴ Focus is on the phrase immediately preceding *mI*, especially (as in (15)) when they are not at the end of the sentence. As is usual for focused constituents, elements with *mI* cannot be scrambled into postverbal position. Such scrambling can, however, occur in preverbal positions (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 288). The intonation of questions with *mI* shows a rising tone just before *mI* and a falling tone after it (Aygen 1999: 4, Özsoy 2002: 83).¹⁵

(14) *Bu kitab-ı oku-du-n mu?*
 this book:ACC read:PRET.2SG Q.PTCL
 'Have you read this book?'

(15) *Bu kitab-ı mı (yoksa şu kitab-ı mı) oku-du-n?*
 this book:ACC Q.PTCL or that book:ACC Q.PTCL read:PRET.2SG
 'Have you read this (or that) book?'

Wh-questions are realised by using interrogative pronouns such as *kim* 'who', *nasıl* 'how', *hangi* 'which', etc. They mostly carry focal stress unless they occur with another stressed constituent (Özsoy 2002: 84). The intonation pattern of wh-questions shows first a slight rise, followed by a fall-rise. However, multiple wh-questions can end with a rising or falling intonation pattern. Göksel & Özsoy (2000) claim that focal stress occurs on the first wh-element of a multiple wh-question (17).¹⁶ İşsever (2009), on the other hand, states that one immediately preverbally placed wh-element of a multiple wh-question may carry focal stress as well:

(16) *Bu kitab-ı kim oku-du?*
 this book:ACC who read:PRET
 'Who has read this book?'

¹³ In some cases it appears within a phrase, notably with compositional phrases which consist of a noun and an auxiliary; *yardım et-* (help + do) 'to help' can, e.g., give *yardım mı et-* (help:Q.PTCL do).

¹⁴ For some exceptions see Göksel & Kerslake 2005: § 19.1.5.

¹⁵ There are, however, some cases in which the particle *mI* is followed by a rising tone: (i) questions in which *mI* occurs for expressing disbelief or surprise (ii) echo questions (iii) questions in which *mI* is used with another stressed element (for a detailed description and related examples, see Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 288, 293, 295).

¹⁶ With respect to the intonation pattern of wh-questions and focal stress within multiple wh-questions see Göksel & Özsoy 2000, Göksel & Kerslake 2005, Göksel et al. 2008, İşsever 2009.

- (17) *Kim ne-yi oku-du?*
 who what:ACC read: PRET
 ‘Who has read what?’

Göksel et al. (2008) state that intonation is the main factor distinguishing declaratives and questions in Turkish. So one should take intonation as a clause-typer of sentences, since *wh*-elements and the question particle *mi* alone cannot convey inherently an interrogative reading (Özsoy 2009).¹⁷

While *wh*-questions do not occur with the question particle *mi*, echo questions do allow such an occurrence (18); they end with a rising tone (cf. Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 306):

- (18) *Bu kitab-ı kim mi oku-du?*
 this book:ACC who Q.PTCL read:PRET
 ‘Are you asking who read this book?’

Turkish has two forms of tag questions, which are not considered in the discussions of this paper related to embedding.¹⁸

The unmarked word order of questions is analogous to unmarked declarative clauses (SOV), i.e. the sentence structure remains unchanged. The word order of *wh*-elements shows some restrictions with respect to their postverbal occurrence. While declarative clauses allow postverbal scrambling, questions do not allow such movement for *wh*-elements. This restriction seems to be due to focus on the *wh*-constituents (Göksel 1998).

¹⁷ For a detailed description of the Turkish *wh*-elements *kim* ‘who’ and *ne* ‘what’ with respect to their variable characteristics as negative and universal quantifiers see Görgülü 2006.

¹⁸ (i) The form *değil mi* (nominal negation particle + question particle) is considered an unmarked tag question. With such a question the speaker seeks confirmation of his/her statement (Özsoy 2002: 88):

- Bu kitab-ı oku-du-n, değil mi?*
 this book:ACC read:PRET.2SG NEG Q.PTCL
 ‘You’ve read this book, haven’t you?’

(ii) The form *öyle mi* (demonstrative adverbial ‘like that’ + question particle) follows utterances about newly acquired information which contradict a speaker’s earlier assumption (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 289-290):

- Bu kitab-ı oku-ma-dı-n, öyle mi?*
 this book:ACC read:NEG.PRET.2SG so Q.PTCL
 ‘You haven’t read this book, is that right?’

They can follow an utterance with verbal or nominal predicate which may be conjugated affirmatively or negatively; their intonation ends the sentence with a high rise followed by a fall (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 290).

3.1. Embedded questions

In this section, we will first deal with questions with non-finite embedding, which grammars consider under the title *indirect questions*, and secondly we will address the finite embedding of questions. The yes/no questions are embedded with the compositional form *-(y)Ip...-mA-DIK/-(y)AcAK*, which consists of the conjugation of the reduplicated predicate once in converb form and once as negated *-DIK* or *-(y)AcAK* participle,¹⁹ the agreement and case markers follow the morpheme *-DIK* or *-(y)AcAK*:

- (19) [Bu kitab-ı oku-yup oku-ma-dıĝ-in]-ı sor-du.
 this book:ACC read:CONV read:NEG.PART.2SG.ACC ask:PRET
 ‘(S)he asked whether you have read this book.’

The embedding means for alternative questions depends on the alternating elements. If the alternating element is the predicate conjugated once in the affirmative and once in the negative, then the embedding means is the same as for yes/no questions (19). If the alternating elements are constituents of the sentence, then the question particle *mi* follows them and the predicate is nominalized by the morphemes *-DIK* or *-(y)AcAK* (20). If the alternating elements are different predicates, then these predicates are nominalized by the morphemes *-DIK* or *-(y)AcAK*, followed by the question particle *mi* (21).

- (20) [Bu kitab-ı mi yoksa ŝu kitab-ı mi
 this book:ACC Q.PTCL or that book:ACC Q.PTCL
 oku -duĝ-un-ju sor-du.
 read:PART.2SG.ACC ask:PRET
 ‘(S)he asked whether you read this book or that one.’

- (21) [Bu kitab-ı özetle-yeceĝ-iniz-i mi yoksa sadece
 this book:ACC summarize:PART.2PL.ACC Q.PTCL or just
 oku-yacaĝ-ımız-ı mi] sor-du.
 read:PART.2SG.ACC Q.PTCL ask:PRET
 ‘(S)he asked whether you are going to summarize or just read this book.’

The embedding of simple and multiple wh-questions is realized by the morphemes *-DIK* or *-(y)AcAK* which nominalize the predicate:

- (22) [Kim-in ne-yi ne zaman oku-duĝ-un]-u sor-du.
 who:GEN what:ACC when read:PART.3SG.ACC ask:PRET
 ‘(S)he asked who read what and when.’

¹⁹ Yarar (2007b) states that the morpheme *-mA* does not convey an interrogative reading in similar compositional structures. However, it refers more to the optional propositions.

The embedding of echo questions is realized by the morphemes *-DİK* or *-(y)AcAK* on the predicate. Unlike embedded wh-questions and yes/no questions, echo questions always display matrix scope.

- (23) *[Bu kitab-ı kim-in mi oku-duğ-un]-u sor-du?*²⁰
 this book:ACC who:GEN Q.PTCL read:PART.3SG.ACC ask:PRET
 ‘Did (s)he ask who has read this book?’

The internal word order of embedded questions remains unchanged. Backgrounding (i.e. post verbal scrambling) of question elements is impossible (Akar 1990: 62). In contrast, the whole embedded question can be backgrounded (24) (Erdal 1999: 64):²¹

- (24) *Hatırla-mı-yor-um [kim-i gör-düğ-üm]-ü.*
 remember:NEG.PRES.1SG who:ACC see:PART.1SG.ACC
 ‘I do not remember who I saw’ (Erdal 1999: 64).

The finite embedding of the above questions may be formed by the quotative complementizer *diye* or may be realized without complementizer under certain matrix predicates which we will discuss in § 3. 2. 1. After this summary on morpho-syntactic features of embedded questions, we would like to present below the interaction of matrix predicates with the embedding means of the questions.²²

3.2. Classification of embedding predicates and scope

The role of embedding predicates with respect to the interplay between their lexical semantics and the affixal complementizers *-DİK*, *-(y)AcAK*, *-mAk* and *-mA* has been pointed out by Erguvanlı-Taylan 1998a, Özsoy 1999, Csató 1999, and van Schaaijk 2001. These papers are the first significant attempts to classify embedding predicates, and they have been considered by subsequent Turkish grammars (Özsoy 1999, Göksel & Kerslake 2005) as well.

²⁰ This sentence is ambiguous: It may be an echo question of an indirect (embedded) wh-question, as *[Bu kitabı kimin okuduğünü] sordu*. ‘(S)he asked who had read this book.’ or of a direct wh-question, as *Bu kitabı kim okudu?* ‘Who has read this book?’

²¹ For further discussions on scrambling possibilities of the question constituents and related data, see Erguvanlı-Taylan 1984, Akar 1990, Aygen 1999, Göksel & Özsoy 2000, Yazar 2007a, Özsoy 2009 and İşsever 2009.

²² The represented groups of matrix predicates are mostly open lists, i.e. they can be extended with the exception of one group consisting of certain predicates like *sor-* ‘to ask’, *merak et-* ‘to wonder’. They select for embedded questions with the morphemes *-DİK* and *-(y)AcAK*.

There are two important points that have not been considered, to my knowledge. These are selectional properties of question embedding predicates, and question elements within *-(y)Iş* complement clauses,²³ which will be discussed below in turn.

The lexical semantics of matrix predicates is one of the factors that can affect the scope of the question elements like the question particle *mi* and argument *wh*-elements. Embedded yes/no questions display only narrow scope unless they do not contain further question elements, like *wh*-elements or the question particle *mi*. However, the question particle of embedded alternative questions takes narrow scope under the matrix predicate *sor-* ‘to ask’ as (25) shows, while ambiguous scope takes place under the matrix predicate *bil-* ‘to know’ as (26) shows, i.e. the verb *bil-* ‘to know’ allows an interrogative or declarative reading. The yes/no-question in (27), by contrast, allows for a narrow scope reading only. The coda intonation of (26) falls under the declarative reading but rises under the interrogative reading.

- (25) [*Ali*’-*nin mi yoksa Ayşe*’-*nin mi gid-eceğ-in*]-*i sor-uyor*./*?
 A.:GEN Q.PTCL or A.:GEN Q.PTCL go:PART.3SG.ACC ask:PRES
 ‘(S)he asks whether it is Ali or Ayşe who will go.’

- (26) [*Ali*’*nin mi yoksa Ayşe*’*nin mi gideceğ-in*]*ji biliyor*./?
 ‘She knows whether it is Ali or Ayşe who will go.’
 ‘Does (s)he know whether it is Ali or Ayşe who will go?’ / ‘Who does she believe will go? Ali or Ayşe?’

- (27) [*Ali*’-*nin gid-ip git-me-yeceğ-in*]-*i sor-uyor / bil-iyor*./*?
 A.:GEN go:CONV go:NEG.PART.3SG.ACC ask:PRES know:PRES
 ‘(S)he asks whether Ali will go.’ / ‘(S)he knows whether Ali will go.’

Certain predicates (*sor-* ‘to ask’, *merak et-* ‘to wonder’) select only interrogative *-DİK* or *-(y)AcAK* complement clauses ((28) with pronoun (29) with particle), but do not select non-interrogatives (30). However, they select both interrogative and non-interrogative *-(y)Iş* and *-mA* complement clauses (31-32).²⁴

²³ Unlike other complementizing morphemes, only few linguists, Kural (1993), Erdal (1998), van Schaaijk (2001) and Göksel & Kerslake (2005), have looked at the use of *-(y)Iş*. Kural considers it to be a true gerund corresponding to English *-ing*. Erdal’s account on the topic related use of the *-(y)Iş* morpheme and its factivity (in terms of Erdal) seems to be parallel to the account of Kural, who assumes *-(y)Iş* to be existentially presupposed. Additionally, van Schaaijk’s (2001) and Göksel & Kerslake’s (2005) observations point out the semantic interaction between *-(y)Iş* complements and embedding predicates.

²⁴ Here, my thanks goes to Marcel Erdal for his remarks about non-interrogative *-mA* and *-(y)Iş* complement clauses that may appear under matrix predicates *sor-* ‘to ask’, *merak et-* ‘to wonder’.

- (28) *Ahmet [kim-in sınav-ı geç-tiğ-in]-i sor-uyor.*
 A. who:GEN exam:ACC pass:PART.3SG.ACC ask:PRES
 ‘Ahmet asks who passed the exam.’
- (29) *[Bu kitab-ı özetle-yeceğ-iniz-i mi yoksa sadece oku-yacağ-ımız-ı mı] sor-du.*
 this book:ACC summarize:PART.2PL.ACC Q.PTCL or just
 read:PART.2SG.ACC Q.PTCL ask:PRET
 ‘(S)he asked whether you are going to summarize or just read this book.’
- (30) **Ahmet [Ayşe'-nin sınav-ı geç-tiğ-in]-i sor-uyor.*
 A. Ayşe:GEN exam:ACC pass:PART.3SG.ACC ask:PRES
 ‘*Ahmet asks that Ayşe passed the exam.’

The following examples show the use of *-mA* and *-(y)Iş* complement clauses, which refers to the manner of the embedded event. Such a reading of *-mA* complement clauses has been pointed out by Erguvanlı-Taylan (1998a) as well.

- (31) *Ayşe anne-sin-e [reçel yap-ma]-yı sor-du.*
 A. mother:3SG-DAT marmalade do:VN.ACC ask:PRET
 ‘Ayşe asked her mother how to make marmalade.’
- (32) *Öğretmen öğrenci-ler-e [Türk-ler-in İstanbul'-u fethed-iş-in]-i sor-du.*
 teacher student:PL.DAT Turk:PL.GEN I.:ACC conquer:VN.3SG.ACC
 ask:PRET
 ‘The teacher asked the students how the Turks conquered İstanbul.’

In contrast to the verbs *sor-* ‘to ask’, and *merak et-* ‘to wonder’, there are a number of predicates which embed with the morphemes *-DİK* and *-(y)AcAK* both interrogative and non-interrogative complement clauses. These are *anla-* ‘to understand’, *bil-* ‘to know’, *duy-* ‘to hear’, *düşün-* ‘to think about’, *fark et-* ‘to notice’, *gör-* ‘to see’, *göster-* ‘to show’, *haber al-* ‘to find out’, *haberi ol-* ‘to know about’, *hatırla-* ‘to remember’, *ortaya çık-* ‘to become clear, emerge’, *unut-* ‘to forget’, and others.

In the following, embedding predicates will be discussed in two steps. In the first step, we will point out some features about their finite and non-finite interrogative complement clauses with concurring complementizing means. In the second step, the question elements will be discussed with respect to their scope. It is possible that an embedding predicate occurs in more than one group of predicates.

3.2.1. Embedding predicates and the scope of question elements in finite complement clauses

By, the term *finite* complement clause, we mean a complement clause that has a person marker on its predicate.²⁵ There are finite interrogative complement clauses with a complementizer or without a complementizer that are called *direct* complement clauses and occur mostly preverbally (George & Kornfilt 1981).²⁶

- (33) [*Yan-in-da kim kal-sın*] *isti-yor-sun?*
 side:2SG-LOC who stay:OPT.3SG wish:PRES.2SG
 ‘Whom do you want to stay with you?’

Interrogative complement clauses with the complementizer *diye* are only left branching and the ones with the complementizer *ki* are only right branching. However, the interrogative *ki* complement clauses are very rare.²⁷ As shown in the following table, matrix predicates that embed finite interrogative complement clauses are more restricted in comparison to predicates embedding non-finite ones.

Table: Embedding predicates of the finite interrogative clauses

with complementizer <i>diye</i> or direct	<i>anla-</i> ‘to understand’, <i>bil-</i> ‘to know’, <i>merak et-</i> ‘wonder’
only with complementizer <i>diye</i>	<i>düşün-</i> ‘to think about’, <i>sor-</i> ‘to ask’ ²⁸

²⁵ There are different approaches with respect to criteria of finiteness in Turkish. Sezer (2002) assumes tense and subject agreement to be the minimal finiteness criteria. However, George & Kornfilt (1981) and Schroeder (2000) consider only subject agreement as finiteness marker. While George & Kornfilt’s agreement account covers both possessive suffixes and person markers, Schroeder assumes only person markers to be the finiteness marker. For further accounts on finiteness in Turkish, see Johanson (1993), Erguvanlı-Taylan (1998b), Erkman-Akerson (2000), Aygen (2002) and Emgin (2009). For a cross-linguistic perspective of discussions on finiteness, see Nikolaeva (2007).

²⁶ Under certain matrix predicates like *anla-* ‘to understand’ or *merak et-* ‘to wonder’, a direct complement clause may occur in the postverbal area as well: *Gazetecilikte de böyledir, hemen anlarsın [kim ne karşılığında ne yazıyor.]* ‘It holds for journalism as well; you see immediately who writes what for what payment (aslicin.blogspot.com/2009/05/iyi-ki.html).

²⁷ Interrogative *ki* complement clauses occur in direct speech constructions, which I leave for future work: *Bana dedi [ki: “Nasıl olur, bu insanlar nerede bulunur?”]* ‘(S)he told me: “How does it happen? Where does one find these people?”’. http://www.global-leaders.tv/arsiv/ahmet_ertegun.asp

²⁸ The matrix predicate *sor-* ‘to ask’ may occur in paratactic direct speech constructions: *Zeynep endişeyle sordu: “Anne kötü bir şey mi oldu?”* ‘Zeynep asked, worried: “Mom, has something bad happened?”’ (METU-Turkish Corpus: Zerrin Polat, *Sevginin gücü*. Öykü. Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1998).

direct	<i>anlama-</i> ‘not to understand’, <i>bilme-</i> ‘not to know’ <i>bilmek iste-</i> ‘to want to know’, <i>de-</i> ‘to say’, <i>iste-</i> ‘to want’, <i>öğren-</i> ‘to learn about’, <i>san-</i> ‘to believe/think’
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As shown in the following (34–42), the scope of argument wh-elements within complement clauses may differ according to the complementizer and the semantics of matrix predicates:

wh-element + *anla-* ‘to understand’ / *merak et-* ‘to wonder’ has narrow scope:

- (34) [*Vicdan azab-ı ne-ymiş*] *anla-dı-k.*
conscience torment:3SG what:COP.INDR understand:PRET.1PL
‘We have understood what the torment of conscience means.’

wh-element + *diye* + *anla-* ‘to understand’ has matrix scope:

- (35) *Siz bu ifade-den [para-yı kim öde-yecek diye]*
you this utterance:ABL money:ACC who pay:FUT COMP
anlı-yor-sunuz?
understand:PRES.2PL
‘Who, do you think, is expected to pay, according to this formulation?’

wh-element + *diye* + *sor-* ‘to ask’ / *merak et-* ‘to wonder’ has narrow scope:

- (36) [*Gençliğ-in-de kim-i sev-miş-ti diye*] *merak ed-er-im.*
youth:3SG.LOC who:ACC love:PERF.COP.PRET COMP wonder:AOR.1SG
‘I wonder always who (s)he loved in her/his youth.’

wh-element + *de-* ‘to say’ has narrow scope:²⁹

- (37) [*“Kitab-ı kim al-mış?”*] *de-di-m.*
book:ACC who take:INDR/PERF say:PRET.1SG
‘I said: “Who took the book, then?”’

wh-element + *san-* ‘to believe’ has matrix scope:

- (38) *Anne-m [para-yı kim çal-mış] san-ıyor?*
mother:1SG money:ACC who steal:INDR/PERF believe:PRES
‘Who does my mother believe has stolen the money?’

²⁹ A matrix scope reading may be possible in an echo question: [*Kitabı kim almış*] dedin?
‘Who, did you say, took the book?’

wh-element + *iste-* ‘to want’ has matrix scope, as in (33).

wh-element + *bil-* ‘to know’ has narrow or matrix scope:

- (39) *Anne-m [para-yı kim çal-muş] bil-iyor./?*
 mother:1SG money:ACC who steal:INDR/PERF know:PRES
 ‘My mother knows who has stolen the money.’
 ‘Who does my mother believe (think) has stolen the money?’

wh-element + *diye* + *bil-* ‘to know’ has matrix scope:

- (40) *Anne-m [para-yı kim çal-muş diye] bil-iyor?*
 mother:1SG money:ACC who steal:INDR/PERF COMP know:PRES
 ‘Who does my mother believe (think) has stolen the money?’

wh-element + *bilme-* ‘not to know’ has narrow scope:³⁰

- (41) *Anne-m [para-yı kim çal-muş] bil-mi-yor.*
 mother:1SG money:ACC who steal:INDR/PERF wissen:NEG.PRES
 ‘My mother does not know who has stolen the money.’

wh-element + *öğren-* ‘to learn about’ has narrow scope:

- (42) *[Bu mesele-nin arka-sın-da kim var] öğren-eceğ-iz.*
 this matter:GEN behind:3SG.LOC who existent learn:FUT.1PL
 ‘We will find out who is behind this matter.’

The scope conditions of the above examples with wh-elements hold for the question particle *mi* as well.

3.2.2. Embedding predicates and the scope of question elements in non-finite complement clauses

Embedding predicates are discussed below firstly with respect to the restrictions of their compatibility with the concurring complementizing morphemes (Erguvanlı-Taylan 1998a) and secondly with respect to observations on their interaction with the scope of the question elements.

³⁰ With respect to *bilme-* ‘not to know’, Herkenrath & Karakoç & Rehbein (2003: 240) made similar observations.

3.2.2.1. Matrix scope

i. Embedding predicates which take only *-mA* complement clauses and question elements with matrix scope.³¹

a) Predicates of command, request, wish, desire, hope and expectation: *arzu et-* ‘to wish’, *bekle-* ‘to expect’, *emret-* ‘to command’, *iste-* ‘to want’, *talep et-* ‘to request’, etc.:

(43) *Ali [parti-ye kim-ler-in gel-me-sin]-i isti-yor?/*.*
 A. party:DAT who:PL.GEN come:VN.3SG.ACC want:PRES
 ‘Who are the persons Ali wants to come to the party?’

(44) *Ali [parti-ye baba-sın-in mi gel-me-sin]-i iste-mi-yor?/*.*
 A. party:DAT father:3SG.GEN Q.PTCL come:VN.3SG.ACC wish:NEG.PRES
 ‘Is it his father whom Ali doesn’t want to come to the party?’

b) Predicates of obligation, necessity, permission, and possibility: *engelle-/önle-* ‘to prevent’, *izin ver-/müsaade et-* ‘to permit’, *lazım/gerek/gerekli* ‘necessary’, *mecbur (ol-/ kal-)* ‘to be obliged’, *mümkün/olası* ‘possible’, *şart* ‘obligatory’, *yasakla-* ‘to forbid’, *zorla-* ‘to force’, etc.

c) Predicates of emotional reaction or personal attitude referring to the event or state of affairs in the complement clause: *beğen-/bayıl-/sev-/hoşlan-* ‘to like/love/be fond of’, *affet-* ‘to forgive’, *alın-* ‘to be offended’, *canı sıkıl-* ‘to be upset’, *cesaret et-* ‘to venture’, *cesaretlen-* ‘to be courageous’, *eleştir-* ‘to criticize’, *göze al-* ‘to risk’, *katlan-* ‘to bear’, *kızdır-* ‘to annoy’, *kolay* ‘easy’, *nefret et-* ‘to hate’, *öğütle-* ‘to advise’, *öv-* ‘to praise’, *sevindir-* ‘to make happy’, *şikâyet et-* ‘to complain about’, *utan-* ‘to be ashamed’, *yararlan-* ‘to benefit’, *üz-* ‘to upset’, *zor* ‘difficult’, etc. (cf. Erguvanlı-Taylan 1998a).

d) Predicates of achievement and predicates referring to the beginning or ending of an event: *başar-* ‘to manage’, *başla-* ‘to begin’, *becer-* ‘to manage’, *bitir-* ‘to finish’, *kalkış-* ‘to dare’, *yelten-* ‘to arrogate’, etc.

ii. Embedding predicates which take only *-DİK* or *-(y)AcAK* complement clauses and question elements with matrix scope: *farz et-* ‘to consider’, *iddia et-* ‘to claim’, *inan-* ‘to believe’, *san-/zannet-* ‘to think, suppose’, *pişman ol-* ‘to regret’ and *varsay-* ‘to presuppose’.³²

³¹ The verb *iste-* ‘to want’ may take complement clauses with *-mA* as well.

³² *pişman ol-* ‘to regret’ generally occurs with *-DİK* complements. However, it appears in a reduplicating construction (Verb:*DİK*.POSS.DAT + Verb:(y)*AcAK*.POSS.DAT) with the morpheme *-(y)AcAK* as well: *Buraya gel-diğ-im-e gel-eceğ-im-e pişman oldum.* ‘I have very much regretted to have come here.’

(45) [*Ne yap-tığ-ın*]-ı *san-ıyor-sun?*
 what do:PART.2SG.ACC think:PRES.2SG
 ‘What do you think you do?’

(46) *En çok [ne yap-tığ-ın]-a pişman ol-du-n?*
 mostly what do:PART.2SG.DAT regret:PRET.2SG
 ‘Which of your actions did you regret most?’

iii. Embedding predicates which take *-mA* and *-(y)Iş* complement clauses and question elements with matrix scope: *beğen-* ‘to like’, *devam et-* ‘to continue’, *durdur-* ‘to stop’, *engelle-* ‘to prevent’, *etkile-* ‘to influence’, *hızlandır-* ‘to speed up’, *kolaylaştır-* ‘to facilitate’, *kolay ol-* ‘to become easy’, *sona er-* ‘to finish’, *sürdür-* ‘to keep’, *uygun bul-* ‘to find proper’, *yavaşlat-* ‘to slow down’, *zor ol-* ‘to become difficult’, *zorlaştır-* ‘to aggravate’, etc.

(47) *Devlet-in bu müdahale-si [kim-in ilerle-yiş-in]-i*
 government:GEN this intervention:3SG who:GEN progress:VN-2PL-ACC
yavaşla-t-abil-ir?
 slow down:CAUS.PSB.AOR
 ‘Whose progress can this intervention of the government slow down?’

iv. Embedding predicates which take *-mA*, *-(y)Iş* and *-DİK/-(y)AcAK* complements and question elements with matrix scope: *doğru (değil)* ‘true (not true)’, *iyi* ‘good’,³³ *kız-* ‘to anger’, *sevin-* ‘to become happy’, *üzül-* ‘to be sad’, etc.

(48) *Hoca [kim-in ders-e geç kal-ış-ın]-a kız-dı?*
 teacher who:GEN lesson:DAT be late:VN-3SG-DAT get angry:PRET
 ‘By whose coming late to class did the teacher get annoyed?’

(49) [*Ali'-nin mi ders-e geç kal-ış-ın]-a kız-dı?*
 A.:GEN Q.PTCL lesson:DAT be late:VN.3SG.DAT get angry:PRET
 ‘Did (s)he get angry by Ali’s being late to class?’/ Is it Ali’s being late to class that made him/her angry?’

3.2.2.2. Narrow scope

i. Interrogative *-mA*, *-mA* or *-(y)Iş* complement clauses which occur within *-DİK* or *-(y)AcAK* complement clauses and under the matrix predicates *merak et-* ‘to wonder’ and *sor-* ‘to ask’ have matrix scope no longer:

(50) [*Ali'nin [parti-ye kim-ler-in gel-me-sin]-i iste-diğ-in]-i*
 A.:GEN party:DAT who:PL.GEN come:VN.3SG.ACC wish:PART.3SG.ACC

³³ *doğru (değil)* ‘true/right (not true/right)’ may take *-mA* complements as well.

merak edi-yoruz.
wonder:PRES.1PL
'We wonder whom Ali wants to come to the party.'

- (51) [*Hoca-nın [kim-in ders-e geç kal-ış-in]-a*
teacher:GEN who:GEN lesson:DAT be late:VN.3SG.DAT
kız-diğ-in]-ı sor-du.
get angry:PART.3SG.ACC ask:PRET
'(S)he asked by whose being late to class the teacher got annoyed.'

ii. Question elements within *-DİK* or *-(y)AcAK* complement clauses have narrow scope under the following matrix predicates: *araştır-* 'to research', *denetle-* 'to check', *incele-* 'to investigate', *kontrol et-* 'to control', *merak et-* 'to wonder', *ölç-* 'to gauge, measure', *sor-* 'to ask', and *bilmek iste-* 'to want to know'. In contrast, matrix scope may be allowed in the following multiple interrogative constructions:

- a) If the question particle *mi* occurs together with a wh-element within a complement clause, as in (52).
b) If the question particle *mi* or a wh-element occurs within yes/no questions, as in (53) and (54).
c) If multiple wh-elements of complement clauses function as argument constituents, as in (55).³⁴ The example in (55) has a declarative reading as well.

- (52) *Ali [kim-in mi git-tiğ-in]-i sor-du?/*.*
A. who:GEN Q.PTCL go:PART.3SG.ACC ask:PRET
'Did Ali ask about the person who went away?'

