

Werk

Ort: Wiesbaden

Jahr: 2012

PURL: https://resolver.sub.uni-goettingen.de/purl?666048797_0016 | LOG_0023

Kontakt/Contact

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

✉ info@digizeitschriften.de

Turkic Languages

Edited by Lars Johanson

Volume 16, 2012 Number 2

Golden: *Oq* and *Oğur* ~ *Oğuz* • Proverbio:
Reconstruction of vowel phonology •
Nazari & Ruotamaa: Turkmen in Iran •
Meral: Kazakh complex verb structures •
Monastyrev & Prokopieva: Yakut verbs of
thinking • Review by Martine Robbeets

Turkic Languages

Edited by
Lars Johanson

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

16 (2012) 2

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

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

Manuscripts for publication, books for review, and all correspondence concerning editorial matters should be sent to Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. Lars Johanson, Turkic Languages, Institute of Oriental Studies, University of Mainz, Hegelstrasse 59, 55122 Mainz, Germany. The e-mail address johanson@uni-mainz.de may also be used for communication.

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

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

© Otto Harrassowitz GmbH & Co. KG, Wiesbaden 2013

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

Printing and binding by Memminger MedienCentrum AG

Printed on permanent/durable paper.

Printed in Germany

www.harrassowitz-verlag.de

ISSN 1431-4983

Turkic Languages

Edited by
Lars Johanson

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

16 (2012)

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

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

Manuscripts for publication, books for review, and all correspondence concerning editorial matters should be sent to Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. Lars Johanson, Turkic Languages, Institute of Oriental Studies, University of Mainz, Hegelstrasse 59, 55122 Mainz, Germany. The e-mail address johanson@uni-mainz.de may also be used for communication.

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

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

© Otto Harrassowitz GmbH & Co. KG, Wiesbaden 2013

This journal, including all of its parts, is protected by copyright.

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

Printing and binding by Memminger MedienCentrum AG

Printed on permanent/durable paper.

Printed in Germany

www.harrassowitz-verlag.de

ISSN 1431-4983

Contents

Turkic Languages, Volume 16

Editorial note by Lars Johanson	1
Editorial note by Lars Johanson	151

Articles

László Károly: History of the intervocalic velars in the Turkic languages	3
Henryk Jankowski: Kazakh in contact with Russian in modern Kazakhstan ...	25
Talant Mawkanuli & Virginia Martin: Nineteenth century Kazak correspondence with Russian authorities: Morphemic analysis and historical contextualization	68
Aminem Memtimin & Irina Nevskaya: Depictive secondary predicates in Modern Uyghur	80
Omer Dawut: A study on English loanwords in Uyghur	95
Hasan Kaili & Aytaç Çeltekin & Marianthi Georgalidou: Complement Clauses in the Turkish variety spoken by Greek-Turkish bilingual children on Rhodes, Greece	106
Margarete I. Ersen-Rasch: Bemerkungen zu den Relativsätzen im Türkischen	121
Peter B. Golden: <i>Oq</i> and <i>Oğur</i> ~ <i>Oğuz</i>	155
Delio Vania Proverbio: A tentative (graphemically-based) reconstruction of the vowel phonology of an early 18th-century Turkish-ğaršūnī text from Edessa (present-day Şanlıurfa)	200
Abdollah Nazari & Judy Routamaa: The Iranian Turkmen language from a contact linguistics perspective	215
Hasan Mesut Meral: Kazakh complex verb structures: A Distributed Morphology analysis	239
Vladimir Monastirev & Svetlana Prokopieva: Yakut verbs of thinking in comparison with Russian verbs	257

Report

Thomas E. Payne: Typology of Languages of Europe and Northern and Central Asia (LENCA)	139
---	-----

Reviews

Béla Kempf: Review of Jan-Olof Svantesson (transl. and ed.), <i>Cornelius Rahmn's Kalmuck dictionary</i>	145
Martine Robbeets: Review of András Róna-Tas & Árpád Berta † (eds.), <i>West Old Turkic. Turkic loanwords in Hungarian</i>	265

Contents

Turkic Languages, Volume 16, 2012, Number 2

Editorial note by Lars Johanson	151
---------------------------------------	-----

Articles

Peter B. Golden: <i>Oq</i> and <i>Oğur</i> ~ <i>Oğuz</i>	155
Delio Vania Proverbio: A tentative (graphemically-based) reconstruction of the vowel phonology of an early 18th-century Turkish-ğaršūnī text from Edessa (present-day Şanlıurfa)	200
Abdollah Nazari & Judy Routamaa: The Iranian Turkmen language from a contact linguistics perspective	215
Hasan Mesut Meral: Kazakh complex verb structures: A Distributed Morphology analysis	239
Vladimir Monastirev & Svetlana Prokopieva: Yakut verbs of thinking in comparison with Russian verbs	257

Review

Martine Robbeets: Review of András Róna-Tas & Árpád Berta † (eds.), <i>West Old Turkic. Turkic loanwords in Hungarian</i>	265
---	-----

Editorial note

Turkic Languages, Volume 16, 2012, Number 2

The present issue of *TURKIC LANGUAGES* contains articles on Old Turkic language history, vowel notations in older Turkish documents, the current status of Turkmen as spoken in Iran, Kazakh postverbal constructions, and West Old Turkic loanwords in Hungarian.

Peter B. Golden, the leading expert in the field of Turkic history, known for his sharp analyses based on linguistic evidence, deals with the term *oġ* as used in *On Oġ*, the name of the Western Türk confederation, and its relationship with *Oyur* ~ *Oyuz*. The latter terms cannot derive from *oġ* 'arrow', which does not display the shift of intervocalic *-k-* to *-γ-*. Instead, a root **oγ* or *uġ* ~ *oġ* 'kin, tribe' might have been the source. The words *oyul* 'son, offspring', *oyuſ* 'extended family', *oyulčuġ* 'womb', and *oylak* 'kid, young goat' stem from a common root denoting progeny, family, and kinship. A number of Turkic languages display the word *uġ* 'clan', 'family', 'pedigree', 'descent', 'lineage', 'breed', 'offspring', 'name', etc., which undergoes the intervocalic shift *-k-* > *-γ-*. The Chinese translation of *oġ* in *On Oġ* and of *Oyuz* in *Toġuz Oyuz* was 姓 *xing* 'clan, tribe, ancestral name'. Golden argues that *Oġur* ~ *Oġuz* and *Onoyundur* (Οὐννουνδοῦροι) contain the root **oγ* or **oġ* ~ **uġ*, an early word for a kinship grouping combined with collective/plural suffixes.

Delio Vania Proverbio presents a grapheme-based reconstruction of the vowel system in an early 18th-century Turkish manuscript written in the Western Syriac script. The almost fully vocalized text employs five vowel signs, the Greek letters <α>, <ε>, <ι>, <ο>, and <υ>. This is highly remarkable and valuable since Turkic texts written in Arabic script exhibit a much simpler system of vowel notation.

Abdollah Nazari and Judy Routamaa deal with contact linguistics issues concerning Turkmen as spoken in Iran. The exposure to Persian as the dominant language has influenced the linguistic behavior of all Turkmen speakers, from the elderly to the middle-aged and young speakers. The authors illustrate this by analyzing three texts representative of the speech of each generation. The texts illustrate the notable increase in the degree of copied elements from generation to generation. The speaker from the older generation exhibits only minimal influence from Persian, a few instances of lexical copies. The speaker from the middle aged generation shows slightly more influence. The young speaker exhibits a high degree of copying in all linguistic domains. This can largely be attributed to the many socio-cultural changes in the life of Turkmen speakers. The changes have led from an isolated nomadic way of life with few contacts and interactions with other groups, even other Turkmen tribes, to the gradual sedentarization in the rural areas of northeastern Iran. Nowadays there is a high degree of interaction both among the Turkmen tribes and with the Persian language and culture. For educational and professional reasons, members of the younger generation tend to settle in urban centres, which leads to a

greater exposure to Persian. Even they, however, generally maintain a positive attitude towards their mother tongue and still use it when communicating with Turkmen friends and relatives. With respect to factors such as strong ethnic and religious (Sunni Muslim) identity and the strong population concentration in one geographical area, the authors predict that Turkmen will continue to be spoken in Iran. The question is to what extent and in what ways Persian will continue to influence it.

Hasan Mesut Meral investigates Kazakh postverbal structures of the type *Axmet kitap-tı okı-p şik-tı* 'Axmet book-ACCUSATIVE read-CONVERB go.out-PAST' 'Ahmet read the book (to the end)', defined as [V-CONVERB AUX-T-AGR] constructions. The discussion aims to seek for evidence for one general claim of the theory of "Distributed Morphology", a specific generativist framework describing the architecture of grammar. The study is limited to the discussion of the converb marker and the so-called auxiliary item. The author wishes to contribute to the theoretical description of Kazakh, helping to explain the nature of grammatical relations occurring in the structures in question.

Vladimir Monastyrev & Svetlana Prokopieva deal with Yakut verbs of thinking and their correspondences in Russian. Yakut verbs of thinking are characterized by rather wide unspecified meanings and are thus used in analytic constructions in which they are semantically specified. The comparison of their semantic structures to those of Russian verbs shows some universal and specific traits of their lexico-semantic nature.

The publication of *West Old Turkic. Turkic Loanwords in Hungarian* (2011) is a major event in the history of Turkic studies. This magnificent work was initiated by András Róna-Tas and Árpád Berta; after Berta's untimely death in 2008, the enterprise was continued and concluded by Róna-Tas in collaboration with László Károly. *TURKIC LANGUAGES* will devote three review articles to this remarkable work. The first one is written by Martine Robbeets, whose main field of interest is the genealogy of the Transeurasian (Altaic) languages. She stresses that this work, devoted to loanwords preserved in Hungarian, opens an "alternative window" on the reconstruction of West Old Turkic. As such, it represents a major step forward in the field of Turkic linguistics, but it also has important implications for historical linguistics in general and for Transeurasian comparative linguistics in particular. In her review article, she explores the merits of the research for an integrated approach of genealogical and contact linguistics by inferring criteria to distinguish between inheritance and code-copying on the basis of a typology of Turkic loanverbs in Hungarian. Inspired by this work, the reviewer concludes that at least some correlations between the Transeurasian languages are not the result of language contact, but witness to inheritance.

*

Professor Geng Shimin of the Minzu University, Beijing, passed away on December 17, 2012. He was born on November 28, 1929. In 1949, he began his study of Old Uyghur at the Department of Oriental Languages of the University of Beijing, where he graduated in 1953. From 1956 to 1958 he worked as an assistant of the Soviet

scholar Edhem Tenišev. In 1976, he was appointed head of the Old Uyghur program that was set up at the university. Professor Geng also made important contributions to the study of Kazakh and Tuvan as spoken in China. He was a prolific author, especially in the field of Old Uyghur philology. From the 1970s on, he had the opportunity to work as a scholar in Germany and to initiate cooperation with European Turcologists. My own oldest memories of him stem from that time. Some of his editions are joint publications with the German scholars Hans-Joachim Klimkeit and Jens Peter Laut. Professor Geng continued his academic activities at the Minzu University until December 2012, until the very end of his life.

Lars Johanson

Oq and Oğur ~ Oğuz

Peter B. Golden

Golden, Peter B. 2012. *Oq and Oğur ~ Oğuz*. *Turkic Languages* 16, 155–199.

This paper deals with the term *oq* as used in the name of the Western Türk confederation, *On Oq*, the dating of its foundation and the relationship of *oq* with *oğur ~ oğuz*.

Peter B. Golden, Professor Emeritus of History, Turkish and Middle Eastern Studies, Rutgers University, 77 North Post Rd., West Windsor, NJ 08550-5001, USA. E-mail: pgolden@andromeda.rutgers.edu

1. *On Oq*

The name *On Oq*, usually translated as “the Ten Arrows”, denoted in Old Turkic the collective name of the core of ten tribal or military groupings that comprised the Western Türk state.* There are several accounts regarding its origins. One, a fleeting reference stemming from the Türks themselves, to organizational activities in the western zone of the Türk Empire in the early years following its foundation in 552, has been viewed as alluding to its beginnings. It is found in virtually identical passages in the Kül¹ Tegin (KT, E3) and Bilgä Qağan (BQ, E4) inscriptions, written in 732 and 735 respectively.² Neither actually mentions the *On Oq per se*. The Türk

* I would like to thank Sylvia Wu Golden, as always, for assistance with the Chinese texts.

1 The name/title *kül* has also been read as *köl*. Clauson 1972: 715, noting the uncertainty of the vowel and citing the Chinese “k’üe” (闕 Pinyin *que*) opted for *ü*, hence *Kül* (see also User 2010: 138–139). Kempf 2004: 45 and Berta 2004: 89ff., prefer *Köl*. The Chinese data is not conclusive. For the Türk era (eastern empire: 552–630, 682–742/3, western empire: 552–657–59, 690s–766), reconstructions of Middle Chinese (MC), for which there are several systems, are most appropriate. Chronologically, MC may be defined as covering the period from the late Han (202 BCE–220 CE, the Later Han are dated to 25–220 CE) to the late Tang (618–907) eras (Wilkinson 2000²: 26). Reconstructions of Old Chinese (OC), dating from the Shang oracle bone inscriptions (ca. 1250–1050 BCE) to the Han era (ca. 200 BCE–200 CE, see Schuessler 2007: xi–xii) are noted when relevant. Of the two commonly used reconstructions, Schuessler 2009 (a reworking of Karlgren 1957/1996) defines MC as reflecting the language ca. 600. Pulleyblank 1984, 1991, divides MC into Early Middle Chinese (EMC, before 601 CE, i.e. the language that had taken shape by the Sui 581–618) and Late Middle Chinese (LMC, seventh–eighth centuries, i.e. the language that had taken shape by the early Tang eras). Modern *que* = MC *khiwet* (Schuessler 2009: 277 [26–10k]), EMC *khuat*, LMC: *khyat*, (Pulleyblank 1991: 263).

2 On the dating, see Kempf 2004: 44–45.

Qağanate founded by Bumın³ and his younger brother İstāmi (or İštāmi),⁴ r. 552–575) had overthrown the Asian Avars (*Abar/Apar/Awar*, usually termed *Rouran* 柔然 in Chinese)⁵ in 552 (KT, E1, BQ, E2-3,⁶ Chavannes 1941, 3, 47, 219–229), the

- 3 A name that is probably of Iranian origin from: **būmī* ‘zemlja’, Aryan **bhūmī* ‘zemlja’, Old Indic *bhūmī* ‘zemlja, strana’, Middle Pers. *būm* ‘zemlja, strana’ (Rastorgueva & Edel’man 2000–ongoing 2: 134–135; Harmatta 1999: 396) and hence ‘Lord of the Earth’ (Dobrovits 2004b: 111). This is not unlike the ethnonym *Tabḡač* MC *thāk bāt* (Schuessler 2009: 69 [2–17m], 237 [21–31h]) = **takbat/takbač* reflecting either the native (Proto-Mongolian/Para-Mongolic) form of this ethnonym, **taɣbač* or one that came to Turkic via Rouran intermediation, see Beckwith 2005: 9–12, who also suggests that it meant ‘ruler (*bač* < Indic *pati*) of the Earth’. In Chinese his name is given as *Tumen* 土門 (Liu 1958, II: 490, n. 18) ‘earth-door’; which does not transcribe but appears to hint at the meaning of his name. For objections to this interpretation, see Beckwith 2009: 390, n.17. Bumın’s Türk title was ‘*İl(l)ig* (or *El(l)ig* *Qağan*’, i.e. ‘The Qağan (Emperor) possessed of the *el/il*’ (‘realm’ see Clauson 1972 121–122), which gives some sense of the Turkic rendering of *Bumın*, but see discussion in Rybatzki 2000: 206–218, regarding some of the complications.
- 4 Read, most recently, as İstāmi (cf. User 2010: 134). The Middle Chinese and East Roman/Byzantine Greek renderings of the name are not conclusive: Chin. 室點蜜 / 密/ Shidianmi, MC: *šjet tiem mjiet/mjet* (Schuessler 2009: 299 [29–15j], 350 [3612n], 304 [29–41p and r]), EMC: *cit tem mjit*, LMC: *šit tiam’ mjit* (Pulleyblank 1991: 285, 77, 213). His name appears in Byzantine sources (Theophylaktos Simokattes 1972: 257, see also Moravcsik 1958, II: 291) as Στεμβισχάγαν. With its initial *İst-/İšt-* in the Turkic forms (an initial *İ-* is absent from the Chinese and Greek renderings of the name, pointing to *St-* or *Št-*), it is clearly not Turkic. It is perhaps of Iranian origin, cf. Khotanese Saka *sthaimā* = *sθāmi* < Old Iran. *stāna* ‘place, country’, i.e. ‘King of the Land’ (as suggested by Harmatta 1999: 396, Dobrovits 2004b: 112 and Dobrovits 2008: 67–78). His rank, as *Yabḡu Qağan*, was slightly lower than that of his brother Bumın, as this etymology of his name (or title) might indicate, i.e. ‘king of a specific place or country’ rather than a universal monarch. This is reminiscent of the Turkic title posthumously accorded to Joči, Činggis Xan’s oldest son and ruler of the Qıpčaq steppe and lands later conquered further to the west: *Uluš İdi* ‘Master of the Country’, see Boyle 1956: 148–152.
- 5 On the Rouran, the ‘Asian Avars’, later derisively termed Ruanruan 蠕蠕, 蠕蠕 ‘creeping/ crawling creepers/crawlers’ i.e. ‘insects’, see Taskin 1984: 267–295; Kljaštornyj and Savinov 2005: 48–59, 62; Kyčanov 2010: 91–95. On their proposed connection with the European Avars, see Kollautz and Miyakawa 1970; Pohl 1988 and below.
- 6 KT = inscription of Kül Tegin, E= East, line 1, BQ = inscription of Bilge Qağan, E(ast) lines 2–3: (Tekin 2006: 24/25, 50/51, Berta 2004: 139–140: *üzä kök täñri asra yağız yer qılındwqda ekin ara kiši oğlı qılınmış kiši oğlında üzä äčüm apam bwmin qağan ištāmi qağan olormwš olorwpan türk bođwnwñ elin törüsin tuta bermiş etü bermiş...* ‘When the blue heavens above and the brown earth below were created, humankind was created between the two, my ancestors Bumın Qağan and İstāmi Qağan sat upon (the throne), when they sat (upon the throne), they organized the realm of the Türk people and established the law and put (it) into order’.

previous nomadic imperial power in Mongolia, and created a state (*el/i*) and an attendant legal system (*törü*).⁷ The Türk inscriptions go on to note (KT, E3, BQ, E4) that surrounded by foes, these leaders of the Ašina, the royal clan of the Türks,⁸ forced the peoples on their ‘four sides’ (*tört bulwñdaqı bodwnwğ*), who were all enemies (*qop yağı ärmış*) into submission. In the east, Muqan (r. 553–572, Chin. Muhan 木汗/汗 EMC *məwk yan^h/yan*,⁹ Pulleyblank 1991: 220, 119, 118), Bumın’s son and eventual successor, consolidated power (Liu 1958, I, 8–13, 19–22, II: 495, n.36). Meanwhile, the Türk conquests extended eastwards to the Qađırqan Yıš¹⁰ (= the Great Xingan) and westward, under his uncle, İstāmi/İštāmi, to the Iron Gates,¹¹

- 7 *Törü* ‘traditional, customary, unwritten law’ (Clauson 1972: 531–532); ‘tören, merasim’; ‘toplumsal yasalar bütünü, tore’ (User 2010: 300, 301–302). For a discussion of the contradictions in the Chinese, Türk and Byzantine sources in situating İstāmi/İštāmi as an imperial founder, see Dobrovits 2008: 68–70.
- 8 The name *Ašina* is not recorded in the Turkic-language inscriptions of the Türks, but is frequently mentioned in the Chinese sources, Ashina 阿史那 (EMC **ʔaʃi^hna^h*, Pulleyblank 1991: 23, 283, 221), MC *ʔā ʃiB naC* (Schuessler 2009: 211 [18–1m], 103 [4–52a], 215 [18–12a]) and is probably from Khotanese Saka *âṣṣeina/âṣṣena* ‘blue’, implied by Bailey 1985: 104 and affirmed by Kljaštornyj 1994: 445–447. Recent readings of the Sogdian-language Bugut inscription of 582 (*tr-^hwkt^h (^h)šy-n^hs*), one of the earliest official monuments of the Türk state, appear to note it as well, Moriyasu & Ochir 1999: 123, although this reading of the poorly preserved monument has not gone unchallenged (Beckwith 2005: 13–15). Moreover, Beckwith (1987: 206–208 and Beckwith 2009: 138, 410–412, nn.71, 72), maintains that this name is Arśila, ultimately of Tokharian origin (cf. the Tokharian A (Qočo) title *ârśilānci*), noted in Menander 1985: 172/173 as Ἀρσίλας ‘the senior ruler of the Turks’ at the time of the Byzantine embassy to the Türks in 576 (see below).
- 9 Written in Sogdian as *mwx^hn* with an ‘unclear’ etymology, but Turkic seems most unlikely (Lurje 2010: 252–253). Rybatzki 2000: 218–219, suggests Old Pers. *magu-*, Middle Pers. *magû* [mgw], *môg*, Sogdian *mwğ* ‘magus’, which, while in keeping with the apparently Iranian names/titles/throne names of the early Türk Qağans, does not seem likely here as the Türk Qağans did not perform any Mazdaic priestly functions.
- 10 *Yıš* (Clauson 1972: 976) denotes a ‘mountain forest, the upper parts of a mountain covered with forest, but also containing treeless, grassy valleys’; User 2010: 150, 226 ‘orman, ormanla kaplı dağ’.
- 11 A similar campaign is noted several lines later (KT, E21, Berta 2004: 152) that extends from the Qađırqan Heights to *Kāñū Tarman/Tarban* (the region of Tarband, i.e. Otrar, see discussion in Kljaštornyj 1964: 155–179). The Iron Gate(s), *Tāmir Qapığ*, is a term used for a number of regions, from the North Caucasus to Transoxiana and Balkh. Here it is used to denote a specific area, the Pass of Buzgala in modern Uzbekistan, on the route from Samarqand to Balkh, some 90 km. south of Šahrīsabz and as Kljaštornyj (1964: 76–77, 143, Kljaštornyj & Savinov 2005: 92, following Thomsen 1896: 137–138 / Thomsen 1993: 168–169), suggests it is probably a calque into Turkic of a local term, see also Giraud 1960: 29, 45, 182 and User 2010: 153 (a pass west of the Syr Darya, on the Balkh-

between which they settled their peoples (*ilgärü qadırqan yışqa tägi kerü tämir qapıgqa tägi qondwrmwš ekin ara*) and ruled over the ‘Kök Türk people, who had been living, thus, without a ruler/master and without an *oq* (a tribal/clan/military organization)’: *iđi oqswz [oqsız] kök türk anja olorwr ärmiš*, Berta, 2004: 139–140; Tekin, 2006: 24/25, 50/51). These events had transpired between 552–555 and in the western zone amounted to a mass migration thither of Türk or Türk-led tribes, which then brought other Turkic and non-Turkic peoples of the Volga-Ural and North Caucasian-Caspian-Pontic steppes under Türk rule (or forced them to flee along with the Avars to Pannonia), a process that was completed not long before or just after İstāmi/İštāmi’s death (Kljaštornyj & Savinov 2005: 92–95, Kljaštornyj & Sultanov 2009: 111, 114–115). The western part of the Türk Empire now extended from Jungaria (northern Xinjiang) to the Pontic steppes. This important passage does not mention the *On Oq* by name, but only the word *oqsız*. All references to the *On Oq* in the Türk (and Uyğur) inscriptions mention them only within the context of contemporary (to the inscriptions) political and military issues of the first six decades of the eighth century, i.e. up to 759: T (Tonyuquq Inscription, ca. 726), 19, 30, 33, 42–43, KT, S 19, N 13, BQ, N15) as do also the Uyğur Tariat (dated 752/757, S3) and Šine Usu (dated 759, N11) inscriptions.¹² The Sogdian text of the poorly preserved Qara Balğasun trilingual (Turkic, Chinese and Sogdian) inscription (810? 821?) notes: [*twrky*]š *χωβ χ’γ-’n ky pr δs’ p’δ’δry twrkyš* translated as “the king of [Türge]š people, the Qaghan, who was the ruler of the Ten Arrows Three Tūrgeš people” (Moriyasu & Ochir 1999: 215–216). If this is correct, then Sogdian *δs’ p’δ* (*dasa pād* ‘ten feet’) should probably be *δs’ p’δ’y* (*dasa pādē*) ‘ten arrows’ (see Gharib 2004: 25, 257) and indicates that *On Oq* was understood in the sense of ‘Ten Arrows’ in Uyğur imperial inscriptions of that time. The text refers to the period following the death of Kül Bilgä Qağan (r. 744–747), the founder of the Uyğur Qağanate.

The word *oq* (‘arrow’) in the Türk and Uyğur sources is, aside from the politonym *On Oq*, used only in its primary meaning to denote the weapon/implement.¹³ Similarly, in the Old Qırğız runiform monuments it appears only in the meaning of ‘arrow’ (Kormušin 2008: 132, Qızıl-Čiraa I, Tuva, inscription).

The decimal principle of organization, in particular military organization, clearly articulated in the term *On Oq* is known across Eurasia (Göckenjan 1980: 51–86). The formation of the *On Oq*, whatever the date of its inception, was not an innovation. The Xiongnu, in many respects the paradigm for later Inner Asian nomad-

Samarqand route). It was associated with Alexander the Great and his (legendary) building of great iron gates to keep out the barbarous hordes of Gog and Magog; see Van Donzel & Schmidt (2010: 9 et passim).

12 See texts in Berta 2004: 55, 61, 62, 67, 133, 137, 185, 250, 284; citations in User 2010: 163.

13 It is not to be confused with the enclitic particle *oq/ök*, see Clauson 1972: 76; User 2010: 201, 312.

based states, led by their *chanyu* 單于,¹⁴ were divided into right and left wings, each headed by a ‘Wise King’ with subordinate generals, commanders and ‘household administrators’ of whom “the more important ones command 10000 horsemen”. These commanders totaled twenty-four and all were known, regardless of the actual numbers under their command as ‘Ten Thousand Horsemen’ (Sima Qian 1993: 136; Hanshu 2004: 8).

1.a. On Oq in 550s (?). There are some uncertainties regarding the existence this early of an *On Oq* organization *per se*. On the one hand, there is a notice in the *Jiu Tangshu*, written well after the events, but based on contemporary documents (on the *Jiu Tangshu*, ‘Old Standard History of the Tang’, compiled in 940–945 by Liu Xu et al., see Wilkinson 2000: 504) which in speaking of events of the mid-seventh century, interjects that İstāmi/İstāmi “in the past”, as the commander of “ten great chiefs” and 100,000 troops conquered the various *hu* 胡¹⁵ lands of the west and became Qağan of the “Ten Surnames/Clans/Descendants” Chin. *Shi Xing* 十姓¹⁶ (Chavannes 1941: 38; Kljaštornyj, Sultanov, 2009: 115), clearly a reference to a

14 OC: *dan/tān wa*, Late Han: *džan/ tan wa*, Schuessler 2007: 255 [24–21az, a], 50 [1–23, 97a]; Karlgren 1957/1996: 59 [147a, a’], 44[97a] **tān/tān*, **djan/žjān giwo*; Pulleyblank 1991: 48, 381 EMC *džian wuā*. *Chan* has alternate pronunciations: *dan*, *shan*. Dybo 2007: 105–106, suggests Western Han *tān-wa*. Usually rendered *Shanyu* previously, *Chanyu* is now the accepted modern reading of this title. There have been a number of attempts to decipher the Inner Asian title masked by the Chinese characters. The most recent is Beckwith 2009: 386, n.7 who sees **dar-ya* or **dan-ya* here and suggests a connection with the Mongol title *daruğa(či)* ‘a high-ranking official with various functions’. See Golden 1992: 65 for the literature on earlier readings, e.g. *ḍabġu* (> *yabġu*), *darġan/tarġan* etc.

15 OC: *gā*, Late Han: *gō < ga*, MC *γuo* (Schuessler 2009: 46 [1–1a’], Schuessler 2007: 281, with the meaning of ‘dewlap of an animal [which hangs down from the chin]’ > ‘beard’ and ‘steppe nomads’ with an unknown etymology) a term that denoted the northern nomadic neighbors of the Chinese, then came to be associated with the Xiongnu and eventually the Iranian peoples of Central Eurasia, see Pulleyblank 1983: 449, 450, 460, Liu 1958, II: 490–491, n.22, 584, n.786, Abramson 2008: viii, 19–20, 87. The Eastern Hu (*Dong Hu* 東胡) probably had Altaic affiliations, embracing a number of Mongolic or Para-Mongolic peoples (Taskin 1984: 39ff.; Janhunen 1996: 183–184).

16 *Xing* ‘surname, clan name, offspring’, Schuessler 2007: 541. Ecsedy 1972: 249, n.6, 251–252 remarks that *xing* is “traditionally etymologized as a ‘matrilineal clan’” which “was not characteristic for China in historical times”. She renders *xing* as ‘clan’, but “with restrictions and attributives where possible”. She further notes that it was frequently used to denote “the natural units of the kinship structure of nomads, irrespective of the degree and nature of the actual political organization” and could also mean ‘sub-tribe’. As Ashina power grew, *xing* referring to the original ‘charismatic clan’ (the Ashina) also came to mean tribe, Dobrovits 2004: 258.

foundational event and to the *tümens* (units of 10,000 warriors)¹⁷ of the *On Oq* structure. However, it has been argued, based on the reports of two Byzantine embassies to the Türks, that a ten-fold division did not yet exist among the Türks in the 570s. John of Ephesus (ca. 507–ca. 586/588) in his brief notice on the embassy of Zemarchus (*Zimarkā*) in 569–570, the Byzantine response to the Türk embassy of 568, remarks that Zemarchus reached one of the rulers of the *türqīs/türqiūs* and that there were eight other rulers further inland (Kmoskó 2004: 133–134, see Dobrovits 2011: 385–386, on the dating and itinerary, 388). Menander's report (he was writing in the late sixth century and made use of archival and oral sources, see Menander 1985: 18, text: 172/173) would appear to confirm this eight-fold division. In his account of the strained audience that the Byzantine ambassador, Valentinus, had with “one of the leaders” of the Western Türks, *Τούρξανθος*,¹⁸ in 576, not long after İstāmi/İštāmi died, he remarks that the ruler of the Türks had “divided up all the land there into eight parts”, i.e. into eight tribal or military units.¹⁹ Presumably, these were eight subordinate “chiefs”, each controlling a certain number of warriors and a specific geographical region. *Τούρξανθος*, if he was, indeed, a *šad*, and hence an Ashina, may have held a rank higher than the others. This system continued up to ca. 635–650, when a division into ten units appears to have been consolidated (Dobrovits 2004: 101–109).