- (53) *Ahmet [kim-in sınav-ı geç-ip geç-me-diğ-in]-i sor-du?/*.*
A. who:GEN exam:ACC pass:CONV pass:NEG.PART.3SG.ACC ask:PRET
'About whom did Ahmed ask whether (s)he passed the exam?'

- (54) *Ali [bu kitab-ı mı oku-yup oku-ma-diğ-in]-i sor-du?/*.*
A. this book:ACC Q.PTCL read:CONV read:NEG.PART.3SG.ACC ask:PRET
'Is this the book about which Ali asked whether you read it or not?'

³⁴ Görgülü (2006) points out that if one or both wh-elements within a wh-island are adjuncts, then none of them can have a matrix scope. Nevertheless, in the following one of his examples, the argument wh-element may have a matrix scope, but not the adjunct wh-element:

- Cem [kim-in ne zaman gel-diğ-in]-i sor-du.*
Cem who:GEN when come:PART.3SG.ACC ask:PRET (Görgülü 2006: § 5.2.3)
(i) 'Cem asked who came when.'
(ii) 'Who did Cem ask came when?'
(iii) ?? 'When did Cem ask who came?'

- (55) *Cem [kim-in ne-yi satın al-dığ-in]-ı sor-du?/.*
 Cem who:GEN what:ACC buy:PART.3SG.ACC ask:PRET (Görgülü 2006: § 5.2.3)
 a) ‘What did Cem ask who bought?’
 b) ‘Who did Cem ask bought what?’
 c) ‘Cem asked who bought what.’

iii. Under the following matrix predicates, question elements of *-DİK/-(y)AcAK* complement clauses have only narrow scope and the question elements of *-mA* complement clauses have only matrix scope: *ilgilendir-* ‘to interest’, *önemli (değil)* ‘important (not important)’, *fark etme-* ‘not to make a difference’, etc.

- (56) *[Dün kim-in-le görüş-tüğ-üm] Ali-yi çok ilgilen-dir-miş./*?*
 yesterday who:GEN.INST meet:PART.1SG A.:ACC very interest:CAUS.INDR/PERF
 ‘As I heard, Ali was very interested in whom I met yesterday.’
- (57) *[Dün kim-in-le görüş-me-m] Ali’yi çok ilgilen-dir-miş./*?*
 yesterday who:GEN.INST meet:VN.1SG A.:ACC very interest:CAUS.INDR/PERF
 ‘Who is the person whose meeting with me yesterday is said to have interested Ali a lot.’
- (58) *[Görev-i kim-in al-ma-sı] çok önemli?/*.*
 task:ACC who:GEN take up:VN-3SG very important
 ‘Concerning whom is it very important that (s)he should take the responsibility for the task?’
- (59) *[Görev-i kim-in al-dığ-ı] çok önemli./*?*
 task:ACC who:GEN take up:PART.3SG very important
 ‘The identity of the person who took up the task is very important.’

3.2.2.3. Ambiguous scope

As mentioned at the beginning of the paper, there are certain embedding predicates which allow their complement clauses to have two readings, an interrogative and a non-interrogative one. These readings come about by the scope of interrogative elements. They are distinguished by intonation. There often is rising tone sentence-finally in the interrogative one and falling in the declarative one. These matrix predicates split into two groups:

i. The embedding predicates which select only *-DİK/-(y)AcAK* complement clauses and allow the question elements within their complement clauses to have an ambiguous reading are the following: *bul-* ‘to find out’, *dikkat et-* ‘to pay attention’, *fark et-/farkına var-* ‘to notice’, *ispat et-* ‘to prove’, *tahmin et-* ‘to suppose’, *tespit et-* ‘to ascertain’, etc.

- (60) *Müfettiş [kim-in hile yap-tığ-in]-ı tespit et-ti./?*
 inspector who:GEN cheat:PART.3SG.ACC state:PRET

'The inspector found out who had cheated.'
 'Who did the inspector find out had cheated?'

ii. Embedding predicates which allow interrogative elements of their *-DIK* complement clauses to carry an ambiguous scope, but of *-mA* complement clauses only allow a matrix scope are: *bil-* 'to know', *bildir-* 'to report', *dile getir-* 'to express', *düşün-* 'to think', *göster-* 'to show', *hatırla-* 'to remember', *unut-* 'to forget', *ifade et-* 'to express', *öğren-* 'to learn', *söyle-* 'to say', *şaşıır-* 'to be surprised', and others:

(61) *Ali o gün [kim-in araba-sın-ı kullan-dığ-ın]-ı öğren-di./?*
 A. that day who:GEN car:3SG.ACC use:PART.3SG.ACC learn:PRET
 'Ali found out that day whose car he drove.'
 'Who was the owner of the car which Ali found out that day he had driven?'

(62) *Ali o gün [kim-in araba-sın-ı kullan-ma]-yı öğren-di?*
 A. that day who:GEN car:3SG.ACC use:VN.ACC learn:PRET
 'Whose car did Ali learn to drive that day?'

4. Summary

Based on the above observations, we have attempted to point out the determining role of three factors with respect to the scope of the question elements (the question particle *mi* and argument *wh*-elements) within complement clauses: i. embedding predicates; ii. complementizing means; iii. multiple interrogative constructions.

Our data showed that the scope of question elements within the finite complement clauses which are embeddable under the same matrix predicates like *anla-* 'to understand' or *bil-* 'to know/think' may differ according to the way of embedding, i.e. with quotative complementizer *diye* or without any complementizer (direct).

Furthermore, we have showed that a tense based syntactic approach falls short in attempting to understand the scope of question elements within complement clauses. As mentioned above, the *-DIK* or *-(y)AcAK* complement clauses have been considered by this approach mostly with tense reference. This feature has been assumed to be the reason for the narrow scope of their question elements. However, they are not able to have a narrow scope when *-DIK* and *-(y)AcAK* complement clauses are embedded under certain matrix predicates. These predicates do not consist of a homogeneous class, i.e. there are some factive predicates like *pişman ol-* 'to regret' and some non-factive ones like *san-* 'to believe/think'.

Additionally, we have pointed out that the occurrence of multiple question elements within the complement clauses may change the scopal restrictions that are caused by certain embedding predicates when they embed complement clauses with single question elements. Thus, we claim that the scope boundaries of the question elements cannot be best understood without regarding the interaction between the semantics of matrix predicates, complementizing means and syntactical environment that includes multiple interrogative constructions.

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Abbreviations

ABL	ablative	COMP	complementizer
ACC	accusative	CONV	converb
AOR	aorist	COP	copula
CAUS	causative	DAT	dative

FUT future
GEN genitive
IMPSB impossibility
INDR indirective
INST instrumental
LOC locative
NEG negation
obl obligation
OPT optative

PART participle
PERF perfect
PL plural
PRES present
PRET preterite
PSB possibility
Q.PTCL question particle
SG singular
VN verbal noun

On Uyghur relative clauses

Éva Á. Csató & Muzappar Abdurusul Uchturpani

Csató, Éva Á. & Uchturpani, Muzappar Abdurusul 2010. On Uyghur relative clauses. *Turkic Languages* 14, 69-93.

Two types of relative clauses are used in modern Uyghur: one in which the subject is in the Nominative and the other in which the subject is in the Genitive and the head noun bears possessive agreement. The article gives a concise account of the main characteristics of these and some functionally related constructions. The aim is to pave the way for more research on the issues involved.

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Turkic relative constructions

Turkic relative clauses are typically non-finite clauses based on a participle. The dominating type of relative clause is not marked for subject-predicate agreement (Csató 1996 and references given there). See Ex. 1.

Ex. 1
Karachay-Balkar
Non-marked relative clause
konax kel-üčü iy
guest come-PART room
'a room where guests stay' > 'guestroom'

Some Turkic languages have developed relative constructions in which subject-predicate agreement is marked by a possessive suffix on the participle. In such constructions the Genitive can be assigned to the subject. See the following examples.

Ex. 2
Turkish
Genitive relative clause with subject-predicate agreement
kız-ın, uyü-duğ-u, oda
girl-GEN sleep-DIK.PART room
'a /the room where the girl sleeps'

Certain languages, for instance Turkmen, have a type of relative construction in which agreement between the Genitive subject of the relative clause and the head noun is marked; see Ex. 3.

Ex. 3

Turkmen

Genitive relative clause with subject and head noun agreement

Atalov-ıñı oturan oturğıǵ-ı

Atalov-GEN sit-AN.PART chair-3POSS

'the chair on which Atalov sits'

The aim of this article is to describe the typology of relative clauses in modern Uyghur.

Previous descriptions of Uyghur relative clauses

In Uyghur grammars the properties of participial constructions are mostly discussed under morphology. Participles which may function as non-finite predicates in relative clauses are in Uyghur referred to as *süpätdeş* and are described together with the other non-finite verb forms, *isimdeş* 'verbal noun' and *räwişdeş* 'adverbial form of the verb'.

Tömür (1987) and Cheng et al. (1996) distinguish between four participles: (i) the past participle in *-GAN*, (ii) the present continuous participle in *-(i)watqan*, (iii) the present future participle in *-Idiyan*, and (iv) the Aorist participle, e.g. *käl-gän* 'one who has come / came', *kel-iwatqan* 'one who is /was coming', *añla-ydiyan* 'one who listens', and *yaz-ar* 'one who writes'. See more about the morphosyntactic variations below. Concerning the use of these participles, the grammars mention that they behave like adjectives and can function as modifiers of nominal categories. Moreover, they can also be used as nouns, in which case they are inflected. Syntactic properties of Uyghur are discussed in Cheng et al. (1996), but this work does not give any account of relative clauses. Unfortunately, we have not had any access to Niyaz (1982), Qasim (1982) and Ma Deyuan's studies on the syntax of Uyghur.¹

Grammars written in English or German, Friedrich 2002 and de Jong 2007, do not present the syntactic properties of relative clauses but discuss the morphological features of the participles as do the Chinese grammars mentioned above. De Jong (2007) does not even make any clear differentiation between finite and non-finite usages of the participles.

The Uyghur scholar Litip Tohti studied the semantic and word order properties of relative clauses (Tohti 1995). He described relative clauses built with participles in *-GAN* and *-GUDÄK*. He also mentioned a third type, which is formed without a participle. See his examples here as Ex. 4, Ex. 5 and Ex. 6.

¹ We thank professor Abdurishid Yakup for reference to these works and further valuable comments on this article.

Ex. 4

Män oqu-γan kitab qiziq i-kän.
 I read-GAN.PART book interesting is-COP.GAN
 ‘The book which I have read is, as I find, interesting.’

Ex. 5

Üç kün-gä yät-küdäk un qal-di.
 Three day-DAT reach-GUDÄK.PART flour leave-PST3SG
 ‘There is some flour left, which can suffice for three days.’

Ex. 6

Gulja mänziri-si_i güzäl šähär_r.
 Ghulja landscape-3POSS beautiful city
 ‘Ghulja is a city with a beautiful panorama.’

In a later work written in the framework of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995), Tohti applied the term ‘adjectivalized phrase’ instead of ‘relative clause’ (2004). He explained this terminological preference by referring to the fact that such constructions cannot be treated as sentences because they lack tense and subject agreement morphology. Uchturpani (2009a and 2009b) adopted Tohti’s approach and described some additional syntactic features of relative clauses in the Minimalist framework. These will be included in this paper.

Rentzsch’s study (2005) presents some basic syntactic properties of relative clauses and gives a detailed analysis of the aspectual meaning of the participles; see more about his analysis below.

Notation of suffixes

Table 1 and Table 2 contain the variants of the participle suffixes that we are going to deal with. In the notation of the suffixes, *G* stands for *γ*, *g*, *k*, or *q*; *A* for *a* or *ä*; *U* for *u* or *ü*; *I* for *i* or *y*; *K* for *k* or *q*. The use of brackets in *-(i)watqan* indicates that the *i* sound is optional, i.e. it is not realized after a vowel stem. See the following examples.

Table 1

	<i>-GAn</i>	<i>-Idiyan</i>	<i>-(i)watqan</i>
<i>yaz-</i> ‘write’	<i>yaz-γan</i>	<i>yaz-idiyan</i>	<i>yez-iwatqan</i>
<i>käl-</i> ‘come’	<i>käl-gän</i>	<i>kel-idiyan</i>	<i>kel-iwatqan</i>
<i>kät-</i> ‘go’	<i>kät-kän</i>	<i>ket-idiyan</i>	<i>ket-iwatqan</i>
<i>oylat-</i> ‘let sb think’	<i>oylat-qan</i>	<i>oylit-idiyan</i>	<i>oylit-iwatqan</i>
<i>oyla-</i> ‘think’	<i>oyli-γan</i>	<i>oyla-ydiyan</i>	<i>oyla-watqan</i>
<i>tüzä-</i> ‘correct, modify’	<i>tüzi-gän</i>	<i>tüzä-ydiyan</i>	<i>tüzä-watqan</i>

Table 2

	<i>-mAKçi bolyan</i>	<i>-GUdäk</i>	<i>-GUçilik</i>
<i>yaz-</i> ‘write’	<i>yaz-maqçi bolyan</i>	<i>yaz-γudäk</i>	<i>yaz-γuçilik</i>
<i>käl-</i> ‘come’	<i>käl-mäkçi bolyan</i>	<i>käl- güdäk</i>	<i>käl-güçilik</i>
<i>kät-</i> ‘go’	<i>kät- mäkçi bolyan</i>	<i>kät- küdäk</i>	<i>kät-küçilik</i>
<i>oyla-</i> ‘think’	<i>oyli-maqçi bolyan</i>	<i>oyli- γudäk</i>	<i>oyli-γuçilik</i>
<i>oylat-</i> ‘let sb think’	<i>oylat-maqçi bolyan</i>	<i>oylat-qudäk</i>	<i>oylat-quçilik</i>
<i>tüzä-</i> ‘correct, modify’	<i>tüzi- mäkçi bolyan</i>	<i>tüzi- güdäk</i>	<i>tüzi-güçilik</i>

Typological properties of relative clauses in Uyghur

Participial clauses are defined here as non-finite clauses based on a participle. The predicate core in such constructions can be expanded to contain a subject and predicate complements. Thus, participial clauses can render full propositional contents. Relative clauses are participial clauses in which a constituent is relativized. Relative clauses are either headless or headed by a nominal head; see Ex. 7 and Ex. 8 respectively. In these examples, the first actant of the predicate *kirgän* ‘who has entered / entered’ is relativized. If the relativized constituent denotes a person, a resumptive pronoun, *özi* ‘himself, herself’ or *özliri* can be present in the relative clause.

Ex. 7

Headless relative clause

Öy-gä kir-gän dost-um-dur.

house-DAT enter-GAN.PART friend-1SG.POSS-COP

‘The one who has entered / entered the house is my friend.’

Ex. 8

Headed relative clause

Öy-gä kir-gän yigit

house-DAT enter-GAN.PART boy

‘the boy who has entered / entered the house’

Ex. 9

öz-i öy-gä kir-gän yigit_i

self-3POSS house-DAT enter-GAN.PART boy

‘the boy who has entered / entered the house’

Participial clauses can also function as non-finite complement clauses. The difference between the two types of participial clauses is that in non-finite complement clauses no relativization takes place. Another difference is that in non-finite complement clauses, the participle is marked for agreement with the subject. The agreement marker is a possessive suffix. There is no subject agreement morphology on the participle in relative clauses. Ex. 10 illustrates a complement clause based on a participle in *-GAN*.

Ex. 10

Complement clause

Men-ij_i öy-gä kir-gin-im_i yaxşı boldi.
 I-GEN house-DAT enter-GAN.PART-1SGPOSS good become/be-PAST3SG
 ‘It was good that I entered the house.’

Friedrich (2002: 143) mentions that the suffix *-LIK* can optionally be attached to participles. The meaning of the participle with and without *-LIK* is the same; see Ex. 11.

Ex. 11

Complement clause

men-ij_i öy-gä kir-gän-lig-im_i yaxşı bol-di.
 I-GEN house-DAT enter-GAN.PART-LIK-1SGPOSS good become/be-PAST3SG
 ‘It was good that I entered the house.’

Rentzsch (2005: 143) remarks that a participle cannot be combined with *-LIK* in relative clauses. Thus, the possibility to attach the suffix *-LIK* to a participle in *-GAN* can be used as a diagnostic test to distinguish between complement and relative clauses.

The overt complementizers of relative clauses are the bound morphemes that build participles. Turkic relative clauses are left-branching, i.e. they precede the head noun. See, e.g. Ex. 12, Ex. 13 and Ex. 14.

Ex. 12

oyunçuq-lir-i-ni buz-yan qizčaq
 toy-PL-3POSS-ACC break-GAN.PART little girl
 ‘the little girl who has broken / broke her toys’

Ex. 13

män daim bar-idiyan kinoxana
 I often go-IDIFAN.PART cinema
 ‘the cinema where I often go’

Ex. 14

quliq-i-ya gül qis-qan qiz
 ear-3POSS-DAT flower stick-GAN.PART girl
 ‘the girl who has stuck / stuck a flower to her ear’

With respect to the case marking of the subject constituent, we distinguish between two types of relative clauses in Uyghur. The first type is based on a participle and the subject of the relative clause, here *qiz* ‘girl’, is in the Nominative; see Ex. 15.

Ex. 15

Nominative relative clause

qiz yaz-γan xät
 girl write-GAN.PART letter
 ‘a letter which the girl has written / wrote’

In the second type, the subject of the relative clause is in the Genitive, here *qiz-niη* ‘girl’s’, and a possessive agreement suffix is attached to the head noun. We refer to these constructions as Genitive relative constructions.

Ex. 16

Genitive relative construction

qiz-niη_i yaz-γan xet-i_i
 girl-GEN write-GAN.PART letter-3POSS
 ‘the letter which the girl has written/wrote’

Genitive relative constructions, just as the Nominative ones, can be based on any participle form. See, for instance, examples with the participle in *-GUDäk* and *-MAKči bolγan*.

Ex. 17

Genitive relative construction

qiz-niη_i yaz-γudäk xet-i_i
 girl-GEN write-GUDÄK.PART letter-3POSS
 ‘a /the letter which the girl can write’

Ex. 18

Genitive relative construction

qiz-niη_i yaz-maqči bol-γan xet-i_i
 girl-GEN write-MAKČI bol-GAN.PART letter-3POSS
 ‘the letter which the girl will write’

The specific syntactic properties of the Genitive relative constructions will be treated later.

Turkic clauses based on participles are syntactically independent and can be used as noun phrases. In such a case, they are inflected as other nominal categories depending on their syntactic function. Relative clauses without a nominal head are called headless relative clauses, a term suggesting that something is missing in such constructions. However, in Turkic languages, such ‘headless’ constructions are not elliptic since there is no syntactic or semantic need to add a nominal head. See the following examples in which the participle clauses are translated as ‘one who entered the room’ Ex. 19, ‘those who are sleeping’ Ex. 20, ‘those who do not go home during the vacation’ Ex. 21, ‘what you have just said’ Ex. 22, ‘what I know’ Ex. 23.

Ex. 19

Headless relative clause

Baya öy-gä kir-gän kim?
 a little earlier house-DAT enter-GAN.PART who
 ‘Who is the one who entered the house a little earlier?’

Ex. 20

Headless relative clause

Uxla-watqan-lar-ni çaqir!
 sleep-IWATQAN.PART-PL-ACC call.2SG.IMP
 ‘Call those who are sleeping!’

Ex. 21

Headless relative clause

Tätil-dä öy-gä qayt-ma-ydiyan-lar qol kötür-üñlär.
 vacation-LOC home-DAT go back-NEG-IDIAN.PART-PL hand raise-2PL.IMP
 ‘Those who don’t go home during the vacation, raise your hands.’

Ex. 22

Headless relative clause

Hazir de-gin-iñ-ni yänä bir de-gin-ä.
 now say-GAN.PART-2SG.POSS-ACC again one say-IMP-PRT
 ‘Say again what you have just said.’

Ex. 23

Headless relative clause

Bu häq-tä bil-idiyan-lir-im yoq.
 this respect-LOC know-IDIAN.PART-PL-1SG.POSS non-existing
 ‘I don’t have any knowledge about this matter.’

If we regard these relative clauses to be nominals, their syntactic status in prenominal position can be analysed differently from that of relative clauses, e.g. in English. Johanson (1998: 50) describes identity attribution as a construction of two nouns referring to the same entity and juxtaposed asyndetically as qualifying attribute + head, e.g. Turkish *kadın öğretmen* ‘woman teacher’. He adds: “The attribute may also be a participle with predicative force, that is the basis of a relative clause, e.g. Turkish *konuşan adam* ‘the man who speaks / spoke’, *sevdiğim kadın* ‘the woman I love(d)’” (Johanson 1998: 50). The same analysis can be applied to Uyghur headed relative clauses.

Ex. 24

baya öy-gä kir-gän bala
 a little earlier house-DAT enter-GAN.PART boy
 ‘one having just entered the house’ ‘boy’
 ‘the boy who has just entered the house’

The headless relative can participate in different syntactic constructions; see, for instance the following:

Ex. 25

Sän şundaq bala gäp aŋli-ma-ydiyan.
 you such boy word listen-NEG-IDIFAN.PART
 ‘You are such a boy, one who doesn’t listen to advices.’

Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy

One parameter applied in the classification of relative clauses is related to the syntactic status of the relativized noun within the relative clause. Keenan and Comrie (1977) formulated the Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy, which defines universal principles of relativization strategies. According to this hierarchy the most accessible category for relativization is the subject. The other categories having a lower status in the hierarchy are direct object, indirect object, oblique argument, possessor and object of comparison, in this order. The hierarchy predicts that if a category of lower level is relativizable in a given language the categories of higher level are also relativizable. Thus, if direct objects can be relativized then subjects can also be relativized. If indirect objects can be relativized then both subjects and direct objects are relativizable. See Table 3 in which the sign > means ‘is more accessible to relativization’.

Table 3

subject > direct object > indirect object > oblique argument > possessor >
 object of comparison

This hierarchy is observed also in Uyghur. In Uyghur, subjects, direct objects, indirect objects, oblique objects, and possessors can be relativized but not objects of comparison. See the following examples representing relativization of different categories.

Ex. 26

Subject
kitab-ni oqu-γan bala
 book-ACC read-GAN.PART boy
 ‘the boy who has read / read the book’

Ex. 27

Direct object
u-niγ al-γan kitab-lir-i
 (s)he-GEN buy-GAN.PART book-PL-3POSS
 ‘the books that (s)he has bought /bought’

Ex. 28

Indirect object

qiz kitab-ni bär-gän ayal
 girl book-ACC give-GAN.PART woman
 ‘the woman to whom the girl has given / gave the book’

Ex. 29

Oblique argument

toxtam imzala-n-yan yär
 contract sign-PASS-GAN.PART place
 ‘the place where the contract was signed’

Ex. 30

Oblique argument

tamaka çek-iş ääklä-n-gän orun
 cigarette smoke-VERBAL NOUN forbid-PASS-GAN.PART place
 ‘a place where smoking cigarettes is / has been / was banned’

Ex. 31

Complement of a postposition

prezident-niñi kelişim-gä qol qoy-yan qälim-i
 president-GEN contract-DAT sign-GAN.PART pen-3POSS
 ‘the pen with which the president has signed / signed the contract’

Observe that the postposition *bilän* ‘with’ cannot be used without a complement; thus it cannot be stranded in the relative clause; see Ex. 32.

Ex. 32

*prezident-niñi *bilän kelişim-gä qol qoy-yan qälim-i*
 president-GEN with contract-DAT sign-GAN.PART pen-3POSS

Possessive marked, so-called secondary postpositions are syntactically free; thus they can be stranded in the relative clause; see Ex. 33.

Ex. 33

Complement of a postposition marked with a possessive suffix

ast-i-da su-lar eq-ip tur-idiyan aramgah
 below-3POSS-LOC water-PL flow-CONV AUX-IDIGAN.PART garden house
 ‘a garden house under which waters are flowing’

A possible finite sentence corresponding to Ex. 33 is Ex. 34.

Ex. 34

Aramgah ast-i-da su-lar eq-ip tur-idu.
 garden house under-3POSS-LOC water-PL flow-CONV AUX-PRES
 ‘Waters are flowing under the garden house.’

The following examples illustrate relativization of the genitive possessor. In Ex. 35, Ex. 36, and Ex. 37, the head noun is coreferential with the possessor of the subject, in Ex. 38, with the possessor of the direct object noun phrase, and in Ex. 40, with the possessor in an adverbial expression.

Ex. 35

Possessor of the subject

dost-i_i öy-gä käl-gän qiz_i
 friend-3POSS home-DAT come-GAN.PART girl
 ‘the girl whose friend has come home’

Ex. 36

Possessor of the subject

ayal-i_i tügä-p kät-kän qošni-miz_i
 wife-3POSS finish-CONV AUX-PART neighbor-1PL.POSS
 ‘our neighbor whose wife passed away’

Ex. 37

Possessor of the subject

ayriq-i_i kün-din kün-gä eyirla-p kät-kän kesäl_i
 illness-3POSS day-ABL day-DAT get worse-CONV AUX-GAN.PART patient
 ‘a patient whose illness is getting more serious from day to day’

Ex. 38

Possessor of the object

qoy-lir-i-ni_i bōrä ye-gän padiči-lar_i
 sheep-PL-3POSS-ACC wolf eat-GAN.PART shepherd-PL
 ‘the shepherds whose sheep were eaten by the wolf’

A possible corresponding finite sentence is Ex. 39.

Ex. 39

Padiči-lar-ni_i qoy-lir-i-ni_i bōrä ye-di.
 shepherd-PL-GEN sheep-PL-3POSS-ACC wolf eat-PAST
 ‘The wolf has eaten / ate the shepherd’s sheep.’

Ex. 40

Possessor in an NP functioning as adverbial

ögzi-si-din_i bir näččä kičik xiš parči-si čüş-kän öy_i
 roof-3POSS-ABL several small brick piece-3POSS fall-GAN.PART house
 ‘the house from the roof of which several small pieces of bricks fell’

A possible corresponding finite sentence is Ex. 41.

Ex. 41

Öy-niñ_i ögzi-si-din_i bir näçčä kiçik xiş parçi-si çüš-ti.
 house roof-3POSS-ABL several small brick piece-3POSS fall-PAST
 ‘From the roof of the house several pieces of bricks fell down.’

As pointed out above, objects of comparison cannot be relativized. The insertion of a resumptive pronoun representing the head noun in the relative clause is not acceptable for all speakers.

Ex. 42

Object of comparison without any resumptive pronoun

*Ärkin tez-räk yügür-gän bala
 Erkin quick-COMP run-GAN.PART boy
 Intended meaning: ‘the boy who Erkin has run / ran faster than’

The possible corresponding finite sentence is Ex. 43.

Ex. 43

Ärkin bali-din tez-räk yügür-di.
 Erkin boy-ABL quick-COMP run-PAST
 ‘Erkin ran faster than the boy.’

Ex. 44

Object of comparison with a resumptive pronoun

*?Ärkin özi-din tez-räk yügür-gän bala
 Erkin himself-ABL quick-COMP run-GAN.PART boy
 Intended meaning: ‘the boy compared to whom Erkin runs / has run / ran faster’

If the predicate of the relative clause is a nominal category, the participle of the copula verb *bol-* is used.

Ex. 45

Relative clause based on the copula

on yil-din beri särgärdan bol-yan yetim
 ten year-ABL since vagabond be-GAN.PART orphan
 ‘an orphan who has been a vagabond for ten years’

Ex. 46

Relative clause based on the copula

män mäktäb-dä bol-idiyan kün
 I school-LOC be-IDIPAN.PART day
 ‘the day when I will be at school’

See the possible corresponding finite sentences Ex. 47 and Ex. 48.

Ex. 47

Yetim on yıl-din beri särgärdan bol-di.
 orphan ten year-ABL since vagabond be-PAST
 ‘The orphan has been a vagabond for ten years.’

Ex. 48

Män u kün-i mäktäb-dä bol-i-män.
 I that day-3POSS school-LOC be-PRES-1SG
 ‘I will be at school that day.’

Constituents of existential clauses based on *bar* ‘existing’ and *yoq* ‘non-existing’ can also be relativized. There are three possible variants. The last one is regarded to be redundant in written language.

Ex. 49

Existential clause

ič-i-dä üç top bar qap
 inside-3SG.POSS-LOC three ball existing container

ič-i-dä üç top bol-yan qap
 inside-3SG.POSS-LOC three ball be-GAN.PART container

ič-i-dä üç top bar bol-yan qap
 inside-3SG.POSS-LOC three ball existing be-GAN.PART container
 ‘a container in which there are three balls’

Ambiguity in relative clauses

The semantic relation between the head and the relative clause is not marked in Uyghur. This is typical for Turkic relative clauses. For instance, the nominal head *müšük* ‘cat’ can be interpreted both as a subject and a non-specific object in Ex. 50. Interpretation relies on semantic, pragmatic and contextual clues.