Our knowledge of the demographics of the Volga-Ural region and eastward is somewhat limited for this period. Were these names that were given to what we have deduced were *tümen* units? Were these previously existing tribal names? This is

17 Clauson 1972: 507–508. Cf. BQ, E 25 (Berta 2004: 163–164, Tekin 2006: 58–59), which makes reference to the “five *tümān* (= 50,000) man army of the Chinese commander, Ong Totoq (*taßğac wñ twtwq beš tümān sü*)”. Pritsak 1985: 208 rendered Chin. *xing* as denoting “Old Turkic *oq* ‘organized polity able to supply 10,000 soldiers’”.

18 Németh 1991: 63 and Haussig 1975: 98–99, among others, suggested **Türk-Šad*. In the Turkic world, titles used as names are not unknown (*šad* is a high rank just below that of *Qağan* and usually given to Ašina kinsmen, Clauson 1972: 866); the ruler here may have been a younger son of İstāmi/İštāmi (Chavannes 1941: 227, 239–242) and brother of Tardu (r. 575–603) who succeeded İstāmi/İštāmi as supreme *Qağan* of the Western Türks. Accordingly, *Šad* of the Türks may have been his title/status, not necessarily his name. Gumilëv 1967: 111, identifies him with Tanhan *Qağan*, an active figure in Türk interne-cine strife (cf. Liu 1958, I: 49, II: 522, n.235, Taşağıl 1995: 33, 38, 41, 43–44, 46, 130, 155, who do not make such a connection).

19 The superior of *Τούρξανθος*, the ‘senior’ Türk ruler was *Ἀρσίλας*, see above, n.8. Gumilëv 1967: 48–50, 58, 106, places *Τούρξανθος*’s territory on the lower Volga-North Caucasus-Ural zone and correctly points to the chill in Byzantine-Türk relations because of Constantinople’s recent treaty with the Avars and truce with Iran. This truce, he implies freed up Sāsānid forces to deal with the Türks. The truce, however, was uneasy and negotiations were still ongoing at the time of the death of Khursaw I (r. 531–579); see Frye (1984: 328–329).

unclear. One may well wonder if the author of the *Jiu Tangshu*, in his aside on İstāmi/İštāmi, had projected into the past a structure which his sources actually attest as coming into being some sixty years after İstāmi/İštāmi's death? It should be added that the KT and BQ inscriptions also date to well after the events surrounding the foundation of the first Türk Empire and only briefly allude to them.

1.b. Oq and Oqsız: How are we to understand the word *oqsız* as it appears in the KT and BQ inscriptions? *Oq* as 'arrow' is found across the spectrum of Turkic languages, ancient and modern. In Tatar and Baškır it has become *uq* and in some Siberian Turkic languages we find *uq/ux*. It has also expanded its meaning to 'bow' and has been modernized to denote 'bullet' (e.g. Khakas *ux* 'pulja, strela', Baskakov & Inkižekova-Grekul 1953: 252; Sevortjan 1974: 437–438; Radlov 1893–1911, I/2: 988–991, for the *o > u* shift in Tatar, Baškır and Siberian Turkic, not a "global" phenomenon, see Tenišev ed. 1984: 157–160; Tenišev ed. 2002: 477, 478, 480; Radlov 1893–1911, I/2: 988–991 1606, a number of Siberian Turkic languages have both *oq* and *uq*). In Čuvaš, where it first meant 'arrow' and later 'bow', it is *uxă/oxă* (Fedotov 1996, II: 296; Ašmarin 1994, III: 344) which Mudrak reconstructs as coming from an earlier **ǝ'qə*, **oğb* (Dybo & Mudrak 2006: 54).²⁰ Clauson (1972: 76) noting its original meaning as 'arrow' deduced that 'at an early date' it took on "the sense of 'sub-tribe'". This is, perhaps, to be best understood as a semantic shift that first occurred within the context of the creation of the *On Oq* institution. This, however, must remain a surmise. Moreover, it cannot be demonstrated that this secondary semantic development was universal in Turkic.

Kljaštornyj and Stark understand *oq* ('arrow') in the KT and BQ passages pertaining to *oqsız* as designating a *tümen* (Kljaštornyj & Savinov 2005: 93, Stark 2008: 61), a not unreasonable assumption, even if relating to a period prior to the organization of the *On Oq*. Stark rendered the passage as "the master- and *oq*-less [i.e. 'unorganized'] Kök Türk" and suggested that İstāmi/İštāmi Qağan, as KT, E1 and BQ, E2-3 state, "organized the clans and tribes" into the *On Oq*. He sees these divisions as originally military in nature, producing military units that "gradually turned into tribal groups", thereby transforming *On Oq* into an ethnonym (Stark 2006/2007: 170).

1.c. There is general, but not universal agreement that *oqsız*, noted only in KT, E3, BQ, E4, is to be understood as defining a socio-political group that lacks organization (or a particular kind of organization, i.e. organization into clans): cf. Nadeljaev et al. (1969: 370): 'lišennyj [vnutri] rodovoj organizacii', (User 2010: 183, 307): 'boy örgütü olmayan, örgütsüz'. Clauson (1972: 95) has a slightly different reading:

20 For its Altaic connections, see Starostin & Dybo & Mudrak 2003, II: 1046: **ǝk'ə* 'sharp point, notch', Proto-Tung. **ok-* 'arrow with wooden head', Proto-Mong. **oki* 'top, tip, edge', Proto-Turk. **ok* 'arrow', etc.

“the Türkü whose lineage (?—his rendering of *kök*²¹ here, pbg) is completely without division into sub-tribes”). *Oqsız* should probably best be understood as ‘clans/tribes that lacked a proper military organization’ stemming from a central authority. It can hardly have meant that the tribes of the Türk union lacked clans or other forms of politico-kinship groupings—unless this was political hyperbole on the part of the authors of the inscriptions. Needless to say, *oqsız* can hardly have meant ‘arrow-less’.

İstämi/İštämi Qağan, undoubtedly, carried out organizational activities consolidating the Western Türk tribes that had come with him and other Turkic (or nomadic) tribes that had come under Türk sway, into some kind of structured military union. His immediate successors, all Ashinas, undoubtedly carried out similar organizational activities—when they could. As a member of the founder family of the Empire, İstämi/İštämi would have had the right to organize such large-scale military-political entities. The *Jiu Tangshu* notice (see above), if not an anachronism, would point to the creation or reorganization of *tümen*-sized units. Were they termed *oqs* at that time? Was *oq* (‘arrow’) conflated with the kinship—social grouping term *uq* ~ *oq*? (see 5.a below). We have no other Old Turkic sources that indicate that the word *oq* (‘arrow’) was used with this specific military, socio-political meaning, except for the politonym *On Oq*.

The inscriptions, it should be reiterated, were written some 175 years after the events, reflecting a very different era. *Stricto sensu*, they merely note, in broad strokes, that Bumın and İstämi/İštämi created a state out of what they imply was an unorganized, leaderless mass, lacking a central ruler until they came under Ašina rule (the inscriptions were in part *res gestae* with a strong political propaganda component). KT, E2-3, BQ, E3-4 do not say that İstämi/İštämi Qağan created the *On Oq* as such, although we cannot rule out such a possibility (or other organizational activities among the Türk and newly subjugated peoples), but the Byzantine reference to an eight-fold rather than ten-fold division raises some important questions as to the actual political organization of the Western Türks during the era of İstämi/İštämi and his immediate successors. The people who were *iđi oqsız* are identified as the *Kök Türks*, i.e. the whole of the eventual union of thirty tribes that formed the Türk people (Dobrovits 2004a: 257–262). The implication is that this ordering of the Türk tribes, in essence state formation, extended to the entire union, east and west. The Chinese accounts, as we shall see, overall, point to a later time at which the *On Oq* system was created (see 2 below).

21 Lit. ‘root, origin’, Clauson 1972: 708–709, notes the “great difficulty in determining how many early Turkish words of this general form there were and what were the qualities of their vowels and final consonants”. Cf. in addition *kök* ‘thong’, ‘seam’, *kök* ‘the sky, sky-coloured, blue, blue-grey’, etc.

In sum, although Clauson (1972: 76) defines *oq* as coming to be used to denote ‘sub-tribe’, the Türk and Uyğur inscriptions use *oq* in this sense *only* with reference to the *On Oq*.

1.d. *Oq* in pre-thirteenth century Turkic had homonyms with meanings other than ‘arrow’. Kâşğarî’s *Compendium of Turkic Dialects* (Kâşğarî 1982–1985, I: 89) mentions: a) a “lot used in dividing up lands or shares of Kâşğarî”, b) a particle “which accompanies circumstantial expressions”, c) a term of affirmation = ‘yes’ (Üşenmez 2010: 211). In addition, Kâşğarî (1982–1985, I: 89, Kâşğarî 1941, 31) records: اوق which Dankoff read as *oq* and rendered as the ‘beam of a house’ (cf. Osm. *oq* ‘any stick, beam, or pole, when used as an adjunct to, and at right angles with some larger thing’, Redhouse 1974: 259).²² Clauson (1972: 76) and the *DTS* (Nadeljaev et al. 1969: 607), vocalize it as *uğ* “a tent rib, wooden strut forming part of the framework of a tent...sometimes confused with *oq*”, “dugobrazno sognutye palki derevjannogo ostova kibitki”. Sevortjan (1974: 583–584) cites the form اوق which can be read as *oq* and *uq*. He sharply distinguishes *oq* (‘arrow’; ‘pole [šest], beam [balka]’, ‘tribal subdivision’) and *uq/uğ*, which refers solely to tent/house construction (‘poles for the dome of a tent’). Middle Qıpçaq has *uğ* ‘çadırın üst kısmına koyulan ağaç veya ok’ (Toparlı & Vural & Karaatlı 2003: 291).²³ It is rather interesting that in many of these additional meanings recorded by Kâşğarî, *oq* closely mirrors Pers. *tîr* (Steingass 1970: 340) ‘arrow, either for shooting or casting lots; portion, lot; a straight piece of wood or beam, as the mast of a ship, the main beam of a house’ etc., borrowed into Ottoman with these same meanings (Redhouse 1974: 618). Variants of *oq/uq* ‘žerdi kupola jurty’ etc. are found in other later and modern Turkic languages (Sevortjan 1974: 583–584). The possibility of calquing from Persian into Qarakhanid Turkic should not be excluded.

Kâşğarî also mentions *oq yılan* ‘a viper’ (*yılan*) ‘which hurls itself at a man’ (Kâşğarî 1982–1985, I: 89), *oqluq kirpi*, lit. ‘a hedgehog with arrows’, i.e. a ‘porcupine’ (Kâşğarî 1982–1985, I: 316), clearly stemming from the sense of ‘arrow’. None of these sheds further light on *oq* in terms of socio-political vocabulary. The one exception might be *oq* in the sense of a “lot used in dividing up lands or shares of property”. If such is the usage here and it is not a calque from Persian, then *On Oq* might also mean the “Ten Appanages”, a reference, seemingly, to lands, but very possibly including people, in particular military forces. In this regard, it would bear

22 It is not related to Osm. *huğ* ‘a hut made of reeds or rushes’, as Clauson 1972: 76, tentatively suggests, as *huğ* appears to be a loanword in Turkish from Arabic *kūḫ* or Armenian *xuğ*, the former perhaps coming from the latter? (Tietze et al. 2009: 332 under *hu*).

23 Kâşğarî 1982–1985, I: 166 records *oğulmuq* ‘a straight piece of wood supporting a beam’, the etymology of which is not clear. Clauson 1972: 87, was uncertain, deriving it “apparently” from *oğul* [‘son’] “but with no obvious semantic connection”. A connection with *oğ/uğ* ‘beam’ seems more logical.

some resemblance to the Činggisid Mongol *qubi* ‘share’ which, although in a Chinese (Yuan) setting, could denote ‘fief’ was not limited to land, but could include people (including slaves) and livestock. There are numerous examples of Činggisid qağans assigning military forces to members of the royal house.²⁴ *Oq*, then, in this secondary meaning noted by Kâšgarî, may also have denoted an allotment of military forces. Initially, these were given to members of the Türk royal house, the Ashina, bearing the title *šad* (see 2 below). The Činggisids, as noted, made similar allotments of people to members of the ruling house. Later, the leadership of these *oqs* came to be held by chiefs bearing much lower titles than *šad*—and hence probably of non-Ashina origin. The Chinese accounts clearly tell us that the allotments/divisions were of “people”. Interestingly, the Old Qırğız inscriptions in Tuva use the word *bağ* to denote a ‘lot, allotment/appanage’, within the Qırğız polity, cf. *altı bağ bodun* (‘the people of the six lots/appanages’ (Kormušin 2008: 91 [E-1, Uyuk-Tarlak, Tuva, line 2], 140–141 [E-49, Bay-Bulun II, Tuva, line 4])). Clauson (1972: 310–311) notes the primary meaning of this word, ‘bond, tie, belt’ and thence ‘something tied or fastened together’. He further comments that “[i]n early political terminology, *bāğ* also seems to mean ‘a confederation’, that is a number of clans united by contractual arrangements as opposed to *bōδ* ‘clan’, a number of families united by ties of blood”. He renders the *altı bağ* of the Old Qırğız inscriptions as the ‘six confederations’. *Bağ* appears to have had this socio-political connotation only in Old Qırğız.

In sum, we cannot say that the use of the word *oqsız* in the passage in KT and BQ noted above provides definite evidence for the existence of an *On Oq* organization in the latter half of the 6th century. As understood in the 8th–9th century sources, however, *On Oq* meant ‘Ten Arrows’ and referred to tribes or most probably tribalized military units.

1.e. In an account from the latter half of the eighth century (probably more towards the end of the century) written either in Tibetan or translated from Uyğur into Tibetan giving a description of the ‘northern peoples’, mention is made of a grouping of ‘about ten tribes’ (Venturi 2008: 5–8, 29). No mention is made of the *On Oq* and the ‘ten tribes’ alluded to in an otherwise relatively detailed account, may not necessarily have meant the former. If the account dates to before 766 the date at which time the Qarluqs took Sûyâb and subsumed the now enfeebled Western Türk (Chavannes 1941: 85; Golden 1992: 141, 196), it might be a reference to them. Nothing is said about their origins.

24 On *qubi*, see Farquhar 1990: 17, 58, n.3; Allsen 2001: 45. My thanks to Thomas Allsen for noting the resemblances of *oq*, if it is indeed being used in this sense, to the Činggisid *qubi*.

1.f. İstāmi/İštāmi and the Western Türk realm. İstāmi/İštāmi, who had the title *Yabğū Qağan*, a rank slightly below that of his brother Bumin, the *El[li]g Qağan*, was also called *Sir Yabğū* (< *Śri Yabğū*) rendered into Pahlavī as *sr/nčypw/yk* (*Sinjēbīk*)²⁵ and as Σιζάβουλος, Σιλζιβουλος Διζάβουλος in Byzantine accounts (Moravcsik 1958, II: 118, 275–6) and as سنجبو *Sinjibū* in al-Ṭabarī's *History* (al-Ṭabarī 1967–1969, II: 100).²⁶ It was probably the title used by İstāmi/İštāmi Qağan's Iranian subjects (Dobrovits, 2008: 70–78, who also suggests that *Bumin* and *İstāmi/İštāmi* were posthumously bestowed names/titles).

The Western Türk ruling house stemmed from İstāmi/İštāmi's branch of the Ašinas. During his lifetime, the Qağanate, east and west, remained a united polity. In the quarter century or so after his death, the two branches, functionally divided from the outset into Ašina-led eastern and western wings, as was typical of Eurasian nomadic polities, were coalescing into connected but distinct and often independent entities. The eastern wing consisted of Mongolia and the western wing comprised the urban city-states of Transoxiana and East Turkistan/Xinjiang as well as the steppes to the west of Mongolia. The east wing was considered higher in status. Given their different theaters of operation, the eastern Ašinas largely focusing on China, while their western kinsmen were dealing with Iran (and its Arabo-Islamic successor state, the Umayyad and early 'Abbāsid Caliphates) and Byzantium, it is hardly remarkable that the two grew somewhat apart. The dating of the formation of two de facto Türk states has been placed between 581 and 603 (see Wang 1982: 139–141, Pan 1997: 101, Ôsawa, 2006: 477–478, Stark, 2008: 17 who favor the earlier period and Kljaštornyj, Savinov, 2005: 97, who opt for 603). Western Ašinas (such as Tardu, r. 575–603, a son and successor of İstāmi/İštāmi, Golden 1992: 131–133) made attempts to gain control over the whole of the realm and conflicts in East Turkistan /Xinjiang were not unknown. The Sui early on (Bielenstein 2005: 397–398; Xiong, 2006: 209–214) and the Tang (Pan 1997, Skaff 2012) were always

25 The *Šahrestānīhā ī Ērānšahr*, composed in 'late antiquity' and last redacted early in the 'Abbāsid era (see Daryae 2002: 1) records (Daryae 2002: 13/17) the *Yabbu xāgān*, *Sinjēbīk xāgān* and *Čōl xāgān*. *Yabbu xāgān* and *Sinjēbīk xāgān* are probably a conflation of *Yabğū Qağan* and *Sir Yabğū (Jabğū) Qağan*. Daryae 2002: 36, identifies *Čōl Qağan* with Chuluo (Daman Chuluo 達漫處羅 MC: *dāt mwā tshjwoB lā*, Schuessler 2009: 233 [21–14b], 263 [24–56n], 49 [1–18,85a], 215 [18–10a] Qağan (r. 603–611, Chavannes 1941, 3: 14–22, 51). His reign was filled with strife. It might also be a reference to the steppe ruler beyond Darband (Pers. 'barred gate'), the Arabic Bāb al-Abwāb 'Door/Gate of Doors/Gates') and Armenian Č'or/Č'ol/Č'ola, the city that guarded the entry way into Caucasia from the steppes, on Darband, see Kettenhofen 2011; Ananias of Širak 1992: 57, 122–123, nn.105–106. It is unlikely that it represents Turkic *čöl* 'desert' (according to Clauson 1972: 417, 420, a loanword from Mongol, but see Starostin & Dybo & Mudrak 2003, I: 450–451).

26 Al-Ṭabarī describes him, clearly İstāmi/İštāmi, as the 'most mighty' (*a'zz*) of the Turks, the victor and slayer of the Hephthalite king (see also Marquart 1938: 147).

ready to promote feuds among the often factionalized Ašinas. This is an important aspect of the pre-history and history of the *On Oq*.

2. The Chinese Accounts

There are several Chinese accounts of the formation of what they termed the *Shi Xing* 十姓 ('Ten Surnames/Clan Names') and sometimes the *Shi Jian* 十箭 ('Ten Arrows', Maljavkin 1989: 168, n.248 175, n.262). Chinese *xing* 'surname, clan name' derives from terms denoting 'what is inborn', 'nature' > 'surname, clan name' < 'birth, offspring'; see Schuessler 2007: 541—this is another indication that we are dealing with groupings of people, at least putatively related by kinship). It is one of the few instances in which the Chinese accounts translate rather than transcribe a Turkic ethnonym or politonym (see *Toquz Oğuz* in 5 below). Interestingly, both of the possible meanings of *On Oq* are translated.

The "oldest" account is found in the *Tongdian* ('Encyclopaedic History of Institutions'),²⁷ written by Du You (735–812), that appeared in 801 (Wilkinson 2000: 525). Contemporary with the *Tongdian* and in a sense a conservative response to it, is the *Tang huiyao* ('Important Documents of the Tang', or 'Gathering of the Essentials of the Tang') first compiled by the brothers Su Mian (?–805) and Su Bian (ca. 760–805) in 804 and later edited in 961 by Wang Pu (922–982), who updated it to the late Tang era (Wilkinson 2000: 52; Ng and Wang, 2005: 131–132; Kamalov 2001: 32–35). These two works are followed by the Tang dynastic histories, the *Jiu Tangshu* ('Old Standard History of the Tang', compiled 940–945 by Liu Xu et al.) and the *Xin Tangshu* ('New Standard History of the Tang', by Ouyang Xiu et al. appearing in 1060, both covering the period 618–906, see Wilkinson 2000: 504, 525–526, 819–821; Ng & Wang 2005: 114 136–138, 146–147). The accounts although written well after the events they describe stem from a common source or sources²⁸ and have some variant material, their information is essentially similar.

The information can be summed up as follows: during the reign of Išbara Dieli²⁹ 咥利失 (r. 634–639),³⁰ the Western Türk realm, following periods of inter-

27 Also rendered as 'Comprehensive Compendium', see Ng & Wang 2005: 128–133, a private, rather than court-sponsored work of historical scholarship.

28 On Tang historiography see Twitchett 1992 and Ng & Wang 2005: 114, 108–134. The Tang, based on a number of earlier precedents, created a "History Bureau", a distinct institution within the central government/palace aimed at organizing along more formal lines the various documents (and persons or agencies that produced them) that would make up an official dynastic history. It also gave them more control over the contents.

29 Išbara is a Türk title of ultimately Indic origin (Sanskrit *īśvara* 'lord, prince') that probably was borrowed into Turkic via Tokharian (Kljaštornyj 1964: 113, n.174; Clauson 1972: 257). The character (咥) *die* has two distinct meanings ('to bite' and 'to laugh, giggle') and two pronunciations, *die* and *xi* respectively. Karlgren 1957/1996: 116 [413–m] had **d'iet/d'iet/tie* 'laugh' and 'bite', noting "an alternate reading" ?/xi-/hi. Taşağıl 1999: 93

mittent discord, self-inflicted but encouraged by China,³¹ was “suddenly” divided into ten subdivisions/ tribes (Chin. *bu* 部),³² each led by one leader. The *Jiu Tangshu* places this event after 635; the *Tang huiyao* dates it to 638 (Chavannes 1941: 27; Kjuner 1961: 191–192). They were called the Ten Šads, each of whom was presented with an arrow,³³ hence their name the ‘Ten Arrows’. They divided the ‘Ten Arrows’ into left and right ‘sides’ (Chin. *xiang* 廂, i.e. subgroupings). Each ‘wing/side’ (*xiang* 箱)³⁴ was arranged as five arrows. The left ‘side’ (i.e. ‘wing’) was named the Five Dulu 都陸 (MC *tuə ljuwk*, EMC *tə luwk*, LMC *tuə liwk* (*Tölkük?³⁵ Schuessler 2009: 53 [1–38e] 188 [14–16f], Pulleyblank 1991: 81, 201) ‘tribes’ (部落 *bu luo*), each (Dulu) ‘arrow’ was headed by a *čor*.³⁶ The Dulu³⁷ were

(see *Tongdian*: 199–1078a in facsimile at the back of his book) in transcribing this name used *hsi* (*xi*), while Chavannes (in his translations of the passages in the *Jiu Tangshu* and *Xin Tangshu*) preferred *die*, which is a better fit from the onomastic perspective.

- 30 MC *diet li šjet* (Schuessler 2009: 299 [29–15m], 280 [26–24ab], 300 [29–17a]) = *Täriš (‘gather’, Clauson 1972: 554, cf. the later Eltäriš Qağan, ‘Gatherer of the realm’, r. 682–694, i.e. reviver of the Eastern Türk state).
- 31 The relatively successful reign of Toñ Yabğu (r. 618/619?–630), who was assassinated by a kinsman, was preceded and followed by ongoing dynastic strife. In 634 there were two competing Western Türk qağans, each vying for Tang commercial and marital ties. Dielishi had failed in his bid for a Tang bride, certainly a blow to his prestige.
- 32 Ošanin 1983–1984, II: 776 [3487] *bu* ‘čast’, razdel, department, podrazdelenie...oblast’, rajon, okrug...’, *buluo* 部落 ‘plemja, rod...stanovišče, poselenie’. Ecsedy 1972: 249, 254–255: “a term used for foreigners who were mostly characterized as a patriarchal group led by a chief, and generally translated as ‘tribes’” and “the biggest unit of the Turk society...showing no kinship-concern...tribe”. Wittfogel and Fêng 1949: 47, 84, n.1, note that *bu* can serve as “an equivalent” for *buluo*; Taskin 1984: 16–17. *Buluo*, often used interchangeably with *xing*, usually entailed substantial numbers (at least several hundred family units), see also Dobrovits 2004: 257–258.
- 33 On the technology and rich terminology regarding the arrow and bow in Central Eurasia, see Köhalmi 1956: 109–162.
- 34 Ošanin 1983–1984, II: 619 [2735] ‘jaščik, čemodan, sunduk...ambar, sklad’ etc. and used also for 廂 *xiang* ‘fligel’ (‘wing of a house’ see above), clearly the sense in which it is used here, see also Kjuner 1961: 192.
- 35 Clauson 1972: 498, notes *tölkük*, a word, “of obscure etymology”, attested in Uyğur denoting ‘vigour, violence’, cf. DTS: 579–580 (‘sila, mošč’). This would fit into the semantic grouping of Turkic tribal names and ethnonyms that denote ‘military valor, force, attacking’, see Németh 1991: 87–92.
- 36 *Čor* is an old Turkic title, probably of Iranian origin (Aalto 1971: 35, Bailey 1985: 99), “perhaps head of a small confederation” (Clauson 1972: 427–428) in particular coming from the comitatus or personal retinue of the ruler (Sims-Williams & Hamilton 1990: 82).
- 37 Given the MC forms of Dulu, it is highly unlikely that it has any association with the ruling clan of the Bulgars, the *Dulo* (Дюло) of Qubrat, the founder of “Magna Bulgaria”, noted in the Bulgarian Prince List. This was suggested by Artamonov 20022: 180–181

located east of Sûyâb. The right ‘side’ (i.e. right wing) was named the Five Nushibi 弩失畢 (MC *nuo ši pjiet*, EMC *nɔ ʃit pjit*, LMC *nuɔ ʃit pjit*, Schuessler 2009: 58 [1–56z], 279 [26–19a], 304 [29–42a], Pulleyblank 1991: 228, 282, 34),³⁸ located west

(notions largely prompted by L. N. Gumilëv as noted in Artamonov’s footnotes and implied in Gumilëv 1967: 202–203). Pritsak 1955: 64, in his study of the Bulgarian Prince List, attempted to connect the Bulgar *Dulo* with a late ruling clan of the Xiongnu, the Tuge 屠各 (OC *dâ krâk*, Late Han *da kak*, Schuessler 2009: 54 [1–38i’], 65 [2–1a]), which he, following the earlier, 1940 ed. of Karlgren 1957/1996: 30–31 [45i’], 202 [766a], 202, reconstructed as **d’o klâk*, “Altchin. **d’uo-klo*”. Simeonov 2008: 108–113, after a thorough overview of other speculations, put forth his own hypothesis regarding a Dulu–Bulgar Dulo connection. He identifies the Tiele/Toquz Oğuz tribe Pugu 僕骨 (Kjuner 1961: 36, 38, 40; Hamilton 1955: 2; Liu 1958, I: 108, II: 558.555; Maljavkin 1989: 139) with *Bulgar*. The Pugu were in the northern sector of the eastern Tiele tribes. Pugu in MC is *buk/buok kwət* (Schuessler 2009: 160 [11–23b], 311 [31–1a]). Final *-t* in MC is often used to render final *-r*, **Buqır?* **Buqur* = *Bulgar?* However, according to Hamilton 1955: 2, n.7 and Hamilton 1962: 45, Pugu rendered **Buqut*, plural of *Buqu?* Within the *Toquz Oğuz* union, the **Buqu[t]* were the second highest-ranking tribe after the Uyğurs. Simeonov further suggests that the Pugu and Dulu had merged into a tribal union (cf. also the partial, but succinct summary in Ziemann 2007: 42). Simeonov derives *Dulu* from Turk. *dul/tul* ‘big, powerful, giant’ (‘goljam, silen, velikan’) and ‘war horse’ (the latter recorded in Räsänen 1969: 497 ‘ein zum Kampf ausgerüstetes Pferd’, but only attested in Čağatay, not Old Turkic). *Dulo* he views as a later, partly Slavicized form. **Dullu*, he derives from “Old Hunnic” *dul* + *-lu*, i.e. ‘mounted, horseman’”. All of this is highly speculative. No such “Hunnic” world is attested. *Tul* in Old Turkic denotes ‘widow’ (or perhaps ‘widower’ as well, Clauson 1972: 490). Qubrat formed his state (630s) in a critical period of fragmentation of the Western Türk realm (leading also to the foundation of the Khazar state), but a Dulo–Dulu connection, however appealing as a legitimating source for Bulgar kingship, cannot be established on the basis of our current data.

- 38 Harmatta 1992: 257–258, reconstructs this as **nu ši pi.l*, **nu šipir* and views it as Iranian **nu* < Old Iran. *naiba*, Middle Pers. *nēvak* ‘outstanding, hero’ + *aššābāra* (*ašva-bāra* or **aššābārya*, cf. Saka *ašša* ‘horse’, Old Indic *bhārya*, ‘servant, soldier’ > **šāfir* ~ **šāfir* in the language of the Western Türks and ultimately Russ. *Sibir*’ (Siberia). This became, with Turkicization, *Sabir* (*Sabir*). Harmatta (1992: 266) concluded that the Nushibi were largely derived from the Sabirs. Beckwith 1987: 209–210, identifies the Dulu with the Tarduš. The former is a tribal grouping under the Türk; the Nushibi, he suggests, is composed of Nu (?) + a title *Šadpūt* (*šadapūt*, seemingly a compound title consisting of *šad*, a title of Iranian origin, designating a rank just below that of the Qağan (see above) + *apūt* ‘entourage of the *šad*’? Clauson 1972: 866, 867; User 2010: 267–268). On the tribal composition of the Dulu and Nushibi, see, in addition to Beckwith 1987: 209–210; Maljavkin 1989: 39, 164–165 (nn. 239, 241, 243), 168, n.248. Ligeti found the majority of the *On Oq* names obscure, deriving, perhaps, from some unknown language (Ligeti 1986: 329–330).

of Sûyâb.³⁹ The five ‘arrows’ of the Nushibi, in turn, were each led by an *erkin* (or *irkin*, Clauson 1972: 225, a title of tribal chiefs) or *kül erkin*. One ‘arrow’ was called one ‘tribe’ (*bu luo*). The ‘Great Arrow Head’ (*da jian tou* 大箭頭) became the Great Leader / Commander. They were all named the ‘Ten Surname Tribes’ (*shi xing bu luo*, Taşağıl 1999, II: 93 for the *Tongdian* cap. 199, see also <http://zh.wikisource.org/wiki/通典/卷199>; Chavannes 1941: 27–28 [*Jiu Tangshu*], 56 [*Xin Tangshu*]). Soon after this division, Dielishi was attacked by his own officials and fled to Yanqi 焉耆 (Tokh. Agni, Old Turk. Solmi, today Qaraşahr), returned, reassumed some of his authority but was then forced to flee to Fargâna where he ended his days. The dates for these events differ slightly in the sources. What is important is despite his attempts at reorganization, Dielishi was unable to retain power.

The names and titles ([*kül(i)*] *čor* and [*kül*] *erkin*, respectively), of the Dulu and Nushibi tribes are recorded in the *Jiu Tangshu* and *Xin Tangshu* (Chavannes 1941: 34, 60, 270–273; Beckwith 1987: 209–210; Taşağıl 1999: 71, Taşağıl 2004a: 119, see discussions in Dobrovits 2004: 101–109; see Dobrovits 2012, for the most recent explanations) in a notice dated to 651. The *On Oq* took on the profile described to us in the Chinese accounts in the period 635–650 (Dobrovits, 2004: 1008). Given the fact that the leaders of these ten *tümen* originally held the title *šad*, virtually reserved for the kinsmen of the *qağan*, it may be that initially these commands were given to members of the Ašina ruling clan. The titles *čor* and *erkin/irkin* are well below that of *šad* and may indicate that after the initial organization under Ašinas, the leadership of the Dulu and Nushibi subdivisions came from the local tribal aristocracies.

The pre-*On Oq* history of these tribes remains little known. The *Jiu Tangshu* and *Xin Tangshu* list the Dulu and Nushibi among the mix of tribes in the western regions that submitted to the Türks. It would appear that these tribes (or many of them) were already in the region by the mid-sixth century. Did these names that we encounter antedate the Türk conquest? Or, were they created with the organization of the *On Oq*? We cannot say. We do know that the tribes had the same or similar customs as the Türks and spoke languages that only slightly differed from that of the Türks (Chavannes 1941: 21, 47).

Gumilëv (1967: 154–157) dates the “complete collapse” of the Western Türk Qağanate to 604, but notes the “restoration” of the preexisting authority under Toņ Yabğu (r. 618/619–630). There were compelling reasons for such a re-organization. In 630, the Eastern Türk realm had fallen to the Tang and in 634–635 the latter had launched a series of campaigns against a regionally powerful people of Xianbei ori-

39 An important link in the Silk Road, today the ruins at Ak-Beşim on the Ču River in Kyrgyzstan, near Tokmak. This was an area of Sogdian colonization (de la Vaissière 2005: 114–116). Dosymbaeva 2006: 253–157, locates the Dulu between the Ili and Ču Rivers and the Nushibi between the Ču and Talas Rivers. The Western Türk urban centers were in the Ču River region, as was also an important sacral site at Merke.

gin in the Kokonor region of Qinghai, called in Chinese the Tuyuhun 吐谷渾,⁴⁰ as the Emperor Taizong sought to strengthen China's access to the "Western Regions" (East Turkistan/ Xinjiang) and beyond.

Although the western Türks under Toŋ Yabġu had been effective allies of the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius (r. 610–641) in his wars against the Sāsānids in the late 620s, fissiparous tendencies within the polity were already evident. After the assassination of Toŋ Yabġu, who had greatly expanded Western Türk power, the uncertain unity of the Western Türk realm crumbled further. Internecine strife continued after the death of Dielishi as well (Chavannes 1941: 24–27, 265–266; Golden 1992: 135–136).

By 651, yet another Ashina bearing the title *Išbara Qaġan*⁴¹ who had been in and out of submission to the Tang since 648, briefly achieved preeminence among the Western Türks (the start of his reign as *Qaġan* is often placed in 653). By 657–659, he, too, had been defeated and died in Tang captivity (Chavannes 1941: 28–40, 59–67, 267–268; Pan 1997: 139–141 176–179 193–196; Bielenstein, 2005: 402).

A further sign of the deterioration of Western Türk authority following the demise of Toŋ Yabġu was the breakaway of the more westerly tribes, which formed (ca. 630–ca. 650) a new state, the Khazar Qaġanate, under Ashina leadership (Novosel'cev 1990: 88 places the rise of Khazaria slightly earlier, to the 620s, but see Golden, 2000a: 291–294; Zuckerman, 2007: 401ff.). Thus, an attempt in the 630s and perhaps ongoing until mid-century to tighten internal control and organization had been very much in order. The Dulu-Nushibi strife, however, was never resolved and remained an ongoing problem. If the purpose of the creation of the *On Oq* structure was to preserve unity in the Western Türk realm, it must be viewed as largely a failure.

3. Arrow and tribe

As was noted above, Clauson surmised that Turk. *oq* 'arrow', came to denote 'sub-tribe' because of the "use of arrows for various ritual and ceremonial purposes" (Clauson 1972: 76), a not implausible deduction based on the origin tale of the *On Oq*. Osman Turan (1945: 307–310) surveyed the symbolic use of the arrow for a variety of activities: summons (often to military campaigns), messages (sometimes of a threatening nature) and indications of dependence among the various Inner Asian peoples. These practices, he avers, go back to ancient times and continued well into the Islamic era (including the Seljukids, see 3.a). Similar customs were known among the Mongols (see 3.b. below). Although arrows may have been used

40 MC: *thuo kuk ywən* (Schuessler 2000: 53 [1–36d], 158 [11–14a], 335 [34–13b]) = *Togon and 'Aža in Tibetan, see Beckwith 1987: 17, Beckwith 2009: 128–129; Pan 1997: 4 235–236.

41 Ashina Helu 賀魯 MC: *yā ljwoB*, Schuessler 2009: 212 [18–4j], 57 [1–52a].

by the Türks as a symbol of or accompanying an invitation or summons, the Old Turkic inscriptions make no mention of their employment in this sense. Moreover, *oq* does not appear to be related to the verb *oqı-* ‘to call out loud,...to summon,...to read out loud’ (Clauson 1972: 79), as Turan implies.⁴²

3.a. Seljuks, Oğuz Tradition and Arrows

The bow and arrow were important symbols in the Seljuk state with roots in the Oğuz tribal past. The *tuğra* of Toğrul Beg (d.1063), a grandson of Seljūk and one of the founders of Seljukid might in the Middle East, was in the form of a bow and arrow (Spuler 1951: 353; Turan 1965: 78, 85; Cuisenier 1972: 930–931; Çaycı, 2008: 198–205, who also notes [p. 204] that the arrow, sometimes combined with the bow, was a symbol used in the Činggisid Golden Horde, see also Turan 1945: 311). Turan (1945: 313, 316) highlights its role in military organization, stratification and tribal organization flowing therefrom. From this also sprang the Ottoman *tuğra* ‘an ornamental arrangement, or monogram, of the name and title of the Sultan, constituting the great seal of the Ottoman Empire; the imperial cypher’ (Redhouse 1974: 1241). In older Oğuz, *tuğrağ* is first noted by Kâşğarî as meaning ‘the king’s seal and signature’. This, he writes, was a specifically Oğuz term and comments that “[t]he Turks (meaning here the Qarakhanids, pbg) do not know this word and I do not know its origin” (Kâşğarî (1982–1985, I: 346).⁴³ Elsewhere, under the verb *tuğrağlan-* he cites *tuğrağ* as ‘a horse that the king gives his troops to ride on the day of a parade and that is returned to him after they dismount’⁴⁴ and as a ‘document, when the signature is affixed’, again noted as Oğuz (Kâşğarî 1982–1985, II: 98). This particular symbolic usage of the ‘arrow’ (and bow) may have been unique to the Oğuz, as Kâşğarî states and ultimately became the Seljuk Sultan’s monogram or signature, a visible sign of his power. In Kâşğarî’s time, it would appear that the arrow, outside of the Oğuz politico-cultural sphere, did not have wider socio-political implications

42 Turan bases himself on BQ, E28 and the much-debated form of *oqwğalı kälDi* (see Berta 2004: 165, n.1735 for the numerous variant readings), which he reads as *oqığlı kelti* and renders as ‘okunmuş, ok gönderilmiş olanlar yâni çağrılan imdat kuvvetleri geldi’. Berta 2004: 99, has: ‘the person[s] came from the city to talk’. Tekin 2006: 60/61 and 110, n. 210, has *ok(i)g(a)lı k(e)lti* = ‘...davet etmek için geldiler’, (see also User 2010: 392, who places *oqığalı* under *oqı-* ‘çağırmaq; davet etmek’). Clauson himself was troubled by the passage and did not accept the reading *oqığlı kelti*. He suggested with some hesitation (“probably something like”) **[uts]uqığlı kelti* which he left un-translated.

43 Räsänen 1969: 496, derives it from Persian (cf. *tuğrâ*, *tuğrâ*, Steingass 1970: 311, 815 ‘an emperor’s sign manual’, ‘the imperial signature’), but in light of the Oğuz form *tuğrağ* this seems unlikely. Nonetheless, there is no Turkic root to which one can point.

44 Connected to this perhaps is his entry (Kâşğarî 1982–1985, II: 182) in which *tuğrağ* is mentioned in a poem in the meaning of ‘mounted messenger’, without any indication of dialect—perhaps the bearer of an arrow-message? See also see Clauson 1972: 471.

nor did it denote a military or socio-political group. If it did, these instances are unrecorded. *Oq* was also the homonym of words that were clearly devoid of the socio-political content with which *oq* was invested in the specific instance of *On Oq*. In post-Kâšgarî Middle Qıpčaq, it continued to have the same range of meanings as noted by Kâšgarî (see Toparlı & Vural & Karaatlı 2003: 204), again without socio-military organizational connotations.

An ongoing association of arrows as symbols of authority in Oğuz traditions can be seen in the Oğuz Xan tales. The latter, preserved in variants of the *Oğuznâme*, a cycle of tales about the deeds of Oğuz Xan, the eponymous ancestor of the Oğuz Turks and about the origins of the various Turkic peoples. How far back these tales go is uncertain. The thirteenth century seems to have been an important moment in their crystallization (Tezcan 2007: 621–622). During the Činggisid Mongol era, the tales of Činggis Xan were conflated with those about Oğuz Xan (Bartol'd 1963–1977, V: 435). The Mamlûk historian Abu Bakr al-Dawâdârî (d. 1332) mentions a work entitled *Ulu Xan Ata Bitikči* (which he translates as “Book About the Great Ruler-Father”, i.e. *Ulu Xan Ata Bitik*), written in Uyğur to which “Turks” (non-Oğuz here), Mongols and Qıpçaqs were much devoted and the *Oğuznâme* to which the Oğuz were devoted and which had been passed down from generation to generation (Rašîd ad-Dîn 1987: 9).⁴⁵ The power and charisma of the Činggisid traditions may have spurred the growth of a competing cycle of tales about the ancestor of the Oğuz.

The oldest surviving elements of the *Oğuznâme* are found in the *Jâmi' at-Tawârîx* of Rašîd ad-Dîn Faḍlallâh (d. 1318), the great historian of Činggisid Iran. A crucial foundational tale gives a special significance to arrows. Having returned to his home territory, his core camping grounds (*yurt*, Clauson 1972: 958), Oğuz Xan sent off his six sons to hunt. They came back bringing with them a golden bow and three golden arrows that they had found. They presented them to their father who broke the bow into three parts and gave each of the three eldest sons a piece of the bow and each of the three younger sons one of the golden arrows. The tribes that would descend from the three older sons, he ordained, would be the *Boz Oq*, a term Rašîd ad-Dîn etymologized as deriving from Oğuz Turkic *boz*-⁴⁶ (‘the opposite of to make, to demolish’ [‘*yapmanın aksi, yıkmak*’], Tietze 2002, I: 377) explaining that the bow had to be broken in order to be distributed to the three older sons. The three sons to whom the three golden arrows had been given would be the progenitors of the *Üç Oq* (lit. ‘Three Arrows’, *sih tîr* as Rašîd ad-Dîn 1994, I: 56, notes). While

45 Šukjurova 1987: 99, n.22 is citing here the manuscript (Istanbul, Süleymaniye, No.523: 202a–b) of Dawâdârî's *Durar at-Tijan wa Ğurar Tawârîx az-Zamân*.

46 < Standard Turkic *buz-* ‘to destroy, damage’, but also *boz-* (e.g. in Oğuz Turkic), see Clauson 1972: 389–390, Sevortjan et al. 2003: 113–115 < **poz-*, but in Kâšgarî 1982–1985, I: 391: *boz-* ‘to tear down’, see also Old Anatolian Turkish: Kanar 2011: 140–141: *boz olmak, bozdurmak, bozılmak, bozmak* etc.

there is little doubt that *Üç Oq* does, indeed, mean ‘Three Arrows’; and is not a folk etymology, the *boz* in *Boz Oq* probably denotes ‘gray’ (Clauson 1972: 388–389, Teniřev et al. 2001: 605–606), although its symbolic significance here is not clear. The word *boz* (‘gray’) is used in connection with a later Oğuz nomadic subdivision, e.g. the sixteenth-seventeenth-century *Boz Ulus* of eastern Anatolia, deriving from nomadic groups that had been part of the Aq Qoyunlu and other eastern Turkish confederations, which the Ottoman government ultimately sedentarized (see Gündüz 2007: 39ff., Gündüz 2009: 73–86). The existence of a *Boz Orda* (if *boz* بوز is not a corruption of بوز yüz ‘one hundred’) noted only in Ötāmiř Hājjī’s *Čingiz-nāme*, a Čingissid *ulus* associated with the Jočid house of Šiban, alongside the kindred Jočid *ulusud* of the *Aq Orda* and *Kök Orda* (the White and Blue *yurts* of Šiban’s brothers Batu and Orda Ejen, respectively, the former denoting the west and the latter the east) remains under discussion (Judin 1992: 24–38, ms, 38b, 92, 121). *Boz/buz* is also found in the names of a number of Turkic subgroupings (Lezina & Superanskaja 1994, I: 124–130). It is highly unlikely that the *boz* in this socio-political name denoted ‘broken’.

Rařid ad-Dīn elaborates further in his account that the *Boz Oq*, the older sons, would command the forces on the right. They were given the bow (or rather pieces of it) because it is a symbol of rule (*bi-mařābat-i pādīřāh*) and the imperial seat and the right of succession (*tařt-i pādīřāhī wa rāh-i qā’im-maqāmī*) would belong to them. The arrows given to the younger sons, who would command the forces of the left, denoted the rank of ambassador (*bi-manzilat-i ilči*, Rařid ad-Dīn 1994, I: 54–56, for the Turkic version, see Bang & Rachmati 1932: 702/703–704/705). The parallels with the tale of the formation of the *On Oq* were noted long ago (cf. Marquart 1914: 38). Sümer (1981: 24–25) suggests that the Syr Darya Oğuz were part of the *On Oq* and dates their division into the *Boz Oq* and *Üç Oq* to the time of their Syr Darya habitat. He also suggests that their distinct form of Turkic (Oğuz) differed significantly from “Eastern Turkic” and may be adduced as evidence that they had left the eastern zone of Turkic well before the 8th–9th centuries. To bring the Oğuz westward this early, however, he has to revise and reinterpret our early notices on the Oğuz, e.g. the notice of Ibn al-Athīr (1965–1966, XI: 178), which clearly describes them as migrating from the “borderlands of the most distant parts of the Turks to Mā warā’-nahr (Transoxiana) in the days of al-Mahdī” (r. 775–785), i.e. after the collapse of the *On Oq* and in the aftermath of the overthrow of the Ařina Basmīl successors of the Ařina Eastern Türk Qağans in 744. The evidence points, rather, to their arrival in the Syr Darya zone, from which they soon expelled the Pečenegs, in the 770s (see Golden 1972: 48–58). Nonetheless, Oğuz Turkic was distinct from that of their Türkī and Qıpčaq neighbors. Indeed, Kāřgarī leaves no doubt that “between the Khāqāni Turks” (i.e. the Qarakhanids) and the “Turkmān-Oğuz ...there is an absolute and consistent dialectal cleavage” (Kāřgarī 1982–1985, I: 75–76).

The Oğuz Xan tales reported by Rařid ad-Dīn and others after him that note the *Boz Oq*–*Üç Oq* division of the Oğuz (attested among Oğuz groupings in the 13th and later centuries in Syria, Anatolia and elsewhere, see Sümer 1981: 165–166, 173,

177, 202) present it as one of great antiquity. It is still recorded by Abu'l-Gâzî Bahadur Xan (1603–1663) in his *Şäjärä-yi Tārâkimä* (Ebulgazi Bahadur Han 1996: 147–149 [Old Turkmen text]/243–244) who basically repeats Rašid ad-Dîn's account. It also appears in the *Dede Qorqud* tales, but now the division is more often presented as *İč Oğuz* ('Inner Oğuz') and *Taş Oğuz* ('Outer Oğuz', Dankoff 1982: 21–25).⁴⁷ Kâşğarî, however, who gives us the first listing of the Oğuz tribes knows nothing of the Boz Oq—Üč Oq division—unlikely, it would seem, if such a division had existed in his time.⁴⁸

Are we to conclude that the *oq* in *On Oq*, used in the sense of a socio-political and subsequently tribal entity, came out of the Oğuz tradition? This seems highly unlikely if for no other reason (*pace* Marquart and Sümer) that the Oğuz had not yet come to the lands of the Western Türk realm and would only do so after that polity had collapsed.

3.b. *Oğur* ~ *Oğuz* "Tribe"

Németh (1991: 77–78), in his discussion of the Chinese accounts suggested that the word for 'arrow' was used to designate a 'tribe' ('törzs') and other, specifically military, subdivisions, citing Mongol and Manchu practices as evidence, cf. Mong. *sumun* 'arrow' and 'a troop consisting of some 100–200 people' (cf. Lessing 1995: 737: 'missile, arrow, bullet', 'district (administrative unit) a subdivision of an aimay consisting of 150 soldiers with familiars', 'military unit, squadron, company') and Manchu *niru* 'arrow' and 'troop' (Norman 1978: 216: 'a large arrow for shooting game and people', 'a banner company of a hundred men', Cincius 1975, I: 600 'rota, sotnja', 648 'strela'). The inference is that this is a longstanding, widespread steppe political tradition. However, this dual meaning of 'arrow' denoting both the implement and a military unit is only found in Manchu and not in the other Manchu-Tungusic languages, which only have 'arrow', cf. Evenk. *n'ur* 'strela', Solon *niru~nür~nürü* 'strela', Neg. *n'oj* 'strela' etc. (Cincius 1975, I: 648).⁴⁹ Indeed, the Mongol and Manchu data, as used by Németh, is anachronistic. These terms, in this military-political sense, appeared later. Mongol *sumun*, is attested only in the sense of 'arrow' in the *Secret History*, which has much to say about clan, tribal and military matters. *Sumun*, most probably, developed the meaning of a 'military subdivi-

47 The *Dede Qorqud* tales were written down in the fourteenth century, but are based on epics, which are believed to date back to the early eleventh century, Anikeeva 2005: 6–8.

48 Boz Oq, however, are mentioned in the Uyğur Tes inscription (N3), dated to 750 or 762, as the subjects of an Uyğur attack, Aydın 2011: 33. Presumably, they are Oğuz.

49 Starostin & Dybo & Mudrak 2003, II: 1020, derive it from Altaic **nóro* 'arrow, harpoon', which also produced Mongolic *žorūya* 'arrow with bone head'.

sion', when Mongols were incorporated into the Manchu banner system.⁵⁰ Arrows could be used for a variety of symbolic and credentialing functions in Mongol society. They were given to envoys and messengers as a sign of *bona fides*. They were broken (or thrust into the ground) on the occasion of making promises, solemn oaths etc. (Serruys 1958: 279–294), but they were not used to denote clans or tribes. The Manchu *niru* as a military formation grew out of Jurchen hunting units deployed in the *aba* ('battue', < Mong. *aba* 'chase, hunt, battue', cf. Turk *av* 'hunt')⁵¹ that served as both a system of hunting and military training. The evolution of the *niru* into a distinct military unit, the underpinning of the Manchu banner system, appears to date to around the last decade of the 16th century (Elliot 2001: 56–61).

Németh (1991: 77) also noted one example in which 'arrow' does, indeed, appear to denote a social or kinship group: Persian *tîra* can mean both 'arrow' and 'sub-tribe'. This term is known to the nomadic peoples, Iranian and Turkic, of Modern Iran (Tapper 1997: 13, 14, 17, Barth 1986: 50—among the Iranian Bâserî it means 'descent group'), presumably deriving from Pers. *tîr* 'arrow' (Steingass 1970: 340–341, only notes *tîra* as meaning 'obscure, dark; turbid, muddy; sad'; cf. also Osm. *tîre* with these same meanings, Redhouse 1974: 618, but Rubinčik et al. 1983: note Pers. *tîra* as 'rod, plemja; semejstvo' etc.). From Persian it entered Čağatay Turkic *tirä* (تیرا) 'šu'be, âl, qabile, 'aşabe, il, ʔavâ'if, uruğ, tîre' (Buxârî 1298/1981: 131) and Turkmen: *tîre* 'clan, tribe' (Frank & Touch-Werner 1999: 537, Baskakov 1968: 634 'rod, rodovoj, plemja, plemennoj' etc.) and Qaşqâ'î (Oberling 1974: 22–23, meaning 'clan', below a *ʔâ'ifa* 'tribe' [< Arabic], but above a *bölük* 'section' [< Turkic, Clauson 1972: 339]).⁵² It is not used in this precise meaning in standard Azeri Turkic (Musayev 1996: 522 *tirä* 'division, bloc'). It also entered Qazaq dialects within the Türkmen orbit, cf. Qazaq *tire* 'branch of a family, clan, tribe' (*rudıñ bir tarmağı*, Žamıqaeva & Maǵranov 2007: 637). The similar sounding Qaraçay *tiyre* 'patronimičeskij kvartal v karačaevskom sele...okruga' (Tenišev and Sujunčev, eds. 1989: 633) and Tatar and Baškır *tirä* 'okresnost, okruga' (Osmanov et al. 1966: 541; Axmerov et al. 1958: 528) are from Turkic *tegre* 'all around... surroundings', which

50 The Khalkha Mongols, hard pressed by their local foe, the Jungar Oirat Mongol ruler, Galdan (r. 1644–1697), drew close to the Qing and were incorporated into the banner system in the late 1680s (Perdue 2005: 150–151).

51 Lessing 1995: 2; Starostin & Dybo & Mudrak 2003, I: 512–513; Severtjan 1974: 62–64. Although Manchu has *wa*, *vâ* deriving from a Proto-Manchu-Tungusic **êbâ* < Altaic **êpo* 'to hunt, kill', Starostin & Dybo & Mudrak do not note Manchu *aba* under the Tungusic terms, but following earlier studies mark it as a loanword from Mongol.

52 The whole confederation was termed an *il*, a Turkic (*el*) term originally denoting 'realm' (Clauson 1972: 121–122), but had taken on this meaning in post-Činggisid Iran. Among the Bâserî, *il* means 'tribe' (Barth 1986: 50), indicating the wide range of usages of one and the same word among and within the various nomadic peoples of Iran.

appears in Cuman as *teyre* (Clauson 1972: 485; Toparlı & Vural & Karaatlı 2003: 273, 275, Qıpçaq: *tigre*) and is not connected.

It is unclear if *tıra* is a calque of Turkic *oq* or vice-versa as it is regularly found among Iranian nomadic groups such as the Xamsa and Baḫtiyârî confederations (among the latter it denotes 'migrations unit' composed of 'kindred encampments', Digard & Windfuhr & Ittig 1988). As was suggested above (1.c) Turkic *oq* may have taken on additional meanings calqued from Persian. However, it should also be borne in mind that Iran experienced centuries of interaction with Turko-Mongolian peoples, in particular Oğuz Turkic peoples, dating back to the arrival of the Seljuks in the mid-eleventh century. These linguistic influences continued with the influx of more Turkic (in particular Oğuz) tribes during the Činggisid Mongol era and thereafter.⁵³ Ample evidence of this may be seen in the history of the post-Činggisid ruling houses of Iran, in particular dynasties such as the Šafavîds (1501–1722, 1729–1736), Afšars (1836–1796) and Qajars (1796–1925), the latter two deriving from Oğuz tribes that had settled in Iran. The Šafavîds stemmed from a probably Persian or Kurdish family of Šûfî *pîrs* that had become Turkic-speaking, having been closely associated and intermarried with Oğuz Turkic tribal groupings (what became the Qızılbaş, see Sümer 1992; Tapper 1997: 39–47).

The fluidity in nomadic social formations, composition and nomenclature noted by Reid and Tapper (Reid 1983: 1–3, 8–11; Tapper 1997: 10–18, 46–47) from the time of the arrival of the Seljuks into the Šafavid era was the aftermath of the large-scale movements of tribes, which fragmented as they entered the sedentary world. The Seljuks, like the Mongols later, broke up and scattered their nomadic tribal followers (themselves a far from homogeneous group), especially in Anatolia, to prevent tribal resistance to the central government towards which the tribesmen were largely hostile. Some settled, or rather nomadized (and eventually sedentarized) in one region while other groups advanced further westward. The various tribes left toponymic vestiges of their movements and settlements (see Köprülü 1972: 84–95, Sümer 1981). While maintaining the idiom of kinship, putative or clearly fictive at the macro level, for politico-social organization, the realities of what were 'tribe' and tribe-like social organizations were often in flux. Adding to the complication was the use of many of the earlier ethnonyms, which now functioned as the names of clans or other sub-groups, themselves subject to change (Lindner 1982: 689–711; Golden 1992: 304–306; Golden 2000: 21–41).

In Šafavid Iran, we find a pairing of *tîras* with *oqs* (understood here as 'family group', Reid 1983: 88). *Tîras* are described as 'migrational communities', beneath which were *obas* (Reid 1983: 8). The *oba*, in that era, was a "camp group ... a cluster of families and smaller camp units" centered "around an already existing entity"

⁵³ See, in particular, the studies on lexical, areal, convergence and copying phenomena, in the Irano-Turkic area in Johanson & Bulut (eds.) 2006.

with a name and a “legendary genealogy”. They were not, strictly speaking, kinship groups as they did not have consanguineous ties to the “entity” with which they were associated (Reid 1983: 8, following Cuisenier 1972: 931). Originally, Turkic *oba* denoted “a small social unit, possibly ‘clan’ but prob[ably] even smaller, ‘extended family’” etc. The term evolved then to mean ‘the dwelling place of such a unit; small encampment or large tent’ (Clauson 1972: 5–6, Kanar 2011: 525: ‘oy-mağın yerleşik olduğu yer, göçebe çadırı, kır,⁵⁴ çardak’). See also Cuisenier 1972: 930–931; Teniřev et al. 2001: 323: ‘rod, plemja’ which the latter connect with Mong. *obuq/omaq/oboğ/owoq* ‘plemja, klan’, as do Starostin & Dybo & Mudrak, 2003, II: 1059). Kâşğarî (1982–1985, I: 122), writing in the 1070s, defines *oba* in Arabic as *qabila* “tribe” and notes it as an Oğuz dialect word. “Tribe” is currently a much-contested term in modern anthropological literature.⁵⁵ The post-Çinggisid *obas* (and *tîras*) in Iran were constantly growing and splitting, often forming alliances with groups with whom there was no claim of blood kinship. Hence this mix of Iranian, Arabic and Turkic words to designate various subdivisions is not surprising. Overall, the employment of the Persian word *tîra* to denote some kind of kinship grouping, clan, tribe or tribal subdivision, among the Turkic peoples of Iran would appear to be of relatively recent vintage in Turkic and limited to the Iranian or Persianate sphere. The one Qazaq example stems from a dialect in propinquity to and influenced by Türkmen and in turn Persian. The presence of the term in Çağatay is easily explained by the strong impact of Persian on that language. Persian/Tajik remained the dominant language of the urban centers (e.g. Bukhara, Samarqand) of the Uzbek khanates in which Çağatay functioned, alongside of Persian, as a court and literary language.

In sum, one is hard-pressed to find in the pre-Çinggisid period the word ‘arrow’ being used to denote a socio-political grouping or form of organization among the Inner Asian Turkic peoples. *On Oq* and the fleeting reference to the Türks as *oqsız* seem to be the exceptions. In the Çinggisid-era and beyond, *oq* appears to bear some socio-political-organizational content only in the Oğuz world and groups near it that were influenced by Persianate civilization.

4. The Oğuric Tribes

Priscus (an “unofficial” participant in the East Roman embassy to Attila in 449, of which he left an account, he died sometime after 472, Blockley 1981, I: 48-70; Kazhdan et al. 1991, III: 1721) reports the arrival, ca. 460, in the Pontic steppe zone

54 Cf. Mod. Turkish *ova* ‘plain, grassy plain’ and Turkish dial. *ova* ‘nomads’ pasturage’ (Sevortjan 1974: 400–401, 403–404).

55 Among the more workable descriptions is: an entity that is ‘flexible, adaptive and highly variable’. “Tribalism was and is a “dynamic” not a “static social form”; one, which “undergoes and generates a range of social transformations over varying time scales” (Szuchman 2009: 4–5).

and as a consequence into the Byzantine orbit of the Σαράγουροι: *Šara/Šari Oğurs ('Yellow' or 'White' Oğurs), Οὔρωροι: *Oğurs⁵⁶ and Ὀνόγουροι: *On Oğurs* (more conventionally written *Onoğurs*, 'Ten Oğurs', see Priscus in Blockley 1983, II: 344/345,⁵⁷ on these forms and variants in other accounts, see Moravcsik 1958, II: 219–220, 227–228, 230, 267–268).⁵⁸ These Oğuric tribes had been driven into the Pontic steppes, according to Priscus, from the east (most probably Kazakhstan, see Genning, Xalikov 1964: 142–147; Czeglédy 1983: 97–103) by the Sabirs in a chain of migrations initiated by the Asian Avars, who themselves were being pressed by "tribes who lived by the shore of the Ocean". They, in turn, were fleeing ocean mists and—with a nod to Herodotus—a flock of man-eating griffins. They defeated the Ἀκατίποι/Ἀκάτζιποι (see Moravcsik 1958, II: 58–59 for variant readings), a people that had been under Hunnic rule and made their presence known by sending an embassy to Constantinople.

Their location in the Caspian-Pontic steppes is confirmed by a notice in the Syriac compilation (ca. 568/9) known under the name of "Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor" (Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor 2011: 65 on the dating of the work as a whole), which gives a listing of "Hunnish" peoples beyond the "Caspian Gates". These included the Bulğars (*Būrgārē*), the Alans, the Hepthalites (cited in two forms, *Abdel* and *Eftalit*),⁵⁹ the Onoğurs (*Ūngūr*), Oğurs (*Ūgār*), Sabirs (*Sāber*) Quturğurs (*Kūrtargar*), Avars (*Ābār*), *Kāser* [KSR] (Qasars? Ἀκατίποι/Ἀκάτζιποι?), Dîrmar, Šara/Šari Oğurs (*Sarūrgūr*) and others (Dickens 2008: 19–30; Marquart 1961: 355–356, Pigulëvskaja 2000: 283, 286, Kmoskó 2004: 48, 99, Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor 2011: 447–450). It is widely accepted that this list dates to ca. 555. The Onoğurs, among others, are also recorded in the mid-sixth century *Getica* (551) compiled from earlier accounts by the part-Gothic, Latin-writing Jordanes (d. 552?), who notes among the "Hunnish" nomads of the Pontic steppes the *Hunuguri* who trade in rodent hides (Jordanes 1960: 136).

The Syriac compilation includes the *Kūrtargar*, a people relatively well known to contemporary East Roman historians (Procopius, writing also in the mid-sixth

56 The Greek form is generally viewed as a corruption of Ὀγούροι, ie. Oğurs. Róna-Tas 1999: 210, reads this as *Uğur* (see Moravcsik 1958, II: 227: Οὔρωροι) and associates it with the family name of the founder of the Asian Avars/Rouran: 郁久闐 Yujiulü reconstructed in MC, as *ʃjuk kjəu ljwo* (see Schuessler 2009: 96 [4–17a], 95 [4–13a], 57 [1–54g]) or EMC as *ʃuwk kuw' liǝ* and as *ʃiwk kiw' liǝ/lyǝ* (Pulleyblank 1991: 384, 161, 204). Róna-Tas 1999: 210–211, reads this as rendering **ugur(i)* and thence *Uğur*. He considers the latter a "secondary" form coming from an original *Oğur*.