Ex. 50

čačqan yä-gän müšük
 mouse eat-GAN.PART cat
 ‘a cat which has eaten / ate mice’
 ‘a mouse which has eaten / ate cats’

In certain cases resumptive pronouns can dissolve the ambiguity. The resumptive pronouns *özi* ‘himself/herself’ and *özliri* ‘themselves’ can represent a head referring to human beings, such as *biri* ‘someone’, *kişilər* ‘people’; see Ex. 51 and Ex. 52. The resumptive pronouns carry the case marker or the postposition that the relativized constituent would be associated with in a corresponding finite clause. Constructions with resumptive pronouns are, however, not acceptable to all speakers.

Ex. 51

Män öz-i bilän sözliş-älä-ydiyan biri-ni izdä-watimän.
 I self-3SG.POSS with talk-POT-IDIFAN.PART someone look for-IWAT.PRES1SG
 ‘I am looking for somebody with whom I can talk.’

Ex. 52

Biz öz-lir-i-din näprätlin-idiyan kişi-lär-ni yaxşı kör-mä-y-miz.
 we self-PL-3SG.POSS hate-IDIFAN.PART people-PL like-NEG-PRES-1PL
 ‘We do not like people who hate themselves.’

The semantics of the participle suffixes

Viewpoint markers

The suffix GEN

In the description of the viewpoint meanings of participles, Johanson’s theoretical framework will be employed (2000). The functions of the Uyghur forms could also be compared with the system of the Noghay participles, which have been thoroughly studied by Karakoç (2005 and 2007). Because of the limited scope of this paper, we will restrict our study to the Uyghur system. Our description corresponds in several respects to the one given in Rentzsch (2005: 162), who defines the following viewpoint oppositions in relative clauses as in Table 4.

Table 4

[+INTRA ^{-FOC}]	IDIFAN
[+INTRA ^{+FOC}]	IWATQAN
[-INTRA]	GAN

It is well-known that in finite sentences, the verb in *-GAN* denotes an action that has already been carried out, i.e. it has a postterminal meaning. We refer to Johanson (2000) for definitions of the viewpoint operators.

Ex. 53

Bu xät-ni män yaz-yan.
 this letter-ACC I write-GAN
 ‘I have written this letter.’

The actional phrase in Ex. 53 is finittransformative, i.e. the event is regarded to have been carried out when it has been completed. The relevant *terminus* is the end of the event. The postterminal viewpoint operator directs the view to the event after this *terminus* has been reached, i.e. after the action has been completed. The following example illustrates an initialtransformative actional phase.

Ex. 54

Mân otur-yan.

I sit down / sit-GAN

'I have sat down.'

Ex. 54 can be said in a situation when the speaker is sitting.

With initialtransformative actional phrases, the relevant terminus is defined as the point when the first dynamic phase of the verb has been carried out. The postterminal view directs the attention to a point after the transgression of this terminus. An initialtransformative verb such as *otur-* defines a dynamic phase 'sit down' and a following static phase 'sit'. The action is regarded to be carried out when the dynamic phase is completed. The postterminal viewpoint directs the attention to the achievement of this point, i.e. when the action of 'having sat down' is completed. It does not specify whether the event of 'sitting' is ongoing or already finished. Thus, the participle *otur-yan* can refer to a situation where the subject is still sitting. A test to identify initialtransformative verbs is by means of a sentence such as Turkish *oturduğum ve hala oturuyorum* 'I have sat down and am still sitting'. Such an expression is meaningless with finittransformatives *öldüm ve hala ölüyorum* *'I have died and am still dying'.

With nontransformative actional phrases, which do not define any natural turning point when the event is regarded to have been carried out, the relevant terminus to which a postterminal operator can refer is the starting point of the event. Thus, the reading of the following nontransformative actional phrase is that the event has at least started and may still be ongoing.

Ex. 55

Mâktâb-dâ kitab set-il-yan.

school-LOC book sell-PASS- GAN

'Books have been sold in the school.'

Rentzsch claims, see Table 4, that in relative clauses, the participle in *-GAN* marks [-INTRA] but not [+POST] viewpoint. According to our understanding of the interplay between the actional characteristics of the respective phrase and the postterminal operators, participles in *-GAN* mark a postterminal viewpoint also in relative clauses. The readings vary depending on the phase structure of the actional phrases. Ex. 56 illustrates a finittransformative actional phrase, Ex. 57, an initialtransformative one, and Ex. 58, a nontransformative one.

Ex. 56

öl-gân adâm

die-GAN.PART man

'the man who has died'

Ex. 57
oltur-γan *adām*
 sit down / sit-GAN.PART man
 ‘the man who sat down [and can still be sitting]’

Ex. 58
māktāb-dā set-il-γan *kitab-lar*
 school-LOC sell-PASS-GAN.PART book-PL
 ‘the books which are / have been / were sold at school’

Observe that in spite of the fact that both Ex. 57 and Ex. 58 can refer to a still ongoing event, this does not make them [-POST] and quasi-intraterminal, as suggested by Rentzsch (2005: 143-162). Thus, such relative expressions can be translated into English using different aspectotemporal forms depending on the context. However, the interpretations are customarily related to a postterminal viewpoint.

Ex. 59
šwetsiyā-din uç-qan *ayruplan*
 Sweden-ABL fly-GAN.PART plane
 ‘the plane which comes/ has come from Sweden’

Ex. 60
muzikant bol-γan *āskār*
 musician be-GAN.PART soldier
 ‘a soldier who is / has been / was a musician’

This is not in any way contradictory to the fact that the participle in *-GAN* is the unmarked member of the viewpoint oppositions in relative clauses and as such its viewpoint value can be blended out.

Table 5

GAN	[+POST] [-INTRA]	[-POST] [+INTRA ^{-FOC}]	IDİFAN
		[-POST] [+INTRA ^{+FOC}]	IWATQAN

The two other participles in *-(i)watqan* and *-Idiyan* mark intraterminality.

Participles in *-Idiyan*, and *-(i)watqan*

The participle in *-Idiyan* (< *-a durγan*) has a non-focal intraterminal meaning and depending on the context can be interpreted as referring to an ongoing or prospective event, e. g. *yaz-idiyan* ‘who writes / will write’.

Ex. 61

su bilän iç-idiyan dora
 water with drink-IDIFAN.PART pill
 ‘a pill which is taken with water’

Ex. 62

U sen-i çüšin-älä-ydiyan yaş-ta ämäs.
 (s)he you-ACC understand-POT-IDIFAN.PART age-LOC COP-NEG.3SG
 ‘(S)he is not of an age where (s)he can understand you.’

Ex. 63

män ätä bar-idiyan kutubxana
 I tomorrow go-IDIFAN.PART library
 ‘the library where I will go to tomorrow’

Ex. 64

gül tik-il-idiyan taštäk
 flower plant-PASS-IDIFAN.PART flowerpot
 ‘the flowerpot into which the flower will be planted’

Ex. 65

män bil-idiyan bir sayahät širkiti
 I know-IDIFAN.PART one travel agency
 ‘a travel agency which I know’

The participle in *-(i)watqan*, on the other hand, denotes focal intraterminality and mainly refers to actually ongoing situations or events.

Ex. 66

siñl-im oqu-watqan kitab
 younger sister-1SG.POSS read-IWATQAN.PART book
 ‘the book that my younger sister is (just now) reading’

Ex. 67

yol-da ket-iwatqan adäm-lär
 road-LOC walk-IWATQAN.PART man-PL
 ‘the people who are (just now) walking on the road’

Modality markers

The participle in *-mAKči bolyan*

The participle in *-mAKči bolyan* (in Uyghur *mäqsäd peili*) conveys a modal meaning denoting the intention or will of the first actant. *-mAKči bolyan* and *-Idiyan* can often be used interchangeably when the speaker refers to a prospective event. However *-mAKči bolyan* cannot be used when the speaker doesn’t want to convey

intentionality or will. In Ex. 63 and Ex. 64 we can replace *-Idiyan* by *-mAKçi bolyan*, but not in Ex. 70 because in this example *-idiyan* cannot be interpreted intentionally.

Ex. 68

män ätä bar-maqçi bol-yan kutubxana
I tomorrow go-INTENT.PART library
'the library to which I intend to go tomorrow'

Ex. 69

gül tik-il-mäkçi bol-yan taštäk
flower plant-PASS-INTENT.PART flowerpot
'the flowerpot into which the flower has to be planted'

Ex. 70

biz näprätlin-idiyan kiši-lär
we hate-IDIFAN.PART people-PL
'the people whom we hate'

Observe that in Ex. 69 the participle is a passive form *tiki-* 'be planted'. Thus, the subject *gül* 'flower' is not an Agent. The volitional meaning is therefore impersonal. In Ex. 71 and Ex. 72 the subjects in the relative clauses are Agents; thus the modal participle expresses their will or intention.

Ex. 71

män yaz-maqçi bol-yan xät
I write-INTENT.PART letter
'the letter which I will write'

Ex. 72

sawaqdiš-im-niñ al-maqçi bol-yan kitab-i
classmate-1SG.POSS-GEN buy-INTENT.PART book-3SG.POSS
'the book which my classmate wants to buy'

The participles in *-GUDäk / -GUčilik*

This participle is formed by a combination of the voluntative / necessitative participle *-GU* and the Equative marker *-DAK* or the derivative suffix *-ČILIK*. When these are employed in relative clauses, they express ability, probability or potentiality.

Ex. 73

üč kün-gä yät-küdäk un
three day-DAT suffice-GUDÄK.PART flour
'the flour which may suffice for three days'

Ex. 74

kök-kä taqaš-qudäk egiz imarät
 sky-DAT touch-GUDÄK.PART high building
 ‘a high building which can touch the sky’

Ex. 75

put qoy-γudäk yär
 foot put-GUDÄK.PART place
 ‘a place where the foot can stand’

Ex. 76

män hal-im-ni eyt-qudäk birär adäm
 I situation-1SG.POSS-ACC tell-GUDÄK.PART some man
 ‘a man to whom I will tell my situation / my sorrows’

Ex. 77

ussuzluq-ni qandur-γučilik su
 thirst-ACC quench-ΓUČILIK.PART water
 ‘water which can quench thirst’

The participle in *-miš*

The participle in *-miš* is mostly used to build finite verb forms. Its use as a participle is very restricted. It denotes a postterminal viewpoint and can be used interchangeably with *-GAN*. The use of *-miš* marks a poetic or literary style.

Ex. 78

Hun näsl-i-din bol-miš / bolyan qäwm-lär
 Hun descendant-3SG.POSS-ABL be-MIŠ.PART / GAN.PART tribe-PL
 ‘the tribes who descended from the Huns’

Ex. 79

ziyali aili-si-din kel-ip čiq-miš / čiqqan dehqan
 intellectual family-3SG.POSS come-CONV AUX-MIŠ.PART / GAN.PART peasant
 ‘the peasant who descended from an intellectual family’

The aorist participle and its negated form

The aorist participle is used almost exclusively in lexicalised forms, such as *aqar yultuz* ‘shooting star’, *uçar at* ‘flying horse’, *uçar täxsä* ‘UFO’, *tügimäs bayliq* ‘infinite treasure’, *yeñilmäs armiyä* ‘undefeatable army’. In relative clauses, the participle in *-Idiyan* is used.

The use of Genitive relative constructions

A Genitive possessor of the head noun can precede a relative clause. A possessive suffix on the head noun marks agreement with the Genitive possessor.

Table 6
 $[NP_1^{GEN} [RELS\ SUBJ(X)\ PART] N^{POSSi}]$

In Ex. 80, the relative clause *sän sunduryan* ‘you have broken’ has its own subject *sän* ‘you’. The Genitive noun *maşini-niñ* ‘of the car’ is semantically not related to the relative clause, i.e. it is not interpreted as a constituent of the relative clause. The Genitive NP designates the owner of the head noun *sol äynik-i* ‘its left mirror’. The noun phrase is consequently composed of the Genitive possessor and the possessed noun: *maşini-niñ sol äynik-i* ‘the left mirror of the car’, and the intervening relative clause *sän sunduryan* ‘which you have broken / broke’, which modifies the head noun *sol äynik-i* ‘its left mirror’. Ex. 81 has an analogous structure.

Ex. 80
maşini-niñi sän sun-dur-yan sol äynik-i
 car-GEN you break-CAUS-GAN.PART left mirror-3SG.POSS
 ‘the left mirror of the car which you have broken / broke’

Ex. 81
öy igi-si-niñi män qorq-idiyan it-i
 house owner-3SG.POSS-GEN I afraid-IDIFAN.PART dog-3SG.POSS
 ‘the landlord’s dog which I am afraid of’

Genitive relative clauses, introduced above, have seemingly the same syntactic structure except for the coreference between the Genitive noun and the first actant of the relative clause.

Table 7
 $[NP_1^{GEN} [RELS\ \emptyset_i(X)\ PART] N^{POSSi}]$ where \emptyset is the syntactically unrealized first actant

Ex. 82
 Genitive relative construction
qiz-niñi söy-gän yigit-i
 girl-GEN love-GAN.PART boy-3POSS
 ‘the boy whom the girl has loved / loved’

The interpretation of such constructions relies on syntactic and semantic clues. In the next example, the subject of the passive verb *oyurla-n-yan* is relativized; thus the Genitive NP *dost-um-niñ* ‘of my friend’ cannot be interpreted as the subject of the relative clause.

Table 8
 $[NP_1^{GEN} [RELS\ \emptyset_j(X)\ PART] N_j^{POSSi}]$

Ex. 83

dost-um-ni_i *o_yurla-n-_γan* *hâmyan-i_i*
 friend-1SGPOSS-GEN steal-PASS-GAN.PART wallet-3POSS
 ‘my friend’s wallet, which has been / was stolen’

In Ex. 84 the subject of the predicate *muhim bolmiyan* ‘not having been / being important’ is relativized; thus, again, the Genitive NP *artist-ni_i* ‘of the actor’ cannot be the first actant of the relative clause.

Ex. 84

artist-ni_i *muhim* *bol-mi-_γan* *rol-i_i*
 actor-GEN important be-NEG-GAN.PART role-3SG.POSS
 ‘the actor’s part, which is / has not been / was not important’

In the following example, the direct object *kitablar* ‘books’ is relativized. The Genitive pronoun *u-ni_i* ‘his / her’ can be coreferential with the first actant of the relative clause because no subject is present in the construction. At the same time, it can also be interpreted as the possessor of the head noun *kitableri* ‘his / her books’.

Ex. 85

Direct object

u-ni_i *al-_γan* *kitab-lir-i_i*
 she-GEN buy-GAN.PART book-PL-3SG.3POSS
 ‘the books that (s)he has bought / bought’

The head noun can also be an indirect object as in Ex. 86, or the complement of a postposition as in Ex. 87.

Ex. 86

qiz-ni_i *kitab-ni* *bâr-_gân* *dost-i_i*
 girl-GEN book-ACC give-GAN.PART friend-3POSS
 ‘the friend of the girl to whom she gave the book’

Ex. 87

men-i_i *hâr kûn* *ald-i-din* *öt-idiyan* *öy-üm_i*
 I-GEN every day front-3POSS-LOC pass-IDIFAN.PART house-1SG.POSS
 ‘the house which I pass by every day’

The possessor of the subject of the relative clause cannot be relativized with the Genitive construction. The relative clause in Ex. 88 cannot be converted to a Genitive relative construction. Thus, Ex. 89 has a different meaning according to which the head, *muâllim* ‘teacher’, is interpreted as the subject of the relative clause and the Genitive noun, as its possessor.

Ex. 88

dost-i_i öy-gä käl-gän muällim-i_i
 friend-3POSS home-DAT come-GAN.PART teacher
 ‘the teacher whose friend has come / came home’

Ex. 89

Genitive possessor of the subject

dost-i-ni_i öy-gä käl-gän muällim-i_i
 friend-3POSS-GEN home-DAT come-GAN.PART teacher-3POSS
 ‘his friend’s teacher who has come home’
 It cannot mean: ‘the teacher whose friend has come / came home’

An adverbial constituent of the Genitive relative clause can also be relativized.

Ex. 90

toxtam-ni_i imzala-n-yan yer-i_i
 contract-GEN sign-PASS-GAN.PART place-3POSS
 ‘the place in the contract where it has been signed’

We assume that this construction, which is also found in other Turkic languages, for instance in Turkmen and Karachay-Balkar, is the result of a grammaticalization process. Observe also that Ex. 85 can be rewritten so that it becomes clear that the Genitive noun is not the possessor of the books.

Ex. 91

Direct object

u-ni_i maña al-yan kitab-lir-i_i
 she-GEN I-DAT buy-GAN.PART book-PL-3POSS
 ‘the books that (s)he has bought / bought for me’

The question to be addressed is what the special function of this Genitive relative construction is. What is the motivation for using a Genitive relative clause instead of a Nominative one? An obvious assumption is that a Genitive subject is syntactically more prominent than a Nominative subject and can play a marked role with respect to semantic features such as specificity, or information structure features such as focus, topic. These assumptions have to be studied. Here we mention some observations.

Both the Nominative and the Genitive relative clause types can be used if the subject is specific.

Ex. 92

u qiz söy-gän yigit
 that girl love-GAN.PART boy
 ‘the boy whom that girl loves / has loved / loved’

Ex. 93

u qiz-niŋ_i söygän yigit-i_i
 that girl-GEN love-GAN.PART boy-3POSS
 ‘the boy whom that girl loves / has loved / loved’

However, the Genitive relative cannot be used when the subject is non-specific, as in Ex. 94, Ex. 96 and Ex. 98.

Ex. 94

hič kim söy-mä-ydigän yigit
 nobody love-NEG-IDITAN.PART boy
 ‘the boy whom nobody loves’

Ex. 95

**hič kim-niŋ_i söy-mä-ydigän yigit-i_i*
 nobody-GEN love-NEG-IDITAN.PART boy-3POSS
 Intended meaning: ‘the boy whom nobody loves’

Ex. 96

kün nuri kirmi-gän öy
 sunshine enter-GAN.PART house
 ‘the house into which the sunshine does not enter’

Ex. 97

**kün nuri-niŋ_i kirmi-gän öy-i_i*
 sunshine-GEN enter-GAN.PART house-3POSS
 Intended meaning: ‘the house into which the sunshine does not enter’

Animacy or agentivity do not play any role. Thus, both Agentive and Non-Agentive subjects can occur in Genitive relatives.

Ex. 98

Non-agentive subject
men-iŋ_i yiqil-yan yer-im_i
 I-GEN fall down-GAN.PART place-1SG.POSS
 ‘the place where I fell down’

Ex. 99

däräxt-niŋ_i yiqil-yan yer-i_i
 tree-GEN fall down-GAN.PART place-3POSS
 ‘the place where the tree has fallen / fell down’

Possessive-marked heads of relative clauses also get a [+specific] reading. Compare the following examples:

Ex. 100
män oqu-yan kitab
 I read-GAN.PART book
 ‘a book I read / have read / read’

Ex. 101
men-ij, oqu-yan kitab-im,
 I read-GAN.PART book-1SG.POSS
 ‘a (certain) / the book I read / have read / read’

Functionally relevant constructions

Null-participle relative clause

These are so-called *bahuvrihi* constructions describing the possessor of something that is characterized by, for instance, an adjective. It is a small clause without any verbal predicate.

Ex. 102
mänziri-si güzäl šähär
 landscape-3POSS beautiful city
 ‘a city, the landscape of which is beautiful’

Ex. 103
saqal-lir-i kümüş-täk ap’aq boway
 beard-PL-3POSS silver-EQU pure white old man
 ‘an old man whose beard is as pure white as silver’

Ex. 104
muqawi-si yirtiq kitab
 cover-3POSS torn book
 ‘a book the cover of which is torn up’

Constructions introduced by *ki*

There are also some finite postpositioned clauses following a junctor *ki* that are functionally similar to relative clauses.

Ex. 105
Alim ajayip bala ki hiçkim-niñ söz-i-gä pärwa qil-ma-ydu.
 Alim strange boy JUNC anybody-GEN word-3POSS-DAT care-NEG-3SG.IMPF
 ‘Alim is a strange boy who never cares what others say.’

Functionally, Ex. 105 is an alternative way to express the same meaning as the relative clause in Ex. 106.

Ex. 106

Alim hičkim-niŋ söz-i-gä pärwa qil-ma-ydiyan ajayip bala.
 Alim anybody-GEN word-3POSS-DAT care-NEG- IDI'AN.PART strange boy
 'Alim is a strange boy who never cares what others say.'

Conclusion

There are two main types of relative clauses in modern Uyghur. The unmarked construction is one in which no agreement morphology is used, i.e. the typical Turkic non-marked relative clause construction. The other type is like the Turkmen or Karachay–Balkar genitive relative clause with subject and head noun agreement. This latter is the marked construction with specific semantic properties.

List of abbreviations

2PL	second person plural	IDI'AN.PART	participle in <i>-IdiyAn</i>
2SG	second person singular	IMP	imperative
3POSS	third person possessive	INTENT.PART	participle in <i>-mAkçi bolyan</i>
3SG	third person singular	IWAT.PRES	present in <i>-(i)wat</i>
ABL	ablative	IWATQAN.PART	participle in <i>-(i)watqan</i>
ACC	accusative	LOC	locative
AUX	auxiliary	MAQČI.PART	participle in <i>-mAKči</i>
CAUS	causative	MIŞ.PART	participle in <i>-miş</i>
COMP	comparative	NEG	negative
CONV	converb	PASS	passive
COP	copula	PAST	past
DAT	dative	PL	plural
DIK.PART	participle in <i>-DIK</i>	POT	potential
GAN.PART	participle in <i>-GAn</i>	PRES	present
GEN	genitive	PST	past
GUČILIK	participle in <i>-GUčilik</i>	EQU	similitude marker (<i>-däk</i>)
GUDÄK.PART	participle in <i>-GUDÄK</i>		

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Von *buya* ‘Süßholz’ zu *măjan* ‘Melde’

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This article investigates *măjan*, a Chuvash name for ‘saltbush’, which derives from *buya*, a term used by many Turkic peoples for ‘liquorice’. Since the botanical data hardly suggest a transfer of names from ‘liquorice’ to ‘saltbush’, the question at hand is which other plants are also designated by the word *buya* or variants thereof, and which criteria could have led to the semantic shift.

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1. Anmerkungen zu *măjan*

Die zu den Gänsefußgewächsen gehörige Melde (*Atriplex*) wird im Tschuwaschischen mit *măjan* benannt, einem Ausdruck, für den es nach Dmitrieva (2000: 55) bei anderen Türkvölkern der Wolga-Kama-Region keine Parallelen gibt, denn Tataren und Baschkiren verwenden für die Melde den Begriff *alabuta*. Lediglich im Bergdialekt des Marischen ist *muyan* ‘Melde’ (russisch *lebeda*) belegt; da die Melde aber gemeinmarisch mit *konšude* bezeichnet wird, dürfte *muyan* aus dem Tschuwaschischen entlehnt sein.

Egorov (1964: 131) weist darauf hin, dass sich in diversen Türksprachen der mit *măjan* übereinstimmende Pflanzennamen *buya* ~ *mıya* ~ *buyan* ~ *boyan* ~ *biyan* findet, der vornehmlich als ‘Süßholz’ (russisch *solodka*) definiert, manchmal jedoch lediglich mit ‘Unkraut’ erläutert wird. Aufgrund dieser unterschiedlichen Angaben schließt Dmitrieva (2000: 56) bei *măjan* auf einen Bedeutungswandel *solodka* > *lebeda*, den sie damit erklärt, dass bei den Tschuwaschen kein Süßholz wächst und der Name *măjan* deshalb auf ein vom Äußeren her ähnliches Unkraut – die Melde – übertragen worden ist. Das Süßholz (*Glycyrrhiza*), das zu den Hülsenfrüchtlern zählt, kommt aber in Mittelrussland nicht nur wild vor, sondern wird auch seit altersher an der Wolga sowie im südlichen Ural kultiviert. Den Tschuwaschen sollte daher das Süßholz zumindest als eine in der Volksmedizin verwendete Droge vertraut sein, zumal Dmitrieva (2000: 64-65) zwei tschuwaschische Benennungen für das Süßholz anführt – ČRS 490 *hăntăr* ‘solodkovyj koren’ und ČRS 445 *tutlă tymar* ‘solodka, lakrica’.

Nach Dmitrieva (2000: 116) versteht sich *hăntăr*, wörtlich: Biber, eventuell als eine Verkürzung von *tutlă hăntăr* ‘solodkovyj êkstrakt’, wörtlich: süßer Biber, wobei Biber mit dem salbenartigen Bibergeil (*hăntăr jüşê*), das eine gewisse Ähnlich-

keit mit Süßholzextrakt hat, gleichzusetzen ist. Demnach wäre *hăntăr* eine Benennung für die Droge bzw. für die aus der Süßholzwurzel gewonnene Lakritze. Der Ausdruck *tutlă tymar*, wörtlich: süße Wurzel, hat ein universales Benennungsmotiv, das auf griechisch *γλυκόρριζα* (süße Wurzel) zurückgeht und sich im gesamten europäischen, vor allem jedoch im slawischen Sprachraum belegen lässt. Da die Tataren und Baschkiren das Süßholz ebenfalls mit *tatli tamir* bezeichnen, ist der Name zudem allen Türkvölkern der Wolga-Kama-Region gemeinsam.

Dmitrieva (2000: 56) vermutet, dass die Namensübertragung von *măjan* auf die Melde wegen deren Ähnlichkeit mit dem Süßholz erfolgt ist. Die beiden Pflanzen zeigen zwar Übereinstimmungen in Wuchs und Blütenstand, keineswegs aber in Blattwerk und Blütenkronen. Alle *Glycyrrhiza*-Arten haben hell- bis dunkelviolette Schmetterlingsblüten und dunkelgrüne gefiederte Blätter, Vertreter der Gattung *Atriplex* hingegen einfache weißlichgrüne Blütchen und meist mehlig bestäubte lanzettliche oder pfeilförmige Blätter. Außerdem assoziiert man mit den Melden nicht die Vorstellung von Süße; es sind herb schmeckende Kräuter, die sich – mit Ausnahme der Gartenmelde (*Atriplex hortensis*) – lediglich als Kamelfutter eignen.

Im *Slovar' čuvaškogo jazyka* zitiert Ašmarin drei Pflanzennamen, bei denen *măjan* attributiv ergänzt ist, nämlich 5: 210 *vyrăs măjaně* 'nazv. rast.', 16: 203 *hura măjan* 'nazv. rast.', 17: 50 *hěrlě măjan* 'ščirica'. Sowohl *hura măjan* wie *hěrlě măjan* sind Namensübertragungen von *măjan* auf den in Europa eingebürgerten Fuchsschwanz, der im Aussehen der Melde ähnelt, aber keine mehlig bestäubten Blätter hat. Der Ackerfuchsschwanz (*Amaranthus retroflexus*) heißt wegen der bläulichgrün gefärbten Blütenrispe *hura măjan*, wörtlich: dunkle Melde, der Gartenfuchsschwanz (*Amaranthus caudatus*) wegen seiner roten Blütenrispe *hěrlě măjan*, wörtlich: rote Melde. Wie Ašmarin anmerkt, wird der Name *vyrăs măjaně*, wörtlich: Russenmelde, auch mit 'šultăra hura măjan' (große dunkle Melde) erklärt. Er bezeichnet vermutlich die bis zu 1,5 m hohe Gartenmelde, deren unbemelte Blätter die Russen als Gemüse verwenden.

2. *buya* 'Süßholz'

Das Süßholz ist nicht nur in Russland wild verbreitet, sondern ebenfalls im vorder- und zentralasiatischen Raum sowie in China und der Mongolei. Eine mongolische Herkunft von *buya* schließt Dmitrieva (2000: 56) aus, da sich der Begriff weder im Chalka noch im Burjatischen belegen lässt. Er findet sich aber im Kalmückischen mit KW 58 *bujā* 'eine Pflanze: Süßwurz, Süßholz' sowie im Afghanischen mit AFRS 136 *bujā* bzw. 560 *širinbujā* 'solodka'. Im Folgenden wird aufgezeigt, welche Türkvölker das Süßholz mit *buya* benennen und wie sie die diversen Arten namentlich unterscheiden.

In altuigurischen Texten zur Volksmedizin (Rachmati 1930: 146 und 191, Rachmati 1932: 1, 99 und 1, 120) kommt das Wort *pwd'* = *buda* vor; möglich ist auch eine Lesung *bud(a)n* (schriftliche Auskunft von Prof. Peter Zieme). Nach Bailey (1953: 53) entspricht dem türkischen Begriff *buda* im Sanskrit *madhuka*

‘Süßholz’; es bestehen allerdings Zweifel, ob es sich bei *buda* letztlich um eine Entlehnung aus dem Sanskrit handelt, wie Clauson (1972: 299) annimmt. Ein Zusammenhang mit *madhu* wäre zwar insofern gegeben, als bei der Adaptierung von Lehnwörtern ein Wandel von anlautendem *m-* zu *b-* stattfinden kann; für die Vertauschung der Vokale bietet sich jedoch keine Erklärung an. Im Übrigen deuten die pflanzengeographischen Daten auf eine türkische Herkunft von *buda* hin; in Indien kennt man das Süßholz nur als Droge.