57 This passage and the Oğuric peoples are discussed in Németh 1991: 138–143, 146–149 (on the Onoğurs); Ligeti 1986: 341–343; Golden 1992: 92–104; Róna-Tas 1999: 209–212.

58 Menander 1985: 50/51, 174/175 has Οὐντγούροι.

59 Theophylactus Simocattes 1972: 257, also citing the two forms, correctly equates the two, indicating that two forms of this ethnonym were known in East Roman/Byzantine circles.

century, Agathias, ca. 532–ca.580 and Menander, writing in the late sixth century) as the Κουτρίγυροι (var. Κουτούργυροι, Κουτράγυροι, Κοτρίγυροι, Procopius 1978: 88/89 et passim; Agathias 1967: 177–179, 185, 195, Menander 1985: 42/43–44/45, 50–51, 136/137–140/141, see also Moravcsik 1958, II: 171–172) and their kinsmen, the Οὐτίγυροι (var. Οὐττίγυροι, Οὐτίγοροι, Οὐτούργυροι, Procopius, 1978: 84/85–88/89 et passim, Agathias 1967: 178, 194–195, see Moravcsik 1958, II: 238–239) not mentioned by the Syriac compiler. The Οὐτίγυροι/Οὐτούργυροι are the *Otur Oğur* ‘Thirty Oğurs’ and the Κουτρίγυροι/Κουτούργυροι are the *Qutur Oğur*, a metathesized form of *Toqur Oğur* ‘Nine Oğurs’ (Németh 1991: 132). The Κότταγοι mentioned in the late eighth-early ninth century accounts of the Patriarch (806–815)/historian Nicephorus (Nicephorus 1990: 86/87) and Theophanes, (1883/1980, I: 356–357) whose *History* was completed by 815, drew on the same sources used by Nicephorus, but is independent of the latter’s work)⁶⁰ and the Κοτζαγροί, noted by Theophylactus Simocattes (writing, probably, in the late 620s, Whitby 1988: 39–50), may be the same people as the *Qutur Oğur* (Moravcsik 1958, II: 164, 155, see general discussion of these peoples in Ziemann, 2007: 95–103).

4.a The Tiele and Oğur ~ Oğuz

The Tiele tribal union included both the *Oğurs* and other Oğuric-Turkic peoples, i.e. peoples speaking variants of West Old Turkic (also termed Oğuric or Bulgaric) and the Common-Turkic-speaking Toquz Oğuz tribes in the east from which the Uyğurs ultimately emerged as the leaders (Pulleyblank 1956: 34–2;⁶¹ Czeglédy 1983: 109–112).

The *Suishu* (composed by Wei Zheng in 636 and covering the period 581–617, Wilkinson, 2000, 504, 819) has a notice, dating to ca. 600 (Ligeti 1986: 333) on the Tiele 鐵勒 tribes (Liu 1958, I: 127–128; Ligeti 1986: 333–336; Dobrovits, 2011: 375–378, and discussion of the Tiele in Golden 1992: 93–95). The Tiele (EMC **lʰet-lək*, perhaps a rendering of **tegreg*⁶²), who are, in any event, not to be identi-

60 Nicephorus died in 828. His *Short History* covers the period 602–769 and was probably written in the 780s, cf. Mango’s comments in Nicephorus 1990: 8–12.

61 Pulleyblank 1956: 38–40 provides the passages on this eastern grouping of the Tiele from the *Tang huiyao* and the *Jiu Tangshu*, the latter based on the former. See also Kjuner 1961: 36–39, who cites the accounts on the Tiele found in the *Tang huiyao* and the *Wenxian tongkao* by Ma Duanlin (1254–1323) another encyclopaedic institutional history, see Wilkinson 20002: 524–525.

62 Pulleyblank 1956: 35–36, Pulleyblank 1983: 448,455, **tägräg* in a suggestion going back to a 1951 article of Boodberg 1979: 354, 356, conjectured an association with Mongol *telegen*, *terge*, *tergen* ‘cart’, which is semantically connected with another name of this confederation the 高車 Gaoche ‘High Carts’, see Pulleyblank 1990a: 21–26. See also Schuessler 2009: 227 [20–09b], 110[5–21f]: OC *lhêt rāk*, Late Han *thet lək*, MC *thiet lək*. The *tegreg* reconstruction fits well semantically, but is not without problems. Mong.

fied with the Töles, a Turkic people within the Eastern Türk confederation, as Cze-glédý (1951: 266–267) demonstrated long ago, constituted a large, important but ill-defined union of tribes that extended across Eurasia from Mongolia and Southern Siberia to the Caspian-Pontic steppe zone. They formed, geographically eastern and western units. Included in the listing of the peoples of the western unit are the Enqu 恩屈 (Late Han *ʔen kʰut*, MC *ʔən kʰjwat*, Schuessler, 2009, 319 [32–9j], 314 [31–16k], EMC *ʔən kʰut*, LMC *ʔən kʰyt*, Pulleyblank 1991, 87, 266) = *Ongur = Onoğur (Liu 1958, II: 569–570, n.663) who are near the Alans and to the East of *Fulin* 拂菻, the Eastern Roman / Byzantine Empire, i.e. most probably in the Pontic steppes. If this identification is correct, it would be the only instance, known to me, in which the term/ethnonym *oğur* ~ *oğuz*, before it attained ethnonymic status, denoted ‘tribe’ or ‘sub-tribe’, is recorded in transcription in the Chinese accounts. Pulleyblank suggested, tentatively, that the Hujie 呼揭 (EMC: *xɔ giat*) or Wujie 烏揭 (EMC: *ʔɔ giat*),⁶³ tribes noted in the Han histories among the peoples and states conquered ca. 174 BCE by Maodun, the Xiongnu ruler and subsequently appearing in mid-first century BCE events (Sima Qian 1993: 140 *Hanshu* 2004: 14, 53, 58), might render ‘something like *Hagaʔ, perhaps an early form of Turkish Oğur ~ Oğuz’ (Pulleyblank 1983: 456). This is far from certain.⁶⁴

Oğur is the West Old Turkic equivalent of *Oğuz*.⁶⁵ As we have seen, West Old Turkic *Qutur Oğur*, **Toqur Oğur* mirrors Common Turkic *Toquz Oğuz* ‘Nine Oğur/Oğuz’, ‘the Nine Tribes/Sub-tribes’). We cannot rule out the possibility that at

terge(n) has been derived from an Altaic **tʰjárko*, producing Proto-Tung. **turki* ‘sleigh’ and Proto-Mong. **terge* ‘vehicle’, but not attested in Turkic (Starostin & Dybo & Mudrak 2003, II: 1433–1434). The Old Turkic might be *tegrek* (Clauson 1972: 485) ‘the rim of anything, ring, circle’, see also Üşenmez 2010: 279). Middle Qıpčaq (Toparlı & Vural & Karaatlı 2003: 275, 282) has *tigrek* ‘toka’ (‘buckle’) and *tögerik* ‘değirmi, teker’ (‘round, circular’, ‘wheel’), cf. also Turkish *teker* ‘wheel’, *tekerlek* ‘wheel of a vehicle’ (Redhouse 1974: 581, Redhouse 1997: 1128). See the lengthy discussion of Hung. *teker* ‘to wind something round, to twist’ from Western Old Turkic **tākir*-, Eastern Old Turkic **tāgir*- (Róna-Tas & Berta 2011, II: 877–882). Earlier renderings in Chinese of this people are: *Dingling* 丁零 (OC *têŋ rên* > Late Han *teŋ-leŋ* Schuessler 2009: 137 [9–11a], EMC *teŋ-leŋ*, Pulleyblank 1983: 448), *Tele* 特勒 (OC: *dāk rāk*, Late Han, MC *dāk lāk*, (Schuessler 2009: 98 [4–26h], 110 [5–21f]; Pulleyblank 1983: 448).

63 Schuessler 2009: 49 [1–17h], 231 [21–1n], 51[1–28a], 231 [21–1n], reconstructs these as OC: *hâ/hâh gat/kat*, Late Han: *ha(c) giat/kiat*, MC *xuoC gjät/kjät*, Late Han: *ʔa giat/kiat*, MC *ʔuo giat/kiat*.

64 Németh 1991: 143, already made this suggestion in the first edition of his *A honfoglaló magyarság kialakulása* (Németh 1930: 114–115), see also Kafesoğlu 2011: 60. Senga 1980: 103, pointed to the “insuperable difficulties” with this identification.

65 *Oğur* is not the source of the Mongol tribal name *Oyirad* (**oğir* > **oyir*) which stems from Turk. **ōy* ‘dun’ (horse color, see Clauson 1972: 266) + *g/ğir* (> *yir*) + collective suffix *-(A)n* = *Oyiran*, pl. *Oyirad*, see Kempf 2010/2011: 191–192, 195.

an earlier time these two groupings formed a single unit. With the exception of *Šara/Šarı Oğur*, *Oğur* ~ *Oğuz*, when mentioned without adjectival modifiers,⁶⁶ is invariably preceded in our sources by a number: *Üç Oğuz* ('Three Oğuz', BQ, E32), *Altı Oğuz* ('Six Oğuz'),⁶⁷ *Sekiz Oğuz* ('Eight Oğuz', Šine Usu, E1, 3, W 8, Aydın, 2007: 37, 39, 55), clearly pointing to the number of constituent tribes/sub-tribes that formed the union. The Oğuric tribes spoke a form of Old West Turkic which had begun to distinguish itself from Old East or "Common Turkic" sometime around the first-century BCE–first-centuries CE and today survives only in Čuvaš (Róna-Tas 1999: 101–104, Róna-Tas & Berta, 2011: 1112–1113, Róna-Tas 2011: 226–227).⁶⁸

An oft-discussed, but still not fully untangled letter of the Türk Qağan to the Byzantine Emperor Maurice (582–602), preserved by Theophylactus Simocattes (1972: 257–259, 1986: 188–190), which may have come to Simocattes in an already garbled form and was probably dispatched very early in the reign of Maurice (as suggested by Whitby & Whitby in Theophylactus Simocattes 1986: 188, n.32, 198–199, n.43; Whitby 1988: 316), tells of events that included the defeat and expulsion of the Asian Avars by the Türks, (552–555) and the conquests of the latter extending to the Pontic steppes. The *Tongdian* reports that the Türk Qağan Muqan (see above) had his forces advance westward, defeating the fugitive Rouran/Avar fragments and the Hephthalites (Chin. Yida 𐰽𐰺𐰍 or 𐰽𐰺𐰍, Yada 嚬𐰽𐰺).⁶⁹ "In the east, he marched on the Qitan. He went to the north and subjugated the 契骨 Qigu (EMC *kʰ et kwət* = Qırğız, Pulleyblank 1990b: 99, more probably a rendering of *Qırqır).⁷⁰ All the

66 The Oğuz, *per se*, were originally located between the Tola and Selenge Rivers in Mongolia, see Giraud 1960: 168–173; Sümer 1980: 6, User 2010: 161

67 So Sümer 1980: 3, citing earlier editions of the Yenisej Barıq inscription, but see Kormuşin 2008: 95–96 (E–5, Barıq I, Tuva) who has the reading *altı oğuş bodunda* ('u naroda Šesti pleměň').

68 Czeglédý (1983: 112) placed the separation of the *Oğur* and *Oğuz* groupings from one another as early as the 3rd century BCE. Physical separation would have most probably preceded their linguistic differentiation.

69 See Schuessler 2009: 355 [37–5gf], 233 [21–14b] MC *ʔəp dāt*; Maljavkin 1989: 112, 379, 425. This is a reference to the Türk pursuit of what became the European Avars.

70 Menander (Blockley 1985: 120/121) in his account of the Byzantine embassy of Zemarchus in 568 to the Türks, mentions 'a female slave, a war-captive from the people called Χερξίρ'. The use of this Oğuric/West Old Turkic form at a Türk court is enigmatic. Dobrovits 2011: 396–399 (citing Pulleyblank 1990b: 98–108, whose discussion of the Chinese renderings of this name clearly point to **Qırqır*), notes a range of Chinese transcriptions of this ethnonym and suggests a plural form that entered Chinese via Proto-Mongolic Xianbei: *Qırqud* > *Qırqır* with the *-d > -r/-z shift in Turkic. This is certainly a possibility, but it still does not explain why Zemarchus' report has this Oğuric form. In the Old Turkic of the Türk, Uyğur and Qırğız inscriptions, the name is given as *Qırqız* (User 2010 160, Kormushin 2008: 76–77) probably from Old Turk. *qır* 'gray' (horse color) + suffix -q(X)r/ğ(X)r ~ qk(X)z/ğ(X)z, see Kempf 2010/2011: 192, 200–201.

countries beyond the borders of China submitted to him out of fear". His lands extended from the Liaohai in the east to the Northern Sea (Beihai = Lake Baykal) in the north and the Western Sea (Xihai) in the west.⁷¹ Theophylactus Simocattes believed these fleeing Avar/Rouran elements, which he identifies as the War-Huns (Οὐάρ and Χουρί), to be imposters, the "Pseudo-Avars". The War-Huns passed themselves off, he avers, as the Avars, a misunderstanding that has produced a lengthy, disputatious literature than need not detain us here.⁷² It is clear from Menander that the War-Huns are or contained Asian Avar/Rouran elements.⁷³ European Avar antecedents remain problematic.⁷⁴ Theophylactus Simocattes reports that the Qağan tells of his victory over the Ὀγώρ, one of the most powerful people in the east, whose "home" was on the River Τῖλ (i.e. Atıl/Ätil, the Volga,⁷⁵ Theophylactus Simocattes 1972: 258, Theophylactus Simocattes 1986: 189). The Türks conquered both the Uyğurs in the east and the Oğuric tribes in the Volga-North Caucasian and Pontic steppes—those that had not fled with the Avars to Pannonia. In 576, the Uturğurs under their leader, Anağay (Ἀναγαῖος) were among the Türk-led forces that attacked the Byzantine city of Bosphorus (Panticapaeum in antiquity, now Kerč') in the Crimea (Menander 1985: 172/173, 178/179; Pohl 1988: 40, 67) as the Türks vented their anger at Constantinople for its dealings with the Avars.

There can be little doubt that the Oğuric peoples came to the Pontic steppes from the east. Their language is the probable source for a number of early Turkic borrowings in Mongolic (see Schönig 2003: 403–419), pointing to their eastern "Urheimat". Whether these terms are to be explained as stemming from a common "Altaic" language family or the result of centuries of interaction, melding or areal convergence

71 Taşağıl 1995: 97. Xihai is perhaps the Etsin Gol (in Gansu and Inner Mongolia); Liaohai is the northern part of the Yellow Sea (Taşağıl 1995: 95, n.553, 97, n.562; Maljavkin 1989: 9, 124 who notes the wide range of geographical entities ranging from the Caspian Sea and Persian Gulf eastward for which the Chinese sources employed the term *xihai*).

72 See discussions in see Boodberg [1938, 1939] 1979: 265–285; Haussig 1953; Czeglédý 1983: 107ff.

73 Menander, Blockley 1985: 174/175, quotes a Türk ruler who berated the Byzantines "for making a treaty with the Οὐαρχωῖται (Uarkhonitai), our slaves (he meant the Avars) who have fled their masters' and then compared the Avars to ants who would be trampled under the hooves of Türk horses, see also Moravcsik 1958, II: 223.

74 See Czeglédý 1983: 99–120, who argues for War-Hun components among both the Asian Avars/Rouran and Hephthalites. Tremblay 2001: 185–187 argues for the Eastern Iranian origins of the Hephthalites. Pohl 1988: 27–37, 215–225, points to the complex origins of the European Avars—a migration westward would have inevitably brought the addition and subtraction of new elements.

75 Golden 1980, I: 224–229. Theophylactus Simocattes confused *Oğur* with *Uyğur* (an identification made also by Chavannes 1941: 247 and others) and jumbled peoples, chronology and geography in this passage, see Czeglédý 1983: 107–121, Whitby 1988: 315–317.

among distinct and linguistically unrelated groups remains a much-discussed question—not to be resolved here.⁷⁶ In any event, this “genetic” or “areal/convergence” relationship could only have taken place in the South Siberian-Mongolian-Manchurian borderlands.

Is there a connection between *oq*, used in the sense of a politico-social (kinship) and military unit, and *Oğur* ~ *Oğuz*, which before it became fixed (or fossilized) as an ethnonym or component of an ethnonym also denoted a socio-political grouping or tribe/sub-tribe?

5. *Oq* and *Oğur* ~ *Oğuz*.

Gyula Németh in his *magnum opus* on Hungarian origins (first published in 1930), following Ligeti (1925: 382), suggested that *Oğuz* derived from *oq* + *uz* (Németh 1991: 77–79), a position earlier put forward, in passing, by Marquart (1914: 37, who incorrectly viewed *-uz* as denoting ‘Mann’, hence *Oğuz* = ‘Pfeilmänner’). Németh’s view has a number of adherents today (e.g. Sümer 1981: 124–25; Taşağıl 2004a: 92; Çağbayır 2007, IV: 3590, 3593 and Kafesoğlu 2011: 144). Kafesoğlu, who defines *oq* and *oğuz* as ‘Turkic tribes’, notes that there are “objections” to this etymology, but, nonetheless, finds it “logically consistent” from a social and historico-political as well as linguistic perspective. Pritsak (1952/2007: 59–60/71–72 [13–14]), cited *oq* < **oqu* as an example of *oq* ‘arrow’ also serving as the term for a military unit. Indeed, overall he conflates military and socio-political organization (and hence terminology) among the “Altaic” peoples. He offers a slight variation on Németh’s theory, positing: *oq* > *oğus* > *oğuz* in which the latter refers “to a wing of the core tribes among the T’u-chüe [Türks, pbg] and Uighur”. He also renders *oq* as ‘tribe’ (Pritsak 1952/2007: 59, 60/72, 74 [14, 16]). Kononov (1958: 83–84) in his commentary to Abu’l-Ġâzi’s *Šajrā-yi Tārākīmā*, provides a useful summary of these hypotheses.

However appealing an etymology from *oq* might be, the etymology of *Oğuz* (and hence *Oğur*) from *oq* + *-uz* has problems. *Oğur-Oğuz* cannot be derived from it (Róna-Tas 1999: 284 and his broader remarks in Róna-Tas 2011: 226–227 on the

76 On the dispute between the “Altaicists” and “anti-Altaicists”, cf. Janhunen 1996: 237ff., Greenburg 2000–2002, I: 11ff., Starostin & Dybo & Mudrak 2003, I: 11–236 (critical review in Kempf 2008: 403–408), Beckwith 2004: 184–194; Robbeets 2005 (see Miller 2007: 274–279 for a very critical review, yet in Miller 1971, he accepted such a relationship), Vovin 2005: 71–132. Antonov and Jacques 2011: 151–170, present evidence that may be interpreted as strengthening the “Altaicist” position. Subsequently, Oğuric/Old West Turkic had an important impact on Hungarian (see Róna-Tas & Berta 2011).

rhotacism question, which is connected to this).⁷⁷ The shift of intervocalic *-q- > -ğ-* found frequently in Turkic is not typical of *oq* in Old Turkic (e.g. KT, E33 *yüz arDwq oqwn urDı* “([the enemy] hit him with more than one hundred arrows”, Berta 2004: 159–160, n.1562, User 2010: 449).⁷⁸ Turkish and Turkmen, as with most modern Turkic languages retain *-q* (Mod. Turk. *-k*) in *oq*, cf. *oka tutmak/oqa tutmaq* ‘to shower with arrows’, ‘to fire upon’ (Çağbayır 2007, IV: 3595–3596, Frank Touch-Werner 1999: 411). Siberian Turkic is an exception (e.g. Khakas *ot uğı* ‘serdcevina ognja’, bukv. ‘strela ognja’, Butanaev 1999: 164) as is also Qaraçay-Balqar *oq* [*> oğu*] ‘bullet; sting (of a bee)’, Tenišev & Sujunčev 1989: 493). If *Oğur ~ Oğuz* cannot stem from Old Turkic *oq* (‘arrow’) what is their origin?

Kononov (1958: 84) suggested a connection between *oğuz* and kinship terms, such as *oğul* ‘descendants, son’ (Clauson 1972: 83–84 ‘offspring, child’, see Sevortjan 1974: 414–416 for further extended meanings)⁷⁹ and *oğuş* ‘sorodič’ but, along with others, pointed to the impossibility of *oq > oğuz*, as noted above. Chinese accounts regularly render the *Toquz Oğuz* as *Jiu Xing* 九姓 (the ‘Nine Surnames/Clan [Names]’ Liu 1958, I: 158, 170; II: 591–593, n.831; Hamilton 1962: 24–25). The *Toquz Oğuz* constituted the most significant grouping of the eastern Tiele union and this term is most commonly used by the Islamic sources to denote the Uyğurs (Golden 1992: 145–146, 155–156). The Chinese translation of *oq* in *On Oq* and *oğuz* in *Toquz Oğuz* as *xing* ‘surname/clan name/tribe’ was not accidental.

Hamilton (1962: 23–25), followed similar lines, connecting *oğuz* with *oğuş* and *oğul*, and proffered a derivation from a root **oğ-* or **oğu-* ‘procréer’?⁸⁰ Furthermore, he suggested that *oğuz* was a variant of *oğuş*, coming from **Toquz Oğuş* and resulting from “une assimilation harmonique” producing *Toquz Oğuş > Toquz Oğuz*.

77 The dating of the *-z > -r* shift in West Old Turkic may be placed ca. 1st century BCE/early centuries CE (Róna-Tas 1999: 101–104, Róna-Tas 2011: 226–227, Róna-Tas & Berta 2011, II: 1112–1113), noted above.

78 Bazin 1953: 315 pointed to the problems with the sonorization of *q- > -ğ-*, but limited it to Oğuz Turkic. His attempt (pp. 315–318) to identify *oğuz* as signifying ‘jeune taureau’ and thence ‘valeurux’ must be judged incorrect in light of the Chinese rendering of *oğuz* as *xing*.

79 See discussion of *oğul* in Erol 2008: 119–123, 407–411, 732–734, who connects it with *oq* ‘tribe’ (boy). Çağbayır (2007, IV: 3588) also notes *og* ‘çocuk’ (but without any indication of sources). Kâşğari 1982–1985, I: 152 records the clearly related *oğla* ‘young man’ in the Arğv dialect and *oğulčuq* (I: 166) ‘womb of a woman’, Osm. *oğulduruk* ‘womb’ (Redhouse 1974: 257), cf. also Clauson 1972: 85 *oğulluq* ‘adoption, an adopted son’. Clauson also derives *oğlağū* ‘gently nurtured, delicate, pampered, brought up in luxury’ from **oğla-* < *oğul*. Çağbayır 2007, IV: 3588–3589, gives a range of words derived from *oğul*.

80 Of possible interest here is *uğan/oğan* ‘God, the one who creates’ from *u-* (or *o-* see Clauson 1972: 2 (*u-* ‘to be capable’), 87, Toparlı & Vural & Karaathı 2003: 203 (*oğan* ‘Tanrı’), 291 (*uğan* ‘Yaratıcı, Allah’), or *o-* **oğ-* > **oğğan > oğan*?

There is no evidence for a $-š > -z$ shift. Moreover, given what we know of the Tiele and the role of various groupings using the name *oğur* ~ *oğuz* one does not have to stray that far afield.

Similarly, Sevortjan (1974: 416) placed his comments on *oğuş*, another kinship term within his entry on *oğul*, deriving them from the “common root $*oğ-$ or $*oq-$ (or perhaps $*uq-$ or $*uğ-$) ‘roždat’” (with Tenišev 2001: 314, following him) and distinguished it from *oq* ‘arrow, beam, pole’ and *uq* ‘rod, poroda, potomstvo, imja’ and ‘žerdi kupola jurty’, a term with a very similar range of meanings (Sevortjan 1974: 583–584).

In Turkic texts through the 11th century, *oğuş* denoted ‘rod, plemja’ (Nadeljaev et al. 1969: 365, User 2010: 292–293 ‘boy, kabile’), ‘clan’ (Kâşgarî 1982–1985, I: 104 = Arab. *‘ašîra*,⁸¹ also I: 123, II: 7, 16, and I: 165, *oğuşluğ* ‘a man with a clan’, 241 *är oğuşlandı* ‘the man acquired a party and kinsmen’), ‘pokolenie, rod, rodnja, rodstvennik, plemja’ (Sevortjan 1974: 416), cf. also Çağbayır 2007, IV: 3593: *ogus* ‘kabile; soy, sop; aile, klan, nesil’ (Old Uyğur); *oguş* ‘erkek evlat’ (Old Turkic), ‘kabile; nesil; boy; oymak; aile, hısım, akraba, soy’ (Türk and Old Uyğur). Clauson (1972: 96, with Berta, 2004: 164, 167 [BQ, E25, 31], etc. and Tekin, 2006: 44, 60 [BQ, N1, BQ, E31] etc.) preferred to vocalize it as *uğuş*, which he defines: “in the early period a population unit smaller than a tribe or clan...but larger than a single unitary family, ‘extended family’ or less precisely ‘family’”. Further meanings flowing from that are ‘a generation or degree of relationship’.

It can be reasonably inferred that *oğul*, *oğuş*, *oğulčuq* ‘womb’ (Clauson 1972: 86) and *oğlaq* ‘kid, young goat’ (Clauson 1972: 84–85, Çağbayır 2007, IV: 3590–3591), stem from a common root denoting progeny, family and kinship.⁸² Kononov attempted to connect *oğul* et al. with *ög* ‘mother’ (Clauson 1972: 99) which is impossible, but deduced an unattested form *oğ* (*oq*) ‘clan, tribe’ (Kononov 1958: 84 and Kononov 1980: 145, followed with some mistakes by Gumilëv 1967: 61–62, see also the remarks of Sevortjan 1974: 415–416).

5.a. In this context, the term *uq/oq* (*uğ/oğ* ?) should be borne in mind. Among some Siberian Turkic peoples, one finds the phonologically and semantically close term *uq* (with the $-q- > -ğ-$ intervocalic shift): Čelkan:⁸³ *uq* ‘rod, imja, proisxoždenie’

81 Lane 1968, I/5: 2053 ‘a man’s kinsfolk or his nearer or nearest relations, next of kin...small sub-tribe...smallest subdivision of a tribe’. The Arabic points to blood-relations.

82 See extensive citations in Róna-Tas & Berta 2011: II: 638–641, under Hung. *olló* which derives from Oğuric/West Old Turkic $*oğlağ$, but they note that “the base of *ogul* is obscure” and point to unspecified problems with $oğ-loq-$ ‘roždat’ and other etymologies.

83 Self-designation *Šalğannu*, consisting of two *sööks* (< Old Turk. *süñük* ‘bone’, Clauson 1972: 838–839), now in many Turkic languages, under the influence of Mongol *yasun* (‘bone, race family, clan, descent’, Lessing 1995: 430) denoting a socio-political subgrouping, often rendered as ‘clan’: the *Šalğannu* and *Šaqşılı*, earlier called *Quu Kizi* or

(Radlov 1893–1911, I/2: 1605); Khakas: *ux* ‘proisxoždenie; rodoslovnaja’, *uği čox kizi polbas* ‘there is no person without a genealogy’ (‘bez rodoslovnoj net čeloveka’, see Butanaev 1999: 164); Altay Turkic: *uği yoq kiži* ‘a person who has no clan’ (‘čelovek bez roda’, Radlov 1893–1911, I/2: 1605), Tuvinian *uq* ‘rod, poroda, potomstvo, imja’ and in Qazaq dialects⁸⁴ (Sevortjan 1974: 582–583). Related to this is Kryaşen Tatar *žoq* ‘rodnja, rod, rodoslovnaja’ and Čuvaš *yăx* ‘rod, plemja, sperma’ and the verb *yăx-* ‘oplodotvorit’ (Ašmarin 1928–1934/1994, V: 103–104 105; Fedotov 1996, I: 188, Sevortjan 1974: 582–583), and Turkish dial. *oğur* ‘ineklerin çiftleşme isteme durumu; kızma; döl’ (Çağbayır 2007, IV: 3593), ‘plod, začatok’ (Sevortjan 1974: 1974: 416, who derives it from *oğ-). The Tatar and Čuvaš forms go back to *yoq* < *yūq* < *uq* ~ *oq*. Qaračay-Balqar *oq* ‘sperma, semja’ (Tenišev & Sunčev 1989: 493) confirms an earlier form with *o-*.

Radlov (1893–1911, I/2: 1605) and Räsänen (1969: 511) associated *uq* with Mong. *uğ* (Luvsandédév & Cédéndamba 2001, II: 300) ‘osnovanie, koren’...načalo, isxod, vozvyšenie, proisxoždenie, rodoslovie, rod’. *Uq*, however, need not be viewed as a loanword from Mongol. Here, with some caution, we may take into account the Altaic root suggested by the *Etymological Dictionary of the Altaic Languages* (Starostin & Dybo & Mudrak 2003, II: 1491): **úk* ‘u’ ‘kin, clan’, Proto-Tung. **uK-* ‘unity, accord, kin, successors’; Proto-Mong. *(*h*)*ug* ‘origin, kin’; Proto-Turk **uk* ‘kin, tribe’, Old Turk. *uq* ~ *oq*, Čuv. *jəwχ* (not to be confused with *oq* ‘arrow’), Jpn. **úkárà* ‘clan, family’. Tenišev et al. (2001: 323) also note an Old Uyğur *uq* (of uncertain vocalization) and Qazaq dialect *uq*, which is viewed as first denoting ‘rod, poroda, plemja, potomstvo, pokolenie’ (referencing Sevortjan 1974: 582: *uq*). Tenišev et al. 2001: 323, associate *uq* with “tribal names formed from it” in the plural: *uğur*, *oğuz*, *oğur*. The possibility of *uq* ~ *oq* (‘kin, tribe’) > *oğur* et al. has to be considered.

5.b. In the Türk era, there was still more than one form of the plural in Turkic (beyond the standard *-lar*, see Erdal 1991< I: 90), some of which were becoming fossilized by that time. Thus, *oğlan* (< *oğul*-*An*) could mean ‘son’ and its plural (Clau-son 1972: 83–84; User, 2010: 252, Erdal 1991, I: 90–91). Similarly, *oğul* could form a plural in *oğlit*, as did *tarqan* (a title) < *tarqıt* and *tegin* (a princely title) > *tegit* (Erdal 2005: 128; Çağbayır 2007, IV: 3589; User 2010: 252. Kononov 1980: 147 considered the plural in *-lɪ* as a borrowing from Sogdian, but see discussion in Choi 2010: 263–264 for its Altaic background). Kononov (1980: 145) viewed the *-uz* in *oğuz* as a plural marker.

Lebedincy in Russian, a subdivision of the northern subgrouping of the Altay Turkic people (*Altay Kiži*, see Ageeva 2000: 40–41; Funk & Tomilov eds. 2006: 463, 466–469).

⁸⁴ Cf. the frozen form *ūqim-tūqim* ‘ūrim-butağı’ (‘descendants’) Žamıqaeva & Maıranov 2007: 663.

Clues for a solution to our problem may, perhaps, be found in two other forms of the ethnonym *Onoğur*: *Onoğundur* (Οὐννογουνδοῦροι) recorded by Nicephorus (1990: 70/71) and Theophanes (1883/1980, I: 356), used in tandem with the ethnonym *Bulğar* and by Constantine Porphyrogenitus in his *De Thematibus* (Constantine Porphyrogenitus 1952: 85) who says that the Bulgars had earlier called themselves by this name. This name became ווננור *Vonuntur in the Khazar–Hebrew correspondence and *وَنَنْتَر *Vunundur in the *Ḥudūd al-‘Ālam* (see sources and discussion in Golden, 2005: 216–217, on the Hungarian vestige of this ethnonym *nándor*, which survives as a toponym, Nándorfejevár [Belgrad] < West Old Turkic *wnandur < *wānandur < *uanandur < *onundur < onugundur, < onogundur, see Róna-Tas & Berta 2011, II: 1233), the term for the Danubian Bulgars. This form of the name is also reminiscent of the الْغَنْدَر (*w[ʰ]gʷndʷr = *Uluğundur < *Uluğ Oğundur (if not a corruption of *اَنْغَنْدَر *nʷgʷndʷr Onoğundur) recorded by Hišām al-Kalbī (d. 204/219–220, Marquart 1924: 275).⁸⁵ Of paramount concern to us is the form *On-oğundur*. The latter part of this form has never been satisfactorily explained. *Oğundur*, I would suggest, stems from *oğ + the collective/plural in *-Vn + dVr* (another collective suffix), cf. the plural form in *-Vn* (e.g. *boδ* ‘tribe’ > *boδun* ‘people, nation, tribes’, *er* ‘man, warrior’, *eren* ‘men’ and later ‘fighting men’, and *oğlan*, noted above (Clauson 1962/ 2002: 148, Clauson 1972: 83–84, 192, 232; Kononov 1980: 146; Erdal 1991, I: 91–92; Németh 1991: 83, 97, 99, 102–103; Pritsak 1952 /2007: 77/[39]97: *-dVr/-tVr*).⁸⁶ Examples may be seen in: Ζαβενδέπ⁸⁷ (*Jabındır? Čavındır < čav ‘fame, good reputation’ Clauson 1972: 392), the Oğuz tribe in the Boz Ulus: Čavuldur, Čavdır ~ Čavundur (Sümer 1980: 140, 142, 177, 208; Németh 1991: 97) the Oğuz subgroupings İgdir/Yigdir, and Bayındır/Bayındur (the name is found among the Kimek and Oğuz, among the latter it became the ruling house of the Aq Qoyunlu confederation) and the Mongğoldor (< Mongğoldur) and Qara Mongğoldor of the Qırğız noted by Németh and Pritsak (see also Lezina & Superanskaja 1994, I: 186, 216, II: 301, 427, who do not cite the Qundur mentioned by Németh).

It might also be noted that the Old Qırğız runiform inscriptions record the word *oğdamdam* which seems to have denoted an ethnonym or some extended kinship grouping (see texts in Kormušin 2008: 155 [Eleget or Ir Xol’, Tuva, line 3], 161

85 A form *Ulu[o]ğundur* is probably reflected in the Ողխոնտոր Բլկար *Olχontor Blkar*, of the *Armenian Geography* of Ananias Širakex’i (ca. 610–685, composed before 636, but with later entries by other hands, Marquart 1903/1961: 57, Ananias of Širak 1992: 15, 33–34.

86 Pritsak 1952/2007: 77/97 [39] suggested *Unno + gun + dur* (the latter two collective suffixes, see *-kon-gon, qon-ğon* Pritsak 1952/2007: 75/94 [36]) but does not explain *Unno*.

87 They stemmed from the tribes brought westward with or attached by the Avars/War-Huns into their union (Theophylactus Simocattes 1972: 260, Moravcsik 1958, II: 128; Pohl 1988: 80–81).

[Uyuk-Oorzak, II, Tuva, line 3], 162 [Uyuk-Oorzak III, Tuva, line 1]) all of which are preceded or followed by *toquz*.

Aside from the example of the *On Oq*, the word *oq* as ‘arrow’ is not used in the sense of ‘tribe’ / ‘military sub-division’ in any of the early Turkic materials available to us. Hence, the question may well be asked: is there another word, homophonous with *oq* that could have been the actual source of this particular usage or confounded with its homonym *oq*? The possibility of its conflation with *uq/uğ* ~ *oq/oğ* should also not be excluded. The Chinese rendering of both *oq* and *oğuz* (in *Toquz Oğuz*) as 姓 *xing* (see above), with its strong inference of kinship, would seem to point in this direction. *Oğur* ~ *Oğuz*, *Oğundur*, I would argue, derive from the root **oğ* or *oq* ~ *uq* (which does have the shift of intervocalic *-q-* > *-ğ-*) an early term for a kinship grouping, no longer productive and ethnonymicized by the eighth century, combined with collective/plural suffixes.⁸⁸

Abbreviations

BQ	Inscription of Bilgä Qağan
DLT	<i>Dîwân Luġât at-Turk</i> , see Kâšġarî 1941 and Kâšġarî 1982–1985
DTS	<i>Drevnetjurkskij slovar</i> , see Nadeljaev et al. 1969
E, W, N, S	East, West, North, South (in reference to inscriptions)
EMC	Early Middle Chinese
KT	Inscription of Kül Tegin
LMC	Late Middle Chinese
MC	Middle Chinese
PSRL	<i>Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej</i>
T	Inscription of Tonyuquq

88 A fifth-century ‘Hunnish’ (perhaps Chionite or Kidarite) seal from Samarqand written in Bactrian records: βαγοογλαργο/βαγοολαργο or ογλαργο υονανο βαο (‘king of the Oğlarġo Huns’?). The question as to whether this personal name contains the term **oğ/oğlar* (see discussion in De la Vaissière 2008: 129–130, n.11, Sims-Williams 2010: 105), requires further data and analysis.

Bibliography

Collections of Sources

- Aydın, E. 2011. *Uygur Kağanlığı yazıtları*. Konya: Kömen.
- Berta, Á. 2004. *Szavaimat jól halljátok... – A türk és uygur rovásírásos emlékek kritikai kiadása*. Szeged: SzTE BTK Altajisztikai Tanszék – MTA SzTE Turkológiai kutatócsoport.
- Blockley, R. C. 1981. *The fragmentary classicising historians of the later Roman Empire. Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus. Text, translation and historiographical notes*. (Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs 6). Liverpool: Francis Cairns. I.
- Blockley, R. C. 1983. *The fragmentary classicising historians of the later Roman Empire. Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus*. Text, translation and historiographical notes (Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs 10). Liverpool: Francis Cairns. II.
- Chavannes, E. (ed., transl.) 1941. *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux, suivi de notes additionnelles*. Paris: Librairie d'Amérique de d'Orient, Adrien-Maisonneuve.
- Chavannes, E. 2007. *Çin kaynaklarına göre Batı Türkleri*. Translated by M. Koç, ed. by D. A. Batur. İstanbul: Selenge. [It sometimes offers a slightly different translation.]
- Kjuner, N. V. 1961. *Kitajskie izvestija o narodax Južnoj Sibiri, Central'noj Azii i Dal'nego Vostoka*. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Vostočnoj Literatury.
- Kmoskó, M. 2004. *Szír írók a steppe népeiről*. Ed. by Sz. Felföldi (Magyar Östörténeti Könyvtár 20.) Budapest: Balassi Kiadó.
- Kormuşin, I. V. 2008. *Tjurkskie enisejskie épitafii. Grammatika. Tekstologija*. Moskva: Nauka.
- Liu, Mau-tsai 1958. *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-Küe) 1–2*. (Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen 10). Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Maljavkin, A. G. 1989. *Tanskie xroniki o gosudarstvax Central'noj Azii*. Novosibirsk: Nauka.
- Moriyasu, T. & Ochir, A. (eds.) 1999. *Provisional report of researches on historical sites and inscriptions in Mongolia from 1996 to 1998*. Osaka: The Society of Central Eurasian Studies.
- Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej*. 1841–2004. Moskva, Sankt-Peterburg, Petrograd, Lenin-grad: Istoriko-arxeografičeskaja komissija Akademii Nauk.
- Sims-Williams, N. & Hamilton, J. 1990. *Documents turco-sogdiens du IXe–Xe siècles de Touen-houang*. (Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicum.) London: School of Oriental and African Studies.
- Taşağıl, A. 1995. *Gök-Türkler 1*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.
- Taşağıl, A. 1999. *Gök-Türkler 2*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.
- Taşağıl, A. 2004. *Gök-Türkler 3*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.
- Taşağıl, A. 2004a. *Çin kaynaklarına göre eski Türk boyları*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.
- Taskin, V. S. 1984. *Materialy po istorii drevnix kočevyx narodov gruppy dunxu*. Moskva: Nauka.
- Tekin, T. 2006. *Orhon yazıtları*. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu.
- Thomsen, V. 1896/1993. *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon déchiffrées*. (Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne 5.) Helsingfors: Société de la Littérature Finnoise. Turkish version

1993: *Orhon ve Yenisey yazıtlarının çözümü ilk bildiri. Çözülmüş Orhon yazıtları*, transl. V. Köken. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.

Sources

- Agathias 1967. *Agathiae Myrinaei Historiarum libri quinque*. Ed. by R. Keydell (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 2.) Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Ananias of Širak 1992. *The geography of Ananias of Širak (Ašxarhac'oyc')*. Translation and commentary by R. H. Hewsen. In: *Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients*. (Reihe B. Geisteswissenschaften 77.) Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert.
- Aydın, E. 2007. *Şine Usu yazıtı*. Çorum: KaraM.
- Bang, W. & Rachmati, G. R. 1932. *Die Legende von Oyuz Qayan. Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*. (Philosophisch-historische Klasse 25.) 683–724.
- Constantine Porphyrogenitus 1952. *De Thematribus*. Ed. by A. Pertusi. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
- Daryaei, T. (ed.) 2002. *Šahrestānīhā ī Ērānšahr. A Middle Persian text on late antique geography, epic, and history*. Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda Publishers.
- Ebulgazi Bahadır Han 1996. *Şecere-i terākime (Türkmenlerin soykütüğü)*. Edition and Turkish translation by Z. K. Ölmez. Ankara: Simurg. [See also Kononov 1958.]
- Hanshu. 2004. Edited and translated by A. Onat, S. Orsoy, K. Ercilasun. (*Çin kaynaklarında Türkler. Han hanedanlığı tarihi bölüm 94A/B. Hsiung-nu Hun monografisi*.) Ankara: Türk Tarihi Kurumu.
- Ibn al-Athīr 1965–1967. *Al-kāmil fi'l-ta'riḫ 1–13*. Ed. by C. J. Tornberg (Beirut: Reprint Dār Šādir, with different pagination than the Leiden edition of 1851–1876).
- Jordanes 1960. *Jordan o proisxoždenii i dejanijax getov. Getica*. Edition and translation by E. Č. Skržinskaja. Moskva: Izdatel'sto Vostočnoj Literatury.
- Kāšgarī 1941. *Divanü lügat-it-Türk tıpkıbasımı*. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, Alâeddin Kırâl Basımevi.
- Kāšgarī 1982–85: Maḥmūd al-Kašgarī, *Compendium of the Turkic dialects (Dīwān Luyāt at-Turk) 1–3*. Edited and translated by R. Dankoff in collaboration with J. Kelley. (Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures 7.) Duxbury, MA.: Distributed by Harvard University Press.
- Kononov, A. N. (ed. trans.) 1958. *Rodoslovnaja turkmen. Sočinenie Abu-l-Gazi xana xivinskogo*. Moskva & Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR.
- Menander 1985. R. C. Blockley (editor and translator) *The history of Menander the guardsman* (Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs 17). Liverpool: Francis Cairns.
- Nicephorus 1990. *Nikephoros Patriarch of Constantinople. Short history*. Edited and translated by C. Mango (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 13). Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks.
- Oğuznâme*, see Bang & Rachmati 1932.
- Priscus, see Blockley 1981, 1983.
- Procopius. 1978. *History of the wars 1–5*. Edition and translation by H. B. Dewing (Loeb Classical Library 217.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann.
- Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor 2011. *The chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor. Church and war in Late Antiquity*. Ed. by G. Greatrex. Translated by R. R. Phenix & C. B. Horn with con-

- tributions by S. P. Brock & W. Witkowski (Translated Texts for Historians 55.) Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- Rašid ad-Dīn, Faḍlallāh 1994. Rašid ad-Dīn Faḍlallāh, *Jāmi' at-tawārīḫ* 1–4. Edited by Muḥammad Rowšan & Muṣṭafā Mūsawī. Tehran: Našr-i Alburz, 1373/1994.
- Rašid ad-Dīn, Faḍlallāh 1987. *Oğuz-name*. Edition and Russian translation by R. M. Šukju-rova. Baku: Èlm.
- Sima Qian. 1993. *Records of the grand historian: Han dynasty 2*. Translation by B. Watson. Hong Kong-New York: Columbia University Press.
- Šine Usu inscription*, see Aydın 2007.
- Al-Ṭabarī 1967–1969: *Ta'rīḫ al-Ṭabarī. Ta'rīḫ al-Rusūl wa'l-Mulūk* 1–10. Edited by M. Ibrāhīm. Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif.
- Theophanes 1883/1980. *Theophanis chronographia* 1–2. Edited by C. De Boor. Leipzig: Teubner. Reprint: Hildesheim & New York: Georg Olms Verlag.
- Theophylactus Simocattes 1972. *Theophylacti Simocattae historiae*. Edited by C. De Boor. Re-edited and reprint by P. Wirth. Stuttgart: Teubner.
- Theophylactus Simocattes 1986. *The history of Theophylact Simocatta*. Translation with notes by M. Whitby & M. Whitby. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Tongdian*: <http://zh.wikisource.org/wiki/通典/卷>
- Venturi, F. 2008. An old Tibetan document on the Uighurs: A new translation and interpretation. *Journal of Asian History* 42/1: 1–35.

Literature

- Aalto, P. 1971. Iranian contacts of the Turks in pre-Islamic times. In: L. Ligeti (ed.) *Studia turcica*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 29–37.
- Abramson, M. 2008. *Ethnic identity in Tang China*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Ageeva, R. A. 2000. *Kakogo my rodu-plemeni? Narody Rossii: Imena i sud'by*. Moskva: Academia.
- Allsen, T. T. 2001. *Culture and conquest in Mongol Eurasia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Anikeeva, T. A. 2005. Èlementy drevnetjurkskoj kartiny mira. *Tjurkogičeskij Sbornik* 2003–2004. Moskva: Vostočnaja literatura. 6–29.
- Antonov, A. & Jacques, G. 2011. Turkic *kümüš* 'silver' and the lambdaism vs sigmatism debate. *Turkic Languages* 15: 151–170.
- Artamonov, M. I. 1962/2002². *Istorija xazar*. St. Peterburg: Gosudarstvennyj Èrmitaž, Filologičeskij fakul'tet Sankt-Peterburgskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta.
- Ašmarin, N. I. 1928–1934/1994. *Slovar' čuvaškogo jazyka* 1–6. Kazan' & Čeboksary. Reprint: Čeboksary: Russika.
- Axmerov K. Z. et al. 1958. *Baškirsko-russkij slovar'*. Moskva: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo inostrannyx i nacional'nyx jazykov.
- Bailey, H. 1985. *Indo-Scythian studies: Being Khotanese texts* 7. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Barth, F. 1986. *Nomads of South Persia. The Basseri tribe of the Khanseh confederacy*. Reprint 1961: Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press.
- Bartol'd, V. V. 1963–1977. *Sočinenija* 1–9. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Vostočnoj Literatury, Nauka.

- Bartol'd, V. V. 1963–1977a. *Obzor istorii tjurkskix narodov*. In: Bartol'd 1963–1977, V: 425–437.
- Baskakov, N. A. & A. I. Inkižekova-Grekul 1953. *Xakassko-russkij slovar'*. Moskva: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'sto innostrannyx nacional'nyx slovarej.
- Baskakov, N. A. et al. 1968. *Turkmensko-russkij slovar'*. Moskva: Sovetskaja Ėnciklopedija.
- Bazin, L. 1953. Notes sur les mots 'Oguz' et 'Türk'. *Oriens* 6/2: 315–322.
- Beckwith, C. I. 1987. *The Tibetan empire in Central Asia*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Beckwith, C. I. 2004. *Koguryo. The language of Japan's continental relatives*. Leiden & Boston: Brill.
- Beckwith, C. I. 2005. The Chinese names of the Tibetans, Tabghatch, and Turks. *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 14: 5–20.
- Beckwith, C. I. 2009. *Empires of the Silk Road*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Benzing, J. 1952/2007. Review of Pritsak 1952, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 102: 409–411, English translation in Bosworth 2007: 55–58.
- Bielenstein, H. 2005. Diplomacy and trade in the Chinese world 589–1276. Leiden: Brill.
- Boodberg, P. A. 1979. Three notes on the T'u-chüeh Turks. In: *University of California Publications in Semitic Philology* 11 (1951): 1–11. Reprinted in his *Selected Works of Peter A. Boodberg*. Ed. by A. P. Cohen. Berkeley & Los Angeles & London: University of California Press. 350–362.
- Boodberg, P. A. 1979a. Marginalia to the histories of the Northern Dynasties. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 3 (1938): 223–253, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 4 (1939): 230–283. Reprinted in *Selected Works of Peter A. Boodberg*, ed. by A.P. Cohen. Berkeley & Los Angeles & London: University of California Press. 265–349.
- Bosworth, C. E. (ed.) 2007. *The Turks in the early Islamic world* (The Formation of the Classical Islamic World 9). Aldershot, Hants, UK: Ashgate.
- Boyle, J. A. 1956. On the title given in Juvainî to certain Mongolian princes. *Harvard Journal of Asian Studies* 19: 148–152.
- Buxârî, Şeyx Süleyman Efendi 1298/1880–1881. *Luğat-i Çağatay ve Türkî Osmânî*. İstanbul: Mihrân Matba'ası.
- Çaycı, A. 2008. *Selçuklularda egemenlik sembolleri*. İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık.
- Butanaev, V. J. 1999. *Xakassko-russkij istoriko-étnografičeskij slovar'*. Abakan: UPP Xakasija.
- Çağbayır, Y. 2007. *Orhun yazıtlarından günümüze Türkiye Türkçesinin söz varlığı. Ötüken Türkçe sözlük 1–5*. İstanbul: Ötüken.
- Han-Woo Choi. 2010. *Türkçe, Korece, Moğolca ve Mançu-Tunguzcanın karşılaştırmalı ses ve biçim bilgisi*. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu.
- Cincius V. I. et al. 1975. *Sravnitel'nyj slovar' tunguso-mančžurskix jazykov 1–2*. Leningrad: Nauka.
- Clauson, Sir Gerard. 1962/2002. *Studies in Turkic and Mongolic linguistics* (Royal Asiatic Society, 1962, reprint: London & New York: RoutledgeCurzon.
- Clauson, Sir Gerard 1972. *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Cuisenier, J. 1972. Parenté et organization social dans le domaine turc. *Annales, Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 27/4, 5: 928–948.
- Czeglédy, K. 1951. Új adatok az onogurok történetéhez. *Magyar Nyelv* 408: 266–267.

- Czeplédy, K. 1983. From East to West: The age of nomadic migrations in Eurasia. *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 3: 25–125.
- Dankoff, R. 1982. 'Inner' and 'Outer' Oğuz in Dede Korkut. *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 6: 21–25.
- De la Vaissière, É. 2005. *Sogdian traders. A history*. Leiden & Boston: Brill.
- De la Vaissière, É. 2008. Is there any 'Nationality' of the Hephthalites? *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 17: 119–132.
- Dickens, M. 2008. *Türkayē: Turkic peoples in Syriac literature prior to the Seljūks*. PhD dissertation. Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, University of Cambridge.
- Digard, J.-P. & Windfuhr, G. L. & Ittig, A. 1988 Baktiārī. In: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/baktiari-tribe>
- Dobrovits, M. 2004. A nyugati türkök tíz törzsének kialakulása. *Antik Tanulmányok* 48: 101–109.
- Dobrovits, M. 2004a. The thirty tribes of the Turks. *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 57/3: 257–262.
- Dobrovits, M. 2004b. A nyugati türkök első uralkodójáról. *Antik Tanulmányok* 48: 111–114.
- Dobrovits, M. 2008. Silziboulos. *Archivum Ottomanicum* 25: 67–78 [An English expansion of Dobrovits 2004.]
- Dobrovits, M. 2011. The Altaic world through Byzantine eyes: Some remarks on the historical circumstances of Zemarchus' journey to the Turks (AD 569–570). *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 65/4: 373–409.
- Dobrovits, M. 2012. The titlature of the Western Turkic chieftains. Paper read at the Proceedings of the 55th Session of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference, July 22–27, 2012, Cluj-Napoca, Romania.
- Van Donzel, E. & Schmidt, A. 2010. *Gog and Magog in early Eastern Christian and Islamic sources*. Leiden-Boston: Brill.
- Dosymbaeva, A. 2006. *Zapadnyj tjurkskij kaganat. Kul'turnoe nasledie kazaxskoj stepi*. Almaty: Tjurkskoe nasledie.
- Dybo, A. V. 2007. *Lingvističeskie kontakty rannix tjurkov. Leksičeskij fond*. Moskva: Vostočnaja Literatura RAN.
- Dybo, A. V. & Mudrak, O. A. 2006. Očerki prattjurkskogo jazyka-osnovy. Fonetika. In: Tenišev (ed.) 2006: 9–152.
- Ecsedy, H. 1972. Tribe and tribal society in the 6th century Türk empire. *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 25: 245–262.
- Elliot, M. C. 2001. *The Manchu way. The ethnic banners and ethnic identity in late Imperial China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Erdal, M. 1991. *Old Turkic word formation. A functional approach to the lexicon 1–2*. (Turcologica 7.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Erdal, M. 2004. *A grammar of Old Turkic*. Leiden & Boston: Brill.
- Erol, H. A. 2008. *Eski Türkçeden Eski Anadolu Türkçesine anlam değişimleri*. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu.
- Farquhar, D. M. 1990. *The government of China under Mongolian rule* (Münchener ostasiatische Studien 53.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Fedotov, M. R. 1996. *Étimologičeskij slovar' čuvaškogo jazyka 1–2*. Čeboksary: Čuvaškij Gosudarstvennyj Institut Gumanitarnyx Nauk.
- Frank, A. J. & J. Touch-Werner (Tachmouradova). 1999. *Turkmen-English dictionary*. Kensington, MD.: Dunwoody Press.

- Frye, R. N. 1984. *The history of ancient Iran*. München: Verlag C.H. Beck.
- Funk, D. A. & Tomilov, N. A. (eds.) 2006. *Tjurkskie narody Sibiri*. Moskva: Nauka.
- Gening, V. F. & Xalikov, A. X. 1964. *Rannie bolgary na Volge*. Moskva: Nauka.
- Gharib, B. 2004. *Sogdian dictionary. Sogdian-Persian-English*. Tehran: Farhangian Publications.
- Giraud, R. 1960. *L'empire des turcs célestes*. Paris: Librairie d'Amerique et d'Orient, Adrien Maisonneuve.
- Göckenjan, H. 1980. Zur Stammesstruktur und Heeresorganisation altaischer Völker. In: K.-D. Grothusen & K. Zernack (eds.) *Europa slavica–Europa orientalis. Festschrift für Herbert Ludat zum 70. Geburtstag*. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot. 51–86.
- Golden, P. B. 1972. The migrations of the Oğuz. *Archivum Ottomanicum* 4: 45–84.
- Golden, P. B. 1980. *Khazar studies. An historico-philological inquiry into the origins of the Khazars 1–2* (Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica 25/1–2). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Golden, P. B. 1992. *An introduction to the history of the Turkic peoples* (Turcologica 9). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Golden, P. B. 2000. I will give the people unto three: The Činggisid conquests and their aftermath in the Turkic world. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 10/1: 21–41.
- Golden, P. B. 2000a. Nomads of the Western Eurasian steppes: Oyurs, Onoyurs and Khazars. In: H. R. Roemer & W.-E. Scharlipp (eds.) *History of the Turkic peoples in the Pre-Islamic period / Histoire des peuples turcs à l'époque pré-islamique*. In: *Philologiae et historiae turcicae fundamenta* 1 (*Philologiae turcicae fundamenta* 3). Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag. 282–302.
- Golden, P. B. 2005. Khazarica: Notes on Khazar terms. *Turkic Languages* 9: 205–222.
- Greenberg, J. 2000–2002. *Indo-European and its closest relatives 1–2. The Eurasiatic language family*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Gumilëv, L. N. 1967. *Drevnie tjurki*. Moskva: Nauka.
- Gündüz, T. 2007. *Anadolu Türkmen aşiretleri. Bozulus Türkmenleri 1540–1640*. İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınları.
- Gündüz, T. 2009. *Türkmen üzerine makaleler. Bozkırın efendileri*. İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınları.
- Halman, T. 2007. *Türk edebiyatı tarihi 1–4*. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı.
- Hamilton, J. 1955. *Les ouïghours à l'époque des cinq dynasties d'après les documents chinois* (Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises 10.) Paris: Presses universitaires de France.
- Hamilton, J. 1962. Toquz-Oyuz et On-Uyyur. *Journal Asiatique* 250/1: 23–63.
- Harmatta, J. 1992. Az onogur vándorlás. *Magyar Nyelv* 88/3: 257–272.
- Harmatta, J. 1999. A türkök eredetmondája. *Magyar Nyelv* 95: 385–397.
- Haussig, H. W. 1953. Theophylakts Exkurs über die skythischen Völker. *Byzantion* 23: 275–436.
- Haussig, H. W. 1975. Über die Bedeutung der Namen Hunnen und Awaren. *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* 47: 95–103.
- Janhunen, J. 1996. *Manchuria. An ethnic history*. (Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne 222). Helsinki: Finno-Ugrian Society.
- Janhunen, J. 2003. (ed.) *The Mongolic languages*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Johanson, L. & Bulut, Chr. (eds.) 2006. *Turkic-Iranian contact areas. Historical and linguistic aspects* (Turcologica 62.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

- Judin, V. P. 1992. Ordy: belaja, sinjaja, seraja, zolotaja, in Judin, V. P. et al. (ed.) *Utemiš-Xadži, Čingiz-name*. Alma-Ata: Gylm. 14–56.
- Kafesoğlu, İ. 2011³. *Türk milli kültürü*. İstanbul: Ötüken.
- Kamalov, A. K. 2001. *Drevnie ujugury VIII-IX vv.* Almaty: Naš Mir.
- Kanar, M. 2011. *Eski Anadolu Türkçesi sözlüğü*. İstanbul: Say Yayınları.
- Karlgren, B. 1957/1996. *Grammata Serica recensa*. *Bulletin* 29: 1–332. Stockholm: The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities. Reprinted: Taipei: SMC Publishing.
- Kazhdan, A. P. et al. (eds.) 1991. *The Oxford dictionary of Byzantium 1–3*. New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kempf, B. 2004. Old Turkic runiform inscriptions in Mongolia: An overview. *Turkic Languages* 8: 41–52.
- Kempf, B. 2008. Review of Starostin & Dybo & Mudrak 2003. *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 61/3: 403–408.
- Kempf, B. 2010/2011. Ethnonyms and etymology. The case of Oyrat and beyond. *Ural-Altai-sche Jahrbücher*, N. F. 24: 189–20.
- Kettenhofen, E. 2011. Darband. *Encyclopaedia Iranica*: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/darband-i-ancient-city>
- Kljaštornyj, S. G. 1964. *Drevnetjurkskie runičeskie pamjatniki kak istočnik po istorii Srednej Azii*. Moskva: Nauka.
- Kljaštornyj, S. G. 1994. The Royal Clan of the Turks and the problem of early Turkic-Iranian contacts. *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 47: 445–447.
- Kljaštornyj, S. G. & Savinov, D. G. 2005. *Stepnye imperii drevnej Evrazii*. Sankt-Peterburg: Filologičeskij fakul'tet Sankt-Peterburgskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta.
- Kljaštornyj, S. G. & Sultanov, T. I. 2009³. *Gosudarstva i narody evrazijskix stepej ot drevnosti k novomu vremeni*. Sankt-Peterburg: Peterburgskoe Vostokovedenie, Orientalia.
- Köhlmi, K. U. 1956. Der Pfeil bei den innerasiatischen Reiternomaden und ihren Nachbarn. *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 6: 109–162.
- Kollautz, A. & H. Miyakawa. 1970. *Geschichte und Kultur eines völkerwanderungszeitlichen Nomadenvolkes. Die Jou-jan der Mongolei und die Awaren in Mitteleuropa 1–2*. (Aus Forschung und Kunst, Gesichtsverein für Kärnten 10). Klagenfurt & Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag.
- Kononov, A. N. 1980. *Grammatika jazyka tjurkskix runičeskix pamjatnikov (VII–IX vv.)*. Leningrad: Nauka.
- Köprülü, M. F. 1972². *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun kuruluşu*. Ankara: Başnur Matbaası.
- Kyčanov, E. I. 2010. *Istorija prigraničnyx s Kitaem drevnix i srednevekovyx gosudarstv (ot gunnov do man'čžurov)*. Sankt-Peterburg: Peterburgskoe lingvističeskoe obščestvo.
- Lane, E. W. 1968. *An Arabic-English lexicon 1–8*. Beirut: Librairie du Liban. Reprint of Edinburgh 1863–1893).
- Lessing, F. et al. 1995³. *Mongolian-English dictionary*. Bloomington, Ind.: The Mongolia Society.
- Lewis, C. T. & Short, C. 1998. *A Latin dictionary*. Rev. ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Lezina, I. N. & Superanskaja, A. V. 1994. *Onomastika. Slovar'-spravočnik tjurkskix-rodoplemennyx nazvanij*. Moskva: Rossijskaja Akademiya Nauk, Institut Ėtnologii i Antropologii im. N. N. Mikluxo-Maklaja.
- Ligeti, L. 1925. Die Herkunft des Volksnamens Kirgis. *Kőrösi-Csoma Archivum* 1: 369–383.
- Ligeti, L. 1986. *A magyar nyelv török kapcsolatai a honfoglalás előtt és az Árpád-korban*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