Rachmati (1930, FN 146) übersetzt den Ausdruck *buda* mit ‘Traube’, da er ihn für eine Entlehnung von chinesisch *p’u-t’ao* ‘Traube’ hält. Aus dem jeweiligen Kontext wird aber ersichtlich, dass mit *buda* stets die Süßholzwurzel gemeint ist. Ein von Rachmati (1930: 146-154) angeführtes Rezept lässt sich weder von der Art der Zubereitung noch von der Indikation her mit Trauben vereinbaren: “Wenn jemand die Stimme verliert und sie nicht gut frei herauskommt, so soll man eine einen Zoll lange Traube in zwei gleiche Hälften teilen, eine Hälfte ein wenig aushöhlen, ein wenig *qīdai simiqī* zerschlagen, drei bis vier Pfefferkörner auch hineintun und die Traube (wieder) zusammenklappen, mit einem Faden umwickeln, von außen mit Papier einhüllen, unter heiße Asche legen; nachdem (das Ganze) gut seine Zeit gehabt hat, das Papier entfernen und mit den Vorderzähnen aufbeißen und, ohne den Mund aufzumachen, den Saft einschlürfen.” Ersetzt man Traube durch Süßholzwurzel, so bekommt man eine Anleitung zur Herstellung von Lakritzensaft, der bei den Türkvölkern noch immer als ein probates Mittel gegen Erkältungskrankheiten gilt.

Die Süßholzwurzel gebraucht man in Stücken oder pulverisiert; damit stimmen drei weitere Rezepte überein. Ein Mittel gegen Durchfall (Rachmati 1930: 191) sowie ein Mittel gegen Erbrechen (Rachmati 1932: 1, 120) enthalten *buda-tūbi* ‘*buda*-Wurzel’ (in Rachmati 1930: 191 mit ‘Traube-*tūbi*’ übersetzt), und einer Salbe, die bei von der Galle oder von Blähungen herrührenden Ohrenschmerzen wirksam sein soll, ist *buda mini* ‘*buda*-Mehl’ beigemischt (Rachmati 1932: 1, 99). In der Volksmedizin Zentralasiens wird noch heute für die Behandlung von Magen- und Darmbeschwerden ein Absud aus Süßholzwurzel angewendet (Karryev 1996: 197).

Auf *buda* ~ *bud(a)n* könnten gemäß dem sekundären Wandel *-d(δ)- > -y-* sowohl *buya* wie *buyan* zurückgehen. Im *Codex Cumanicus* findet sich erstmals die Bezeichnung *buya* ‘Lakritze, requiricium’, bei Grönbech (1942: 70) mit ‘*būjen* [*buya*, gewiss *st. buyan*, cf. turkm. *būjen*]’ zitiert. Während in den altuigurischen Schriften und im *Codex Cumanicus* mit *buda* bzw. *buya* eindeutig die Droge erfasst wird, beziehen sich Belege aus späteren Quellen auch auf die Pflanze, so z.B. im *Bāburnāme* f. 283a, wo Bābur berichtet, dass die Blätter des Tamarindenbaumes denen von *buya* ähneln, aber feiner geschnitten sind (Beveridge 1922: 505). Budagov (1869: 298) definiert tschagataisch *boyan* als ‘*lekarstvennaja trava*’ (Heilpflanze) und damit im Sinne von Süßholz. Im Osmanischen ist seit dem 14. Jahrhundert *boyan dibi* ~ *buyan dibi* ‘Süßholzwurzel’ bezeugt (TS 1: 645, 723); vgl. zudem WB 4: 1658 *boyan* ‘das Süßholz’, im russischen Text unzutreffend mit ‘*osoki*’ (Seggen) erläutert.

Als Benennung für das Süßholz lassen sich *buya* und die Varianten *buyan* ~ *boyan* ~ *biyan* sowie die durch den Wechsel *b-* > *m-* entstandenen Formen *miya* ~ *meyan* ~ *miyan* im Südosten, in der Mitte und im Südwesten der Turcia nachweisen. Vor allem die in Zentralasien gebräuchlichen Namen werden meist durch ein Attribut ergänzt, das auf das dunkle Blattgrün, die violetten Blüten oder den süßen Geschmack der Wurzel Bezug nimmt und damit das Süßholz von anderen gleichfalls mit *buya* benannten Hülsenfrüchtlern unterscheidet.

Neuuirigische Belege sind Schwarz (1992: 963) *çüçükbuya* ~ *qara buya* 'licorice root (Glycyrrhiza uralensis)' und UXL 387 *çüçükbuya* ~ 677 *qara buya* 'Glycyrrhiza glabra, Glycyrrhiza uralensis' [< *çüçük* 'süß' bzw. *qara* 'dunkel' + *buya*]. Bei Le Coq (1922: 123) wird *chuchuk buya* (*çüçük büyā?*), bei Jarring (1964: 78) *çüçü(k) buja* mit 'Glycyrrhiza glandulifera' definiert. Zu den Varianten mit anlautendem *b-* gehören karakalpakisch KkRS 115 *boyan*, türkmenisch TuRS 122 *buyan* ~ 596 *süygi buyan* [< *süygi* 'süß' + *buyan*], aserbaidchanisch ARS 64 *biyan* und ASE 2: 162 *şirin biyan* [< *şirin* 'süß' + *biyan*], in den anatolischen Dialekten DS 2: 672 *biyam* ~ *biyan* ~ *biyam* ~ *biyan* ~ *boyam* ~ *boyan* bzw. Baytop (1994: 208) *payan* ~ *piyam* ~ *piyan*.

Formen mit anlautendem *m-* finden sich im Usbekischen, in der aralo-kaspischen Gruppe, im Altai- und im Türkeitürkischen. Für die einzelnen Süßholzarten haben die Usbeken folgende Namen: Nabiev (1969: 12, Nr. 424, 425) *miya* 'Glycyrrhiza aspera' und *qizilmiya* [< *qizil* 'rot' + *miya*] ~ *şirinmiya* 'Glycyrrhiza glabra', UzRS 529 *çüçükmiya* 'Glycyrrhiza glandulifera' sowie UzRS 85 *bāşmiya* 'Glycyrrhiza echinata', wörtlich: Kopf-*miya*, und zwar im Hinblick auf die für diese Spezies charakteristischen Blütenköpfchen; vgl. Le Coq (1922: 121) *büyā bāşī* 'eine Leguminose'. Im Kasachischen sind nachweisbar: FK 5: 412 *miya* ~ *qizil miya* 'Glycyrrhiza glabra', QXS 394 *kök miya* [< *kök* 'blau' + *miya*] ~ *tätti miya* [< *tätti* 'süß' + *miya*] 'Glycyrrhiza uralensis', FK 5: 416 *bas miya* 'Glycyrrhiza echinata' sowie FK 5: 412 *tāwirmiya* [< *tāwir* 'gut' + *miya*] 'Glycyrrhiza aspera', eine Süßholzart mit behaarten Blättern, die vermutlich als 'gute *miya*' von der ebenfalls behaarten, aber giftigen *Sophora alopecuroides* abgegrenzt wird. Ferner lässt sich *miya* mit kirgisisch KiRS 548 *qizil miya*, nogaisch NRS 224 *miya* ~ 231 *miya*, kumükisch KuRS 231 *miyatamur* belegen. Die Altaitürken benennen das Süßholz laut Ramstedt (1935: 59 s.v. *bujā*) mit *miyan*; im Türkeitürkischen ist Steuerwald (1972: 635) *meyankökü* ~ *meyanotu* 'echtes Süßholz, Glycyrrhiza glabra' gebräuchlich, vgl. Baytop (1994: 208) *meyan*, im Dialekt *mayan* ~ *miyan*.

3. Weitere *buya* genannte Pflanzen

Da die Übertragung von *mājan* auf die Melde schwerlich mit dem Süßholz zu vereinbaren ist, stellt sich die Frage, welche anderen Pflanzen mit *buya* oder seinen Varianten bezeichnet werden und ob ihre spezifischen Merkmale mit denen der Melde übereinstimmen. Es sind vornehmlich Hülsenfrüchtlern, die dem Süßholz in Wuchs, Blattform und Blütenstand ähneln. *Sophora alopecuroides*, *Sophora pachy-*

carpa und *Sphaerophysa salsula* kommen wie die diversen *Glycyrrhiza*-Arten an Feuchtstellen in Steppen und Wüsten oder als lästiges Ackerunkraut vor. Wegen ihres herb schmeckenden Krautes unterscheidet man diese Gewächse mitunter durch den Zusatz 'bitter' vom Süßholz.

Sophora alopecuroides (= *Goebelia alopecuroides*) ist in Südrussland, Vorder- und Zentralasien sowie in Westchina verbreitet. Die Pflanze hat weißbehaarte gefiederte Blätter und in Trauben angeordnete weißliche, manchmal auch gelbliche Schmetterlingsblüten. Sie enthält giftige Alkaloide, die ihr einen bitteren Geschmack verleihen und sie als Viehfutter ungeeignet machen. Von den Uiguren wird sie einfach *buya* genannt, vgl. Scully (1880: 218) *buya* 'A Leguminous plant, *Sophora alopecuroides*', Schwarz (1992: 958) *buya*, UXL 66 *buya* und Le Coq (1922: 121) *buya* (*būyā*) '*Sophora alopecuroides*', Jarring (1964: 60) *buja* 'weed', URL 223 *buya* 'sornaja trava', im Tarantschi-Dialekt WB 4: 1810 *buya* 'ein Unkraut mit weissen Blättern, das auf dem Acker wächst'. Der Ausdruck könnte vom Uigurischen ins Ordossische gelangt sein, wo er sich mit DO 1: 92 *buja* 'nom d'une plante: *Sophora alopecuroides*' nachweisen lässt. Belege in anderen Türk Sprachen sind usbekisch Nabiev (1969: 124, Nr. 426) *âqmiya* [*âq* 'weiß' + *miya*] ~ *aččiq miya* [*aččiq* 'bitter' + *miya*], kasachisch FK 5: 11 *aq miya* '*Goebelia alopecuroides*', XQBS 121 *aštī miya* [*aštī* 'bitter' + *miya*] '*Sophora alopecuroides*', kirgisisch KiRS 548 *aq miya* 'brunec', türkeitürkisch Baytop (1994: 19) *acı meyan*, im Dialekt *acı piyan* '*Sophora alopecuroides*'. Bei Beveridge (1922: 505, FN 2) wird die im *Bābur-nāme* zitierte Pflanze *buya* unter Bezug auf Scully als *Sophora alopecuroides* definiert. Da Bāburs Vergleich von *buya* und Tamarinde sich jedoch speziell an den Blättern orientiert, kann nur das grünblättrige Süßholz gemeint sein.

Sophora pachycarpa (= *Goebelia pachycarpa*), die lediglich in Zentralasien vorkommt, hat gleichfalls weißbehaarte gefiederte Blätter und manchmal weißliche, überwiegend aber gelbliche Blütentrauben. Wegen ihrer giftigen Substanzen wird sie wie *Sophora alopecuroides* mit dem Attribut 'bitter' gekennzeichnet, vgl. usbekisch Nabiev (1969: 125, Nr. 427) *aččiq miya* und türkménisch TR 7 *ağibuyan* '*Goebelia pachycarpa*'. Auch kirgisisch KiRS 548 *miya* 'nazvanie gor'koj travy s žel'tym cvetkom' (Name eines bitteren Krautes mit gelben Blüten) dürfte die Pflanze erfassen, desgleichen neuuigurisch UXL 413 *seriq buya* [*seriq* 'gelb' + *buya*], unzutreffend mit 'Süßholz' definiert, sowie Le Coq (1922: 124) *sarigh buya* (*sārīy būyā*) 'eine *Sophora*-Art'. Eine weitere Benennung für *Sophora pachycarpa* ist usbekisch Nabiev (1969: 125, Nr. 427) *ešakmiya* bzw. kasachisch FK 5: 11 *esekmiya*, wörtlich: Esels-*miya*. Die Einbeziehung des Esels kann auf die behaarten Blätter verweisen; im Allgemeinen deutet der Esel jedoch symbolhaft auf die Toxizität eines Gewächses hin. Nach FK 5: 333 ist kasachisch *esekmiya* zudem für den nur spärlich behaarten Spitzkiel (*Oxytropis glabra*) gebräuchlich, einen giftigen Hülsenfrüchter, dessen Verzehr insbesondere den Pferden schaden soll.

Sphaerophysa salsula, die in Zentralasien und Sibirien sowie in der Mongolei und Westchina verbreitet ist, trägt rötliche Blütentrauben; ihre gefiederten Blätter haben oberseits keine Behaarung. Sie enthält wie beide *Sophora*-Arten Alkaloide,

die allerdings ungiftig sind, so dass sie ganzjährig von Kamelen und Horntieren abgeweidet werden kann; die Pflanze heißt deshalb im Kasachischen laut FK 5: 70 *aybatmıya* [< *aybat* 'gut' + *mıya*]. Im Usbekischen zeigen ihre Namen drei Varianten von *buya* auf, nämlich ÖÖA 162 *šor boyan* [< *šor* 'Salz' + *boyan*], Nabiev (1969: 201, Nr. 816) *aččiq biyân* [< *aččiq* 'bitter' + *biyân*] ~ *šildirmiya*, wörtlich: Klapper-*mıya*; vgl. Le Coq (1922: 125) *shâldir buya* (?). Mit *šor boyan* wird auf den Standort in der Nähe von Salzmorästen und mit *aččiq biyân* auf den bitteren Geschmack verwiesen; *šildirmiya* bezieht sich auf die für *Sphaerophysa salsula* charakteristischen blasenförmigen Hülsen, in denen die reifen Samen bei Wind ein klapperndes Geräusch erzeugen.

Im Kirgisischen benennt KiRS 548 *aq mıya* neben *Sophora alopecuroides* den Wasserpfeffer (russisch *gorčak*), obwohl er nicht zu den Hülsenfrüchtlern zählt. Der scharf schmeckende giftige Wasserpfeffer (*Polygonum hydropiper*), der mit der Melde verwandt ist, hat einen verzweigten Stengel, lanzettliche grüne Blätter und mit einfachen weißlichen Blütchen besetzte Scheinähren.

Ein Gewächs, das gleichfalls nicht zu den Hülsenfrüchtlern gehört, aber mit *buya* bezeichnet wird, ist die Sommerwurz (*Orobancha*). Sie bevorzugt dieselben Biotope wie *Glycyrrhiza* und *Sophora*, denn sie schmarrt auf den Wurzeln von Steppenpflanzen und kommt auf Hanf-, Klee- oder Hackfruchtfeldern vor. Als Parasit hat sie kein grünes Blattwerk, sondern nur gelbliche Blattschuppen; ihre Benennung mit *buya* dürfte sich deshalb auf die Blütenähren beziehen, deren je nach Spezies weißliche, gelbliche oder rötliche Rachenblüten den Schmetterlingsblüten der Hülsenfrüchter ähneln. Da die Sommerwurz an den von ihr befallenen Gewächsen großen Schaden anrichtet, nennt man sie Unheils-*buya*; vgl. neuuigurisch URL 223 *šumbuya* (s.v. *buya*), baschkirisch BRS 660 *šomboya*, tatarisch TaRS 662 *šombiya* 'zarazixa'. Abwandlungen sind usbekisch UzRS 548 *šumıya*, kirgisisch KiRS 913 *šumıyua* 'zarazixa', kasachisch XQBS 28 *suıyıla* 'Orobancha aegyptia'. Der Name *buya* hat sich in der zweiten Komponente von baschkirisch *šomboya* und tatarisch *šombiya* bewahrt; insofern gibt es innerhalb der Wolga-Kama-Region durchaus Parallelen zu tschuwaschisch *mājan*.

Mit kasachisch XQBS 228 *eškimiya* 'Silene' und usbekisch Nabiev (1969: 197, Nr. 793) *ečkimiya* 'Silene brachuica', wörtlich: Ziegensüßholz, wird eine Leimkraut-Art bezeichnet. Die Metapher zielt nicht auf das Äußere der Pflanze ab, sondern auf den Blütennektar, der sie zu einem Süßholz für Ziegen macht. Auf die Verwendung des giftigen Bilsenkrauts (*Hyoscyamus niger*) als Rauschmittel verweist usbekisch UzRS 560 *ešakmiya* 'belena', wörtlich: Eselssüßholz; die Benennung deutet auf die Wirkung der meist als Konfekt eingenommenen Droge hin.

4. Zusammenfassung

Wie die Untersuchung ergeben hat, bezeichnen die Türkvölker mit *buya* und seinen Varianten neben dem Süßholz auch eine Reihe von Gewächsen, die insgesamt oder teilweise dem Süßholz ähnlich sind. Für tschuwaschisch *mājan* trifft dies jedoch

nicht zu, da es keine charakteristischen Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen Süßholz und Melde gibt. Zieht man hingegen andere mit *buya* benannte Pflanzen in Betracht, lässt sich bei den zwei *Sophora*-Arten eine gewisse Übereinstimmung mit der Melde feststellen. Das weißbehaarte Blattwerk erlaubt nicht nur eine Assoziation mit den meist mehlig bestäubten Blättern der Melde, sondern hat gleichfalls einen herben Geschmack. Außerdem wird kirgisisch *aq miya* sowohl für eine Sophore wie für den meldenartigen Wasserpfeffer gebraucht, und dies setzt ein kongruentes Merkmal voraus.

Die Frage, ob und wann eine Namenübertragung von *mājan* auf die Melde stattgefunden hat, ist nicht eindeutig zu beantworten; ein solcher Vorgang kann schon erfolgt sein, bevor die Tschuwaschen im Wolga-Kama-Becken eingetroffen sind, denn die Melde kommt auch in Vorderasien, Zentralasien und Sibirien vor. Vermutlich haben die Tschuwaschen – wie viele andere Türkvölker – Süßholz und *Sophora* mit demselben Namen benannt, zudem aber *mājan* wegen der mit den beiden Sophoren gemeinsamen Eigenschaften auf die Melde übertragen. In ihrer neuen Heimat übernahmen sie für das Süßholz die dort übliche Bezeichnung ‘süße Wurzel’ (*tutlä tymar*), wobei möglicherweise zweckdienliche Gründe ausschlaggebend waren, da das Süßholz unter diesem Namen gehandelt wurde.

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Mongolic *čilagun* : Turkic *tāš*

Béla Kempf

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The Turkic and Mongolic words for stone (**tāš* and **čilagun* respectively) have featured in the literature as counterparts of each other from the very beginning of modern Altaic studies. This paper re-interprets the etymological relationship of these two words, and offers a new method for analysis of the Mongolic member of the comparison. To add support for the model described in the paper, two other Mongolic words, **čisun* ‘blood’ and **čidku-* ‘to pour’, are discussed, both of which seem to be ultimately of Turkic origin, and to exhibit a similar process of change as the word **čilagun*.

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The pair of words comprising the Mongolic **čilagun* ~ LM *čilayun* ‘stone’ and the Turkic **tāš* ~ OT *tāš* ‘stone’ (ED 557a), is one of the most frequently cited examples in Altaic comparative works. In spite of the fact that their morphological structures are not the same, they are usually mentioned in etymological works as counterparts of each other. The comparison is generally used to illustrate two linguistic phenomena. The first is the case of an *-i-* in Mongolic opposed to a Turkic *-a/-ā-*, e.g. Mongolic **nirai* ‘newborn, baby; fresh, new’ : Turkic **yāz* ‘summer, spring’, Mongolic **niga-* ‘to paste, glue’ : Turkic **yap-* ‘to build, to stick together’, Mongolic **nilbusun* ‘tears, mucus, spittle’ : Turkic **yāš* ‘fresh, moist, tears’. The second phenomenon is called lambdacism (or sigmatism), where a Mongolic *-l-* is opposed to Turkic *-š-*, e.g. Mongolic **gölöge* ‘pup, young dog or cat’ : Turkic **köšek* ‘a young animal’, Mongolic **taulai* ‘hare’ : Turkic **tabišgan* ‘hare’, Mongolic **kalbaga* ‘spoon’ : Turkic **kašuk* ‘spoon’.

The works which make use of this word-pair are so numerous that I mention them here only selectively.

The idea of comparing these words originates from Ramstedt (1903: 97), who refers to them together with their Tungusic equivalents to demonstrate lambdacism.

The etymology was probably inspired by recognition of the fact that the Mongolic **č* can often be traced back to **t* before an *i*-like sound. Thus, the Mongolic counterpart of Turkic **tigrak* ~ OT *tīgraq* ‘firm, tough’ (ED 471b) is **čigirag*, while the Turkic verb **tīñla-* ~ OT *tīñla-* ‘to listen to, to hear’ (ED 522a) is **čingla-* or **čingna-* in Mongolic.

This idea of Ramstedt was developed by Gombocz (1905: 260), who supplemented the comparison with data from the different Turkic, Mongolic and Tungusic

languages. Later, as Korean and Japanese were included in the presumed Altaic linguistic family, data from these languages additionally appeared in the literature.¹

As a strong supporter of the Altaic theory, Poppe accepted and strengthened this etymology in many of his works, especially in his comparative grammars:

Mo. *čilayun* ‘stone, rock’ < CM **čilayun* < Pre-Mongolian **tilayun* = Kor. *tol*, Chuvash *t’s’ul* < **t’al*, Turk. *taš* < **tal*’ id.” (1955: 114)

mo. *čilayun* < **tilawün* ‘Stein’, mmo. *čila’un* id., kh. *čulū* id. = ko. *tol* ‘Stein’ = tsch. *t’s’ul* (*č’ul*) < **t’al* ‘Stein’, AT *taš* < **tāš*, jak. *tās* < **tāš*.” (1960: 15)

mo. *čilayun* < vmo. **tilagün* ‘Stein’, kh. *čulū* id., bur. *šulūñ* id. (> ew. *jolo* id., lam. *jöl* id.) = ko. *tol* ‘Stein’ = tsch. *č’ul* < **t’al* < *tal*² < **tāl*² ‘Stein’, AT, čag. *taš*, jak. *tās* id.” (1960: 77)

mo. *čilayun* < **tilayun* < **t’ālabùn* ‘Stein’, kalm. *čolūn* id. = ko. *tol* id. = tsch. *č’ul* < **t’āl* < **tāl* ‘Stein’, trkm. *dāš* id., jak. *tās* id.” (1960: 98)

mo. *čilayun* < **tila-wün* ‘Stein’ = tsch. *č’ul* < **t’āl* < **tāl* < **tāl*² *a* id., AT *taš* < **tāš* < *tāl*² < *tāl*² *a* id.” (1960: 120), and other works of his (e.g. 1974).

The difficulty of the Altaic reconstruction is well exemplified by the three different reconstructions in four different forms: **tilawün*, **tilagün*, **t’ālabùn* and **tila-wün*.

Poppe’s reconstructions and the comparison itself were criticized by Doerfer (1965: 437-438) in item 855 of the TMEN (2). He rejects the possibility of the Koreanic word belonging here, pointing out that the Tungusic data cannot be copies from the Buryat, and argues against the many Mongolistic reconstructions of the same Mongolic word. The strongest of his arguments are no. 1, according to which Poppe’s reconstructions are incoherent, and no. 4, in which he states that the element *-yun* of the Mongolic word was not explained. Further, Doerfer mentions that the suffix *-yun* exists in Mongolic as a deverbal noun suffix, cf. Poppe 1954: §154.

Among recent works mentioning this etymology, I would like to highlight the *Etymological Dictionary of the Altaic Languages* (ED) (Starostin, Dybo & Mudrak 2003: 1373-1374), in which an enumeration of the comparative data from all branches of the “Altaic language family” is followed by the settling of the problem with the laconic statement: “Counterarguments against the etymology by Doerfer (TMN 2, 437-438) are not convincing.”

In spite of this, the connection of the Turkic and the Mongolic word does not seem to be solved and a discussion of the question at the Altaic level is therefore quite risky.

¹ As this question will not be dealt with here, for the detailed discussion of the etymology of the Japanese and Korean data and their relation to the other Altaic languages, the reader is referred to Miller 1970: 120-121 and the respective item of the *Etymological Dictionary of the Altaic Languages*.

In the present paper, I would like to discuss new etymologies for the Mongolic word **čilagun*, and two other Mongolic words.

I consider that the Mongolic word **čilagun* is a copy from Turkic, and I agree that its etymon is the Turkic (or Altaic?) word **tāš*, but not in the same manner as appears in earlier etymologies.

In accord with the previous reconstructions, I believe that the segment *-gun* is a Mongolic suffix; after its separation, therefore, the stem seems to be **čila*.

I suggest that this word is a verb. The Turkic word **tāš* has been contracted into the sound *č* of the stem **čila-* in the same manner as in the cases of the Turkic words **čik-* ~ OT *čik-* ‘to go out, to come out’ (ED 405b) < **tašik-* ~ OT *tašik-* ‘to go out’ (ED 562a) and of **čok* ~ Middle Turkic *čok* ‘many’ < **tašok* (Berta 1999). Thus, the reconstructed Mongolic form would be **tašila-*, which is a denominal verb in *+lA-* of the Turkic word. Although a verb with this form is demonstrable from Turkic, cf. Old Turkic *tašla-* ‘to throw stones (at someone), to stone’ (ED 564b), this Old Turkic verb is not necessarily the same as the one which served as the stem of the reconstructed Mongolic word. This appears reasonable if one considers the many shades of meaning of the denominal verb suffix *+lA-* both in Turkic and in Mongolic.

To explain the sound *i* in Mongolic, there are two possibilities:

1. The vowel *i* is original, and thus Mongolic reveals the quality of the Proto-Turkic final vowel of the word meaning ‘stone’ as **tašl*, which, taking the denominal verb suffix *+lA-*, will result in **tašila-*. Supposition of such a vowel at the auslaut position of the Turkic word additionally explains the puzzling form of the Chuvash word.

2. This sound is a linking vowel, since phonotactics in Mongolic did not allow the cluster of *šl*, and hence the usage of a linking vowel was needed in order to make the pronunciation easier and possible. A further point is that, despite the sound *š* not being an original Mongolic phoneme, at some point in the history of the Mongolic languages it appears as a secondary phoneme, but only before the vowel *i*. In other words, during its early history, Mongolic did not possess any other *šV* combinations than *ši*, which reveals that the linking vowel between *š* and *l* could not be other than *i*.

Accordingly both the presence and the quality of the vowel *i* is well supportable in Mongolic.

The Mongolic suffix(es) (+/-)gUn

To turn back to Doerfer’s counterarguments, let us consider the suffix (+/-)gUn in Mongolic.

First of all, it must be observed that there existed at least two, and maybe three suffixes with the shape gUn. It is clear that one of them is deverbal, while the denominal derivations can be divided into two groups. The first group includes those words derived from a pronoun stem. Such are the conjugational stems **egün* and

**tegün* of the demonstrative bases **e+* ‘this,’ and **te+* ‘that’, the interrogative pronoun **yagun* ‘what’, and the adverbs **jegün* ‘left’, **baragun* ‘right’, **gadagun* ‘exterior, outer’, **činagun* ‘thither, ulterior’, and **nirugun* ‘back, posterior’. The second group consists of Mongolic words in which the function of the suffix was regarded by Poppe as denoting body parts and animal names² (Poppe 1923: 116). It must be admitted that there are several Mongolic words which may contain the suffix (+/-)*gUn*, but their etymology is obscure. Examples are: **togurugun* ‘crane’, **galagun* ‘goose’, **sibagun* ‘bird’, **adagun* ‘horse, herd of horses’, **köbegün*³ ‘son’, **tokugun* ‘joke, fun’, **čibkagun* ‘sluggish, slow’, **silugun* ‘straight, plain’, **sabayun* ‘the part of the reins near a horse’s mouth’, **samagun* ‘confusion, disorder’, **biragun*⁴ ‘calf in its second year’, **talbigun* ‘broad, wide, vast, gentle, calm’, etc.

If we consider the above etymology, then in the word **čilagun* we are faced with a deverbal noun suffix. Among the Mongolic examples of this suffix, we find several whose stem is of Turkic origin, which reveals that the Mongolic deverbal noun suffix *-gUn* was productive at the time of the early Turko–Mongolic linguistic contacts.