- Lindner, R. 1982. What was a nomadic tribe? *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 24/4: 689–711.
- Lurje, P. B. 2010. *Iranisches Personennamenbuch 2. Mitteliranische Personennamen, Fasz. 8. Personal names in Sogdian texts*. In: B. G. Fragner & V. Sadovski (eds.) *Iranische Onomastik 8*. (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 808.) Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Luvсандэндэв, А. & Цэдэндэмба, С. 2001. *Bol'šoj akademičeskij mongol'sko-russkij slovar' 1–4*. Moskva: Academia.
- Marquart, J. 1903/1961. *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*. Leipzig 1903. Reprint: Hildesheim: Geog Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung.
- Marquart, J. 1914/1970. *Über das Volkstum der Komanen*. In: W. Bang & J. Marquart (eds.) *Osttürkische Dialektstudien, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*. Philologisch-Historische Klasse, N.F. XIII/1: 25–238. Berlin, 1914. Reprint: Göttingen: Van den Hoeck & Ruprecht.
- Markwart (Marquart), J. 1924. Ein arabischer Bericht über die arktischen (uralischen) Länder aus dem 10. Jahrhundert. *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 4: 261–334.
- Markwart, J. 1938. *Wehrot und Arang. Untersuchungen zur mythischen und geschichtlichen Landeskunde von Ostiran*. Leiden: Brill.
- Miller, R. A. 1971. *Japanese and the other Altaic languages*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Miller, R. A. 2007. Review of Robbeets 2005. *Ural-Altische Jahrbücher* N. F. 21: 274–279.
- Moravcsik, Julius (Gyula). 1958². *Byzantinoturcica. Sprachreste der Türkvölker in den byzantinischen Quellen*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Musayev, O. I. 1996. *Azərbaycanja-ingilisjə lügət*. Bakı: Azərbaycan Dövlət Nəşriyyatı.
- Nadeljaev, V. M. et al. 1969. *Drevnetjurkskij slovar'*. Leningrad: Nauka.
- Németh, Gy. 1930. *A honfoglaló magyarság kialakulása*. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Hornyánsky.
- Németh, Gy. 1991². *A honfoglaló magyarság kialakulása*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Ng, On-cho & Wang, Q. E. 2005. *Mirroring the past. The writing and use of history in Imperial China*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Norman, J. 1978. *A concise Manchu-English lexicon*. Seattle & London: University of Washington Press.
- Novosel'cev, A. P. 1990. *Xazarskoe gosudarstvo i ego rol' v istorii Vostočnoj Evropy i Kavkaza*. Moskva: Nauka.
- Oberling, P. 1974. *Qashqā'i nomads of Fārs*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Ôsawa, T. 2006. Aspects of the relationship between the ancient Turks and Sogdians—based on a stone statue with Sogdian inscription in Xinjiang. In: M. Compareti & P. Raffetta & G. Scarcia (eds.) *Ērān ud Anērān. Webfestschrift Marshak 2003*: <http://www.transoxiana.org/Eran/> Venice: Libreria Editrice Cafoscarina. 471–504.
- Ošanin, I. M. 1983–1984. *Bol'šoj kitajsko-russkij slovar' 1–4*. Moskva: Nauka.
- Osmanov, M. M. et al. 1966. *Tatarsko-russkij slovar'*. Moskva: Sovetskaja Ėnciklopedija.
- Pan, Yihong. 1997. *Son of heaven and heavenly Qaghan: Suit-Tang China and its neighbors*. (Western Washington University, Studies on East Asia 20.) Bellingham, Wash.: Center for East Asian Studies.
- Perdue, P. C. 2005. *China marches West. The Qing conquest of Central Eurasia*. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

- Pigulevskaja, N.V. 2000. *Sirijskaja srednevekovaja istoriografija*. Sankt-Peterburg: Dmitrij Bulanin.
- Pohl, W. 1988. *Die Awaren. Ein Steppenvolk in Mitteleuropa 567–822 n. Chr.* München: C. H. Beck.
- Poppe, N. 1955. *Introduction to Mongolian comparative studies* (Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne 110.) Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura.
- Pritsak, O. 1952/2007. Stammesnamen und Titulaturen der Altaischen Völker. *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* 24/1–2 (1952): 49–104. English translation: Tribal names and titles amongst the Altaic peoples. In: Bosworth 2007: 59–116 (including J. Benzing's review of it, see Benzing 1952).
- Pritsak, O. 1955. *Die bulgarische Fürstenliste und die Sprache der Protobulgaren* (Ural-Altaische Bibliothek). Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Pritsak, O. 1985. Old Turkic regnal names in the Chinese sources. In: *Níguča Bičig. Pi Wên Shu. An anniversary volume in honor of Francis Woodman Cleaves, Journal of Turkish Studies* 9: 205–211.
- Pulleyblank, E. G. 1956. Some remarks on the Toquzoghuz problem. *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* 28/1–2: 35–32.
- Pulleyblank, E. G. 1983. The Chinese and their neighbors in prehistoric and early historic times. In: D. N. Keightley (ed.) 1984. *The origins of Chinese civilization*. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press. 411–466.
- Pulleyblank, E. G. 1984. *Middle Chinese: A study in historical phonology*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia.
- Pulleyblank, E. G. 1990a. The 'High Carts': A Turkish speaking people before the Türks. *Asia Major* 3/1: 21–26.
- Pulleyblank, E. G. 1990b. The name of the Kirghiz. *Central Asiatic Journal* 34/1–2: 98–108.
- Pulleyblank, E. G. 1991. *Lexicon of reconstructed pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Radlov (Radloff), Vasilij V. 1893–1911. *Opyt slovarja tjurkskix narečij. Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte 1–4*. Sankt Peterburg: Imperatorskaja Akademija Nauk.
- Rastorgueva, V. S. & Edel'man, Dž. I. 2000–ongoing. *Étimologičeskij slovar' iranskix jazykov*. Moskva: Vostočnaja Literatura RAN.
- Räsänen, M. 1969. *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türksprachen* (Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae 17,1.) Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura.
- Redhouse, J. W. 1974. *A Turkish and English lexicon* (Constantinople [Istanbul]: The American Mission, 1890. Reprint. Beirut: Librairie du Liban.
- Redhouse, J. W. 1997. *Redhouse Türkçe/Osmanlıca Sözlük*, ed. U.B. Alkım et al. İstanbul: SEV Matbaacılık ve Yayıncılık.
- Reid, J. J. 1983. *Tribalism and society in Islamic Iran 1500–1629*. (Studies in Near Eastern Cultures and Society 4.) Los Angeles, Malibu, CA: Undena Publications.
- Robbeets, M.I. 2005. *Is Japanese related to Korean, Tungusic, Mongolic and Turkic?* (Turcologica 64.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Róna-Tas, A. 1999. *Hungarians and Europe in the early Middle Ages. An introduction to Early Hungarian history*. Translation by N. Bodoczky. Budapest: Central European University Press.
- Róna-Tas, A. 2011. Recent trends in Mongolic studies. *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 64/2: 221–238.

- Róna-Tas, A. & Berta, Á. with the assistance of L. Károly 2011. *West Old Turkic. Turkic loanwords in Hungarian 1–2*. (Turcologica 84). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Rubinčik, J. A. (ed.) 1983². *Persidsko-russkij slovar'*. Moskva: Russkij Jazyk.
- Rybatzki, V. 2000. Titles of Türk and Uigur rulers. *Central Asiatic Journal* 44: 205–292.
- Schönig, C. 2003. Turko-Mongolic relations. In: Janhunen 2003: 403–419.
- Schuessler, A. 2007. *ABC Etymological dictionary of Old Chinese*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Schuessler, A. 2009. *Minimal Old Chinese and later Han Chinese*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Senga, T. 1980. Az onogurok a Kínai forrásokban. *Uralica. Journal of the Uralic Society of Japan* 5: 105–113.
- Serruys, H. 1958. A note on arrows and oaths among the Mongol. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 78/4: 279–294.
- Sevortjan, É. V. et al. 1974–2003. *Étimologičeskij slovar' tjurkskix jazykov 1–7*. Moskva: Nauka, Indrik, Vostočnaja Literatura RAN. [Cited according to year of appearance.]
- Simeonov, B. 2008. *Prabŭlgarska onomastika*. Plovdiv: Fondacija Bŭlgarsko istoričesko nasledstvo.
- Sims-Williams, N. 2010. *Iranisches Personennamenbuch 2. Mitteliranische Personennamen 7, Bactrian Personal Names*. In: R. Schmitt, H. Eichner & B. G. Fragner & V. Sadovski (eds.) *Iranische Onomastik 7*, (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 806.) Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Sims-Williams, N. & Hamilton, J. R. 1990. *Documents turco-sogdiens du IX^e-X^e siècle de Touen-houang. Corpus inscriptionum iranicarum. Part II. Inscriptions of the Seleucid and Parthian Periods and of Eastern Iran and Central Asia*, v. III. London: Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, School of Oriental and African Studies.
- Skaff, J. K. 2012. *Sui-Tang China and its Turko-Mongol neighbors. Culture, power and connections, 580–800*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.
- Spuler, B. 1952. *Iran in früh-Islamischer Zeit*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Stark, S. 2006–2007. On Oq Bodun. The Western Türk Qağanate and the Ashina Clan. *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 15: 159–172.
- Stark, S. 2008. *Die Alttürkenzeit in Mittel- und Zentrasiens. Archäologische und historische Studien*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.
- Starostin, S. & Dybo, A. & Mudrak, O. 2003. *Etymological dictionary of the Altaic languages 1–3*. Leiden & Boston: Brill.
- Steingass, F. 1970. *A comprehensive Persian-English dictionary*. London: Routledge and Paul, 1892. Reprint: Beirut: Librairie du Liban.
- Sümer, F. 1980³. *Oğuzlar (Türkmenler) tarihleri. Boy teşkilâtı-destanları*. İstanbul: Ana Yayınları.
- Sümer, F. 1992. *Safevî devletinin kuruluşu ve gelişmesinde Anadolu Türklerinin rolü*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.
- Szuchman, J. 2009. Integrating approaches to nomads, tribes, and the state in the Ancient Near East. In: J. Szuchman (ed.) *Nomads, tribes, and the state in the Ancient Near East. Cross-disciplinary perspectives 1–13*. (Oriental Institute Seminar 5.) Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
- Tapper, R. 1997. *Frontier nomads of Iran. A political and social history of the Shahsevan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Tenišev, È. R. et al. 1984. *Sravnitel'no-istoričeskaja grammatika tjurkskix jazykov. Fonetika*. Moskva: Nauka.
- Tenišev, È. R. et al. 2001. *Sravnitel'no-istoričeskaja grammatika tjurkskix jazykov. Leksika*. Moskva: Nauka.
- Tenišev, È. R. et al. 2004. *Sravnitel'no-istoričeskaja grammatika tjurkskix jazykov. Regional'nye rekonstrukcii*. Moskva: Nauka.
- Tenišev, È. R. et al. 2006. *Sravnitel'no-istoričeskaja grammatika tjurkskix jazykov. Pra-tjurkskij jazyk-osnova. Kartina mira pratjurkskogo étnosa po dannym jazyka*. Moskva: Nauka.
- Tenišev, È. R. & Sujunčev, X. I. (eds.) 1989. *Karačaev-balkarsko-russkij slovar'*. Moskva: Russkij jazyk.
- Tezcan, S. 2007. Oğuznameler. In: Halman 2007, I: 621–634.
- Tietze, A. 2002. *Tarihi ve etimolojik Türkiye Türkçesi lugatı. Sprachgeschichtliches und etymologisches Wörterbuch des Türkei-Türkischen 1*. İstanbul & Wien: Simurg, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Tietze, A. et al. 2009. *Tarihi ve etimolojik Türkiye Türkçesi lugatı. Sprachgeschichtliches und etymologisches Wörterbuch des Türkei-Türkischen 2*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Toparlı, R. & Vural, H. & Karaatlı R. 2003. *Kıpçak Türkçesi sözlüğü*. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu.
- Turan, O. 1945. Eski Türklerde okun hukukî bir sembol olarak kullanılması. *Belleten* 9/35: 305–318.
- Turan, O. 1965. *Selçuklular tarihi ve Türk-İslâm medeniyeti*. Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü.
- Twitchett, D. 1992. *The writing of official history under the T'ang*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- User, H. Ş. 2010. *Köktürk ve Ötüken Uygur kağanlığı yazıtları söz varlığı incelemesi*. Konya: Kömen Yayınları.
- Üşenmez, E. 2010. *Karahanlı Türkçesinin sözlüğü*. İstanbul: Doğu Kitabevi.
- Vovin, A. 2005. The end of the Altaic controversy. *Central Asiatic Journal* 49/1: 71–132.
- Vovin, A. 2011. Once again on the Ruan-ruan language. In: M. Ölmez & E. Aydın & P. Zieme & M. S. Kaçalın (eds.) *Ötüken'den İstanbul'a Türkçenin 1200 yılı (720–2010) Sempozyumu 3–5 Aralık 2010, İstanbul. Bildiriler*. İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür ve Sosyal İşleri Daire Başkanlığı Kültür Müdürlüğü. 27–36.
- Wang Huan. 1982. Apa Qaghan, founder of the Western Turkish khanate, the splitting up of the Turkish Khanate and the formation of the Western Turkish Khanate. *Social Sciences in China: A Quarterly Journal* 3/4: 124–154.
- Whitby, M. 1988. *The emperor Maurice and his historian. Theophylact Simocatta on Persian and Balkan warfare*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Wilkinson, E. 2000². *Chinese history. A manual*. (Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series 52.) Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Asia Center for the Harvard-Yenching Institute.
- Wittfogel, K. A. & Féng, Chia-shêng 1949. *History of Chinese society. Liao (9–7–1125)*. In: *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* N. S. 36, 1946. Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society.
- Xiong, V. C. 2006. *Emperor Yang of the Sui dynasty. His life, times, and legacy*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Žamqaeva, Š. & Maıranov, D. (eds.) 2007. *Dialektologiyalıq sözdik*. Almatı: Arıs.

1 For a compendious outline and explanation of the transliteration system here adopted, see Proverbio 2012. Just a minor point to add, among others, relating to the transliteration system adopted in Hazai & Tietze 2006: as far as the vowel signs which marks a morpheme boundary are concerned, in my system I make use of the opposition between zero- and nonzero-graphemes, e.g. *_Viy* → *ṽ#* versus *_Vi* → *i#* (which means *_ViCØ*), while in Hazai & Tietze 2006 we find the consistent opposition *ṽ#* (which means *_Viy*) versus *i#*. Thus *ṽdi* (Hazai & Tietze 2006) versus *ṽdi*.

83, 159v: Proverbio 2004: 598) is a sound *terminus ante quem* for the execution of the manuscript. The book bears a collection of meditations on a variety of Christian topics, including the passion of Jesus Christ (51v–94v), written in an Anatolian Turkish dialect, in Syriac script.²

0.1.

The linguistic relevance of such a document lies not only in the sound fact that, as observed by Johanson 1978, “the 17th century is [to be] regarded as the decisive developmental phase” for Anatolian Turkic, but arises from a peculiarity of its writing system. While, even in the best case of a fully vocalized text, a Turkic text written in Arabic alphabet denotes a merely triadic supralinear system of vowel notation, the present occurrence of an (almost fully) vocalized Turkish text in Western Syriac script implies *five* vocalic graphemes, namely, the Greek letters ⟨α⟩, ⟨ε⟩, ⟨ι⟩, ⟨ο⟩ and ⟨υ⟩.³ Even a cursory survey within the heterogeneous (and relatively poor) Turcological bibliography relating to what is generically defined as “Suryani Harfli Türkçe Metinler” (from Ölmez 1999 to Hazar & Özmen 2011) would confirm the exceptionality of such an occurrence. In the present paper I will endeavour to sketch a tentative reconstruction of the vowel phonology of the dialectal area from which the aforementioned text originates.

0.2.

A first result is that a regular harmony, or a “fully applied labial harmony” law could hardly be inferred. On the contrary, the “fresco” which emerges from this sketch configures some regular disharmonies, since it appears evident that “the vowels of a word may disagree in the value of some harmonic feature not only through lexical exceptionality but also because of some supervening phonetic principle” (Johnson 1980: 89) This result would provide further proof of the soundness and correctness of the theory of the “indifference stage”, which may eventually evolve into regular vowel harmony or disharmony.⁴ Within this straightforward diachronic perspective, the theoretical approach implemented by Clements and Sezer appears not only artificial but even misleading, since “the existence of large numbers of exceptions” or “cases of disharmony” (Clements & Sezer 1986: 213) cannot be satisfactorily ex-

2 A bibliographic summary of the Turkish-garšūnī heterographic phenomenon is to be found in Proverbio 2012, note 26.

3 I limit myself to merely referring to what is still the best and most thorough study of the diacritical and vocalization system of the Syriac language: Segal 1953. Regarding the Western Syriac script, see esp. 44–45.

4 Cf. Johanson 1978: 152: “(Phenomena) which cannot be explained within the framework of a labial harmony in progress but only as facts of a linguistic stage prior to the vowel harmony”.

plained within a purely synchronic framework, which turns out to be inadequate in disengaging the complex pattern of a “linguistic stratigraphy”. From a diachronic point of view, “predictability”, “bidirectionality” and “unboundedness” as features of Turkish symmetrical vowel harmony system (Clements & Sezer 1986: 217) are disproved by the existence of an historically differentiated “restriction” of the outward vowel harmony.⁵

Facing some evidences of a “regular disharmony”, András Bodrogligeti, in his thorough inquiry into the Turkic column of the so-called Isfahan Anonymous—a triglot lexicon found in MS Vatican Library, Borg. pers. 14—drew a (perhaps) incorrect perspective (Bodrogligeti 1968: 26): “In the I[sfahan] A[nonymous] this rule [i.e. the vowel harmony rule] partially *lost* (?) its validity. Certain suffixes, so far as it can be detected in the orthography, appear chiefly in their palatal form even after roots consisting of velar vowels, *cyāḥyuzlūg* [y’lqwzlwkw] “loneliness” (213r 3), *nabūd olmāk* (’wlmk). Similar exceptions (?) from the rules of vowel harmony can be observed in Aynallu”.

ا	= <la>	ب	= <bi>	گ	= <g>
آ	= <le>	و	= <bo>	گ	= <g>
آ	= <lo>	و	= <bo _w >	گ	= <g>
ا	= <ba>	و	= <bo _w >	گ	= <g>
ا	= <ba ₁ >	و	= <ye ^h >	گ	= <g>
ا	= <bu>	و	= <p>	گ	= <g>

The phonemic vowel inventory of Modern Turkish: aıou – eiöü (cp. Hulst – Weijer 1991: 12; Comrie 1997: 884) and of Chagatay / Osmanlı: aïou – äëiöü / aıou – eëiöü.

	Front		Central	Back	
	Unrounded	Rounded		Unrounded	Rounded
High	i	ü		ı / ĩ	u
Mid	e	ö	ẽ / è		o
Low				a	

- 5 As far as such assessments of the author, the referees observes: “All historical records have two faces: although orthographic standardization is a modern phenomenon, they certainly follow some kind of norm learned and applied in the community. Local varieties, i.e. the local dialect of the writer/copyist, can also emerge to various degrees in the written texts. It is very difficult to describe to what degree the two faces emerge in the sources. This depends on many factors. Therefore only certain tendencies of the spoken dialects can be described on the base of the written records.”

	a	ĩ	o	u	ă	ě	i	ö	ü
	a	ı	o	u	e	ê	ı	ö	ü
Rounded	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+
Unrounded	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
Back	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
Central	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
Front	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+
High	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+
Mid	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	
Low	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

1.0 A contrastive, morphophonemic analysis⁶ of the vowel inventory exhibited by Vat. turc. 83.⁷

1.1 The grapheme <α> (<α₁>)

/ă/, /a/	45v l. 4 and <i>passim</i> : <lafndıymn> “efendimin”
	47r l. 10 and <i>passim</i> : <gando _w daı> /gändüdä/ “kendide”
	61v l. 3 and <i>passim</i> : <naışlkl> “ne şekil”
	71r ll. 12–13: <lafndm geğāııy go _w nu _w z letden> /ăfândim geğāııy göniz êtdên/ “efendim geceyi günüz etti”
	68r l. 11: <lanl haḥamn> “ana hahamın” “I am your Rabbi”

1.2 The grapheme <ε> (<ε₁>) versus <ı> (<ı₁>)

1.2.1

The thesis, arguable from Drimba 1997 and Stein 2002, according to which in early transcriptions <ε> could have represented [i]/[ĩ] (cf. Drimba 1997: 40) is made questionable by the following evidence, which instead validate the view that <ε> represents /ě/.

In exploiting the text of the *Rudimento della lingua turchesca* by Giovanni Agop (1685), Vladimir Drimba misinterpreted some occurrences of the Latin grapheme <ε>, so far as it is used in Agop’s transliteration system. In fact, he failed to recognize

6 The notational conventions applied in this paper are based upon a (simplified) version of the SPE-type rules (Chomsky & Halle 1968: 61–66, § 1.2. *Notational Conventions*; Jensen 2004).

7 Cp. Uçar & Yener 2012: 204–206, for a brief survey of the graphemic devices used to disambiguate high and low labial vowels in the *Divân-u Luğâti ’l-Türk* by Maḥmūd Kāşğarî, in later Old Ottoman texts and in Manichaean Uyghur texts.

precisely a representation of /ë/, by claiming that: “pour [i] sont employés “i” et (*cas singulier*) “e” [...] “ocumaz řeniz” (= *okumazsınız*)”. Stein 2002: 353, speaks of “Schwankungen” in early transcribed Turkic text, which resulted in “unklaren Notierungen mit tiefen Vokale (e, o)”. Curiously, it was also Drimba who (unknowingly) signalled another case of “unklaren Notierungen mit tiefen Vokale”: cp. Drimba 1976: 112: “1. amu “vuluua” [...] la graphie “amu” est, très probablement, une *faute* du copiste, au lieu de “ami” (amī)”. A further survey of previous literature will eventually expand the case studies.

/ë/	52r l. 15: <bedro _w s> /bēdros/ is a calque from Armenian Պէտքով ⁸ Thus: 45v l. 12 and <i>passim</i> : <fēkr nam̄lzi> /fēkr namāzi/ “fīkr namazi” 69r l. 11 and <i>passim</i> : <lēnsāln> “insan”
[V → a / V ë]	47r l. 16: <lostýdan> /üstēdan/ “üsteden” (cp. <i>infra</i>); 47r, l. 16: <letmamvš> /ētmamīš/ “etmemiş”; 46v l. 15: <lēdrsa _n >, /ēd(a)rsān/ “edersen” 49r l. 3: <go _w renmāz>, /gōrēmāz/ “gōrūnmez” 49r l. 6: <verma _d dy> /vēr _{mā} d(i)/ “vermedi” 64v l. 11: <peškāš> “pişkeş”
[V → ë / V a, ä]	47r l. 3: <kamellvğ> “kamillik” 47v ll. 3: <ayē ^h > “ay#i” 49r l. 7: <go _w nahlreýn slba _l bný> /gūnah _l (a)rēn sābābini/ “gūnahların sebebini”, which alternates with (57r. l. 15:) <gow _n ehlare _m > /gūneh _l arēm/. The alternance <a>/<ë> within the aforementioned occurrences, is further disproof of the equation <ë> = [i]/[ī]. Moreover, the second occurrence is a perfect paradigm of “regular disharmony”: [V → a / V ë] + [V → ë / V a]. 57v ll. 3, 6: <ḥa _l ēlčaqten> /ḥāč ačaq _t ēn/ (>*ḥāč atčaq _t ēn) “ḥač at#icak#tan”: according to Jean Deny (Deny 1929: 997 note 2 = Deny & Elöve 1941: 950 note 4) “le même phénomène (disparition de la voyelle i) s’est produit en azéri”; <marḥ _l lmatsvz siya _l satlarčkten> /mārḥāmātsīz siyasāt _l ar(ē)čāktēn/ (>* siyasāt _l ar ētčāktēn) “merhametsiz siyasetler et#icek#ten”; we may observe that the vowel of the morpheme #-Dēn# is not affected by the vowel feature (backness/frontness) of the preceding syllable; 57v l. 13: <takmēl letdi> “tekmi _l etti” 47v l. 17: <sağē _r lōlmušlar>; 57v l. 14: <ša _l gertlarýntý getdi> “şagirdlerini gitti”

8 On the syncretic milieu in which Chaldaeans, Syro(-Catholics) and Armenians lived in eighteenth-century Edessa, see Proverbio 2004.

9 Another, though different, striking case (57v l. 1): <dowlatlo_w> /dōvlātlū/ for “devletlu”.

46r ll. 6–9: <fəkr lət k̄ȳ yaṛtmeşdan | lawl laşlən naṛ l̄ȳd̄ȳ ÷ gorçak byr | şeṇ
da l̄geldeṇ ya l̄lan w byr go_wzaṛ galmaz | ğomlaṛ mav̄go_wdatdn lal̄ğaq ÷
zaḥmatsuz ýl̄rtd̄ȳ> /fəkr ət ki yartmēşdan əv(ə)l aslən nā idi gürçək bir şe
dagēldēn yalan v(ə) bir gözə gālmāz ğümlā mav̄ğūdatd(ē)n al̄ğaq zaḥmats̄z
yaratdi/ “Keep in mind that: (in) which (did it consist) your essential nature,
(as it came) from the Creator? (It consisted in that: since you are) a true
thing, You can not be a falsehood, and (even if You are) the vilest thing of
the universe, (so vile) that it cannot be seen by anyone, (God) created (it)
effortless(ly)”.

1.3. The grapheme ⟨v⟩ (⟨v̄⟩, ⟨v_w⟩) versus the grapheme ⟨u⟩ (⟨ū⟩) in morphophonemic context

1.3.1. A number of occurrences and regular phenomena which clearly show the existence of a limited outward vowel harmony or “regular disharmony”

⟨ū⟩ → ⟨v̄⟩: [V → ī / V i]

49v ll. 8–9: <laṛı̄ğ̄ı̄muzn llt̄ı̄naṛ | laldeq w̄çāğ̄ı̄deq> /ayağ̄ı̄miz(i)n altınā al#dēq vā-
çāğ̄ı̄nā#dēq/ “ayağ̄ı̄mızı altına aldık ve-ceğnedik”;—again, we observe that the vowel of
the morpheme #-dēq# is not affected by the feature value of the preceding vowel: a fact
which definitely disagrees with the general palatal harmony rule; cf. Johnson 1980: 90:
V → [vback] / V [V, vback] C₀__.

50r l. 5: <t̄lat̄ı̄lv̄ğ̄> /t(a)lat̄ı̄l̄ı̄ğ̄/ “üçlülük”, “Trinity”;

The patterns [V → ī / V i] is to be found regularly in the affixal morpheme #-(i)ȳz#
(cp. Edip 1945: 37) “-VnVz”, “yours”: f 52v l. <sv̄zen lafndı̄yv̄wz> /s̄ızēn āfāndı̄-
ȳz/ “sizin efendiniz”; ll. 14–15: <b̄ȳr̄ȳ b̄ȳr̄ı̄yv̄wzn> “bir biriniz(in)”;

Observe the following sequence (52v ll. 4–5): <ḥaṛqur wfaṛqur wbaṛleq
lav̄ços̄ȳ w|go_wnehkar> “hakir ve-fakir ve-balık avcısı ve-günahkar” ([V → ī, ē / V
a]), to be considered under the light of *Reverse VdH6b* (see below);

The grapheme ⟨o⟩ (⟨o_w⟩) represents all the rounded vowels:

/ü/, /ö/	46r l. 3: <lo _w ços̄n̄ğ̄ı̄ da'vat> “üçüncü davet”;
	47r l. 16: <lost̄ydan> /üstēdan/ “üsteden”;
	47v ll. 3–4: <lagar go _w naṛı̄t̄ı̄ lagar laye ^h ğomlaṛ go _w go _w n saltanat̄ı̄l̄> “eger güneşi eger ayı cümle gōğūn saltanat̄ı̄yla”
	47r l. 10: <gando _w daṛ> /gāndū#dā/ “kendide”;
/o/	47v l. 13: <to _w paṛı̄l wko _w r lolmuş> “topal ve-kör olmuş”
	52r l. 6 and <i>passim</i> : <ços̄q>
	54v l. 20 and <i>passim</i> : <yo _w q>
/u/	54v l. 10: <bo _w yo _w ror> “buyurur”
/ol/, /ul/	45v l. 2: <bo _w lwnan> “bolunan”

46v l. 17: <ýmen lo_wlwrsan> “yemin olursan”
 48r l. 6: <doğro_w> “doğru”
 52r ll. 14: <lo_wto_wrmeş> “oturmuş”
 55r l. 11: <bo_wlo_wnwr> “bolunur”

Lastly, the lexeme <swrp>, which occurs in the unvocalized (49v ll. 7, 20; 50v l. 10, 71v l. 5, 74r l. 7 and *passim*) as well as in the vocalized form (52v ll. 6–7), is a calque from Armenian *Unnp*. Now, apparently, the vocalized form seems contradictory: <su_wrp> /sīrp/. In fact, this occurrence turns out to be the strongest among the aforementioned arguments. We have to consider the *whole* syntagm <su_wrpbedros>, “St. Peter”, in order to understand that this phonetic transcription is perfectly correct: /sīrpēdros/ (> *srpēdros), according to the “Vokalschwächungen oder Synkopen in vortonigen Silben” (cp. Solta 1963: 87, notes 1 and 2).

All these arguments compel us to discard the hypothesis according to which <u> (<ú>) and <ı> (<ı̇>) could be allographs.

1.3.2.

Thus, since <u> (<ú>, <u_w>) represents /i/ (cp. 58r ll.9, 10: <wa_lqutda_l>, 62r l. 3 and *passim*: <wa_lqut> /vaqit/ “vakıt”):

VdH1a.b	V →	[+unround]	/	V	[+unround]	[αC ₀] C ₀ __C ₀]word
		[+back]			[+back]	[βØ]
		[+high]			[+low]	
			α			
					[+mid]	
			β		[α +central]	
					[β +front]	

vback:

47v ll. 10–11: <lnsln bo_wlwnwr darluq lyčnda_l> “insan bolunur darlık içinde”
 48r l. 7, 51v l. 12, 61r l. 11: <leýmansuz> /ëymansız/ “eymensiz”
 51v l. 16: <lavč_wlarınn> “avçılarının”
 52r l. 11: <yırlalldum> “yaraladım”
 54v ll. 14, 18; 59r. 11 and *passim*: <leda_llu_wm> /ēdalim/ “edelim”

vfront:

60r l. 11, 62r l. 7: <ča_lku_wb> /čākīb/ “çek#ib” (The vowel of the morpheme #-īb# is not affected by the vowel feature [+frontness] of the preceding syllable)

vcentral

52r l. 10: <dešvm lyl> “dişim ile”
 59r l. 5: <hazrlrnmışdvr> “hazırlanmıştır”
 64r l. 1 and *passim*: <lešvt> /ēšit/ “işit!”

*vrounded*48v l. 16: <saḳlo_w dur> /saḳludīr/ “saklıdır”56r l. 13: <lo_wldo_wğum> /olduğīm/ “olduğum”55r l. 3: <lağçılar̄y qo_wro_wdu_y> /ağačları kurudī/ “ağaçları kurudu”60r l. 9: <mo_wško_wlu_wmv_wz> /mōškūlīmiz/ “mōškūlümüz”65r l. 1 and *passim*: <šo_wkv_wrlar> /šükīrlar/ “šükürler”81v l. 4: <naḷ do_wšo_wnv_wr> /nā dūšūnīr/ “ne dūšūnūr”**1.3.3.**

However, certain occurrences indicate an evolution toward an incipient outward vowel harmony, emerging as a secondary development:

VdH2	V → [+unround]	/	V [+unround]	[αC ₀] C ₀ __C ₀]word
	[+front]		[+mid]	[βØ]
	[+high]		[α +central]	
			[β +front]	

As stated by Johanson 1978: 153, these parallel, secondary occurrences “tend toward a reduced, lax articulation”, though they still seem to be submitted to a regular disharmony law.