Examples that are ultimately of Turkic origin are:

Mo. **arigun* ~ LM *ariyun* ‘cleanliness, purity, chastity; clean, pure, clear; chaste; sinless; holy, sacred’ ← Turkic **ari-* ~ OT *ari-* ‘to be or become, clean, pure’ (ED 198a);

Mo. **bidügün* ~ LM *bidügün/büdügün* ‘large, huge, big; crude, clumsy; plain, simple; ignorant, rough; deep (of voice)’ ← Turkic **bädü-* ~ OT *bädü-* ‘to be, or become, big, great’ (ED 299b);

² Later, in his paper on Mongolic names of body parts, Poppe deals again with this suffix (1973: 236-237). Beside the body parts like **deligün* ‘spleen’, **küjügün* ‘neck’, **erügün* ‘chin, lower jaw’, **omorugun* ‘collarbone’, **terigün* ‘head’, **košigun* ‘beak, bill, **kurugun* ‘finger’, he mentions that Mongolic **čarbagun* ‘forearm’ is the only example where the suffix derives a body part from a verb, cf. LM *čarba-* ‘to raise or move the hands or feet; to grasp, pull, or trip with the hands or feet in wrestling’. To Poppe’s single example let me add another one. Although he lists the word **ebčigün* ‘breastbone’ among his examples, he treats it as a denominal derivation, and gives the reconstructed form **ebti-gün* (Poppe 1973: 236). However, this word is a deverbal derivation from the Mongolic verb **ebči-/ebče-* ~ LM *ebče-* ‘to reconcile oneself with, make up with; to embrace; to unite’. Now, that we have two deverbal derivations on the semantic field of body parts, it could be worth examining the other examples with this suffix as well.

³ There is, however, a possibility to connect the Mongolic word **köbegün* with Turkic **köpek* ‘dog’. For a similar semantic change, cf. the Hungarian word *kölyök* ← Turkic **köšek*.

⁴ Mongolic **biragun* is etymologically connected to Turkic **buzagu* ~ OT *buzagu* ‘a calf’ (ED 391). Clauson suggests that it is formed by the suffix *gU*; however, it is not clear if he is speaking about a denominal or a deverbal formant.

Mo. **bitegün* ~ LM *bitegün* ‘the last day of a thirty-day month; the last day of the year’ ← Turkic **bit-* ~ OT *bit-/büt-* ‘to become complete’ > 1. ‘to come to an end, be finished’ 2. ‘to be ready to start’ (ED 298b);

Mo. **čikiragun* ~ LM *čikirayun* ‘squeaking, squeaky’ ← Mo. **čikira-* ~ LM *čikira-* ‘to squeak’ ← Turkic **čikra-* ~ OT *čiqra-* ‘to squeak, grate’ (ED 410b).

Genuine Mongolic examples include:

Mo. **aglagun* ~ LM *aγliyūn/aγlayūn* ‘compact, dense, thick’ ← **agla-/*agli-* (LM –) ← **ag* ~ Khalkha (Kara) *ag* [aγ] ‘szoros, szűk; szorosan, szűken’ [tight, narrow];

Mo. **agsigun* ~ LM *aγsiyūn* ‘condensed; thick; dry; stale, tasteless (as meat or stale bread)’ ← Mo. **agsi-* ~ LM *aγsi-* ‘to condense, contract, shrink, shrivel; to kink, curl up; to warp; to parch, dry to excess’ (cf. LM *egsi-* ‘to dry, dry up; to dry in the sun’) ← **ag* cf. Khalkha (Kara) *ag* [aγ] ‘szoros, szűk; szorosan, szűken’ [tight, narrow];

Mo. **buduligun* ~ LM *buduliyūn* ‘awkward, clumsy, maladroit, sluggish, tardy; dull, obtuse’ ← Mo. **buduli-* ~ LM *buduli-* ‘to do something in confusion; to cause confusion; to be confused’;

Mo. **čaglagun* ~ LM *čaylayūn* ‘the act of measuring, weighing, or comparing; that which is measured, weighed, or compared’ ← Mo. **čagla-* ~ LM *čayla-* ‘to set a time; to measure, weigh, compare; to limit; to act moderately; to imagine, consider, realize’;

Mo. **čarbagun* ~ LM *čarbayūn* ‘wrist, forearm’ ← Mo. **čarba-* ~ LM *čarba-* ‘to raise or move the hands or feet; to grasp, pull, or trip with the hands or feet in wrestling’;

Mo. **čidkugdagun* ~ LM *čidquydayūn* ‘cast or smelted metal’ ← Mo. **čidkugda-* ~ LM *čidquйда-* ‘passive of *čidqu-*’ ← Mo. **čidku-* ~ LM *čidqu-* ‘to pour, pour into; to smelt, cast, or found metals; to mint coins; to flow’;

Mo. **čigtagun* ~ LM *čiytayūn* ‘tight, tightly pulled, taut, stiff, tough; hard-mouthed; disobedient’ ← Mo. **čigta-* (LM –), cf. LM *čiytaya* ‘rope or string for pulling an object towards oneself; rope attached to the frame of the smoke hole of a yurt’;

Mo. **čimkigün* ~ LM *čimkigün/čimkegün* ‘severe cold when the sky is overcast, cold and gloomy weather’ ← Mo. **čimki-* ~ LM *čimki-* ‘to pinch, tweak, nip’;

Mo. **činegejgün* ~ LM *činegejgün* ‘strong, vigorous; wealthy’ ← Mo. **činegej-* ~ LM *činegej-* ‘to become strong; to become prosperous or wealthy’;

Mo. **ebčigün* ~ LM *ebčigün* ‘sternum, chest; brisket’ ← Mo. **ebči-* ~ LM *ebče-* ‘to reconcile oneself with, make up with; to embrace; to unite’;

Mo. **gemsigdegün* ~ LM *gemsigdegün* ‘cause for repentance; fault, sin’ ← Mo. **gemsigde-* (LM –) ← Mo. **gemsi-* ~ LM *gemsi-* ‘to repent, regret, feel remorse, do penance, confess sins, plead guilty’;

Mo. **geskegün* ~ LM *geskegün* ‘thawed, melted’ ← Mo. **geske-* ~ LM *geske-* ‘to thaw, melt, defrost’;

Mo. **kagagdagun* ~ LM *qayaydayun* ‘obstacle, impediment, hindrance’ ← Mo.
**kagagda-* ~ LM *qayayda-* ‘pass. of *qaya-*’ ← **kaga-* ~ LM *qaya-* ‘to close; to block,
 keep out (as wind, rain); to attack from all sides; to surround, besiege; to serve in an of-
 ficial capacity’;

Mo. **kalagun* ~ LM *qalayun* ‘hot; warm; intimate; heat, warmth; fever’ ← Mo. **kala-*
 ~ LM *qala-* ‘to be(come) or feel warm or hot (not used of weather); to be(come)
 warmed up or heated up’;

Mo. **kegjegün* ~ LM *kegjegün/kegjigün* ‘testy, obstinate, irritated, hot-tempered; arro-
 gant, overbearing’ ← Mo. **kegje-* (LM –), cf. LM *kegjer* ‘a testy or quarrelsome per-
 son; captious, nagging, fault-finding’;

Mo. **kengsigün* ~ LM *kengsigün* ‘smell of frying food; smell of burning’ ← Mo.
**kengsi-* ~ LM *kengsi-* ‘to burn slightly, brown (as food)’; cf. Turkic *köñ-* ‘to catch fire,
 to burn’ (ED 726b);

Mo. **kösigün* ~ LM *kösigün* ‘hard, uneven, rough; stubborn, obstinate; rude, impolite’
 ← Mo. **kösi-* ~ LM *kösi-* ‘to harden, stiffen, become stiff (body, tongue, etc.)’;

Mo. **medegdegün* ~ LM *medegdegün* ‘all that which is known, understood, learned,
 recognized; object of study; knowledge, science, perception, sensation; rudiments, prin-
 ciples, elements; category’ ← Mo. **medegde-* ~ LM *medegde-* ‘to be or become
 known; be perceived or felt; to be manifested; to inform, advise, notify; to sense, be
 aware of; to feel’ ← Mo. **mede-* ~ LM *mede-* ‘to know, understand, perceive, be con-
 scious of; to find out; to be in charge of, have the power of decision’;

Mo. **namjigun* ~ LM *namjiyun* ‘quiet, peaceful, calm, still’ ← Mo. **namj-* ~ LM
namj- ‘to quiet down, become quiet; to subside, get better’;

Mo. **nemegün* ~ Khalkha (Bawden) *nemün* (< **nemegün*) ‘surplus, extra, additional’
 ← Mo. **neme-* ~ LM *neme-* ‘to add, supplement, increase’;

Mo. **nilagun* ~ LM *niluyun* ‘oily, greasy (taste); cloying, excessively sweet (taste);
 disgusting’ (LM (K) *nilayun*) ← Mo. **nila-* ~ LM *nila-* ‘to smear, rub’

Mo. **ögsügün* ~ LM *ögsügün* ‘rising up[wards], upstream, uphill’ ← Mo. **ögsü-* ~ LM
ögsü- ‘to ascend, go upstream’;

Mo. **simdagun* ~ LM *simdayun* ‘hasty, speedy, quick’ ← Mo. **simda-* ~ LM *simda-*
 ‘to hasten, rush, hurry, speed; to endeavor, make every effort’;

Mo. **surtagun* ~ LM *surtayun* ‘that which is taught or studied; science, rules, doctrine’
 ← Mo. **surt-* ~ LM *surt-* ‘to be learnt, studied; to be trained, used to, accustomed
 to’;

Mo. **tarkagun* ~ LM *tarqayu(n)* ‘dissipated, dispersed, disseminated, scattered’ ← Mo.
**tarka-* ~ LM *tarqa-* ‘to scatter, spread, be dispersed’;

Mo. **togtagun* ~ LM *toytaγun* ‘calm, quiet’ ← Mo. **togta-* ~ LM *toyta-* ‘to stop, rest,
 become immobile; to set, etc.’;

Mo. **tomuragun* ~ LM *tomurayun* ‘clear, distinct, intelligible; enlarged’ ← Mo.

**tomura-* ~ LM *tomura-* ‘to become large, clear, distinct’;

Mo. **tornigun* ~ LM *torniγun* ‘of tall stature, well-grown, corpulent; healthy’ ← Mo. **torni-* ~ LM *torni-* ‘to grow, grow up (of children and young animals); to stand on one’s feet; to improve (of health)’;

Mo. **töbkinegün* ~ LM *töbkinegün* ‘cosy, well-arranged, well-organized, settled’ ← Mo. **töbkine-* ~ LM *töbkine-* ‘to be(come) stabilized; to settle down; to be put in order’;

Mo. **türgedügün* ~ LM *türgedügün* ‘rash, hasty’ ← Mo. **türged-* ~ LM *türged-* ‘to be rash; to be too quick; to fly into a temper’;

Mo. **unjigun* ~ LM *unjγun* ‘hanging, pendent; baggy, loose-hanging, droopy; long-lasting, protracted’ ← Mo. **unj-* ~ LM *unj-* ‘to hang down, be suspended; to drag along the ground; to droop; to be weak or sickly’.

The above examples show that the deverbal noun suffix *-gUn* originally derived adjectives peculiar to the result of the base verb. It is also clear, however, that some of these adjectives became nouns during a lexicalization process. Examples of this from the quoted material: **čarbagun*, **čidkugdagun*, **čimkigün*, **ebčigün*, **kengsigün*, **medegdegün*, **nemegün*, **kalagun*, **kagagdagun*, **surtagun*.

Thus, a possible way in which the Mongolic word for stone came into being could have been ‘to be hard as a stone’ → ‘something as hard as a stone’ → ‘stone’.

To become more certain concerning the above etymology of the Mongolic word **čilagun*, it should first be examined if there are other words in Mongolic that display a similar process in their history. Below, I demonstrate that there are such examples.

The first is the Mongolic word **čisun* ‘blood’. To the best of my knowledge, the Mongolic origin of this word has never been questioned. Although it was always clear that it is a derived word, formed with a suffix of the shape *sUn*, etymologization of its stem was not successful.

The word **čisun* appears on Janhunen’s (2003: 13) list, which consists of bisyllabic Mongolic words derived with the suffix *sUn*, the meanings of which are liquids or liquifiable things. Besides **čisun*, there are words such as **usu/n* ‘water’, **üsü/n* ‘milk’, **času/n* ‘snow’, **nisu/n* ‘mucus’, and **tosu/n* ‘oil, butter’. In these words, therefore, Janhunen identifies the function of the suffix *sUn* as a class-marker. Not ruling out the possibility that such a class-marker could exist in Mongolic, I have already pointed out the difficulties of this idea, citing some Mongolic words in which both of Janhunen’s criteria are met, but where the word does not mean a liquifiable thing (Kempf 2004: 377). Such are **yisün* ‘nine’, **jisün* ‘colour’, **üsün* ‘hair, fur’, **nasun* ‘year, age’, **yasun* ‘bone’, and **yosun* ‘custom, habit’.

In light of the etymology given below, it will be clear that we do not even have to deal here with the suffix *+sUn*, the function of which has already darkened and where the meaning of the derived word is the same as the meaning of the stem (Poppe 1954: §137).

The Mongolic word **čisun* goes back to the form **tašisun*. After we separate the suffix *-sUn*, the stem is **taši-*, which has a Turkic etymology. That is the Turkic verb **tašV-* ~ OT *taš-* ‘to overflow’ (ED 559b). It can be seen that the suffix *-sUn* is in no way a class-marker, but rather a simple deverbal noun suffix.

The same type of deverbal derivation appears in several Mongolic terms connected with body fluids, cf. **nisun* ‘mucus’ ← **ni-* ~ LM *nigi-* ‘to blow the nose’, **sigesün* ‘urine’ ← **sige-* ~ LM *sige-* ‘to urinate’, **nilbusun* ‘saliva’ ← **nilbu-* ~ LM *nilbu-* ‘to spit’, *kölösün* ‘perspiration’ ← **kölö-*, cf. LM *kölöre-* ‘to sweat, perspire’. Instead of surmising the suffix *-sUn* to be a class-marker, however, I think is more reasonable to perceive this suffix as one which derives nouns that designate results of the action denoted by the base verb.

The presence or appearance of the vowel *i* was explained above, but let me add that the cluster *šs* was not possible in Mongolic.

A further word which could strengthen the etymology of the word **čilagun* is Mongolic **čidku-* ~ LM *čidqu-* ‘to pour, pour into; to smelt, cast, or found metals; to mint coins; to flow’. The etymon of the word is the Turkic verb **tašV-*, as well as in the case of **čisun*. **čidku-* goes back to the form **tašitku-*. The verb copied from Turkic was **tašit-*, which is one of the causative forms of the verb **tašV-*. The final segment *-ku* is probably a Mongolic suffix, the function of which is not clear since the meaning of the stem and the derived verb seem to be identical or very close to each other in the case of the etymologizable examples. Such LM verb-pairs include:

amis- ‘to breathe; to sigh’ / *amisqa-/amisqu-* ‘to breathe’;

qada- ‘to drive in, knock in; to nail; to inscribe or enter one’s name on a register; to insert something in a text; to get stuck’ / *qadqu-/qadqa-* ‘to pierce, stab, prick; to embroider, to pin; to sting, bite (as snake or insects), peck; to treat with acupuncture; to have a sharp pain’;

baju- ‘to press, crush, squeeze; to wring; to grasp’ / *bajuyu-* ‘to press, crush, squeeze; to wring; to grasp’;

büri- ‘to cover, envelop; to upholster’ / *bürkü-* ‘to grow or become cloudy; to cover, cover up, to envelop’;

ende- ‘to err, fall into error, be mistaken, blunder; to go astray; to die’ / *endegü-* ‘to be mistaken about something, let something slip one’s attention’;

sere-/seri- ‘to awaken, revive; to recover consciousness; to become sober; to keep vigil; to learn, find out; to mistrust’ / *sergü-* ‘to recover, grow well, sober up, regain one’s spirits; to feel refreshed; to rouse oneself; to pull oneself together’.

The final questions of this examination are when and where the contraction of the sequence *tašV* into *či* could have happened. As the above-mentioned Mongolic words are present in the lexicon in the earliest monuments, it is clear that they were copied at the time of the early Turko–Mongolic linguistic contacts. The answer to

the second question is not so simple and depends on the origin of the sound *i* in the Mongolic words. If the vowel is original, then the contraction could have taken place in a Turkic language; on the other hand, if it is a linking vowel, the change happened in Mongolic.

I hope that this paper illustrates the fact that the possibilities of Mongolic etymology are not yet exhausted. Although the problem of the arguments pro or contra the Altaic theory cannot be solved by such individual etymologies, by ascertaining the etymology of the Mongolic word **čilagun* some questions can be solved and others re-opened, which is important for Altaic studies overall. The significance is not the fact that new light may be shed on an etymology more than a hundred years old, but that, in contrast with earlier obscure reconstructions, the history of the Mongolic word now becomes much clearer.

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Middle Chulym: The state of the art

Valeriya Lemskaya

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This paper aims at making a critical analysis of the data presented in a recently published book (Li et al. 2008) on one of the two sub-dialects of the Middle Chulym dialect of the Chulym Turkic language, one of the highly endangered languages of Siberia. The main point of discussion is some data and occasional analytical issues in this book (phonology, morphology, vocabulary, etc.) in the context of those presented in other publications on the language, and compared with my own fieldwork carried out mostly with speakers in the community neighboring the one whose sub-dialect is described in the reviewed publication.

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0. General remarks

A Study of the Middle Chulym Dialect of the Chulym Language (Li et al. 2008) is one of the few works published on Chulym Turkic in English; I think the only book which had appeared in English on this language is Pomorska 2004, which deals with a rather limited topic. Li et al. 2008 is an attempt at a comprehensive systematic description of the Middle Chulym dialect; it portrays various levels of the language (phonology, morphology, syntax). Other works that recently appeared include Anderson & Harrison 2003, 2006, Lemskaya & Mindiyarova 2007, Lemskaya 2008. There are several papers to appear, e.g. Lemskaya forthcoming.

Being fully based on field data, Li et al. 2008 is an important linguistic source. The authors are clearly precise in transcribing the language and transliterating names, places from Cyrillic etc. throughout the book. The field project is described in every detail on pp. 8-11. All the linguistic data are presented fairly, i.e. in accordance with what the authors recorded, not what is implied or published by others. The fact that the authors produced the book with little or no consultation of previous research has both positive and negative aspects. The analysis of the data has been carried out without the outside bias coming from other scholars' interpretations—e.g. the observation on the “forms with third person possessive suffix” “to be regarded as the basic forms by the informant frequently” on p. 32. On the other hand, consulting legacy data and previously published analysis would have given the authors added explanatory power and hints for original analysis—as on p. 80, where the verbal forms in *-GAc* are viewed as “Future II”: I am not aware of such an inter-

pretation in the previous publications; Birjukovič 1981: 73 considers this suffix to form the optative mood and gives a whole paradigm for it (see below.)

Li et al. 2008 opens with a five-page overview on the Chulym Turkic people and language. Unfortunately, the sources of the authors for this description seem to have been web articles such as those from *Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia*, which appear to have inherent inconsistencies and mistakes, and one article by Anderson & Harrison 2003. No information is given regarding the time when the authors retrieved the data. A broader academic description of the people and their language can be found in many works by Dul'zon (1966, 1973, etc.), Birjukovič (in: L'vova et al. 1991: 106-125, 1981, etc.) The most recent publications describing the present state of Chulym Turkic are Anderson & Harrison 2006 and Lemskaya & Mindiyarova 2007.

The remarks below are based on either the publications on the dialects of Chulym Turkic by different scholars (see Bibliography), or my own experience of field work among the speakers of the Lower Chulym and Middle Chulym dialects in the years 2006-2008. I should mention that I was able to work mostly with speakers of a sub-dialect neighboring the dialect spoken by the person who was the consultant for Li et al. 2008 (the Melet sub-dialect in the terminology of Dul'zon 1966: 464, the "Upper" Chulym dialect in the terminology of Anderson & Harrison 2006: 48), but also—though to a much lesser extent—with exactly the same consultant.

1. The "Chulym Language" linguonym

Li et al. 2008 call Chulym Turkic "the Chulym Language". In my opinion, this may imply only one language spoken in the area of the Chulym River. However, historically, the lower part of the Chulym in the Tomsk Region has been the homeland of some Selkup (Samoyed, Ostyak-Samoyed) groups, its upper flow regions in Khakassia and the Krasnoyarsk Territory—of the Kyzyl Turkic groups; along with that, the Chulym has, for the last four centuries, been the homeland of a Russian-speaking population, too. It would be more neutral to call it *Chulym Turkic* (following Radloff 1868: XIV; Dul'zon 1959: 93, L'vova et al. 1991: 6, Pomorska 2004: 19), a term which denotes both the linguistic and the territorial features of the ethnic group in question.

Li et al. 2008 write: "The Chulyms, also called Chulym Tatars..." (p. 1), which is not correct at present. 'Chulym Tatars' used to be a commonly accepted linguonym (as e.g. in Dul'zon 1952), but it has not been in use during the last four decades (see Dul'zon 1966 and later publications.)

The statement "[t]he Chulyms are comprised of the Küerik, Kecik and the Chulym Proper" (Li et al. 2008: 1) begs the question of what is meant by "the Chulym Proper". The quoted Wikipedia source is short and does not, in this case, reflect any serious information. Dul'zon described Chulym Turkic as consisting of two dialects – Lower and Middle, each having sub-dialects which were named after the historical *volosts* (Russian for 'province, political unit') of the 17th century that had been gov-

erned by the indigenous communities (in this case, the Chulym Turks.) Thus, the sub-dialects of the Lower Chulym dialect are said to have been the following: (1) Küärik (Radloff's spelling, see Radloff 1893-1911) sub-dialect: the indigenous name is *küärik jon*, Koryukovskaya volost (the source for this and the subsequent indigenous and historical names is Dul'zon 1973: 17); (2) Ketsik sub-dialect: no indigenous name is given, but the corresponding *volost* is said to be that of Kurchikova; (3) Yezhi sub-dialect *je:ži jon*, Baygul'skaya volost; (4) Yatsi sub-dialect *jatsi jon*, Yachinskaya volost; (5) Chibi sub-dialect *tš'iby d'on*, Kyzyldeyeva volost.

The Middle Chulym dialect comprised according to Dul'zon two sub-dialects: (1) Total sub-dialect *tutal tš'onu*, Total'skaya volost; (2) Melet sub-dialect *pilet tš'onu*, Melet'skaya volost (Dul'zon 1973: 17; see also L'vova et al. 1991; also a more concise electronic version form of it in L'vova no date.) The Küärik, Ketsik and Yatsi sub-dialects were already extinct during the time of Dul'zon's field trips in the 1940-1950s, and there remained only one speaker of the Chibi sub-dialect (Dul'zon 1973: 21-22.) I am aware of only one single speaker of the Yezhi sub-dialect now (Lemskaya forthcoming; also mentioned in Li et al. 2008: 8.)

Different authors have always stated that the Total sub-dialect of Middle Chulym is spoken within the borders of the Tomsk Region, in the middle flow of the Chulym River, in what is now the Tegul'detskiy Subregion (the region's capital being Tegul'det Village); its Melet sub-dialect, on the other hand, is spoken in the Krasnoyarsk Territory, also in the middle flow of the Chulym River, in the Tyukhtetskiy Subregion with the vast majority of speakers in Pasechnoye Village (see also Birjukovič 1981: 6, L'vova et al. 1991: 4, and others.) Dul'zon has clearly shown that the two sub-dialects, though showing a number of variations, belong to the same dialect (Dul'zon 1973: 23, and other publications); this view has been taken over and developed in academic literature (Pritsak 1959: 622-623; all publications by Birjukovič, etc.)

The only consultant for Li et al. 2008, a resident of the Tegul'detskiy Subregion, speaks the Total sub-dialect, while the so-called 'Upper Chulym dialect' (referring to that spoken up the Chulym River outside the Tomsk Region in Anderson & Harrison 2006) is nothing other than the Melet sub-dialect of the Middle Chulym dialect in Dul'zon's terminology. As mentioned above, the upper flow of the Chulym River is populated by another Turkic group, the Kyzyls. The relationship of the Chulym Turks to the Kyzyl (and thus the Khakas) is well described in Dul'zon 1959. These statements undoubtedly refer to the discussion of the meaning of the terms 'dialect' and 'sub-dialect', as well as 'dialect' and 'language'. Without going deeper into this matter, I would like to mention another point. Both the sub-dialects listed by Dul'zon and the division made by Anderson and Harrison draw a border between (sub-)dialects on the basis of the historical situation with the *volosts*. But if we ascribe a separate dialect to every geographical *volost*, we should not forget the fact that there were at least 14 Chulym-Turkic *volosts* already in the 18th c. (*Russia* 1780: 312), and that the Chulym-Turkic language is a geographical rather than a linguistic term. In its diachronic perspective (without any written standard and/or

norm) it comprised a (sub-)dialectal continuum with the neighboring (sub-)dialects showing only slight differentiation, while those at the extremes or the periphery of the area (in the lower and middle flow of the Chulym River) were rather mutually unintelligible to the speakers (Dul'zon 1973: 16.) For the reasons mentioned I reject the term 'Upper Chulym dialect' and follow Dul'zon's terminology. The question remains: *What is meant by "the Chulym Proper"?*

2. Self-identification of the Chulym Turkic people

The statement that the Chulym Turkic native designation for the language, namely *ös tili* (also after Anderson & Harrison 2003; 2006), a derivation from their naming of the Chulym River (*ös* in the Tural, and *ūs* / *ös* in the Melet sub-dialects, confirmed by my field data), goes back to the Old Turkic word "*ügüz*" 'river' (Li et al. 2008: 5) is rather an unproven hypothesis. According to M. Ölmez (personal communication), there are cases of the word *öz* being used in the meaning of 'river, brook' already in the Old Turkic, as well as modern dialects in Turkey, its etymology probably being 'water flowing in the valley' (cf. Clauson 1972: 278, *Türkiye Türkçesi ağızları sözlüğü, Derleme sözlüğü* 1977: 3367.) M. Erdal (also personal communication) suggested that other cases of the *ögü* combination of Old Turkic turning into a single vowel in Chulym Turkic may prove the connection between the modern Chulym Turkic *ös* / *ūs* and the Old Turkic *ögüz*. So far I have been unable to find examples of the kind, which actually speaks in favor of the *ös* / *ös* / *ūs* < **öz* etymology.

I should also mention that the village of Novo-Tarlagany, where V. M. Gabov, the consultant for Li et al. 2008, was born (as noted on p. 9), does not exist now, as many other Chulym Turkic settlements referred to in the previous publications. V. M. Gabov seems to be the youngest speaker not of Middle Chulym (which is written on p. 10, and concluded after Anderson & Harrison 2006: 47-48), but of the Tural sub-dialect. In my field work I have discovered younger speakers (in their late 40s) of the Melet sub-dialect of Middle Chulym, which Anderson & Harrison call 'Upper Chulym dialects'.

The statement in Li et al. 2008: 1 that "The core part of the Chulyms are descended from the Khanty (= Ostyaks) and/or Kets" shows a glaring error: It is not the Khanty, but other people—the Selkup (Samoyeds), also bearing the name 'Ostyak' in the past—that are supposed to have been Turkicized (along with the Ket) and form the present Chulym Turkic nation. Dul'zon has shown this in several publications, notably 1954.

3. Middle Chulym phonology

The whole section on phonology in Li et al. 2008 represents generalizations based on empirical data, i.e. word lists with corresponding English translations and comparisons from Birjukovič 1984. It is not explained why this particular word list was chosen, or whether the research was specifically done to compare the field data with

that published in the work mentioned. This source is not used for data comparison in the subsequent sections of the book, which in my opinion deprives both the authors and the readers of very important comparative and contrastive diachronic material.

The word stress in the examples of the *Vowels* subsection is not marked. This hampers the reader's comprehension of the data, especially under such terms as "long vowels" and the "elongated pronunciation" (Li et al. 2008: 13.) It is also not mentioned which words were extracted from a narrative context and which were elicited in isolation. To my mind, the words elicited repeatedly in isolation may show higher instance of long vowels compared to those observed in a discourse environment. Some of the quotations of the Russian sentences asked as stimuli show incorrect grammar; it is not clear whether instances such as "Какая площадь город?" (Li et al. 2008: 51) are misprints or whether this was really what the informant was asked.

It is stated that the [æ] "allophone is acoustically very similar to [a]" (Li et al. 2008: 14); the authors quote the informant as having said *anajek* 'wife' while the variant they expected was *enajek* (cf. "änäqəm 'the wife of the brother of my father who is older than me'" recorded by Dul'zon 1954: 72.) Based on my experience of working with the speaker of Middle Chulym Mr. Gabov, Middle Chulym front phonemes are generally highly centralized as in other Siberian Turkic languages (Seljutina forthcoming; see also Birjukovič 1979b.) For example, the vowel [ø] is more central, very close to [o]: *køpε* 'how many, how much' < **köp pä* 'is it many/much?' (cf. Li et al. 2008: 16.)

Some parts of the subsection on *Consonants* in Li et al. 2008 should be revised. On p. 20 they write, e.g., that [k] is a velar plosive while [q] is a uvular plosive *phoneme*, confusing the phonemes and allophones: [q] is an allophone of /k/ because it occurs exclusively in the environment of back vowels and shows no minimal pairs with [k] (see Birjukovič 1979b.) The quality of the [v] phone is not given; it is not present in the consonant phoneme table but appears in some examples of sound alternation: *parva:γıl* vs. *parba:γıl* 'don't go!', *pajna* vs. *vajna* Russian 'war' (p. 21.) This sound is not a labio-dental but rather a bilabial consonant close to English [w] (Birjukovič 1979b: 5 and my data.) Some other symbols occurring in the examples in Li et al. 2008 are not adequately defined either: "к" in *pa:ık* 'expensive' (p. 28-29), "ä" in *köpäs pä de äı* 'several villages, some villages' (p. 30.)