Cp. the case of morpheme #-LxQ# (on “the progressive suffix {I°Q}”, cp. Johanson 1978: 155; Erdal 2004: 149–150):

[V → i / V ē]

48r l. 6: <ḥelḥukdr̄k̄y> /ahēlīkdr̄ki/ “ahılıkdır-ki”; 47r l. 3: <kamelluğ> /kamēllīk/ “kamillik”

[V → ē / V ī]

61r l. 11 and *passim*: <leymansuzlēğ> /ēymansīzlēğ/ “eymensizlik”*versus* [V → i / V ē, ā] 48v l. 3: <şerkluğ̄yn̄> “şerkliğine”, 50v l. 17: <belmazlıuğ̄ıma> “bilmezliğime”.

The incipient oscillation emerges clearly from the following, aberrant occurrence (74r l. 4): <olmazl̄ı̄ ε yq> “ölmezlik”.

49v l. 7, 51r l. 1, 52r l. 7: <letdum>, 49v l. 13: <ḥḥrarl̄t̄l benderdu_y> “hararete bindirdi”, 52v l. 1: <ban tanıȳdum> “ben tanıdım”; *versus* 48v ll. 9–10: <werd̄y> “verdi”, 49v ll. 6: <letdu_y>, 52r l. 1: <de_ydu_y> /dēdi/ “didi”. By that way, we may observe that, under this perspective of regular disharmony, the parallel occurrence on 52v l. 11: <du_ydu_y> /dīdi/ “didi” strengthens the idea that <u_y> and <ı_y> can not be allographs. Occurrences such as <daḷgelde_yn̄> /dagēldēn̄/ (46r l. 8, see above); <daḷgelder> /dagēldēr/ (60r l. 10); or (56v l. 5): <čaḷwormēšder> /čavurmēšdēr/, are precisely cases of indifferent, phonetically neutral utterance, as clearly explained by Johanson 1978. But the relative rarity of such

occurrences indicates that the linguistic stage of our text precedes even the “indifference stage”.

1.3.4.

The following occurrence can be interpreted as a case of vowel dissimilation parallel to a following occurrence of vowel disharmony ($V \rightarrow \text{ĩ} / V \text{ ě}$): 51r l. 1: <qo_wllwğýnα₁ šo_wru_wt letdvm> /Kullugină šürüt ětdĩm/ “kulluğuna şürüt ettim” (obviously, *#-rüt# is not a morphological unit)

$$\begin{array}{lcl} V \rightarrow [+unround] & / & V [+round] \quad [\alpha C_0] C_0 __ C_0]_{\text{word}} \\ [+back] & & [+front] \quad [\beta \emptyset] \\ [+high] & & [+high] \end{array}$$

1.3.5.

Concerning the affixal morpheme #-mXš#, if the preceding syllable exhibits the vowel /ě/, its vowel pattern follows VdH1b (vmid: /ětmĩš/).

46r l. 4 and *passim*: <letmũš> (versus the harmonized occurrence on f. 46v l. 7: <letmeš> “etmiş”), 47r l. 16: <letma₁muš>,

If the preceding syllable exhibits a labial vowel, the “regular disharmony” rule is:

vround: /olmėš/

$$\begin{array}{lcl} V \rightarrow [+unround] & / & V [+round] \quad [\alpha C_0] m __ š]_{\text{word}} \\ [+back] & & [\beta \emptyset] \\ [+mid] & & \end{array}$$

47v l. 11: <došmeš> > /düşmėš/ “düşmüş”; 47v l. 16 and *passim*: <lolmešlar> “olmuşlar” (but a few lines above, l. 13: <lolmuš> /olmĩš/; 78v l. 10: <došmu_wš> /düşmĩš/); 52r ll. 13–14: <laşa₁ğı₁ lo_wto_wrmeš> “aşağı oturmuş”; 56v l. 5: <čālwormešder> /čavurmėšdēr/; 62v l. 1: <dormeš> /dürmėš/ (but a few lines below “labialized” as follows: l. 5: <n₁ su_wko_wt lolmoš> /nā sīkūt olmüş/ “ne sūkūt olmuş”);

or, more generally:

$$\begin{array}{lcl} V \rightarrow [+unround] & / & V [+/-round] \quad [\alpha C_0] m __ š]_{\text{word}} \\ [+back] & & [+back] \quad [\beta \emptyset] \\ [+mid] & & \end{array}$$

46r l. 1: <ýa₁rtmeš> /yar(a)tmėš/ “yaratmış”

59r l. 7: <ħa₁lzlamešlα₁r> “hazırlamışlar”

65v l. 11: <na₁ş₁kl qo_wdvrmeš qo_wdu_w gýbý> “ne şekil kudurmuş kudur gibi”

74r l. 7: <qo_wru_wmeš> /qorĩmėš/ “korumuş”

(but cf. the following occurrence 75v l. 1: <sawu_wmoš> /sävimüş/ “sev-imiş”)

1.3.6.

As far as the affixal morpheme #-DxC₀/Ø#, marking the aoristic past tense, is concerned, aside from the following diathetic, “disharmonic” paradigm:

First person, sing.: /-dīm/
 52r l. 11: <yralıldım> “yaraladım”, 72r l. 5 and *passim*: <leçdım>
 Second person, sing.: /-dēn/
 47v l. 1: <dıgışmazden> /dāgiş(a)mazdēn/ “değişmezdin”
 65r l. 5: <çıqartden> “çıkartdın” “You brought out”
 72r ll. 12–13: <şrabınyı leçürden> /şarabını eçirdēn/ “şarabını içirdin”
 Third person, sing.: /-dī/
 55r l. 3: <ağçları qo_wro_wdu> /ağaçları kurudī/ “ağaçları kurudu”

We observe, at least for the first person singular, the following oscillations:

[V → ē / V i]:
 50r l. 5, <şo_wko_wr yaqlıldırdım> “şükür yaqlaştırdım, yaqlaştırayım” (to be compared with 55v l. 11: <bo_wykdēr> /büy(i)kdēr/);
 [V → ē / V ä]:
 67v ll. 13–14: <şğırtlrı_ınal banzadım> “şagirdlerine benzedim” (cp. 51r l. 3: <şo_wko_wrlar yaqlıldırayım> “şükürler yaqlaştırayım”)
 [V → ü / V i]:
 52v l. 2: <lym ln gltu_wrdom> /äyman gätirdüm/ “eyman getirdim”; this occurrence incidentally disproves the equation <u_w> = <o> /ü/.

We may observe that, when a secondary outward vowel harmony affects the affixal morpheme #-TxR-#—see *supra*: /bëndērdī/; the occurrence <ledırdım> on 51r l. 2 is at least ambiguous, since <y> may be interpreted as <ı> as well as <ē>—the vowel pattern of the morpheme #-TxC₀/Ø#, which follows the aforementioned affix, obviously conforms to VdH4a.

2. Appendix

2.1 Regarding the ablative suffixes #-DIn# / #-DAn# in Ancient Osmanlı and in early Turkish-garşūnī

2.1.1. The occurrences of the morpheme #-DIn#, aside from the more common #-DAn# in MS Manchester, The John Rylands Library, Turkish 75—an elegant, beautifully gilded, late sixteenth-century manuscript which appears to be the last tome of a pre-modern Turkish edition of the Arabian Nights—definitely disprove the claim by Timurtaş 1977: 72, according to which: “Öndin sözündeki klişeleşmiş -din şekli başka kelimelerde görülmüyor. (Kelimeyi başka türlü açıklayan, -din’i ablativ ekini kabul etmeyenler de vardır)”.

2.1.2. According to Bodrogligeti 2001: 42 § 3.1.4.2.7: “The alternate use of **-dan/-dän** and **-dīn/-din** is not a clear cut indicator of dialect boundaries. Both may occur in the work of the same author”. Cp. Mansuroğlu 1959: 169, § 32126. Doerfer 1993, § 5.15 (*Ablativ*): 151–159: p. 151: “Im „Alt“- und Mitteltü. erscheinen die Ablativsuffixe **-DA** (= Lokativ), **-DAn** und **-DIn**. Dagegen ist **-Dän/-DXn**, mit Vierfachvokal, z.B. in *öndēn* ‘vorn gelegen’, in Runenschrift [...]”.

2.1.3. As far as Old Turkish is concerned, a glimpse into the tradition in Brahmi script shows an analogous occurrence of *Irregularität bezüglich der Vokalharmonie*.¹⁰ Cp. Maue 1996: xxii, § 2.1.4.2 (*gestörte* [!] *Vokalharmonie*): “In ganz auffälliger Weise zeigt die Vinayavibhaṅga-HS Kat.Nr. 3 vordervokalisches Lokativ-Formans **+t/dä** nach hintervokalischen Wörtern”. Some examples are provided on note 69: “Nr. 25 *olarnidä*, Nr. 44 *boynindä*, [*a*]rkasindä, Nr. 66 *ašlukdä*, Nr. 86 *Ra-jagirdä*, Nr. 90.96 *ugurdä*”.

2.1.4. As far as the so called *Confession of Gennadios Scholarios* – a fifteenth century Turkish text which has been transmitted to us in Greek writing (cp. Proverbio 2010: 38, note 45)—is concerned, though (until now) the most comprehensive description of its main graphemic and morphophonemic features is far from being completely satisfactory, a few observations may be pointed out. Halasi-Kun 1992, [English translation of Halasi-Kun 1939]: 82 and foll.: “*Locative* [...] *-de* is found [...] 3. With certain Arabic words which have an *a* in the last syllable: ἰσατέ “in Jesus”, τουνιατέ “in the world”. [...] *-den* occurs [...] 3. With certain Arabic words which have an *a* in the last syllable: ἀτατέν “from His forgiving”, κεαμαλτέν “from His perfectness”, πουχτέν [!] “from the soul”.

2.2

VdH6a	V →	[+unround] [+αfront] [+βcentral] [+mid]	/	V	[+unround] [+front] [βØ] [+high]	[αC ₀] T__n]word
VdH6b	V →	[+unround] [+back] [+low]	/	V	[+unround] [+back] [+high]	[αC ₀] T__n]word
				α {	[+back] [+high]	[βØ]
				β {	[+central] [+mid]	

¹⁰ Cp. Maue 1996: xxii, § 2.1.4.

Reverse VdH6a	V →	[+unround] [+front] [+high]	/	V	[+unround] [+front] [+mid]	[αC ₀] T__n]_word [βØ]
Reverse VdH6b	V →	[+unround] α [+back] [+high] [+central] β [+mid]	/	V	[+unround] [+back] [+low]	[αC ₀] T__n]_word [βØ]
VdH6c	V →	[+unround] [+front] α [+mid] β [+back] [+high]	/	V	[+unround] [+central] [+mid]	[αC ₀] T__n]_word [βØ]

VdH6		Reverse VdH6	
iş#den	a M	Kān-āmā-kān#dın	b M
yānın#dan	b M	söyleşmek#din	a M
Memleketinden	a M	⟨lorā#den⟩ /oradēn/ “oradan”	b V
Güherdāş-ı-Teterî-den	a M		
qāṭı’#dan	b M		
şehrin#den (vs Bağdād şehrindin)	a M		
sōzin#den	a M		
⟨lgh#dan⟩	a V		
⟨lostýdan⟩ /üstēdan/ “üsteden”	b V		
⟨yārıtmeşdan⟩	b V		
⟨sawyedun⟩ /sāv(i)yēdīn/ “seviyeden”	c V		
⟨derna’lğendan⟩ /dērnāğēndan/ “dernekinden”	b V		

M = Manchester, The John Rylands Library, Turkish 75

V = Vat. turc. 83

References

- Bodrogligeti, András 1968. On the Turkish vocabulary of the Isfahan Anonymous. *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 21/1, 15–43.
- Bodrogligeti, András 2001. *A grammar of Chagatay*. (Languages of the World / Materials 155.) München: Lincom Europa.
- Chomsky, Noam & Halle, Morris 1968. *The sound pattern of English*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Clements, George N. & Sezer, Ermin 1986. Vowel and consonant disharmony in Turkish. In: van der Hulst, Harry & Smith, Norval (eds.) *The structure of phonological representations* 2. Dordrecht: Foris Publications. 213–255.
- Comrie, Bernard 1997. Turkish phonology. In: Kaye, Alan S. (ed.) *Phonologies of Asia and Africa*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns. 883–898.
- Deny, Jean 1929. *Grammaire de la langue turque (dialecte osmanli)*. (Bibliothèque de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes) Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.
- Deny, Jean & Elöve, Ali Ulvi 1941. *Türk dili grameri (Osmanlı lehçesi)*. İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası.
- Doerfer, Gerhard 1993. *Versuch einer linguistischen Datierung älterer osttürkischer Texte*. (Turcologica 14.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Drimba, Vladimir 1976. Miscellanea Cumanica 5. Mots attestés par des formes possessives. In: *Księga dla uczczenia pamięci Jana Reychmana (1910–1975)*. [Rocznik Orientalistyczny 38.] Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe. 111–115.
- Drimba, Vladimir 1997. La grammaire turque de Giovanni Agop (1685). In: Kellner-Heinkele, Barbara & Zieme, Peter (eds.) *Studia ottomanica: Festgabe für György Hazai zum 65. Geburtstag*. (Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica 47.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. 39–46.
- Eđip, Kemal 1945. *Urfa ağzı*. (Türk Dil Kurumu, D. 25.) İstanbul: Bühraneddin Erenler Basımevi.
- Erdal, Marcel 2004. *A grammar of Old Turkic*. (Handbuch der Orientalistik: Achte Abteilung, Zentralasien 3.) Leiden & Boston: Brill.
- Halasi-Kun, Tibor 1939. Gennadios török hitvallása. *Kőrösi Csoma-Archivum* 1, 137–247.
- Halasi-Kun, Tibor 1992. Gennadios' Turkish confession of faith. *Archivum Ottomanicum* 12, 5–103.
- Hazai, György & Tietze, Andreas 2006. *Ferec ba'd eş-şidde "Freud nach Leid" (Ein frühosmanisches Geschichtenbuch) 1: Text; 2: Faksimiles des osmanischen Originals*. (Studie zur Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur der Türkvölker 5.1/5.2) Berlin: Klaus Schwarz.
- Hazar, Mehmet & Özmen, Abdullah 2011. Mardin Süryanilerine Süryani harfleriyle yazılmış birkaç Türkçe metin üzerine. *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi* 4/16, 172–177.
- van der Hulst, Harry & van de Weijer, Jeroen 1991. Topics in Turkish phonology. In: Boeschoten, Hendrik & Verhoeven, Ludo (eds.) *Turkish linguistics today*. Leiden: E.J. Brill. 11–59.
- Jensen, John T. 2004. *Principles of generative phonology. An introduction*. (Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 250.) Amsterdam & Philadelphia: Benjamins.
- Johanson, Lars 1978. The indifference stage of Turkish suffix vocalism. *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı Belleten*, 151–156.

- Johnson, C. Douglas 1980. Regular disharmony in Kirghiz. In: Vago, Robert M. (ed.) *Issues in vowel harmony*. (Studies in Language Companion Series 6.) Amsterdam: John Benjamins B.V. 90–99.
- Mansuroğlu, Mecdüt 1959. Das Altosmanische. In: Deny, Jean & Grønbech, Kaare & Scheel, Helmuth & Togan, Zeki Velidi (eds.) *Philologiae turcicae fundamenta* I. Aquis Mattiacis: Steiner. 161–182.
- Maue, Dieter 1996. *Alttürkische Handschriften. Teil 1: Dokumente in Brāhmī und Tibetischer Schrift*. (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland 13/9.) Stuttgart: Steiner.
- Ölmez, Mehmet Ali 1999. Süryanî harflî Eski Uyğurca bir tıp metni. In: 3. *Uluslar Arası Türk Dil Kurultayı 1996*. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları. 815–820.
- Proverbio, Delio Vania 2004. Turco-Syriaca: Un caso estremo di sincretismo linguistico e religioso: i libri di Tommaso Šarrāf da Edessa (xviii sec.) nella biblioteca portativa di Tommaso caldeo da Alqōš. *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* 11, 583–635.
- Proverbio, Delio Vania 2010. *Turcica Vaticana*. (Studi e testi 461.) Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
- Proverbio, Delio Vania 2012. On the subject of transliterating Ottoman and other Turkic texts written in Arabic script for philological purposes. *Turcica* 44, 317–332.
- Segal, Judah Benzion 1953. *The diacritical point and the accents in Syriac*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Solta, Georg Renatus 1963. Die armenische Sprache. In: Deeters, Gerhard & Solta, Georg Renatus & Inglisian, Vahan (eds.) *Armenisch und kaukasische Sprachen*. (Handbuch der Orientalistik, Erste Abteilung: der Nahe und der Mittlere Osten 7.) Leiden: Brill. 80–128.
- Stein, Heidi 2002. Einige mittelosmanische Daten zur Labialharmonie (Suffixe der *genera verbi* bei H. Megiser). In: Demir, Nurettin & Turan, Fikret (eds.) *Scholarly depth and accuracy. A Festschrift to Lars Johanson*. (Grafiker Yayincılık 4.; Araştırma ve İnceleme Dizisi 3.) Ankara: Grafiker Yayınları. 351–362.
- Timurtaş, Faruk K. 1977. *Eski Türkiye Türkçesi XV. yüzyıl (Gramer-metin-sözlük)*. (İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları 2157.) İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi.
- Uçar, Erdem & Yener, Mustafa Levent 2012. Eski Türkçede ilk hecedeki yuvarlak ünlüler meselesi ve *Dīvānu Lugāti-it-Türk* [On the question of the first syllable rounded vowels in Old Turkic and *Dīvānu Lugāti-it-Türk*]. *Zeitschrift für die Welt der Türken* 4/2, 203–212.

The Iranian Turkmen language from a contact linguistics perspective

Abdollah Nazari & Judy Routamaa

Nazari, Abdollah & Routamaa, Judy 2012. The Iranian Turkmen language from a contact linguistics perspective. *Turkic Languages* 16, 215–238.

Exposure to Persian as the dominant language and culture has influenced the linguistic behaviour of the speakers of Iranian Turkmen across all generations, from the elderly to the middle-aged and the young. This is illustrated by analysing three texts representative of the speech of each generation, highlighting the increasing level of contact-induced phenomena down the generations. It can be seen that the speaker from the older generation exhibits only minimal influence from Persian, the speaker from the middle aged generation slightly more, while the speaker from the younger generation exhibits a high degree of influence across all linguistic domains.

Abdollah Nazari, Arian Institute of Foreign Languages, 595 Edalat 55, ValiAsr St., Gorgan 49178-88488, Iran. E-mail: abdollahnazari@gmail.com

Judy Routamaa, SIL, Horsleys Green, High Wycombe, HP14 3XL, UK.

E-mail: judy_routamaa@sil.org

Introduction

One of the aspects of the linguistic history of Turkic languages which deserves special attention is their numerous contacts with other languages (Johanson 2002). Turkmen, as the language under study in this paper, has been in close contact with diverse languages and cultures, particularly since the separation of the Turkmen-speaking community in 1881 between the Russian empire and Iran (Goli 1986).

This paper focuses on Turkmen as spoken in Iran from the perspective of its contact with Persian as the dominant language and culture. It seeks to highlight the way in which exposure to Persian has influenced the linguistic behaviour of the speakers of the language down the generations—from the elderly to the middle-aged and to the young.

The situation will be illustrated by analysing three texts representative of the speech of each generation. The data is part of a corpus collected during 2011–2012 in the Turkmen-speaking area of Iran. It includes folktales, life stories and natural conversation.

A clear pattern emerges of an increasing level of contact-induced features down the generations, with the younger generation exhibiting a very high degree of influence across all linguistic domains.

The Turkmen in Iran

The speakers of Turkmen in Iran are found in the north-east of the country, in the provinces of Golestan, Khorasan-e Shomali (North Khorasan) and Khorasan-e Razavi, in towns and villages close to the Caspian Sea and the border of the Republic of Turkmenistan. An official census of the Turkmen in Iran has not been undertaken, but various estimates have been made, varying from 400,000 (Clark 1998) to 2,000,000 (Lewis 2009). Based on the relative population of Turkmen speakers in the cities of Gorgan, Bandar-e Turkmen, Aq Qala, Gumishan, Gonbad-e Qavus, Inche Burun, Kalaleh, Maraveh Tappeh (province of Golestan), Ashkhaneh, Bojnurd (Khorasan-e Shomali), Quchan, Dareh Gaz and Sarakhs (Khorasan-e Razavi), our estimate would be around 1,500,000.

The dialects of the Turkmen of Iran, based on their current geographical distribution, is as follows (Nazari 2004):

- Yomut: Bandar-e Turkmen, Gumishan, Aq Qala, Gonbad-e Qavus and Maraveh Tappeh.
- Gökleng: Kalaleh and surrounding villages (Chaqir, Qara balqan, Gerkez, Qirq), Gulli daq and Jergelan in Khorasan-e Shomali.
- Teke: Gonbad and Jergelan.
- Nokhurli: Jergelan and Bojnurd.
- Yaziq and Salyr: Sarakhs and Mashhad.

The Turkmen of Iran are an ethnic group whose religion is Sunni Islam (in contrast to the official Shiite Islam of the country) and who seem to have a strong ethnic identity and sense of belonging to their origins. This is demonstrated in the fact that Turkmen traditions are generally valued, and that, despite most Turkmen being bi-lingual in Persian, Turkmen is the language of communication for all families living in the rural Turkmen areas and in the Turkmen dominated cities of Bandar-e Turkmen, Aq Qala, Gumishan, Gonbad, Kalaleh and Maraveh Tappeh. However, in Persian dominated areas, such as Gorgan, while Turkmen is often used as the language of communication in the home, in a limited number of families, the use of Turkmen is replaced by Persian.

Turkmen is used only for oral communication and for any type of written communication, including emails, letters or short notes and text messages, Persian is the first choice. Nevertheless, there are a few bi-lingual magazines, websites and local TV and radio programmes. There are also printed Turkmen materials on folk literature, but these are not read by a wide audience.

Although officially recognised as a language by the state, when considering educational and administrative uses of language, Turkmen, along with other minority languages of Iran, is rarely regarded as an option. The language of instruction in schools and universities, educational materials, official correspondence and the media is all in Persian. Furthermore, religion as the core of all social, cultural, economic and political plans from both the perspective of the government and the people (including the Turkmen) has had significant impact on the development and

value of Arabo-Persianised concepts and linguistic elements in both the spoken and written Turkmen language.

Orthography

The Turkmen orthography in Turkmenistan, having undergone several changes during the 20th century from an Arabic script to Latin to Cyrillic, has been using a revised Latin alphabet since 1993 (Schönig 1998). Iran, however, has consistently only used an Arabo-Persian script for both the national and minority languages. This has presented difficulties in writing Turkmen, as regards both the vowels and consonants. Turkmen has 9 vowels, whereas the Arabo-Persian script has only 6 characters to represent vowels. The problem with consonants arises with the phonemes such as /θ/, /ð/, /h/ and /t/, for each of which there are two or more characters in the Arabo-Persian script. Therefore, over the years, Turkmen has been written by different people in different ways.

However, during recent years, a committee of interested Turkmen writers and authors have tried to overcome these difficulties and have produced a document proposing an alphabet based on the Arabo-Persian script (see Appendix 3).

In this paper the transcription of the texts is based on the current Turkmen Latin orthography with the addition of three consonants that are distinguished in the Arabo-Persian Iranian Turkmen orthography. These consonants, represented by their IPA symbols, are as follows:

- [x] *axyr* 'end' (text 2.28), *xuday* 'God' (text 1.45)
- [ʃ] *oylan* 'boy' (text 1.1), *ýayday* 'condition' (text 2.5)
- [q] *ýoq* 'non-existing' (text 1.11), *quda* 'parents in law' (text 1.1)

Contact induced features down the generations

Three texts will now be presented, one from an elderly Turkmen speaker, one from a middle-aged speaker and one from a young speaker. A short analysis focussing on the contact induced phenomena will follow each text. These elements are underlined in the texts.

Text 1. Elderly Turkmen speaker

This text is narrated by an elderly non-educated Turkmen woman (Gökleng dialect), aged around 65, who speaks only Turkmen. She was born, grew up and lived all her life in the village of Ajan Sengerli, near the city of Kalaleh, Golestan Province. This is a Turkmen dominated area, where Turkmen is used in all domains except education and administration. The narrator describes the traditions of Turkmen marriage customs, past and present.

- T1/1 *oylan tarab -dan gel -ýe -le quda bol -ma -na*
 boy side ABL come PRS 3PL parents in law become NOM DAT
 'They come from the boy's side in order to become parents-in-law (to propose).'
- T1/2 *gel -enlerindä sen em qarşy çyq -ýa -ň*
 come ANDA.CONV.3PL you.SG also opposite go out PRS 2SG
qujaq aç -ýa -ň
 embrace open PRS 2SG
 'When they come, you also go out towards them and welcome them.'
- T1/3 *ondan sen öwril -ib my -ña ejaza ber -ýe -ň*
 then you.SG return CONV this DAT permission give PRS 2SG
usyad ber -ýe -ň
 permission give PRS 2SG
 'Then returning, you give permission to them, you give permission (for marriage).'
- T1/4 *qyz da göwnli bol -sa bu -la*
 girl DA.PRCL willing be COND this PL
di -ýe indi biz iş -imiz ýoq
 say PRS now we work POSS.1PL non-existing
köke geçir -jek şirni geçir -jek
 sweets bring FUT sweets bring FUT
 'And if the girl is willing, they (the boy's side) say, 'now we have nothing (else) to do, we want to bring sweets, we want to bring sweets.' '
- T1/5 *ondan şirni geçir -ýe -le*
 then sweets bring PRS 3PL
 'Then they bring the sweets.'
- T1/6 *ondan şirni geçir -en soň ýene de byr wuly*
 then sweets bring PST.PTCP after again DA.PRCL one big
şirni -miz bar
 sweets POSS.1PL existing
 'Then after bringing the sweets, we have again one big sweets (ceremony).'
- T1/7 *ol wuly şirni -ni geçir -ýe -le*
 that big sweets ACC hold PRS 3PL
 'They hold that big sweets (ceremony).'
- T1/8 *onda hemmi -jik zad -yň -y ert -ýe -ň*
 then all DIM thing 2SG ACC take PRS 2SG
 'Then you take all your things.'
- T1/9 *meselen başqand ert -ýe -ň*
 for example sugar cone take PRS 2SG
 'For example, you take sugar cones.'
- T1/10 *miwe ert -ýe -ň*
 fruit take PRS 2SG
 'You take fruit.'

- T1/11 *çelfek ert -ýe -ň*
çelfek take PRS 2SG
 'You take *çelfek* (type of thin pancake).'
- T1/12 *byr zaman -a şu dört kersen çelfek -i byr putlyq*
one time DA.PRTCL that four stack çelfek ACC one container
ýaý -y ýaf -ardy -la
oil ACC bake HAB.PST 3PL
 'At one time they used to bake four stacks of *çelfek* using one container of oil.'
- T1/13 *şo dört kersen çelfek -i ert -erdi -le*
that four stack çelfek ACC take HAB.PST 3PL
 'They used to take those four stacks of *çelfek*.'
- T1/14 *indi çelfek i -me -ýe -k di -ýe -le*
now çelfek eat NEG PRS 1PL say PRS 3PL
 'They say that we do not eat *çelfek* now.'
- T1/15 *indi ol qal -dy*
now that be abandoned DI.PST
 'That (tradition) has now been abandoned.'
- T1/16 *meselen byr oba -ny üşir -ib dört kersen çelfek*
for example one village ACC gather CONV four stack çelfek
ed -inçä -ň hem kän zad da
do ADV 2SG also a lot thing DA.PRTCL
 'It is a lot, for example, to gather one village in order to make four stacks of *çelfek*.'
- T1/17 *ol ýaý ýap*
that spread bake
 'One has to spread (the paste) and bake.'
- T1/18 *näçe heleý ýaý -ardy -la iki bol -yb am*
several woman spread HAB.PST 3PL two be CONV also
ýaf -ardy -la iki ýer -den
bake HAB.PST 3PL two place ABL
 'Several women in two places being two (two by two) used to spread (the paste) and bake it.'
- T1/19 *ondan nesib ed -se my -ny geçir -ýe -ň*
then fate do COND this ACC bring PRS 2SG
 'Then, if (Allah) allows, you bring it.'
- T1/20 *geçir -en soňy alla nesib ed -se toý tut -ýa -ň*
bring PST.PTCP after Allah fate do COND celebration hold PRS 2SG
 'After bringing it, if Allah allows, you hold the (wedding) celebration.'
- T1/21 *bu kökä -ň geç -di tamam bol -dy*
this sweets POSS.2SG pass DI.PST finish become DI.PST
 'This sweet (ceremony) of yours passed and finished.'

T1/22 *byr zaman wuly çörek -i kiçi çörek -i*
 one time big bread POSS.3 small bread POSS.3
di -ýerdi -le ha
 say HAB.PST 3PL HA.PRTCL

'At one time, they used to call (it) the big bread and the small bread (ceremonies).'

T1/23 *indi ýoq o -la qal -ybdyr*
 now non-existing that PL be abandoned INDIR.PST
 'Now, they are not, they have been abandoned.'

T1/24 *indi biz -iň döwr -imiz -dä byr je şo*
 now we GEN time POSS.1PL LOC one JE.PRTCL that
şirni geç -ýe tamam bol -ýa
 sweets be held PRS.3SG finish be PRS
 'Now in our time just that one sweet (ceremony) is held and that is it.'

T1/25 *byr kiçi şirni geç -ýe byr em wuly şirni*
 one small sweets be held PRS one also big sweets
 'One small sweet (ceremony) is held and also one big sweet (ceremony).'

T1/26 *ol wahal byr zaman -dy doqquz geç -erdi*
 that time one time DI.PST doqquz be held HAB.PST
 'At that time there were days when the doqquz (ceremony) was held.'

T1/27 *öýlän -den soň byr dört at -ly bol -ar*
 noon ABL after one four horse DERIV.SUFFIX become AOR
gid -erdi -le byr qyz dile -n -ibdir
 go HAB.PST 3PL one girl ask RFLX INDIR.PST
ol oba -lar -da
 that village PL LOC
 'In the afternoon they used to go on four horses (to) those villages where the girl was asked (proposed to).'

T1/28 *öýlän -den soň gid -erdi -le doqquz geçir -ýe -k*
 noon ABL after go HAB.PST 3PL doqquz hold PRS 1PL
di -ýerdi -le qylýal -ly
 say HAB.PST 3PL qylýal DERIV.SUFFIX
 'In the afternoon they used to go on their qylýal (type of horse) and say, 'we are holding the doqquz.'

T1/29 *aňrybär -jig -ni qylýal -a ýüklä -rdi -le*
 stuff DIM ACC qylýal DAT load HAB.PST 3PL
 'They used to load the stuff on to the qylýal.'