The /ç/ phoneme is said to be a "[v]oiceless postalveolar affricate /ç/" (p. 26), which must be a misprint, for the phoneme is *voiced*. A better explanation is needed regarding the fact that "[g] alternates freely with [γ]" (p. 27.) It is true that /γ/ (transcribed as "γ" in the subsequent sections of Li et al. 2008) occurs "in non-initial positions", but further analysis is required regarding the statement that it "occurs mainly in words with back vowels" (p. 28.) The neighboring Melet sub-dialect shows numerous examples of the occurrence of /γ/ in the environment of front vowels, also due to alternation: e.g. *i γi* 'two', *tilii γe* 'to search', *ädär γe* 'to do', *pü γünde* 'in the field', etc.

4. Middle Chulym morphology and vocabulary

The lexical combination *köpäs pä de* is regarded as a simple “word” in Li et al. 2008: 30, where it is translated as ‘several, some’ but not explained properly, though a comment is later made that *köpäs* “may go back to **köp ämäs*” (p. 70.) In my field data on the Melet sub-dialect there are many cases of *kömäs* ‘some, a little’ which obviously goes back to **köp ämäs* ‘many/much not’, while the former combination is rather a development from **köp ämäs pä* (with the interrogative particle.) Some other unexplained cases, on p. 42 for example, are in fact contractions: *anzōndin* ‘next time’ <**an-ij soŋ-in-din* ‘it-GEN subsequent-POSS3SG-ABL’ (Birjukovič 1984: 29.)

The so-called instrumental-comitative case has (unlike in publications by Dul’zon, Birjukovič and others) not been included in the Middle Chulym case paradigm in Li et al. 2008 (as it is written, the “-(*BI*)*la* (<-*birle/-bile*)” is “a suffixed postposition”: the *Cases* subsection on p. 30; also p. 64.) A comparative description and diachronic study of Turkic affixes going back to the postposition varieties *birlä*, *bilä* and *bilän* is given in Schönig 1998. The “-*BILA*” affix had long ago entered the Chulym Turkic case system and was in fact documented as a suffix for the Lower Chulym variety by Dul’zon 1966: 450: “*была, бьла – bulä, bälä, ньла, ньла – nulä, nälä*”, while the Middle Chulym dialect shows other forms: *-B(I)LA* (with an optional *-LA*; “*ла – le*” in Dul’zon 1966: 450) for the Tural sub-dialect, and *-LAŋ* (with *l* assimilated to *n* after *m, n, ŋ, j* sonorants) in the Melet sub-dialect (Birjukovič 1979a: 39-40.) The degree of grammaticalization of this postposition in Chulym Turkic (it may be added directly to the word stem, but not to the form of the genitive) proves that the element has entered the system of cases: *til-le* ‘language-INS’ (Anderson & Harrison 2006: 59); *adaj-laŋ* ‘dog-INS’, *kizi-näŋ* ‘person-INS’ (field data of the Melet sub-dialect.)

A possible explanation regarding the fact that “[t]he forms with third person possessive suffix seem to be regarded as the basic forms by the informant frequently” (Li et al. 2008: 32) is offered by Birjukovič 1979a: 28, in whose opinion the basic meaning such forms convey is that of *inalienability*.

The subsection on the dative case in Li et al. 2008 opens with the statement that this case “is marked by the suffix *-GA*,” and “[t]he suffix can be *-A* after the third-person possessive suffix *-I(n)*” (p. 32.) The *+Ā* suffix is not only used in this position: it merges with the word stem ending in a vowel to form a long low unrounded vowel, in cases where there is no possessive suffix between them (see Birjukovič 1979a: 33.) The quality of the stem vowel determines the frontness or backness of the suffix vowel: *tura* ‘town’ + *+Ā* > *turā* ‘city.DAT’ or *kizi* ‘person’ + *+Ā* > *kizē* ‘to the person’ (Birjukovič 1979a: 33.) A question remaining in this case is whether the omission of the possessive marker observed here is a result of the influence from Russian (which has no such grammatical category.) It is also mentioned that the ablative case “expresses point of departure” and “denotes the material from which something is made” (Li et al. 2008: 33.) Later on p. 50 the authors give an example

where the ablative has a meaning of comparison, but they do not mention this in the subsection on this case: *po köl te yköl-dün ulu y* ‘this lake is bigger than that lake.’ In the existing bibliography on Chulym-Turkic, the ablative has been said to have several other meanings as well: that of reason, time and price (значение “меры (стоимости)”: see Birjukovič 1979a: 46–48).

When quoting different case forms of the Chulym Turkic recorded by Dul’zon, Li et al. (2008: 37) mix up two dialects: the article by Dul’zon 1966 described mainly the Lower Chulym dialect with some minor notes on the Middle Chulym dialect. That is why the forms given in square brackets (i.e. all forms of the locative and the second and third person plural of the ablative case) may turn out to be different in Middle Chulym. Luckily, the forms from Dul’zon 1966 coincide with the Middle Chulym material given in Birjukovič 1980: 133.

Li et al. 2008 sometimes reconstruct forms in an unwarranted way, e.g.: “The correct instrumental forms of the second person singular and the third person singular may be *sēṅbile* and *āṅṅbīla* (or *āṅṅbīla*) respectively” (p. 37, the *Personal Pronouns* subsection; underlined emphases added – V. L.). This statement is surprising: firstly, the instrumental is not included in the case system as they describe it on p. 30: “-(BI)la (< *birle/bile*)... is not a case suffix but a suffixed postposition”; so the link between the reconstructed forms and the personal pronoun *case* system is not clear. Secondly, the expressions “correct forms”, “may be”, and the suggestion of reconstructed forms without an asterisk sign are rather unscientific.

Paradigms of Middle Chulym personal pronouns were given in Birjukovič 1981: 17, so the suggested instrumental form of the third person singular **āṅṅbīla* corresponds to *a:ṅṅbīla* (а:ṅṅбѝла), and *a:ṅṅvīla* (а:ṅṅвѝла.) However, the latter source does not specify what dialect these examples belong to. Archival field notes show a different form of this personal pronoun form in the Tural sub-dialect: *olaṅlaṅ* (олаṅлаṅ) (Boni 1973:167.) My field data on the Lower Chulym show *anīmīla* in this meaning. All these forms should be further tested with the native speakers of the language.

I do not, at present, have Middle Chulym forms to prove or contradict the pronominal forms **silārniḡdin* and **olārniḡdin* proposed in Li et al. 2008: 37 as “the ablative forms of the second person plural and the third person plural”, but a Lower Chulym text recorded by Dul’zon 1952: 177 contains only *olardīn* as the ablative case of the latter; cf. also Old Turkic *siznidin* and *olardīn* mentioned in Erdal 2004: 192 and 199.

Unlike the data in the *Phonology* section, the language material presented in the *Morphology* section in Li et al. 2008 was not compared with the Chulym Turkic-Russian glossary published by Birjukovič 1984: 26–77, nor with her other publications on the language. It should be mentioned here that the data on both subdialects of the Middle Chulym dialect were usually presented mixed in the publications of the past, with rare notations of “Tural” and “Melet”; this on the whole does hamper the dialectological study of Chulym Turkic. A comparison of the data recorded in Li et al. 2008 with those published previously could give important dialectological re-

sults as well as allow tracing any possible changes in the lexicon of the Middle Chulym dialect: e.g., both *ana* and *anya* were recorded as equivalents of “he/she(obl)-DAT” (p. 39); only *ana* was noted in Birjukovič 1981: 17; the same form is also found in my field data on the Melet sub-dialect. The data on the interrogatives also show interesting varieties across different dialects: *nōmā* for ‘what; why’ (p.44), my field data on the Melet sub-dialect show *nōya* ‘why’, while Birjukovič noted it as *noya* (Birjukovič 1981: 20-21.) What is more interesting, the same publication claims the accusative for *nōmā* to be *nōmāni* (Birjukovič 1981: 20), our field data show *nōñü*, and Li et al. 2008 *nōñi* (p. 44.)

In the subsection on demonstrative pronouns of Li et al. 2008: 40, two forms are translated with the same English expression: “*po* ‘this’, *ol* ‘that’ and *tey* ‘that’”, but the difference between the latter two is not specified. *Ol* and *tey* are not identical in their meaning and also function unlike demonstratives in other Turkic languages (e.g. Turkish *bu*, *şu*, *o*). Birjukovič 1981: 18-19 mentions that *ol* is rather used in anaphoric function (“в заместительной функции”). Two examples from this subsection in Li et al. 2008 show rather interesting data (p. 41): *a po-zu-n čol-da* ‘and this-3p.sg.POSS-ACC way-LOC’; *a po mon-zu-n čol-da* ‘and this this(obl)-3p.sg.POSS-ACC way-LOC’; *ā-zī pījaq* ‘that(obl)-3p.sg.POSS roe deer’ with the unusual *pozun* and *monzun* (cf. Old Turkic accusative forms *bunī/munī* Erdal 2004: 199) and *āzī* (cf. Old Turkic nominative *ol* and oblique *an+* forms Erdal 2004: 199).

An unusual lexeme appears in one of the examples in the *Ordinals* subsection – *leksturni: ič po lekstur-ni učünčü-zü-n kün-ge* ‘drink this medicine-ACC third-3p.pl.POS-ACC day-DAT’ (Li et al. 2008: 56.) This is followed by *ič po mekstur-u-n učünčü-zü-n kün-de* ‘drink this medicine-3p.pl.POS-ACC third-3p.pl.POS-ACC day-LOC’ (both sentences translated as ‘Take this medicine three times a day.’) The footnote on *meksturun* suggests that “*leksturni* is expected here instead of *meksturun*”. In fact, both *lekstur* and *mekstur* come from Russian, the latter from *микстура* ‘mixture; liquid medicine’. The former appears to be a spontaneous blend of *лекарство* ‘medicine’ with *микстура*, which the informant comes up with. What is more, the Russian accusative form of *микстура* is *микстуру*, with an /u/ sound at the end; so the *meksturun* form may be associated with that. It is also unclear why the glosses in these two sentences describe the possessive markers to be of the plural, but not singular, person.

Li et al. 2008 recorded the word *tifə* (< Russian “тысяча”) for ‘thousand’ (p. 14.) Interestingly, my Middle Chulym field data (Melet sub-dialect) also show *tışə*, while my Lower Chulym field data show *mīn* < common Turkic *mīñ*. Later the publication mentions that “[t]he informant gave the forms *mēñ čēgirbe pala* ‘my twenty children’... to the questions ‘my twentieth child’” (p. 57.) In order to acquire the ordinal form of the numeral ‘twenty’ it would, I think, be better for the context to have material objects, not ‘children’.

5. Middle Chulym verb forms

The infinitive is said to be generally “expressed with the suffix *-arya/-ärge*” (Li et al. 2008: 66); if the verb base ends with a vowel, the latter “and the vowel of the infinitive combine and form a secondary long vowel *ī* or *ē* while the *r* of the suffix is dropped” (pp. 66-67). According to Birjukovič 1981: 92, verbs with vowel stems form the infinitive with the back *ī* or front *i* in Lower Chulym, but *ī* (always a long front sound not subject to vowel harmony variation) in Middle Chulym (I have encountered a single case of *ī* in the Melet sub-dialect: *īrlīya* ‘to sing’.) As for the stems ending in *r*, Birjukovič 1981: 92 claims that the infinitive formation element is *-Ay*, not *ē* (Li et al. 2008: 67.) I have not come across any *ē*-based infinitives in my field work as yet, but Li et al. 2008 record *sidēge* ‘to urinate’ and *āzīrēya* ‘to sneeze’ (p. 67). Several examples with *-Ay* marker are also shown, but this is not said to be a suffix here: *ēzireyye* ‘to be drunk’, *parayya* ‘to go’ (p. 67).

The *Tense and Aspect* subsection in Li et al. 2008 gives several forms of the present tense: “Present I” in *-Adl* (“the present habitual tense”: p. 72), “Present II” in *-(l)ptlr* (“the present progressive tense”: p. 73) and “Present III” on *-(l)bil* (“also the present progressive tense”: p. 75). In the “Present II” material (p. 74), the authors give examples lacking the *-tlr* element such as *silār ayd-ṗ-sṗnar* ‘you (pl.) tell-PRES-2pl.’ and mention that “Anderson & Harrison (2006: 65) regard” such forms as those of “the evidential present”. The question of the so-called “evidential present” needs further investigation. There is only one such case in the quoted source, namely *bil-ṗ-sṗ* glossed as know-PRES:EVID-2 where PRES denotes ‘present’, and EVID ‘evidential’ (Anderson & Harrison 2006: 65). The *-ṗ* here is no doubt historically identical with the most common converb suffix of the Turkic languages. In the subsection mentioned, Li et al. 2008 depicts three cases with this converb immediately followed by personal endings of the verb conjugation: *aydṗsṗnar* (twice) and *pil-ip-sṗnar* (p. 74). I have not encountered any similar examples in the field data of the Melet sub-dialect, or in Lower Chulym records, nor are any such forms present in the texts or grammatical materials published by either Dul’zon or Birjukovič. One possible explanation for such a form is that it might have resulted from contraction (a very common phenomenon in the Siberian Turkic languages), and the context does actually imply a tense building element between the converb and the endings (like *is-* originally meaning ‘send’ or the like, see Birjukovič 1981: 32-43; Lemskaya 2008). On the other hand, it might be “a verb phrase of the shape *-(X)p* with pronoun, which is put to finite use in some modern Turkic languages and in Middle Turkic” (see Erdal 2004: 311).

The “Present III” tense with the *-(l)bil* element not only “has also the converb *-(l)p*” (Li et al. 2008: 75), but was explained by Birjukovič 1981: 51 to be contracted from an **-(l)p olur-* (‘sit’) combination.

Past forms with *-DI* were not encountered by Li et al. 2008 (see p. 77); they have been reported only in the Lower Chulym dialect and appear to have been extremely rare even decades ago (Birjukovič 1981: 62.) Nevertheless, a relic of such a form

was recorded in one example by Anderson & Harrison 2006: 55; several occurrences of it are also found in the Middle Chulym field note archives. All these occurrences are with one particular verb stem, **de-* (~ **te-*) ‘say’: *di-di-m* ‘I said’ [say-REC.PST-1] (Anderson & Harrison 2006: 55); *mo yalaq paar käl’ di-de* ‘bear go come say-PST’ (Birjukovič 1971: 627).

Interesting is the statement on the existence of “Future II” which “is expressed by *-GAč*” and “denotes actions that will happen in the near future” (Li et al. 2008: 80.) Dul’zon spoke about a *-(G)Ay* form of the future in the Lower Chulym (Dul’zon 1966: 461), which Birjukovič states to be equal to the “*-GAč*” form of the *optative* with a seme of the near future in the Middle Chulym dialect (1981: 73-77): *kün alt-im-a ba-gač-im* ‘sun under-3p.sg.-DAT go-OPT-1p.sg.’ (in the “Mangush” story by a Tural subdialect speaker; published by Abdraxmanov 1970: 60). Such forms also exist in the Melet sub-dialect: *körgēš’im* ‘I am going to look’ (both future and optative meaning; note that *š* here corresponds to Tural *č*). The examples in Li et al. 2008 and in my materials, with the *-GAč* element denoting near future, are all in the first person singular, the examples with the verbs in the third person singular denote epistemic modality and have *rain* as the subject: *su y paydī y ča y-yač* ‘rain probably rain-FUT’ (Li et al. 2008: 80.) It is not quite clear why the word *paydī y* denotes ‘perhaps, probably’ (Li et al. 2008: 80, 83.) I have not encountered this form in my field data, nor in archive data or publications by Dul’zon or Birjukovič. The lexeme *pay* means ‘rich’, and *paydaq* ‘many, much’ (Birjukovič 1984: 52). A possible explanation is that *paydī y* is related to the Russian parenthetical word *nodu /padi/* ‘it seems, it looks like’.

Converb forms similar to *-GAč* exist in a number of other Turkic languages; however, finite Middle Chulym *-GAč* needs a different interpretation. Note that Shor analytical constructions with infinitive + auxiliary verb *čat-* (*-rga čat-*) have a tendency towards a higher degree of grammaticalization: *pararga čam* ‘I am about to go’ (Nevskaya 1993: 87; see also Nevskaya 1988). It is also possible to suppose (M. Erdal, personal communication) that the *-GAč* element was developed from a sequence of **-GA* with *čak* as Turkish *-(y)AcAk* (in Old Turkic, “*čak* is a ... particle signifying ‘just, exactly, no other’”: Erdal 2004: 343). The origin, present state and function of verbs with the *-GAč* element in the Middle Chulym dialect are still unresolved issues.

The paradigm given as “Optative-Imperative” in Li et al. 2008: 81 (*ākāl* ‘bring’, *par-ax-tar* ‘let us go’) is regarded as only imperative in Birjukovič 1981: 68-73. A better term for this paradigm is “the volitional paradigm” (Erdal 2004: 235). The differences between the forms listed in Li et al. 2008 in this paradigm and those in Birjukovič 1981 are (1) that the 1st person singular is not singled out in the former, but is said to have *-im* as the verb ending in the latter: *al’im* ‘let me take/may I take’ (*ал’им* ‘возьму-ка я’; Birjukovič 1981: 69), and (2) that the distinction is made between the two forms of the 1st person plural in the latter: the form with the plural ending is described as a form of plurality: *pis al’ibīs* ‘may we take’ (“мн. число *нис ал’ибыс* ‘возьмем-ка’”), and the one without, as a form of duality: *alaq* ‘let us take’

(“дв. число *алақ* ‘давай возьмем’; Birjukovič 1981: 69.) There is another view on the subject, i.e. such forms as the Middle Chulym ones in *-K*, *-AK* (Li et al. 2008: 81) are rendered as expressing minimal inclusiveness, and such forms that end in *-aqtar/-axtar* in Middle Chulym are considered as those of augmented inclusiveness (Nevskaya 2005).

Birjukovič distinguishes two other forms of participles in Chulym Turkic alongside the *-GAn* form identified in Li et al. 2008 in the *Participles* subsection on p. 84; this form is said to be that of the past participle (Birjukovič 1981: 84); the other two are the *-Ar/i* present-future participle, and the *-LXq* future participle (Birjukovič 1981: 85-89).

Li et al. 2008 presents data on one converb only, namely the one in *-(I)p* (*Converbs* subsection, p. 87.) Birjukovič also mentions two other converb suffixes in Middle Chulym *-A*, and *-GAč* (1981: 90).

In the subsection on *Actional Modifications* the authors write that the “auxiliaries (postverbs) *al-* ‘to take’, *is-* ‘to send’, *par-* ‘to go’, *sal-* ‘to put’ serve to build transformative actional phrases” and the “auxiliaries *čörü-* ‘to walk’, *qal-* ‘to stay’, *tur-* ‘to stand’ build non-transformative verbs” (Li et al. 2008: 88.) In the previous publications *tur-* (originally ‘stand’) was said to have entered the paradigm of the present tense, *čat-* ‘lie’, and *as-* ‘exceed’ were labeled as markers of actionality, and *čörü-* ‘walk’ and *qal-* ‘stay’ were not mentioned as elements of actionality (see Birjukovič 1981: 32-43).

The conclusions presented in the section on *Word Formation* in Li et al. 2008: 90-96 should be compared to those in Pomorska 2004. Although the latter is a study on noun formation only based on the publications on the Chulym Turkic language, it offers many important observations. Thus, it shows the existence of *+(a)č ~ +(a)š* diminutive suffix (Pomorska 2004: 39), which makes us think that the lexeme *kičēč* ‘small’ in Li et al. 2008: 90 was not actually formed by “*kičig + gäč*”, but rather by **kičig+Ač*. Moreover, there we find the meanings of the suffix *+KI* (attested in Li et al. 2008: 91): those of time and locality (Pomorska 2004: 54.)

6. Various issues

The only example of a Turkic nominal compound, that in the *Nominal Phrases* subsection in Li et al. 2008: 99 (noun + noun with a possessive suffix: *äp kižizi* ‘woman’ < *äp* ‘house’ *kiži-zi* ‘person-3p.sg.POSS’), has many counterparts in my field data; e.g. *ūs’ kizi-zi* ‘river man-3p.sg.POSS; Chulym Turk’.

The example translated as ‘you have drawn a picture’ in the subsection on *Coordination* in Li et al. 2008: 104 shows *silär šiy-añ-nar kartma*, lit. ‘you.2p.pl. write-PST-2pl picture’. This whole expression is an obvious calque from Russian, where ‘draw a picture’ is *написать картину* lit. ‘write a picture’ (cf. Birjukovič 1981: 76 for *šiy-* ‘write’).

The materials in the *Appendices* (whose data are rendered in both phonetic and phonological transcription) reflect what is written in the main part of Li et al. 2008.

Here are a few additional notes: In the glosses of verb forms some morphemes are glossed as “AUX” (auxiliary), but little explanation of peculiarities and/or differences between them is offered (like some notes on p. 88.) These “auxiliaries” undoubtedly contribute to the formation of Aktionsart forms. An attempt to study them is made in Lemskaya 2008 and already in Birjukovič 1981: 32-43. Furthermore, various types of tenses are mentioned in Li et al. 2008: 72-81), usually marked with the Roman characters “I, II,” etc. These are not, however, reflected in any glosses, i.e. only general meanings are given, like PST for Past, etc., or in some cases several translations are offered with a past simple and present perfect form to compensate for the insufficiency of the glosses. An interpretation of the meanings of Middle Chulym tense forms is given in Birjukovič 1981: 43-83.

Throughout the book by Li et al. 2008 there are some misspellings of English; glosses and footnotes are often transferred to the subsequent page, hampering readability. In some cases the entries do not correspond to the translation (e.g., *törtçilin* on p. 58, which should be translated as ‘four together’, not ‘three together’). Russian loan words or cases of code mixing in Chulym Turkic—a highly understudied topic—are rarely marked in the grammar part of the *Study* (e.g. *pazdravlad ed-ibilmin* on p. 85, where the first element is the Russian verb *поздравлять* ‘congratulate’). Calques from Russian in the informant’s answers are not noted there either (p. 34: ‘[m]y grandfather is a hundred years old’ in fact being lit. ‘to my grandfather (is one) hundred years’, which is a direct translation from Russian). ‘Russicisms’ are marked in the *Vocabulary* chapter of the book. The task of studying calques is one of the many aspects of the Chulym Turkic language system still awaiting the attention of the linguistic community.

All things considered, the book is a good field study and a valuable introductory resource of this endangered and little described Siberian language.

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Abbreviations

ABL	ablative	OPT	optative
ACC	accusative	p.	person
DAT	dative	pl.	plural
FUT	future	POSS	possessive
GEN	genitive	PRES	present
INS	instrumental	PST	past
LOC	locative	REC	recent
OBL	oblique	sg.	singular

О языке сойотов Бурятии

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This article deals with Soyot, a Sayan Turkic variety spoken by about 2,000 persons in the Oka district (Axin aymag) of Buryatia. Its speakers arrived from Mongolia about 400-450 years ago. Sayan Samoyed tribes are thought to have contributed to their ethnogenesis. The language is close to other varieties of the taiga area, particularly Tofan, Dukhan, and Tuhan. It would thus be possible to represent its sound structure by means of the alphabet and the orthographic principles developed for the Tofan language by the author himself. The article comments extensively on the three layers of Mongolic lexical influence on Soyot: loans from medieval Mongolian, from the Darxat dialect, and from Buryat.

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Современные сойоты – один из малочисленных народов России, представители которого компактно проживают на территории Окинского района Республики Бурятия. До 1993 г. сойотами считали себя лишь около 500 человек. Официально они не выделялись из числа бурятского населения данного района. Их долгая борьба за признание их самостоятельным этносом завершилась тем, что Указом Президиума Верховного Совета Республики Бурятия от 13 апреля 1993 г. на территории Окинского района был образован Сойотский национальный сельский совет. В настоящее время в связи с ростом национального самосознания сойотами признали себя около 2 тыс. человек, или почти 42% всех жителей Окинского района. Сойоты обратились в парламент России с просьбой о признании их самостоятельным народом. Эта просьба была рассмотрена и удовлетворена, их признали самостоятельным народом и отнесли к малочисленным народам России. Далее, Постановлением Народного Хурала Республики Бурятия № 540-1 от 21 ноября 2001 г. было одобрено предложение Окинского районного совета о переименовании Окинского района в Окинский сойотский национальный район в составе Республики Бурятия. Разработаны и принимаются меры по возрождению традиционного охотничье-оленоводческого хозяйства и национальной культуры в том числе и языка.

История сойотов изучена слабо. В научной литературе встречаются лишь отдельные замечания о их происхождении. Санкт-Петербургским этнографом Л. Р. Павлинской, подробно изучавшей современных сойотов, в частной беседе высказывалось предположение о том, что в их этногенезе принимали участие саянские самодийские племена, явившиеся той основой, на которую впоследствии наложился древний тюркский этнос, тюркизировавший в отношении языка этот самодийский субстрат. Иначе говоря, по своему происхо-

ждению сойоты – саянские самодийцы, подвергшиеся тюркизации еще в древнетюркское время, где-то в VII-VIII вв. н.э., а возможно и ранее.

По сведениям старожилов Окинского края как сойотов, так и бурят, сойоты в составе родов *иркит*, *хаасуут* и *онхот* относительно недавно, порядка 400-450 лет тому назад, переселились в Бурятию из Монголии из окрестностей оз. Хубсугул, где они тогда кочевали на территории дархатских сомонов Ханха и Уури, а также в районе горы Ринчинлхумбэ, считавшейся их священной горой-покровителем. Выйдя из пределов Монголии, сойоты сначала расселились в Тунке и частично в Закамне. Но поскольку там почти нет мест, благоприятных для оленеводства, то часть сойотов, перейдя на животноводство, осела в Тунке и Закамне, сливаясь с местными бурятами. Оленеводы же перекочевали в Оку, где ещё до 1930-х гг. они жили в местности Ильчир на водораздельном горном хребте между верховьями рек Иркутка и Оки, где было достаточно ягеля для прокорма оленей. Там они занимались разведением домашних северных оленей, которых использовали под седло и вьюк, и промысловой охотой на таёжных зверей и птиц, практикуя также и рыболовство на местных реках и озёрах. Основным их жилищем был чум, крытый летом берестой, а в зимнее время шкурами изюбрей и лосей. Вместе со своими оленями они осуществляли сезонные перекочевки по горной тайге, находясь зимой в долинах рек у подножия гор, летом – в высокогорье, где растёт ягель – олений мох, – дует ветер, и нет таёжной мошки, губительной для оленей. Таков в общих чертах был их традиционный образ жизни. Так сойоты оказались в Оке.

Оленеводство и традиционный кочевой образ жизни сохраняла лишь Окинская группа сойотов. Бурятский язык тоже проникал и к ним, но через браки с бурятами, поскольку женщин сойоток не хватало, а в связи с обычаем экзогамии браки внутри рода запрещались. Есть предположение, что сойоты уже были двуязычны и владели дархатским диалектом монгольского языка до перекочевки в Бурятию, поэтому их сближение с бурятами произошло достаточно быстро.

В 1930-е гг. в СССР началась кампания перевода кочевых племен на оседлость, и создания колхозов. Сойотов расселили в поселках Сорок, Хурга, Боксон, районном центре Орлик, а также на многочисленных животноводческих фермах, где они стали заниматься животноводством бурятского типа, разводя коров, яков и хайныков (помесь яка и коровы), а также лошадей. Сохранялось и оленеводство отгонного типа, ликвидированное в 1960-х гг. как якобы нерентабельное. В эти годы началось усиленное сближение сойотов с бурятами.

В Дархатском крае Монголии, к западу от оз. Хубсугул, до сих пор продолжают обитать тюркоязычные оленеводы, которых монголы называют *цаатан* (букв. «олeneводь»), а также *уйгар*, т.е. «уйгур», а иногда и *цаатан уйгар* (букв. «олeneводь-уйгурь»). Сами же себя цаатаны-уйгуры именуют словом *туьһа*, которое очень близко к самоназванию тофаларов – *тофа*, ср. название тувинцев – *тыва-дыва*. Кстати, окинские буряты используют для именования тувинцев и тофаларов помимо этнонима *урьянхад* (букв. «урян-

хайцы») также выражение *уйгар хэлтэн*, т.е. «уйгуроязычные». Это говорит о том, что память бурятского народа связывает данные тюркские этносы с древними уйгурами. В составе цаатанов, а также оленеводческих групп дархатов, произошедших от саянских тюрков-олeneводо-в, тоже имеются роды *иркит, хаасуут, онхот*. Видимо, от них, от этих саянских тюрков-олeneводо-в, ведут свое происхождение современные окинские сойоты.

Современный язык сойотов, который еще недавно помнило несколько стариков и который нам удалось наблюдать в 1970-х гг. и даже слышать в начале 1990-х, во время наших поездок в Оку, по своему строю типичный тюркский язык, наиболее близкий к тофаларскому языку России и к языку цаатанов-уйгуров и уйгуров-уряньхайцев Монголии. Тофаларский язык мы изучаем с 1964 г., а два последних – с 1989 г., когда произвели их первые записи в местах расселения этих народов. С самого начала записей цаатанского и уйгуро-уряньхайского языков стала выявляться их большая близость как между собой, так и по отношению к тофаларскому и сойотскому языкам, а также их значительные отличия от тувинского языка, хотя все они относятся к одной, саянской, подгруппе сибирских тюркских языков. По общепринятой в отечественной тюркологии классификации тюркских языков, предложенной Н. А. Баскаковым (1969: 323), тувинский и тофаларский языки входят в уйгуро-тукуюскую подгруппу уйгуро-огузской группы тюркских языков. Данную подгруппу мы дополняем языками уйгуров-цаатанов и уйгуро-уряньхайцев, а теперь и языком сойотов.

Сравнительное изучение тюркских языков Саянского региона, включая и сойотский, показало, что все они: тувинский России и Монголии, тофаларский и сойотский России, цаатанский и уйгуро-уряньхайский Монголии, кёк-мончаков Монголии и Китая объединяются в одну саянскую подгруппу сибирских тюркских языков, которая по Н. А. Баскакову называется уйгуро-тукуюской. Сама эта подгруппа, по нашему мнению, делится на два чётких ареала: 1) степной – с языками тувинским и кёк-мончаков и 2) таёжный, куда входят тофаларский, сойотский, цаатанский и уйгуро-уряньхайский языки. К таёжному ареалу по многим признакам примыкает и тоджинский диалект тувинского языка. Носители языков таёжного ареала являются в основном оленеводами-охотниками (кроме уйгуро-уряньхайцев Монголии, которые давно уже имеют тот же хозяйственный тип, что и монголы, занимаясь животноводством), которых объединяет, кроме общего языка, также сходный тип охотничье-олeneводческого кочевого хозяйства и своеобразной материальной культуры, позволивших им хорошо приспособиться к кочевой жизни в условиях горной тайги.

О близости сойотского языка к тофаларскому свидетельствуют не только наши личные впечатления, полученные при наблюдении сойотского языка, а также языков цаатанов и уйгуро-уряньхайского, но и ряд свидетельств ученых, которым довелось наблюдать сойотов. Так, по утверждению Б. С. Дугарова (1983: 99), изучавшего этногенез бурят и сойотов Оки, М. А. Кастрен, посетивший сойотов Тунки в XIX в., писал, что они говорили «... на том же тюркском наречии, каким говорят карагасы (т.е. тофалары – В. Р.)». Об актив-

ном использовании сойотами своего тюркского языка еще в XVIII в. говорит и Г. Д. Санжеев (1930: 13-14), исследовавший в конце 20-х гг. XX в. дархатов и население Дархатского края, ссылаясь на свидетельство немецкого географа XVIII в. Антона Фридриха Бюшинга, который в своей книге «Описание земли» (издана в Гамбурге в 1787 г.) утверждал, что язык у тункинских сойотов тот же, что и у карагасов (т.е. тофаларов – В. Р.) Нижнеудинского уезда. Профессор Иркутского госуниверситета Б. Э. Петри (1927: 19), проводивший в 1926 г. по заданию Комитета Севера специальную этнографическую экспедицию по изучению хозяйства, быта и культуры сойотов, писал о их языке, что его еще помнят старики и что он чрезвычайно близок урянхайско-сойотскому. Сойотами, сойонами и урянхайцами, кстати, в старой русской литературе вплоть до 20-х гг. XX в. называли тувинцев и не отделяли от них цаатанов и тофаларов.

В настоящее время вновь во весь рост встал вопрос о праве народов на национальную культуру и язык. Проблема возрождения и сохранения культур и языков малых народов России, особенно малочисленных народов Сибири и Севера, сделалась весьма актуальной и животрепещущей. Если в первые годы советской власти национальные культуры и языки у этих народов были еще живы и активно использовались, а проблема состояла лишь в том, чтобы этим языкам дать письменность, то сейчас ситуация изменилась настолько, что следует спасать и возрождать не только языки, но и сами эти народы. В Республике Бурятия такая проблема стоит в отношении не только эвенков, но и сойотов – совсем недавно официально признанной малой народности, которая ставит своей целью возродить родной язык и национальные культуру и хозяйство. Целиком разделяя их чувства и поддерживая их стремление к этому возрождению, мы считаем, что в этом деле нельзя пренебрегать никакой возможностью помочь им. Скептики уверяют, что мол уже поздно, что все сойоты уже окончательно «обурячены». Однако мы уверены, что это не совсем так. Ведь те же скептики совсем недавно уверяли, что не стоило ставить вопрос о возрождении такой народности, как сойоты, поскольку их сейчас просто нет, все они стали бурятами. Но жизнь показала, что стремление народа к возрождению не знает преград. Сойоты добились признания их самостоятельным народом и включения в перечень малых народов России. Делаются реальные шаги в деле возрождения их традиционного хозяйства, связанного с оленеводством, которое было у них ещё до 1960-х гг. Поэтому следует надеяться, что воля и стремление народа к возрождению также и языка окажутся сильнее скепсиса отдельных деятелей науки и политики.

Мы считаем, что для возрождения сойотского языка сейчас есть все условия. Прежде всего, имеется желание народа возродить свой язык. Поскольку же сойотский язык – это тюркский язык, наиболее близкий языку тофаларов и цаатанов, то для его возрождения следует учесть опыт создания письменности для тофаларского языка и сам материал тофаларского и цаатанского языков. Язык цаатанов бесписьменный, есть только опыт фиксации на цаатанском языке некоторых научных материалов монгольскими коллегами и наши

попытка применить для его записи в 1989 г. буквы тофаларского алфавита. Кстати говоря, попытка эта оказалась весьма успешной, поскольку в звуковом отношении язык цаатанов имеет ту же систему, что и тофаларский язык. Эта же система представлена и в языке сойотов. Поэтому мы считаем возможным использовать для сойотского языка алфавит, разработанный нами для тофаларского языка, и те же принципы орфографии. Поясним это на примерах.

Во-первых, сойотский язык, как и тофаларский, имеет помимо 4 твердоядных гласных *a, o, u, ы* еще 6 мягкорядных: *э, ә, ө, ү, и, і*, производимых одинаково с тофаларскими и представленных в одних и тех же словах. Эти гласные бытуют в виде 3 типов фонем – краткие чистые, краткие фарингализованные и долгие чистые. При этом долгота обозначается двойным написанием соответствующей гласной буквы, а фарингализация – твердым знаком после этой буквы. Таким образом, в составе вокализма как тофаларского, так и сойотского и цаатанского языков представлено по 30 гласных фонем. Взаимозамена этих фонем меняет смысл слов. Так, например,

кээр «придет» – *кээр* «будет крошить»,
ас «забудись» – *аьс* «повесь» – *аас* «рот; пасть»,
от «огонь» – *оьт* «трава»,
ыт «отправь» – *ыьт* «собака» – *ыьт* «голос; звук»,
эш «друг» – *эьш* «гребни веслом» и т. п.

Во-вторых, в составе консонантизма этих языков представлены помимо согласных *б, п, в, ф, т, д, с, з, ш, ж, ч, л, р, й, к, х, г, ц, ш*, производимых как и соответствующие русские буквы, ещё 5 специфических согласных, для обозначения которых взяты соответствующие буквы из алфавитов языков народов России: *к, г, ң, ч, һ*. Примеры: *қарақ* «глаза», *қараган* «багульник, рододендрон», *һем* «река», *һам* «шаман», *чарачаң* «соболь», *чер* «земля», *доңган* «замерз».

В-третьих, фаринализация гласных решительным образом влияет на характер чередований последующих согласных. При этом, например, после чистых кратких и долгих гласных согласный *п* переходит в *б* или *в*: *қап* «мешок» – *қабы* ~ *қавы* «его мешок», после фарингализованных – в *п*, *ф*, *һ*: *қаьп* «поймай ртом» – *қаьпар* ~ *қаьфар* ~ *қаьһар* «поймает ртом», *тэьп* «пинай» – *тэьпер* ~ *тэьфер* ~ *тэьһер* «пнёт»; при первом условии *ш* переходит в *ч* (*баш* «язва» – *бачы* «его язва», *таш* «камень» – *тачы* «его камень», *ыш* «дым» – *ычы* «его дым»), при втором – в *һь* (*баьш* «голова» – *баьһи* «его голова», *қаьш* «сколько» – *қаьһин* «когда», *қыьш* «зима» – *қыьһин* «зимой»).

Язык сойотов хорошо развит и адекватно отражает тип их традиционной хозяйственной деятельности, быта, культуры. В 1970-е гг. во время диалектологической экспедиции в Окинский район нами от сойотских стариков было записано около 5 тысяч сойотских слов и основные сведения по грамматике сойотского языка, был установлен звуковой строй этого языка. В 2001 г. по просьбе Правительства Республики Бурятия, админимтрации Окинского района и Ассоциации сойотского народа нами была разработана письменность для

сойотского языка, выработаны правила орфографии и составлен «Сойотско-бурятско-русский словарь» [Рассадин, 2003], изданный в 2003 г. Он включил всю собранную нами сойотскую лексику, переведенную нами не только на русский язык, но и на бурятский с использованием окинской бурятской диалектной лексики. В 2009 г. был издан в издательстве «Дрофа» Санкт-Петербурга сойотский букварь [Рассадин, 2009], в 2005 г. нами был подготовлен учитель сойотского языка, поскольку привительственными органами Республики Бурятия было принято решение ввести преподавание сойотского языка в начальных классах сойотской школы.

Саянские тюрки, включая и предков сойотов, с XIII в. попали под власть монголов, с тех пор как сын Чингисхана Джучи в 1207 г. совершил свой «лесной поход» и покорил различные племена, живущие в Саянском регионе. С тех пор и поныне тюрки живут бок о бок с монгольскими народами, испытывая их влияние.

Есть предположение, как уже нами отмечалось, что сойоты уже были двуязычны и владели дархатским диалектом монгольского языка до перекочевки в Бурятию, поэтому их сближение с бурятами произошло достаточно быстро.

Таким образом, о длительном влиянии монгольского языка с его дархатским диалектом, а также бурятского языка на язык сойотов свидетельствуют исторические и иные факты.

В соответствии с историей сойотов в их языке достаточно четко различаются три слоя монгольских лексических элементов: во-первых, заимствования из средневекового монгольского языка, во-вторых, монгольская лексика, характерная для современного монгольского языка, его дархатского диалекта, и в-третьих, слова, пришедшие явно из бурятского языка, характеризующиеся признаками бурятского языка, отличающие их от современных монгольских. При этом заимствования из монгольских языков имеют ряд особенностей звукового оформления, характерных для сойотского языка и возникших под его влиянием. Прежде всего, это касается особого типа гармонии гласных. По закону сингармонизма сойотского языка после гласного *о*, *ы* первого слога следуют широкие гласные *а*, *аа*, но не *о*, *оо*, в мягкорядных словах соответственно за *ө*, *и* следуют *е*, *э*, *ээ*, но не *ө*, *өө*, как в монгольском и бурятском языках. Этот тип сингармонизма скорее похож на калмыцкий. В нем характер долгих гласных, развившихся из древних монгольских долготных комплексов ГСГ (гласный+согласный+гласный), определился по второму гласному и сохранился в том же виде. Выравнивания по огублению в нем не произошло. Огубление после губных гласных развились лишь в современных халха-монгольском и бурятском языках, и напоминает киргизский и якутский языки. Поясним это на примерах. Так, сойотское *оваа* «куча ритуальных камней на горном перевале или ином святом месте» явно взято из монгольского языка, но не из современных халхаского *овоо* или бурятского *обоон* id., а из средневекового монгольского *ови* 'ā, что и дало *оваа*, как в калмыцком, где тоже *ова* (произносится *оваа*) id. Аналогичным образом *ораа*- «обматывать, обёртывать» развилось при заимствовании из средневекового монгольского

**ori'ā*- id. (ср. стп.-м. *oriya*-, х.-монг. *ороо*-, бур. *орёо*-, калм. *ора*-). Монголизм *чыраа* ~ *чжыраа* «иноходец» сохраняет в виде *ы* в первом слоге еще не переломленный гласный **i*, зафиксированный в старописьменном монгольском языке и сохранявшийся еще в средние века, произносившийся в твёрдорядных словах по всей вероятности еще в виде **i* (*ы*). Долгий же гласный развился из средневекового монгольского *jiru'ā* (возможно, **jiru'ā*) id. по вышеозначенной модели. Зафиксирована старописьменная монгольская форма *jiruγa* и современные х.-монг., бур. *жороо*, калм. *жора* id., от которых не могло образоваться сойотское *чыраа*.

В мягкорядных словах мы наблюдаем в принципе аналогичную картину. Так, монголизм *өргээ* «медвежья берлога» (эвфемизм, первоначальное значение «ставка знатного лица») является адаптацией средневекового монголизма *örgü'ē* «ставка знатного лица», ср. стп.-м. *örgüge*, х.-монг. *өргөө*, бур. *үргөө*, калм. *өргэ* id. Сойотское слово *чөлээ* «свободное время» взято из средневекового монгольского языка, в котором оно представлено как *čölü'ē* id., ср. стп.-м. *čölüge*, х.-монг. *чөлөө*, бур. *сүлөө*, калм. *чөлэ* id. В сойотском слове *һирээ* «пила (инструмент)» угадывается средневековое монгольское *kirü'ē* id., о чём дополнительно свидетельствует сохранение непереломленного **i*, ср. стп.-м. *kirüge*, х.-монг. *хөрөө*, бур. *хюрөө*, калм. *көрэ* id.

Кроме того, следует отметить, что в монголизмах сойотского языка монгольский долгий гласный *уу*, развившийся в монгольских языках из древнего долготного комплекса *ауи*, типа *уула* «гора» из *аула*, при заимствовании монгольских слов даёт разную картину. Он может либо сохраняться в виде того же долгого *уу*, как в монголизме *аруун* «чистый» из ср.-монг. *ari' ün* id., ср. стп.-м. *ariγun*, х.-монг. *ариун*, бур. *арюун*, калм. *арун* id., либо передаваться долгим *ыы*, например, сойот. *һаңныыр* «паяльник» из ср.-монг. *γаγна'ūr* id. от *γаγна* «паять, сваривать металл», ср. х.-монг., бур. *гагнуур*, калм. *һаңнур* id., что как раз и соответствует типичной для сойотского языка гармонии гласных в собственных тюркских словах, когда после гласных *а*, *о*, *у* первого слога далее следует обычно краткий или долгий *ы*, *ыы*, например, *алыр* «возмёт», *болыр* «будет», *улыг* «большой». Ср. также сойот. *тармыыр* «грабли» – х.-монг., бур. *тармуур*; сойот. *лаңгыы* «прилавок в магазине» – х.-монг. *лангуу* id.; сойот. *байгыы шай* «байховый чай» – х.-монг. *байхуу цай* id. Иногда нет устойчивого произношения, и можно слышать в одном и том же слове то *уу*, то *ыы*, например, сойот. *һаруу* ~ *һарыы* «ответ» из ср.-монг. *qari'ū* id., ср. х.-монг. *харуу*, бур. *харюу*, калм. *хэру* id.; сойот. *һадуур* ~ *һадыыр* «коса для сенокосения» из ср.-монг. *qada'ūr* «серп» от *qada* «жать серпом», ср. х.-монг., бур. *хадуур* id.

Влиянием дархатского диалекта следует считать появление долгого *оо* на месте долгого гласного *уу* в монгольских заимствованиях сойотского языка. Примерами могут послужить сойотские монголизмы типа *айоол* «опасность» из дархат. *айоол*, ср. х.-монг. *аюул* id.; *боо* «ружьё» из дархат. *боо*, ср. х.-монг., бур. *буу* id.; *һоор* «обманывать» из дархат. *хоор*-, ср. х.-монг., бур. *хуур*- id.; *қоһиноор* «колокольчик» из дархат. *хонгиноор*, ср. х.-монг. *хонгинуур*, бур.

хонхинуур id. Для дархатского диалекта типично произнесение долгого *oo* на месте долгого *уу* монгольских языков в собственно монгольских словах, например, дархат. *оол* «гора» – х.-монг. *уул*, бур. *уула*, калм. *уул* id.; дархат. *ноор* «озеро» – х.-монг., бур., калм. *нуур* id.

Среди многих сотен монгольских лексических заимствований сойотского языка многие десятки слов не имеют характерных признаков, позволяющих отнести их к тому или иному монгольскому языку. О них нельзя конкретно ничего сказать, кроме того, что они монгольского происхождения. Примерами могут послужить такие слова, как

айан «путешествие, дальний путь» из монг., ср. стп.-м. *ayan*, х.-монг., бур. *аян* id.;
айылга «мотив, мелодия» из монг., ср. стп.-м. *ayalya*, х.-монг., бур. *аялга* id.;
белен «готовый» из монг., ср. стп.-м. *belen*, х.-монг., бур. *бэлэн* id.;
дарга «начальник» из монг., ср. стп.-м. *darya*, х.-монг., бур. *дарга* id.;
йда-да «не мочь» из монг., ср. стп.-м. *yada-*, х.-монг., бур. *йда-* id.;
майһын «палатка» из монг., ср. стп.-м. *mayiqan*, х.-монг., бур. *майхан* id.;
оқтарһый «небо, небеса» из монг., ср. стп.-м. *oqturui*, х.-монг. *огторгуй*, бур. *огторгой* id.;
сансыр «космос» из монг., ср. стп.-м. *sansar*, х.-монг., бур. *сансар* id.;
түрген ~ *түргэн* «быстрый, скорый» из монг., ср. стп.-м. *türgen*, х.-монг., бур. *түргэн* id.;
тэмдэг «знак, метка; клеймо» из монг., ср. стп.-м. *temdeg*, х.-монг., бур. *тэмдэг* id.;
эндэ- ~ *эндэ* «ошибаться» из монг., ср. стп.-м. *ende-*, х.-монг., бур. *эндэ-* id.

По некоторым признакам все же можно конкретизировать, что слова заимствованы из монгольского языка ранних периодов развития. Прежде всего, об этом сигнализирует наличие в первом слоге непереломленного *i* (*u*) в мягкорядных словах и *i* (*yi*) в твёрдорядных, хотя в старомонгольском языке здесь везде фиксируется *i* (*u*). Это можно объяснить тем, что-либо в самом монгольском языке в словах твёрдого ряда в средние века ещё произносилась в первом слоге гласная *i* (*yi*), либо она ещё в древности появилась в сойотском языке под влиянием выравнивания по закону палатальной гармонии гласных. В современных монгольских языках на месте *i* ~ *i* развились *ö* (*ө*) или *ü* (*ү*), *a*, *o*, *u* (*y*). Так, по этому признаку к ранним заимствованиям можно отнести сойотские монголизмы типа

қылар «косой, косоглазый» из ср.-монг. **qilar*, ср. стп.-м. *kilar*, х.-монг. *хялар*, бур. *хилар* id.;
қырса «корсак, степная лисица» из ср.-монг. **qirsa*, ср. стп.-м. *kirsa*, х.-монг. *хярс* id.;
қытат «китаец, китайский» из ср.-монг. **qitad*, ср. стп.-м. *kitad*, х.-монг. *хятад*, бур. *хитад* id.;
чыда ~ *чыда* «пика, копьё, рогатина; птык» из ср.-монг. **jida*, ср. стп.-м. *jida*, х.-монг. *жад*, бур. *жада* id.;

шывай «отстоявшаяся конская кровь; колбаса из отстоявшейся конской крови» из ср.-монг. **šibai*, ср. стп.-м. *šibai*, х.-монг. *шавай*, бур. *шабай* id.;
шыла «неметь, деревенеть; уставать» из ср.-монг. **šila-*, ср. стп.-м. *šila-*, х.-монг., бур. *шала*- id.;
ылга «различать» из ср.-монг. **ilya-*, ср. стп.-м. *ilya-*, х.-монг. *ялга-*, бур. *илга*- id.

В некоторых случаях свидетельством раннего заимствования именно из монгольского языка является наличие начального *s* (*c*) наряду с полногласием слогов, например:

сүгэ «топор» из ср.-монг. **sūke*, ср. стп.-м. *sūke*, х.-монг. *сүх*, бур. *хүхэ* id.;
сүлдэ «духовная мощь, дух, символ, эмблема, герб» из ср.-монг. **sülde* id., ср. стп.-м. *sülde*, х.-монг. *сүлд*, бур. *хүлдэ* id.;
селэмэ «сабля» из ср.-монг. **seleme*, ср. стп.-м. *seleme*, х.-монг. *сэлэм*, бур. *хэлмэ* «сабля, меч, пашка, клинок».

Наиболее заметным признаком, свидетельствующим о средневековом характере монголизма являются наличие в нём шипящих аффрикат *ч* и *ч* (*дж*), представленных в современном монгольском языке в виде свистящих аффрикат *ц* и *дз*, в бурятском языке в виде согласных *с* и *з*. Шипящий характер этих аффрикат зафиксирован в старописьменном монгольском языке, на который и будем ориентироваться. Например:

боль ча «услаиваться о встрече, договариваться о встрече» из монг., ср. стп.-м. *boļǰa-*, х.-монг. *болзо-*, бур. *болзо*- id.;
боо ча «пари, заклад» из монг., ср. стп.-м. *boūǰa*, х.-монг. *бооц*, бур. *боосоо* id.;
халь чан «лысый, плешивый» из монг., ср. стп.-м. *qalǰan*, х.-монг. *халзан*, бур. *халзан* id.;
хе чигэ «старинная мужская коса» из монг., ср. стп.-м. *geǰge*, х.-монг. *гээгэ*, бур. *гээгэ* «коса вообще и женская, и мужская»;
чамча «рубашка, платье» из монг., ср. стп.-м. *čatča*, х.-монг. *чамц*, бур. *самса* id.

В основном же слова, взятые из современного монгольского языка хорошо узнаются по характерным для них признакам, среди которых можно назвать наличие *s* (*c*) вместо бурятского *h*, *ө* вместо бурятского *ү*, *дз* вместо бурятского *з* и *дж* средневекового монгольского языка, наличие *с*, как и в бурятском, вместо монгольского *ц* и *ч* средневекового, но на монгольское происхождение указывают другие признаки, такие как редукция конечных слогов, просто наличие слова в монгольском и отсутствие в бурятском.

Примерами заимствований из современного монгольского языка могут послужить следующие:

бөмбүк «мяч» из монг. *бөмбөг* id., ср. бур. *бүмбэгэ*, стп.-м. *bömbüge* id.;
гамбир «лепешка, жаренная без масла» из монг. *ганбир* id.;
дайзы «патронташ» из монг. *дайз* id.;

дэлгүүр «магазин» из монг. *дэлгүүр* id. < *дэлгэ-* «раскладывать»;
дээвир «крыша юрты» из монг. *дээвир* id.;
йос «обычай» из монг. *ёс* id., ср. бур. *ёһон*, стп.-м. *yosun* id.;
хайрһан ~ *хайрақан* «медведь» из монг. *хайрхан* «название чего-либо
 почитаемого, святого или очень страшного»;
муһыр-сөөм «короткая пядь» из монг. *мухар сөөм* id., ср. бур. *мухар һөөм* id.;
саадақ «колчан, патронгаш» из монг. *саадаг* «колчан», ср. бур. *һаадаг*, стп.-м.
saγadaγ id.;
саасын ~ *саарсын* «бумага» из монг., ср. х.-монг. *цаас(ан)*, дархат. *цаарс(ан)*, бур.
саарһан, стп.-м. *ᠰaγalsun* id.;
тоос «пыль» из монг. *тоос* id., ср. бур. *тооһон*, стп.-м. *toyosun* id.

Достаточно большую группу монголизмов представляют собой лексические заимствования из бурятского языка, точнее из его окинского говора, с носителями которого оленная группа сойотов довольно рано, около 400-450 лет тому назад, вступила в тесный контакт после переселения туда из Дархатского края Монголии, как уже упоминалось выше. Окинский бурятский говор вместе с тункинским и закаменским говорами близок к говору аларских бурят и образует с ними одну группу-язык так называемых хонгордоров. Этот язык, образующий самостоятельный диалект, называемый переходным, обладает чертами как западных, так и восточных.

Сойотские бурятизмы обладают всеми признаками, присущими переходному диалекту бурятского языка. Общебурятскими чертами в фонетике являются наличие *h* вместо *s* (*с*) монгольского языка, вместо монгольских аффрикат *č* (*ч*), *č* (*дж*), *с* (*ц*), *з* (*дз*) здесь произносят щелевые *š* (*ш*), *ž* (*ж*), *s* (*с*), *z* (*з*), в мягкорядных словах для этого диалекта характерны гласные фонемы *ii* (*ү*) вместо монгольской *ö* (*ө*), *e* (*э*) вместо *i* (*и*). Ряд диалектных слов имеет совершенно иную семантику, чем внешне похожие общемонгольские слова. Некоторые слова вообще бытуют только в языке западных бурят и характерны для них. В некоторых же случаях достаточно трудно определить, из какого монгольского языка взято слово, поскольку из средневекового монгольского или из бурятского, так как и там и тут характерной чертой является полногласие слогов, наличие интервокального *v* (*в*) вместо современного монгольского *v* (*ө*), сохранение конечного согласного *n* (*н*) в конце основы. Только косвенные признаки в таких случаях позволяют предположить, что источником слова является бурятский язык, поскольку с оседлым бытом сойоты познакомились, общаясь с бурятами, равно как и с животноводством бурятского типа. Поэтому лексика, относящаяся к оседлому быту, к животноводству могла быть бурятской.

Опираясь на все эти признаки, приведенные для бурятского языка выше, мы можем предположить бурятское происхождение таких слов, как

аагыһын «мука из поджаренных ячменных зерен» из бур. окин. *aaγahan* id, ср. тунк., зак. *aaγahan* id.;

абырга «тиски» из бур. *абарга* id, ср. х.-монг. *аварга*, стп.-м. *abarγa* «исполин, исполинский»;
бооса «поливные луга» из бур. окин. *боосо* id.;
былмыр «жбан-маслобойка» из бур. окин. *бэлмэр* id.;
герел ~ *керел* «стекло; стеклянный» из бур. окин. *гэрэл* id., ср. х.-монг. *гэрэл*, стп.-м. *gerel* «свет»;
даң «земляная засыпка крыши дома, земляной потолок избы» из бур. окин. *дан(г)* id.;
дыгныһын «дерновое покрытие крыши деревянной юрты» из бур. окин. *дэгэнһэн* id.;
йаванишаа соол «деревянная юрта или дом с четырехскатной крышей» из бур. окин. *йаванишаа соол* id., ср. тунк. *йаванишаа соол* id.;
йандаң «железная печь-буржуйка» из окин. бур. *яндан* id.;
куйылга «подарок» из бур. окин. *гуйлга* id., это слово во всех западных бурятских говорах означает «подарок», в вост.-бур., х.-монг. *гуйлга*, стп.-м. *γуйлγa* «просьба» < монг. *γуй-* «просить»;
хайбы «легкий долбленный чёлн, лодка-долблёнка» из бур. окин. *хайба* id., данное слово вообще характерно для западного диалекта бурятского языка;
хайрһа- «хвалиться, хвастать; зазнаваться» из бур. *хайрһа-* < бур. *хайн* «хороший», стп.-м. *sayirqa-* id. < *sayin* «хороший»;
хайрһак «хвастун, зазнайка» из бур. *хайрһаг* бур. *хайрһа-* «хвалиться, зазнаваться»;
халбага «весло» из бур. окин. *халбага* «весло», ср. вост.-бур. *халбага* «ложка», х.-монг. *халбага*, стп.-м. *qalbaγa* id.;
пампалай «зимняя обувь из камусов» из бур. окин. *пампалай* id.;
саазуур «сковородник, чашельник» из бур. окин. *заазуур* id., ср. х.-монг. *заазуур* «большой поварской нож»;
соол «изба, деревянный деревенский дом» из бур. окин. *соол* id.;
сөөкэй «саламат, мучная каша на сметане» из бур. *сөөхэй* id., ср. х.-монг. *сөөхий* «сметана»;
сутьураан шэй «чай, забелённый молоком и поджаренной мукой» из бур. окин. *зутараан сай* id.;
сэргэ «коновязь» из бур. *сэргэ* id.;
таһалга «комната, перегородка» из бур. окин. *таһалга* id., ср. х.-монг., стп.-м. *tasalγa* «перегородка»;
туураһы «охотничьи унты» из бур. окин. *туураһи* id.;
түйүүр «дощечка с отверстиями, предназначенная для выделки кожаных веревок» из бур. окин. *түйүүр* id.;
үрүнтүүр «рашпиль» из бур. *үрэбтэр* id., ср. х.-монг. *өрөвтөр*, стп.-м. *örübtür* id.;
үтэк «зимняя стойка скота, летом-огороженный покос» из бур. *үтэг* id., ср. х.-монг. *өтөг*, стп.-м. *ötüg* «зимняя стойка скота»;
шүдэр «конские пути» из бур. *шүдэр* id., ср. х.-монг. *чөдөр*, стп.-м. *čidür* id.;
эрэнгэ «веселый, жизнерадостный» из бур. окин. *эрэнгэ* id.

В морфологическом отношении монгольские заимствования сойотского языка представляют собой те же части речи, что и в языке оригинале.

Таким образом, проведённое исследование лексических заимствований, проникших из монгольских языков в сойотский язык, показало их неоднородный характер, обусловленный тем, что это один из немногих тюркских языков, вовлечённый в орбиту влияния монгольских языков вследствие различных обстоятельств и до сих пор не вышедший из-под их влияния. Свыше 400 лет сойоты после перекочёвки в пределы Бурятии находятся в условиях непосредственных контактов с окинскими и тункинскими бурятами, испытывая языковое влияние с их стороны. Выявились около тысячи слов, заимствованных из средневекового и современного монгольского языков, а также из бурятского, точнее из окинского его говора. Монгольские слова не представляют какой-либо одной или нескольких лексико-семантических групп. Они глубоко проникли в словарный состав сойотского языка и широко там представлены, являя собой главным образом имена существительные и глаголы, есть немного прилагательных и наречий, а также единичные слова из других частей речи.

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A Middle Azerbaijani version of the Nativity

Julian Rentsch

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This contribution contains an annotated edition of a sample of a Middle Azerbaijani transcription text in Georgian letters from 1739. The text is given in transliteration along with an interpretive transcription and a literal translation. Further sources, including another Middle Azerbaijani transcription text, have been consulted in order to make the linguistic material accessible.

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Introduction

The following philological notes concern the account of the birth of Jesus according to the Gospel of Luke (Lk 2.1-20) in a Middle Azerbaijani version from the 18th century. The text from which the passage under consideration has been selected is an Azerbaijani translation of the four Gospels. This text is written in Georgian letters and consequently belongs to a class of texts that in Turcology are traditionally referred to as “transcription texts”, i.e. pre-modern texts in islamicized Turkic languages that are not written in Arabic script. These texts are important for historical comparative Turcology as they are largely unaffected by the norms and conventions of the standard orthographies in Arabic script and often reflect a naïve and innocent view of the linguistic material. They also provide us with clues concerning phonetic features that are concealed in the Arabic orthography. Naturally, they are not free from problems, as they have frequently been written down by foreigners whose command of the language we cannot always be sure about, and who might have imposed features from their native tongue onto the Turkic text.¹ The actual value of a given transcription text is strongly dependent on the particular author or writer, and of course on how the data are evaluated by the researcher, i.e. which features are chosen for investigation and whether the material is investigated with critical caution.

The text under investigation, which will be labeled G here, consists of 403 pages of Turkic material and is kept at the Museum of Local History in Zugdidi in Min-

¹ The same problem pertains of course also to Turkic texts in Arabic script, many of which were also composed by non-native Turks and by Turks in bi- and multilingual environments.

greliā (signature 89:4). It is dated the 27th of November 1739 (Enwall 2010: 137-138). The text has been the object of scientific investigation before. Beltadze (1967) published linguistic observations on this text, some of which Stein (2007) has summarized. Some historical and cultural information is given by Enwall (2010). Comparative notes on the consonantism of this text are found in Rentsch (in print).

Concerning the genesis of the Azerbaijani translation, little is known. There is some relation between text G and an earlier transcription text in Latin script (henceforward L), which was recorded by the French traveler Balthasar de Lauzière in Isfahan and handed over to the Swedish scholar Johan Gabriel Sparwenfeld, who brought it to Sweden in 1687.² Text L contains the Gospels of Matthew and John. Parts of these two texts must be based on a common model, which is lost. Some passages of L and G are almost completely identical, except for a few differences concerning phonetics, morphology and syntax that seem to reflect the dialectal situation of the respective environment; other passages are completely different. It is obvious that the younger text G cannot directly derive from the older text L, as G contains material that is missing in L. As a whole, L is much more carefully written than G and seems to reflect the natural features of the language more accurately. G appears to be more “standardized” with less phonetic vacillation, but copied negligently and with many mistakes, probably by a copyist with only meager command of Azerbaijani.

The language of these texts displays several features that clearly mark them as Azerbaijani, among others the replacement of *gāndi* ‘self’ by *öz* (in progress at that time), *kōlgā* ‘shadow’ vs. Ott.Tur. *gōlgā, yeri-* ‘to walk’ vs. Ott.Tur. *yōri-* etc., *getürürām* ‘I am bringing’ vs. Ott.Tur. *getürürüm* ‘I am bringing, I bring’, *čiqarux* ‘we go’ vs. Ott.Tur. *čiqarız, sümük* ‘bone’ vs. Ott.Tur. *kāmik, bāli* ‘yes’ vs. Ott.Tur. *āvāt, poz-* ‘to destroy’ vs. *boz-* in all other Oghuz languages, and many more.

Some features that distinguish text G from L, and make G a very valuable source for supplementing the data of L, are the differentiation between <g> and <ɣ> (ɣ vs. ɣ; L: always <g>) and between <q>, <k> and <x> (ɣ vs. ɟ vs. ʃ vs. ʃ; L: always <k>). Moreover, at several places of articulation (not the uvular position, though), the Georgian script distinguishes between three classes of plosives (and affricates as well), namely voiceless aspirated (ჟ, თ, კ; in this contribution transliterated p, t, k), voiceless unaspirated with glottalization (ჟ, ზ, კ; transliterated ʔ, t̚, k̚) and voiced (ბ, დ, გ; transliterated b, d, g). As I have argued elsewhere (Rentsch in print), in initial position (in which they do not occur in the passage under consideration here) the letters <ʔ t̚ k̚> seem to represent the transitional stage in the characteristic Oghuz shift from [b t k] to [p d g]. This transitional stage, usually a voiceless unaspirated

² On this text, see Johanson 1985a and 1985b.

plosive (tenuis inaspirata),³ is traditionally represented by the symbols BDG in Turcology, which practice is adapted here for the phonetic interpretation of the orthography. Whether writings like *ʃaš* in text G mean that in the dialect underlying this text there was in fact a glottalized articulation [tʰaš] (which is very well possible in a Georgian-Azeri contact setting), or whether they represent just the unaspirated tenuis with its features [-aspirated] and [-voiced], i.e. a sound for which neither the letter <ʃ> nor the letter <d> was considered appropriate, is an open question.

In the present passage, the letters <ʃ> and <ḡ> occur only word-internally after a preceding voiceless consonant (čxti, vaxt, aškar etc.).⁴ While in theory, it would be possible to have glottalized plosives in this environment as well, it seems reasonable to assume that here at least these graphemes just represent sounds that were neither aspirated nor voiced, which is a quite common realization in this position in several Oghuz varieties. For that reason, these letters have been transcribed as D and G in the phonetic interpretation (čixDī, vaxD, asGār).

Graphetical remarks

The manuscript is written in the Mxedruli variant of the Georgian script. The handwriting is quite neat and well readable. As a natural result of the writing flow, some ligatures occur.⁵ For example, the letters <x> (ბ), <z> (ზ) and <s> (ს) are often connected with the preceding letter, e.g. in <čxub> [201/18], <szun> [201/11] and <qaisardan> [200/15]. <i> (ო) and <a> (ა) are often connected to one another, in that the right downstroke of the <i> functions as the left upstroke of the <a> as well, e.g. <zuriatundan> [201/1-2] and the first <ia> in <iaudiatda> [200/19]. The combination of the letters <e> (ე) and <j> (ჯ) results in a special ligature, which can be seen in [202/9].

Some letters are occasionally written above or below the writing line. This phenomenon is especially frequent with the letters <l> (ლ), <d> (დ) and <γ> (გ), which are often connected to the preceding letter and elevated above the normal position (compare <jalil> [200/19], <zuriatundan> [201/1-2], <idi> [201/5 et passim], <ušaγi> [201/13]). The letter <i> (ო) is sometimes lowered, e.g. when combined with a preceding <r> (რ), in which case it is added as a low hook to the right downstroke of the <r> (compare <šhrindan> [200/19], <birini> [201/19]).

The letter <o> (ო) appears, besides in its usual form, also in a reduced form, which looks either as a slightly curved line pointing upwards to the right (as in

³ It may surface as a glottalized voiceless unaspirated plosive in specific language contact settings. Several Anatolian (probably also Azerbaijani) dialects actually have glottalized consonants.

⁴ <ḡ> does not turn up in this passage.

⁵ According to Enwall (2010: 138), “[t]he ligatures used are basically the same as those encountered in Georgian language manuscripts from the same period.”

<qoidi> [201/5]) or just a short horizontal line (as in <çobanlar> [201/6; 201/19], <qorhqdilar> [201/9], <axor> [201/5; 201/13; but not 202/3!]).

The letters <v> (Վ) and <ḳ> (Գ) are not easily discernible in this particular handwriting (compare <avalki> [200/16] with <aşḳari> [201/14]).

The passage

Below, the text is provided in three versions: First, there is a transliteration of the text in Georgian letters into Latin script. This is followed by a phonetic interpretation, which of course is subjective and can be questioned in the details. Finally, a literal translation of the Azerbaijani text is given. For the interpretation, both text-internal criteria and information provided by text L⁶ or, if there is no pre-modern evidence, by Modern Azerbaijani have been considered. At times, the Latin and Greek versions of this passage have been taken into consideration as well (Nestle & Aland 1979). The critical apparatus is given in footnotes.

The page and line numbers are given in square brackets, while the numbers of the verses are indicated in round parentheses.

Transliteration

- [200/14] e pasl
 (1) [15] ogunlarda abr čxti oguštoş qaisardan ki ja[16]mi olkasi iazsun
 (2) bu avalki iazi iazlmişdi qa[17]rin uşına şam hakimi
 (3) u hamisi gedarlar idi h[18]r birisi şahrina ki iazlsun
 (4) ioseb gena čxti jalil olkasinda nazaret şhrindan iauiatda daut [201/1] şharina
 adi betenia onu ičunki daut zuriatund[2]an u evildan idi
 (5) ki iazlsun mariam nşanluyi [3] inan iki janlu
 (6) onda olduglari vaxt doym[4]ay sahti tamam oldi
 (7) aval ilki oylı doydi sa[5]rdi gandini axora qoidi čunki ieri iox idi
 qondury[6]lari ierda
 (8) çobanlar oveliatda oiay idila[7]r surilarini gejada saxleub
 (9) alahun prşasi [8] durdi ienlarında u alahun nuri duşti us[9]tlarina č[o]x
 qorhqdilar
 (10) prişta dedi onla[10]ra qorxmaunz iengi sevmaş sa getururam ki hami
 raia[11]ta olur
 (11) čunki bugün szun qurtaran doylıdi [12] isa rabi dur daut şharında
 (12) u bu nşan sa olu[13]r uşayi bulursz sarlmiş axora qoilmiş
 (13) osahatda [14] prişta inan gog aşari čox gorundi hax talaa şu[15]kr edub
 diarlari idi

⁶ While the Gospel of Luke is not included in text L, many lexical items naturally occur there as well.

(14) beukluy tanyria uşalar[16]da u ier uşında salamat adamlara ki aradati eidu[17]r

v pas l

(15) [18] malaiklar goga çxub onlarından ki airdila[19]r çobanlar bir birina dedilar betlema gedarum [202/1] gorarum bza tanyri bilduran olmiş sozi

(16) [2] talasuk geldilar mariami buldilaru ios[3]ebi u uşayi axora qoilmiş

(17) gordugini vaxt bil[4]dilar osozi onlara deilmiş beuk olandan o[5]turi

(18) u harkim eşitdi mat oldi u onlara çö[6]banların deduglarından

(19) mariam bu sozlari [7] saxlar idi

(20) çobanlar donub alha şukr [8] edarlar idi ozadlardan oturi ki gor[9]dilaru eşitdilar neşaki dedi onlara

Interpretation

5.⁷ pasl⁸

(1) o günlərdə əmbr⁹ çixdi ogusdos qaysardan ki jami ölkəsi¹⁰ yazilsun¹¹.

(2) bu əvvəlki yazı yazılmışdı,¹² qarinus¹³ şəm həkimi.

(3) və həmisi gedərlər idi hər¹⁴ birisi şəhrinə ki yazilsun.

(4) yoseb genə çixdi jalil ölkəsində nazaret şəhrindən yahüdiyatda dəvut şəhrinə adı betenia¹⁵, onu¹⁶ içünki dəvut zürriyətindən¹⁷ u evindən¹⁸ idi,

⁷ The Georgian letter <e> represents the numerical value '5'.

⁸ < Ar. *fəsl*. The realization of /f/ (which is not a native Turkic sound) as /p/ is extremely common in the Turkic languages. Cf. *pršta/prışta* [201/7, 201/9, 201/14].

⁹ <abr>: < Ar. 'amr 'decree'; occurs in text G elsewhere as <amr> or <ambr>, i.e. /äm/ or /ämbr/, the latter with excrescence, i.e. non-etymological insertion of the corresponding plosive. In the Turkic languages, this phenomenon is particularly common with the consonant /ŋ/, e.g. *yanı* > *yanğ* 'new'. Text L has this lexeme in the forms <amber>, <ember>, <ambre> and <ambr>, i.e. always with excrescence.

¹⁰ <olkasi> with a mid vowel as in Standard Azerbaijani *ölkə* (ADIL 3: 464); cf. L <ulke>, Tur. *ülke*.

¹¹ The manuscript has <iazsun>, but our expectation would be <iazlsun>, which is actually found in a similar construction in [200/18].

¹² Lat. *haec descriptio prima facta est*. The Azerbaijani translation looks awkward, as it translates **haec prima descriptio facta erat*, cf. translation.

¹³ <qarin uşına>, lit. 'onto the stomach', is without doubt a corruption of something that should be <qarinus> for 'Quirinius', 'Quirinus', 'Cyrinus' etc., which was obviously 'corrected' by the copyist into the noun *qarin* and the postposition *uşına* <uşına>, which is extremely common.

¹⁴ <hr> with the vowel dropped, possibly due to the line break.

¹⁵ 'Bethany'. Inserted by mistake for <betlem> 'Bethlehem', cf. [201/18].

¹⁶ Regular: *onun*.

¹⁷ < Ar. *ğurriya* 'progeny, descendants (Nachkommenschaft, Kinder, Sprößlinge)' (Wehr 1985: 426). St.Az. *zürriyyət* (ADIL 2: 361).

- (5) ki yazılsun märyäm nişānluyı inan, iki jānlu¹⁹.
 (6) onda oldurıları²⁰ vaxd doymay²¹ sahati²² tamām oldı.
 (7) ävväl ilki²³ oylı doydı, sardı gändini²⁴, äxüra²⁵ qoydı, çünki yeri yox idi qondurıları yerdä.
 (8) çobanlar o veläyät²⁶ oyağ²⁷ idilər, sürilärini²⁸ gejadä saxliyub.
 (9) allāhun pirişDäsi²⁹ durdı yenlärində³⁰ və allāhun nürü düşDi üsdlärinä. Çox qorxdılar.³¹

¹⁸ <evildan>.

¹⁹ *iki jānlu* ‘pregnant’, lit. ‘with two lives’, cf. St.Az. *ikicanlı* ‘hamilə, boyudolu’ (ADIL 2: 382).

²⁰ <oldugları> with <g> instead of <γ>.

²¹ *doymay* ‘to give birth’, cf. *doydı* ‘she gave birth’ [201/4] and *doydı* ‘he has been born’ [201/11]. In this text, *doγ* is a transitive verb, while *doγul-* (with the passive suffix) is intransitive. The same situation pertains in Standard Azerbaijani: *doğmaq* ‘dünyaya bala gətirmək, balalamaq’ (ADIL 2: 124); *doğulmaq* ‘anadan olmaq, dünyaya gəlmək’ (ADIL 2: 126). This situation is typical for a couple of Eastern Turkic languages, while in Turkish *doğmak* means ‘to be born’, and *doğurmak* (with the causative suffix) is ‘to give birth’. Old Turkic had *tuγ* ‘to be born’ (same meaning as in Turkish), see Clauson 1972: 465.

²² <Ar. *sā* ‘at ‘hour’. The Arabic ‘*Ain* surfaces as /h/ in this lexeme in text G, which reflects a development that is quite common in several Turkic varieties. – The lexeme is written either <saht> or <saht> in text G, cf. [201/13].

²³ *ävval* and *ilki* are synonymous. About *ilk* vs. *ilki* cf. Clauson 1972: 140. Standard Azerbaijani has *ilk* (ADIL 2: 389), Turkmen *ilki* (TDS 336).

²⁴ The pronominal stem *gāndi* still survives in this source, where it coexists with *öz*. In Modern Azerbaijani, *gāndi* has been replaced totally by *öz*. – In texts G and L, both *gāndi* and *öz* are commonly employed not in their original function as a reflexive pronoun, but as a personal pronoun (only in oblique cases). Another competing pronoun in these texts is *bilä* (originally ‘with’, ‘together’). Cf. Csató 2002-2003; Bulut 2003. For examples of pronominal uses of *bilä* in text L, see Rentzsch (in print).

²⁵ <Prs. *āḥūr*. For this lexeme, Steingass (1892: 26) gives the meanings ‘a stable, stall; litter or straw laid under cattle; the collar-bone’. The meaning ‘manger’ (cf. Lat. *in praeseptio*), however, is given by Junker & Alavi 1965: 15 (‘Pferdestall, Pferdeboxe; Krippe; Viehstall’). In Ottoman Turkish, the meaning ‘manger’ does not seem to be common, cf. e.g. Redhouse 1968: 26 (‘stable, shed, barn’).

²⁶ <oveliatda>, Lat. *in regione*.

²⁷ St.Az. *oyağ* (ADIL 3: 438), cf. Tur. *uyanık*.

²⁸ St.Az. *sürü* (ADIL 4: 122). The labial harmony is not yet fully implemented in text G, cf. Johanson 1979.

²⁹ <Prs. *firišta* ‘angel’ (Steingass 1892: 919). Written either <pršta> or <prišta> in text G [201/7, 201/8, 201/14]. Cf. L <prichta>, <prista>, <prischta>.

(10) pirişDä dedi onlara: qorxmayunuz, yeji sevmay³² sizä getürüräm ki hämi ra'iyätä³³ olur.

(11) çünki bugün sizün qurtaran doydı, 'isä rabbī dur, dāvut şahärində.

(12) və bu nişän sizä olur: uşay³⁴ bulursiz sarılmış äxūra qoyılmış.

(13) o sahatda pirişDä inan gög asgäri³⁵ çox göründi. həx ta'alaya şükr edüb diyärlär idi:

(14) beyüklüy³⁶ tañriya uşalarda³⁷ və yer üsdində salämät adamlara ki irädäti eyi dur!

6.³⁸ pasl

(15) maläyiklär gögä çixub onlarından³⁹ ki⁴⁰ ayrıldılar çobanlar birbirinä dedilər: betlemä gedärük görärük⁴¹ bizä tañri bildürän olmiş sözi⁴².

³⁰ <yanlarında. The striking fronting *yan* > *yen* is frequent in both text G and text L (where we find <yenina>, <yenuma>, <yenlarında> etc.). The fronting seems to be triggered by the initial y-. Variants with <a> occur as well in both texts.

³¹ In this instance written <qorhq->, but <qorx-> is common, cf. [201/10].

³² *La gaudium magnum*. – The stem *sev-* usually means 'to love, to like'. However, in L and G the lexeme *sevma* commonly seems to mean 'gladness, joy', cf. *sevin-*. Examples from text L: *odur ki suzlari echitur ue seuemag inan kaboul eider gandilarini* 'This is the one who hears the words and receives them with joy' (Mt 13.20); *guir cenun aganun seuemaguina* 'Enter into the joy of your master' (Mt 25.23). – The verbal noun in *-ma* is invariably back in text G, which complies with the situation in several Turkic varieties in close contact to Persian.

³³ < Ar. *ra* 'bā 'flock, parish, subjects, citizens (Herde, Pfarrgemeinde, Pfarrei, Untertanen, Bürger)' (Wehr 1985: 480).

³⁴ A normal word for 'child' in Azerbaijani, cf. St.Az. *uşaq* '1. azyaşlı oğlan ya qız; çocuq; 2. oğlan ya qız (körpə, bala)' (ADIL 4: 241).

³⁵ Lat. *multitudo militiae caelestis*, the NRSV translates 'a multitude of the heavenly host'.

³⁶ While <k> points to a front stem, <γ> indicates a back suffix; obviously the sound harmony is violated in this instance.

³⁷ Latin *altissimis*. – L <ougia> [uʃa], hence the interpretation of G <uʃa> as [uʃa], not [uʃä]. *uʃ* has velar vowels in Standard Azerbaijani (*uca*, ADIL 4: 238) and Turkmen (TRS 656), while it has palatal vowels in Turkish (*yüce*) and several Anatolian, Azerbaijani and South Oghuz dialects.

³⁸ The Georgian letter <v> represents the numerical value '6'.

³⁹ Without obvious reason with possessive suffix.

⁴⁰ The subjunctive *ki* (from Persian) marks the complete passage *maläyiklär...ayrıldılar* as an embedded temporal clause.

⁴¹ <gedarum gorarum> is to translate Lat. *transeamus [...] videamus*. The Azerbaijani forms look like 1st person singular forms at first sight, but actually the 1st person singular (which is inappropriate here) should be <gedaram goraram>, while the 1st person plural would be <gedaruk goraruk>. As both possible readings imply one wrong letter per word,

- (16) *tālasuk*⁴³ *geldilər mār̄yāmi buldīlar vā yosebi vā uşayī āxūra qoyılmış.*
 (17) *gördügi*⁴⁴ *vaxD bildürdilər*⁴⁵ *o sözi onlara deyilmiş beyük olandan öturi.*
 (18) *vā hārkim eşitdi māt*⁴⁶ *oldi onlara*⁴⁷ *çobanların dedüglärindän.*
 (19) *mār̄yām bu sözləri saxlar idi.*
 (20) *çobanlar dönüb allāha şükr edärlär idi o zadlardan*⁴⁸ *öturi ki gördilər vā eşit-*
*dilər, neǰä ki*⁴⁹ *dedi onlara.*

the interpretation as 1st person plural, which is adequate in terms of content, is to be preferred here.

- ⁴² Lat. *hoc verbum quod factum est quod fecit Dominus*. From the Azerbaijani perspective, the phrase *bizā tañrī bildürän olmiş sözi* is odd in two respects. First, while the combination of two participles is principally possible in periphrastic constructions, e.g. **bildürmiş olduǰt*, the involvement of the participle *-(y)An* in such constructions is very uncommon in either Azerbaijani or Turkish. Here, rather two independent participles seem to be intended: *olmiş* for Lat. *quod factum est* and *tañrī bildürän* for Lat. *quod fecit Dominus*. Secondly, the whole relative clause has an Eastern Turkic appearance, as in Western Oghuz we would expect the subject of the relative clause to be in the Genitive case if it is not co-indexed with the head.
- ⁴³ <*talasuk*> very much looks like Ar. *talāşuq* ‘attachment’ (‘Aneinanderhaften, gegenseitige Berührung, Zusammenhang’, Wehr 1985: 1154), but this renders the passage difficult to interpret. Here, the English translation as ‘together’ has been attempted. Another possibility is that <*talasuk*> is a corruption of some form of Prs. *talās* ‘confusion, embarrassment, hurry’, which could comply with Lat. *festinantes* but would presuppose a misreading of a model either in Arabic or possibly in Latin script, where <*s*> and <*š*> can be confused. In Georgian script, <*s*> and <*š*> look very different.
- ⁴⁴ <*gordugini vaxD*> does not make sense, while **gördügi vaxD* does.
- ⁴⁵ <*bildilər*>. The causative seems more reasonable in terms of content. Greek has *ἐγνώρισαν* from *γνώριζω*, which can mean both ‘to make known’ and ‘to recognize’ (Györkösy et al. 1993: 210), while the Vulgata has *cognoverunt* ‘they recognized’ from *cognosco* (cf. Finály 1884: 398-399), which does not make much sense in this context. The Azerbaijani form could either be a misspelling of **bildürdilər* or a correct translation of the bad Latin form.
- ⁴⁶ Prs. *māt* ‘checkmate’ (ultimately from Ar. *māta* ‘he died’, root: *mwt*, Wehr 1985: 1231), cf. Ottoman Turkish *māt qal-* ‘to remain silenced, confused, speechless’ (Redhouse 1968: 736).
- ⁴⁷ <*u onlara*>: The conjunct *u* does not make sense here.
- ⁴⁸ St.Az. *zad* ‘thing’ (‘şey’, ADIL 2: 318). Probably < Ar. *ḏāt* ‘essence, substance; self; person’ (Wehr 1985: 435, entry *ḏī*).
- ⁴⁹ *neǰä ki* ‘as’, lit.: ‘how-that’. Compare Chaghatay *nečük kim* ‘as’ (for an example, see Baburnama 129a3). Items composed of a native question word and *ki(m)* are frequent in languages in close contact with Persian, cf. Hindi *kyonki* ‘because’, lit. ‘why-that’.

Literal translation

Chapter 5⁵⁰

(1) In those days a decree went out from Emperor Augustus that his whole country should be registered.

(2) This first writing had been written; Quirinius was the ruler of Syria.

(3) And all of them were going, everybody to his town, in order to be registered.

(4) Joseph went out as well from the town of Nazareth in Galilee to the city of David in Judea, its name was Bethany (sic), because he was of the offspring and house of David,

(5) in order to be registered together with his fiancée Mary; she was pregnant.

(6) When they were there, the hour of giving birth was fulfilled.

(7) She gave birth to the first son, wrapped him and put him into a manger, because there was no place for them where they had settled down.

(8) In that area, shepherds were awake, keeping watch over their flocks in the night.

(9) The angel of God stood by their side and God's light fell upon them. They were very terrified.

(10) The angel said to them: Do not be afraid, I am bringing you a new joy, which will be for all the people.

(11) Because today your savior has been born, he is Jesus, my Lord, in the city of David.

(12) And this will be a sign for you: You will find the child wrapped and put into a manger.

(13) At that time, many heavenly troops became visible with the angel. Praising God the Exalted one, they were saying:

(14) Greatness to God on high, and peace on earth for those men, of whom his will is good.

Chapter 6

(15) When the angels went into heaven and left them, the shepherds said to one another: We go to Bethlehem and see the word that God has made known to us.

(16) Together they came and found Mary and Joseph and the child (which had been) laid into the manger.

(17) When they saw this, they made known the word said to them about the one being great,

(18) and everybody who heard this became stunned by the things the shepherds told them.

(19) Mary treasured these words.

⁵⁰ In text G, the chapters are divided and numbered differently from the common tradition.

(20) The shepherds returned and thanked God because of the things they had seen and heard, as he had told it to them.

Abbreviations

Ar.	Arabic	lit.	literally
G	Transcription text in Georgian script, 1739	Ott.Tur.	Ottoman Turkish
L	Transcription text in Latin script, Isfahan, before 1687	Prs.	Persian
Lat.	Latin	St.Az.	Standard Azerbaijani
		Tur.	Turkish

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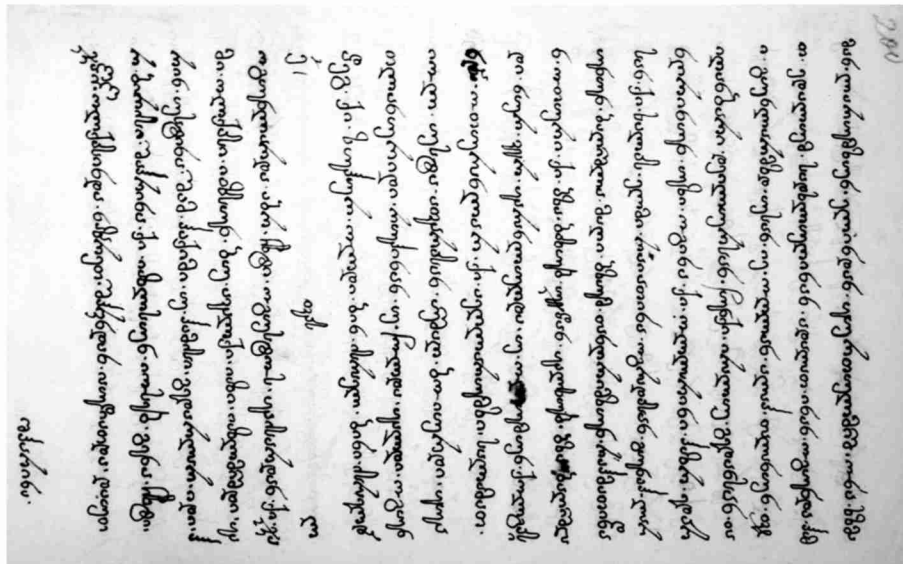
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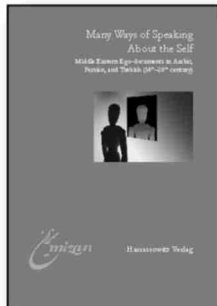
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