T1/30 *doqquz -y geçir -ib gel -ýe -k di -ýerdi -le*
 doqquz ACC hold CONV come PRS 1PL say HAB.PST 3PL
 'They used to say, 'we are coming having held the doqquz.'

- T1/31 *onda di -ýerdi -le öýlän bol -sa gün dur -maz*
 then say HAB.PST 3PL noon be COND sun stand NEG.AOR
doqquz geç -se qyz dur -maz di -ýerdi -le
 doqquz be held COND girl stay NEG.AOR say HAB.PST 3PL
 'Then they used to say, 'If noon comes, the sun will not stay, if the doqquz passes, the girl will not stay.'
- T1/32 *ondan my -ny doqquz -ny geçir -ib qoý -an soň*
 then this ACC doqquz ACC hold CONV put PST.PTCP after
da qyz dur -ma -ýa da
 DA.PRTCL girl stay NEG PRS DA.PRTCL
 'And after holding this doqquz, the girl does not stay.'
- T1/33 *eýam toý tut -ub al -maly bol -ýa da*
 immediately celebration hold CONV take NEC be PRS DA.PRTCL
 'One must immediately hold the (wedding) celebration and take (the girl).'
- T1/34 *onda toý tut -yl -andadäny ýene çelfek*
 then celebration hold PASS ANDADÄNI.CONV again çelfek
ed -meli köýmet diý -ib
 do NEC type of pancake say CONV
 'Then when the (wedding) celebration is held, one should again make çelfek, which is called köýmet.'
- T1/35 *köýmet -i -ni ed -ýe -ň iki kersen çelfek*
 type of pancake POSS.3SG ACC do PRS 2SG two stack çelfek
 'You make his köýmet as two stacks of çelfek.'
- T1/36 *ondan bu -ny ýaf -ýa -ň*
 then this ACC bake PRS 2SG
 'Then you bake it.'
- T1/37 *ondan ýaf -yl -an soňy toý -ymyz -y*
 then bake PASS PST.PTCP after celebration POSS.1PL ACC
tut -ýa -q
 hold PRS 1PL
 'Then after they are baked, we hold our (wedding) celebration.'
- T1/38 *meselen bu gün geňeş -i*
 for example this day rehearsal dinner POSS.3SG
 'For example today is the rehearsal dinner.'
- T1/39 *şo geňeş -i gün -i de*
 that rehearsal dinner POSS.3SG day POSS.3SG DA.PRTCL
çelfek -imiz -i ed -ýe -k soň el
 çelfek POSS.1PL ACC do PRS 1PL after hand
deg -me -ýe diý -ib
 strike, touch NEG PRS say CONV
 'On the day of the rehearsal dinner we bake our çelfek, saying that (because) there is no time later.'

- T1/40 *ondan meselen bu gün geňes -imiz*
 then for example this day rehearsal dinner POSS.1PL
 'Then today is our rehearsal dinner, for example.'
- T1/41 *ertir toý -ymyz*
 tomorrow celebration POSS.1PL
 'Tomorrow is our (wedding) celebration.'
- T1/42 *biriwun -i de toý -dan*
 day after tomorrow POSS.3SG DA.PRTCL celebration ABL
al -ýa -q geln -imiz -i
 take PRS 1PL bride POSS.1PL ACC
 'The day after tomorrow we take our bride from the (place of the) celebration.'
- T1/43 *ondan näme byr zaman -a at gid -erdi*
 then well one time DA.PRTCL horse go HAB.PST
qylýal -ly gid -erdi geln al -ma -na
 qylýal DERIV.SUFFIX go HAB.PST bride take NOM DAT
 'Then, well, at one time a horse used to go, (they) used to go by qylýal to get the bride.'
- T1/44 *ol oba -lar -dan am al -sa -la qylýal bilen*
 that village PL ABL also take COND PL qylýal with
gid -er getir -erdi -le
 go AOR bring HAB.PST 3PL
 'Even if they took (the bride) from those villages, they used to go and get (her) with qylýal.'
- T1/45 *indi xuday -a şükr masyn wesqyyl -ly gid -meli*
 now God DAT thanks car vehicles DERIV.SUFFIX go NEC
ol bendä -ň qaf -sy -na toý -ymyz -y tut -maly
 that person GEN door POSS.3 DAT celebration POSS.1PL ACC hold NEC
 'Now, thanks be to God, we can go by cars or vehicles to the door of that person and hold our celebration.'
- T1/46 *gelnaljy bol -anda gid -meli*
 ceremony of taking the bride become ANDA.CONV go NEC
o -nyň qaf -sy -na
 he/she GEN door POSS.3SG DAT
 'When the ceremony of taking the bride comes, one should go to her door.'
- T1/47 *qyz neme -den aýd -ýa -ň usyad ber ejaza ber*
 girl what ABL say PRS 2SG permission give permission give
 'You say to what...the girl ('s side) you give the permission.'
- T1/48 *ol da aýd -ýa usyad alla -dan ala*
 that DA.PRTCL say PRS permission Allah ABL there
adam -ňyz -y ert -iber -iň
 person POSS.2PL ACC take IBER.POSTV 2SG
 'And they say, 'Permission is from Allah, go and take your person (bride) there.''

- T1/49 *olar -da usyad al -ybdäni kejevä -ä*
 that place LOC permission take YBDÄNI.CONV carriage DAT
mindir -ýe -le
 take PRS 3PL
 'After getting permission at that place, they take (the bride) to the carriage.'
- T1/50 *ondan al -yb gel -ýe -le*
 then take CONV come PRS 3PL
 'Then they take (the bride) and come.'

Due to the narrator's socio-linguistic background of minimal contact with Persian language and culture, this text exhibits almost no contact-induced morpho-syntactic or phonological features. However there are a few lexical copies which belong to the category of old established loan words found in many Turkic languages. The speaker adapts these to Turkmen phonology and employs Turkmen suffixes. For example: *tarabdan* [*tarab* 'side' + *-dan* ABL] 'from the side' (T1/1), *meselen* 'for example' (T1/9), *miwe* 'fruit' (T1/10), *zaman* 'time' (T1/12).

There are the words *maşyn* 'car' (T1/45) and *wesayýl* 'vehicles' (T1/45) which are used in other Turkic languages, but with a different meaning. Here, the speaker has copied these lexical items along with their corresponding semantic load from Persian.

One compound verb, used on two occasions, containing the Persian word *ejaza* 'permission' and the translation of the verb *dadān* 'to give' is used, namely *ejaza berýeň* [*ejaza* 'permission' *ber* 'give' + *-ýe* PRS + *-ň* 2SG] 'you give permission' (T1/3) and *ejaza ber* [*ejaza* 'permission' *ber* 'give'] 'give permission!' (T1/47). On both occurrences the speaker also gives the Turkmen equivalent *usyad berýeň* [*usyad* 'permission' *ber* 'give' + *-ýe* PRS + *-ň* 2SG] 'you give permission' (T1/3) and *usyad ber* [*usyad* 'permission' *ber* 'give'] 'give permission!' (T1/47). On the first occurrence (T1/3) the Persian copy is given first, followed by the Turkmen, on the second occurrence (T1/47) the Turkmen is given first, followed by the Persian copy. On other occasions (T1/48,49) the Turkmen word *usyad* is used, rather than the Persian copy *ejaza*.

Text 2. Middle-aged Turkmen speaker

This text presents an example of the speech of a middle-aged Turkmen speaker. The narrator (Gökleng dialect) is a 46 year old educated man also from the village of Ajan Sengerli near the city of Kalaleh. His mother tongue is Turkmen, but he also speaks Persian. As previously mentioned, this is a Turkmen dominated area, where the language of the home and family is Turkmen. For education purposes, the speaker was out of the language area for a few years, but otherwise has lived in the area. In this text, he describes a local game called 'ýüzük', from a psychological perspective.

- T2/1 *indi men şu ýüzük -iň gürriň -i -ni tekmillä -äýin*
 now I that ýüzük GEN story POSS.3SG ACC complete VOL.1SG
 'Now let me complete the story of (the game) ýüzük.'
- T2/2 *byr iki mowred -e eşara ed -esi¹ -m gel -ýe de*
 one two case DAT point do OPT 1SG come PRS DA.PRTCL
 'I would like to point out one or two cases.'
- T2/3 *ýüzük -de byr heýwere byr jalyb byr zad şu näme*
 ýüzük LOC one very one interesting one thing that what
 'What is one very interesting thing in the game ýüzük?'
- T2/4 *indi biz şu wat ravanşenasi di -ýe -k de*
 now we this time psychology say PRS 1PL DA.PRTCL
 'Nowadays we call (it) psychology.'
- T2/5 *ravanşenasi -da meselen taraf -yň ýüz -ü -ni*
 psychology LOC for example side GEN face POSS.3SG ACC
wellä -äb de diý -ib bil -ýe şu meriz
 look at CONV DA.PRTCL say CONV know PRS.3SG that sick
di -ýe hamaly ýa meselen şu -nyň
 say PRS for instance or for example this GEN
ýäýdaý -y -ny di -ýe -le
 condition POSS.3SG ACC say PRS 3PL
ýüz -ü -ni wellä -bdäni
 face POSS.3SG ACC look at YBDÄNI.CONV
 'In psychology, for example, by looking at the face of (the person) opposite, he can say, for instance, that he is sick or, for example, they say his condition (in what condition he is) by looking at his face.'
- T2/6 *ýüzük -de de so gürriň bar di -ýe -n de*
 ýüzük LOC DA.PRTCL that story existing say PRS 1SG DA.PRTCL
 'I say that in ýüzük also there is that story (the same thing).'
- T2/7 *men so watlam bar byrtowar adam bol -ardy başlyq -da*
 I that time existing many person be HAB.PST leader LOC
 'I (remember that) at that time there used to be many people in the leader position.'
- T2/8 *oýz -da on nefer otur*
 that side LOC ten person sit
 'Ten people sit at that side.'
- T2/9 *dur -an ýer -in -de hä Mejit*
 stand PST.PTCP place POSS.3SG LOC hey Mejit
sen -dä ýüzük ýoq
 you.SG LOC ýüzük non-existing
 'At his place (the leader can say) 'Hey, Mejit, you do not have the ýüzük.'

1 See Zal, Ü (2011) for a discussion of the optative in Turkmen.

- T2/10 *muxammed sen -de de ýoq*
 Muxammed you.SG LOC DA.PRTCL non-existing
 'Muxammed, you do not have it either.'
- T2/11 *ay sen -de de ýoq*
 well you.SG LOC DA.PRTCL non-existing
 'Well, you do not have it either.'
- T2/12 *bol -sa şu bilen şu -nda bol -maly di -ýärdi -le*
 be COND that with this LOC be NEC say HAB.PST 3PL
 'If someone has it, it must be this and that (person), they used to say.'
- T2/13 *şo rāvānşenasi di -ýe -n de men öz*
 that psychology say PRS 1SG DA.PRTCL I own
eteqad -ym -da
 belief POSS.1SG LOC
 'Based on my belief, I say that is psychology.'
- T2/14 *şo diýiş -i ýanaq da ondan*
 that saying POSS.3SG similar to DA.PRTCL then
gid -ib damar -y wellä -ärdi
 go CONV pulse ACC look at HAB.PST
 'Just like what he said, he used to go and check the pulse (of the person).'
- T2/15 *my -nda ýoq sen -ä puç*
 this LOC non-existing you.SG DA.PRTCL out, excluded
 'This (he) does not have it, so you are out.'
- T2/16 *aslan mätel et -mä -n de puç*
 at all delay do NEG PST.PTCP DA.PRTCL out, excluded
ed -ib qoy -yber -erdi
 do CONV put IBER.POSTV HAB.PST
 'Without any delay at all, (he) used to put (that person) out.'
- T2/17 *ýä kä adam -la bar -dy byr redif wellä -äb*
 or some person PL existing DI.PST one row look at CONV
gid -erdi
 POSTV HAB.PST
 'Or there were some people who used to look at one row.'
- T2/18 *ondan iz -y -na öwril -erdi*
 then back POSS.3SG DAT return HAB.PST
 'Then they used to return.'
- T2/19 *daş -raq -da dur -ardy sen sen sen puç*
 far COMP LOC stand HAB.PST you.SG you.SG you.SG out, excluded
siz iki -ňiz -de ýüzük bol -maly di -ýerdi
 you.PL two 2PL LOC ýüzük be NEC say HAB.PST
 'They used to stand further back and say, 'you, you, you are out, ýüzük must be in you two.'

T2/20 *indi şutay -da ýene byr muhum byr zat bar da*
 now here LOC again one important one thing existing DA.PRTCL
 ‘Now here there is another important thing.’

T2/21 *iki nefer qal -anda ol adam ke*
 two person stay ANDA.CONV that person KE.PRTCL
el -i -nde ýüzük bar aslan dur -ub bil -me -ýe
 hand POSS.3SG LOC ýüzük existing at all stand CONV know NEG PRS
 ‘When two people are left, the person who has the ýüzük in his hand cannot stand (stay calm).’

T2/22 *ýüreg -i tirsilda -ab otur reng -i*
 heart POSS.3SG thump CONV POSTV colour POSS.3SG
ru -sy gid -ib zad ed -ib
 appearance POSS.3SG go CONV thing do CONV
 ‘His heart is thumping, while the colour of his face is going away (his face drains of colour), and so on.’

T2/23 *indi ol adam ke el -i -nde ýüzük*
 now that person KE.PRTCL hand POSS.3SG LOC ýüzük
ýoq näme ed -meli
 non-existing what do NEC
 ‘Now that person who does not have the ýüzük in his hand, what should he do?’

T2/24 *şo -ña hämrahi ed -meli de*
 that DAT companionship do NEC DA.PRTCL
 ‘He should keep the other one company.’

T2/25 *ol da byr towri özi -ni werked -meli*
 that DA.PRTCL one state, manner PRN.REFX.3SG ACC show NEC
reng -i ru -sy gid -sin
 colour POSS.3SG appearance POSS.3SG go VOL.3SG
damar -y -ny meselen tur -ma -sa
 pulse POSS.3SG ACC for example wake up NEG COND
şu damar -y -ny turuz -jaq bol -ybdäni
 that pulse POSS.3SG ACC wake up FUT become YBDÄNI.CONV
şöd -il -erdi de hede
 do this PASS HAB.PST DA.PRTCL HEDE.PRTCL
 ‘He also must show himself such that the colour of his face goes away (drains of colour) and his pulse, for example, even if it does not waken up (go fast), he should make his pulse do this, this used to be done, right?’

T2/26 *şo zad -la da heywere muhum zad*
 that thing PL DA.PRTCL very important thing
myqa di -ý -n şu oýn -yň iç -i -nde
 MYQA.PRTCL say PRS 1SG that game GEN inside POSS.3SG LOC
 ‘I suppose that these things are also very important in this game.’

T2/27 *şo zad -lar -a ýet -mek zad ed -mek de*
 that thing PL DAT reach NOM thing do NOM DA.PRTCL
byr jalyb byr zad
 one interesting one thing

'Reaching to (understanding) these things and so on is an interesting thing.'

T2/28 *bu oýn -yň öz qyzyqly -sy da axyr -da*
 this game GEN own climax POSS.3SG DA.PRTCL end LOC
şo -nsy bol -ardy da iki ýa üç
 that POSS.3SG be HAB.PST DA.PRTCL two or three
nefer -e ýet -ende
 person DAT reach ANDA.CONV

'The climax of this game used to be in the end when it reached two or three people.'

In this text, a number of contact-induced features can be observed, mainly in the area of lexical copies, but some instances of morpho-syntactic copies are also found.

The lexical items copied are from everyday life and education. The speaker employs the Persian word, combined with the Turkmen suffixes. For example, *mowrede* [*mowred* 'point' + *-e* DAT] 'to the point' (T2/2), *räwanşenasi* 'psychology' (T2/4,13), *räwanşenasida* [*räwanşenasi* 'psychology' + *-da* LOC] 'in psychology' (T2/5), *meriz* 'sick' (T2/5).

Two compound verbs containing Persian elements can be seen. These are composed of a copied noun from Persian followed by the translation of the Persian light verb *kārdān* 'to do' (*etmek*). The first one is *mätel etmän* [*mätel* 'delay' *et* 'do' + *-mä* NEG + *-n* PST.PTCP] 'not delaying' (T2/16), the second *hamrähi edmeli* [*hamrähi* 'companionship' *ed* 'do' + *-meli* NEC] 'should keep company' (T2/24).

In this text, with only one exception, all copied items are adapted to Turkmen phonology. The exception *räwanşenasi* 'psychology' is pronounced with the consonants [v] and [s] rather than [w] and [θ].

A Persian collocation, *räng o ru*, literally meaning 'colour and surface' is used, phonologically adapted to Turkmen, along with a direct translation of the Persian verb *raftan* 'to go', namely *rengi rusy gidib* [*reng* 'colour' + *-i* POSS.3SG *ru* 'appearance' + *-sy* POSS.3SG *gid* 'go' + *-ib* CONV] 'the colour of his appearance going' (T2/22) and *rengi rusy gidsin* [*reng* 'colour' + *-i* POSS.3SG *ru* 'appearance' + *-sy* POSS.3SG *gid* 'go' + *-sin* VOL.3SG] 'let the colour of his appearance go!' (T2/25).

In T2/21 and T2/23 the Persian particle *ki* is used as a restrictive relative clause marker: *ol adam ke elinde ýüzük bar...* 'the man who has the *ýüzük* in his hand ...' which results in a finite head initial relative clause structure typical of Persian.

Text 3. Young Turkmen speaker

This text presents an example of a highly Persianised form of Turkmen, typical of young educated speakers of the language, even in rural areas. The speaker (Yomut dialect) is a 16 year old high school student who lives in the town of Aq Qala. Both

his parents were Turkmen and he grew up in a home environment where only Turkmen was spoken and highly valued. Nevertheless, due to the effects of exposure to Persian as the language of education and the media, his speech exhibits a high degree of lexical, syntactic and phonological features copied from Persian.

T3/1 *men Jemshid şahrestan Aqqala -da zendegi ed -ýä -n*
 I Jemshid city Aqqala LOC life do PRS 1SG
 'I am Jemshid (and) I live in the city of Aqqala.'

T3/2 *onalty ýaş -ym -da*
 sixteen age POSS.1SG LOC
 'I am sixteen years old.'

T3/3 *reşte ýe täjrobi ke reştä -m -i*
 field of study ezafe science KE.PRTCL field of study POSS.1SG ACC
öwez ed -jek bol -yb ýör -n
 change do FUT be CONV POSTV 1SG
 '(I am studying) the field of science, but I am going to change my field.'

T3/4 *şymat debirestan -da oqy -ýa -n ke*
 now high school LOC study PRS 1SG KE.PRTCL
modir -im vä moşaver -im moxalefät
 headmaster POSS.1SG and counsellor POSS.1SG disagreement
ed -ýäl² -le
 do PRS 3PL
 'I study in a high school now, but my headmaster and my counsellor disagree (with me changing subject).'

T3/5 *koll -e xanvada -m da*
 whole ezafe family POSS.1SG DA.PRTCL
reştä -ň -i öwez ed di -ýal -la
 field of study POSS.2SG ACC change do say PRS 3PL
 'My whole family also tells me to change my field of study.'

T3/6 *ensani -q³ gid di -ýäl -le*
 humanities DAT go say PRS 3PL
 'They say, 'go to humanities!''

T3/7 *ohom men şu wat näme ed -jeg -m -i*
 after that I this time what do FUT POSS.1SG ACC
bil -mä -n dur -n
 know NEG PST.PTCP POSTV 1SG
 'So I do not know what to do now.'

2 -ýäl/-ýal is a dialectal variant (Yomut) of *ýär/-ýar* 'PRS'.

3 In the Yomut dialect, when a base noun ends in vowel, -q is optionally used instead of -na/-ne 'DAT'.

- T3/8 *nowbät -e ävväl de geç -di*
 schoolterm ezafe first DA.PRTCL pass DI.PST
 'The first schoolterm has passed.'
- T3/9 *özüm başar -ar -n myqa di -ýär -n*
 PRN.RFLX.1SG be able AOR 1SG MYQA.PRTCL say PRS 1SG
edama -sy -ny zad ed - ma -ne
 continuation POSS.3SG ACC thing do NOM DAT
 'I myself suppose that I will be able to...what...continue it.'
- T3/10 *moşaver di -ýe bol -ma -ýa di -ýe*
 counsellor say PRS become NEG PRS say PRS
 'The counsellor says, 'it is not possible.'
- T3/11 *byr term geç -di di -ýe bol -ma -ýa di -ýe*
 one term pass DI.PST say PRS become NEG PRS say PRS
 'He says, 'one term has passed, it is not possible.'
- T3/12 *ohom men şumat dorahi -da qal -yb ýör -n*
 after that I now dilemma LOC stay CONV POSTV 1SG
 'So now I am in a dilemma.'
- T3/13 *men byr xanvade -ýe şiş nefer -e -dä ke men*
 I one family ezafe six person ADJ LOC KE.PRTCL I
orto -qy -sy di -se -m bol -jaq
 middle REL POSS.3SG say COND POSS.1SG POSTV FUT
 'I am from a family of six persons, in which I can say that I am the middle one.'
- T3/14 *özüm -den olaqan byr aýaldoyan -ym bar*
 PRN.RFLX.1SG ABL big one sister POSS.1SG existing
 'I have one older sister.'
- T3/15 *qalan -y da özüm -den kişik aýaldoyan*
 remainder POSS.3SG DA.PRTCL PRN.RFLX.1SG ABL small sister
 'The remainder are young sisters.'
- T3/16 *men owqat -e färayat -ym -y biştär*
 I time ezafe free POSS.1SG ACC mostly
ýan -ymyz -da byr kanun -e kudäk -an ol
 side POSS.1PL LOC one centre ezafe child PL and
nowjäwan -an bar pingpong bar -dy
 teenager PL existing tabletennis existing DI.PST
iç -i -nde biştär muya -la şo -ña gid -erddi⁴ -k
 inside POSS.3SG LOC mostly time PL that DAT go HAB.PST 1PL
 'In my free time, I mostly... we used to mostly go to a centre for children and teenagers nearby where there was tabletennis.'

4 -erddi/-arddy is a dialectal variant (Yomut) of -erdi/-ardy 'HAB.PST'.

- T3/17 *biz pingpong oýna -arddy -q äläki -räjik -den*
 we tabletennis play HAB.PST 1PL lighthearted COMP ABL
bil -me -ýärdi -k hiçzad
 know NEG HAB.PST 1PL nothing
 'We used to play table tennis more for fun, we did not know anything.'
- T3/18 *indi täze älaqemänd bol -dy -m*
 now newly interested be DI.PST 1SG
 'Now I have recently become interested.'
- T3/19 *kilas -a gid -ýä -n*
 class DAT go PRS 1SG
 'I go to a class.'
- T3/20 *ýanqy geç -en ýyl şahrestan -e Aqqala -da*
 aforementioned pass PST.PTCP year city ezafe Aqqala LOC
nowjäwan -an -da ävel bol -dy -m
 teenager PL LOC first be DI.PST 1SG
 'I was first among the teenagers in the city of Aqqala in the past year.'
- T3/21 *ohom beýn -e mädäres -da final -a ýet -di -m*
 after that between ezafe schools LOC final DAT reach DI.PST 1SG
ke uddur -dy -m dovjom bol -dy -m
 KE.PRTCL lose DI.PST POSS.1SG second be DI.PST 1SG
 'Then in (the competition) between schools, I reached the final, but I lost and I was second.'
- T3/22 *ohom pingpong -da biz -iň ostad -ymyz byr*
 after that tabletennis LOC we GEN teacher POSS.1PL one
adam -y ke byr aýaq -y köllen xarab mälul
 person 1.CLTC KE.PRTCL one leg POSS.3 completely broken disabled
 'Now in tabletennis our teacher is a person, one of whose legs is completely broken (and) disabled.'
- T3/23 *bainvojud keşvär -de ävel bol -ybdyr mälulan -da*
 nonetheless country LOC first be INDIR.PST disabled people LOC
 'Nonetheless, he was the first in the country among disabled people.'
- T3/24 *şondan biz därs al -yb bil -ýär -s ke*
 then we lesson take CONV know PRS 1PL KE.PRTCL
xastän täwanestän äst di -ýäl -le
 will being able is say PRS 3PL
 'So we can learn a lesson that where there is a will there is way.'

A significant number of lexical copies from Persian are observed in this text. As with texts 1 and 2, the speaker adds Turkmen suffixes to the copied lexical item.

Lexical items include mainly administrative terms, such as names of educational and government institutions. For example: *reştämi* [*rešta* ‘field of study’ + *-m* POSS.1SG + *-i* ACC] ‘my field of study’ (T3/3), *debirestanda* [*debirestan* ‘high school’ + *-da* LOC] ‘in high school’ (T3/4), *modirim* [*modir* ‘headmaster’ + *-im* POSS.1SG] ‘my headmaster’ (T3/4), *moşaverim* [*moşaver* ‘counsellor’ + *-im* POSS.1SG] ‘my counsellor’ (T3/4), *ensaniq* [*ensani* ‘humanities’ + *-q* DAT] ‘to humanities’ (T3/6), *mädaresda* [*mädares* ‘schools’ + *-da* LOC] ‘in schools’ (T3/21), *ostadymyz* [*ostad* ‘teacher’ + *-ymyz* POSS. 1PL] ‘our teacher’ (T3/22), *şahrestan* ‘city’ (T3/1,20), *keşvär* ‘country’ (T3/23). There are two instances where a Persian plural suffix is added to the copied lexical item, rather than a Turkmen suffix. These are: *kudäkan* [*kudäk* ‘child’ + *-an* PL] ‘children’ (T3/16) and *nowjäwanan* [*nowjäwan* ‘teenager’ + *-an* PL] ‘teenagers’ (T3/16, 20).

Four lexical terms are also copied from English: *term* ‘term’ (T3/11), *pingpong* ‘table tennis,’ (T3/16, 17, 22), *kilasa* [*kilas* ‘class’ + *-a* DAT] ‘to the class’ (T3/19), *finala* [*final* + *-a* DAT] ‘to the final’. This can be attributed to the influence of English on Persian through which these items have been copied into Turkmen.

Some general terms from everyday life are also copied, for example: *zendegi* ‘life’ (T3/1), *xanvadam* [*xanvada* + *-m* 1SG.POSS] ‘my family’ (T3/5), *edamasyny* [*edama* + *-sy* 3SG.POSS + *-ny* ACC] ‘its continuation’ (T3/9), *dorahida* [*dorahi* ‘dilemma’ + *-da* LOC] ‘in a dilemma’ (T3/12), *biştär* ‘mostly’ (T3/16), *älaqemänd* ‘interested’ (T3/18), *mälul* ‘disabled’ (T3/22). Ordinal numbers are also copied from Persian, for example *ävväl* ‘first’ (T3/8, 23) and *dovvom* ‘second’ (T3/21).

Four compound verbs containing Persian elements are found. These are composed of a copied noun from Persian followed by the translation of the Persian light verbs *kärdän* ‘to do’ (*etmek*) and *gereftän* ‘to take’ (*almak*). The verbs *zendegi edýän* [*zendegi* ‘life’ *ed* ‘do’ -*yä* PRS -*n* 1SG] ‘I live’ (T3/1); *öwez edjek* [*öwez* ‘change’ *ed* ‘do’ -*jek* FUT] ‘I will change’ (T3/3, 5); *därs alyb* [*därs* ‘lesson’ *al* ‘take’ -*yb* CONV] ‘taking a lesson/learning’ (3/24) can each be expressed by a single corresponding Turkmen verb, namely *yaşamaq* ‘to live’, *çalyşyрмаq* or *ütgetmek* ‘to change’ and *öwrenmek* ‘to learn’ respectively. However, for the compound verb *moxalefät edýälle* [*moxalefät* ‘disagreement’ *ed* ‘do’ -*yäl* PRES -*le* 3PL] ‘they disagree’ (T3/4) there is a corresponding Turkmen compound verb *qarşy çyqmaq* ‘to disagree’.

In some cases, whole blocks of Persian expressions are copied into the narrative, for example *kanune kudäkan o nowjäwanan* ‘centre for children and teenagers’ (T3/16) and the proverb *xastän täwanestän äst* ‘where there is a will there is a way’ (T3/24).

A number of syntactic copies are observed which include: the use of the Persian conjunction *ba in vojud* ‘nonetheless’ (T3/23); the ezafe construction (occurs 9 times) eg *reşte-ýe täjrobi* ‘field of science’ (T3/3); *beýn-e mädaresda* ‘between the schools’ (T3/21); the use of the particle *ki* (occurs 6 times). In this text *ki* is used to mark adverbial clauses (T3/3, 4, 21), a restrictive relative clause (T3/22) in which *ki* is used along with the Persian linker *-i* (Windfuhr & Perry, 2009) attached to the

head noun, a non-restrictive relative clause (T3/13) and a complement clause (T3/24).

As regards contact induced phonological features, whenever a lexical item is copied, the corresponding Persian pronunciation is generally also copied. This is exemplified by the use of the [s] and [z] sounds rather than [θ] and [ð] such as in the words *zendegi* 'life' (T3/1), *ensaniq* 'to the humanities' (T3/6) and *xastān* 'will' (T3/24), also by the use of [v] rather than [w] in the words *vā* 'and' (T3/4) and *ävväl* 'first' (T3/8, 23), both of which are already normally used in the language.

Summary

As illustrated in the texts, there is a notable increase in the degree of copied elements down the generations, with the speaker from the older generation exhibiting only a few instances of lexical copies, the speaker from the middle aged generation a greater number, while the young man exhibits a high degree of copying on all linguistic levels.

This can be attributed in a large part to the many socio-cultural changes which have occurred in the life-style and attitudes of Turkmen speakers, from the nomadic, isolated way of life which encouraged avoidance of any type of contact and interaction with others, even among the different Turkmen tribes themselves, to the gradual settling down in rural areas in the north-east of Iran, and to the situation nowadays where, for various reasons, there is a high degree of interaction both within the Turkmen tribes and with Persian language and culture. Furthermore, the younger generation commonly leave their home village or town and locate in urban centres for educational and professional reasons, which in turn leads to a greater exposure to Persian.

It is this group of Turkmen speakers which exhibits a high copying variety as illustrated in text 3. It is interesting to note that even this group in general currently maintains a positive attitude towards their mother tongue and still uses it when communicating with Turkmen friends and relatives.

Nevertheless, with the rapidly increasing intensity and duration of contact (Johanson 2002), one could expect to see an increasingly higher copying version of Turkmen. This may result in tensions between the generations (Abish & Csato 2011) which in turn might create a negative attitude among the young Turkmen to speaking their language, all of which may eventually result in a diminished use of Turkmen in favour of Persian, particularly in urban settings.

However, taking several factors into consideration, such as strong ethnic identity, religion as Sunni Muslims, and a fairly large population concentrated in one specific geographical area of the country, it may be predicted that the Turkmen language in Iran will continue to be used and spoken (Doerfer 1998). The question will be as to what extent and in what ways Persian will continue to impact its use, thus underscoring the need for further documentation and investigation across the generations.

References

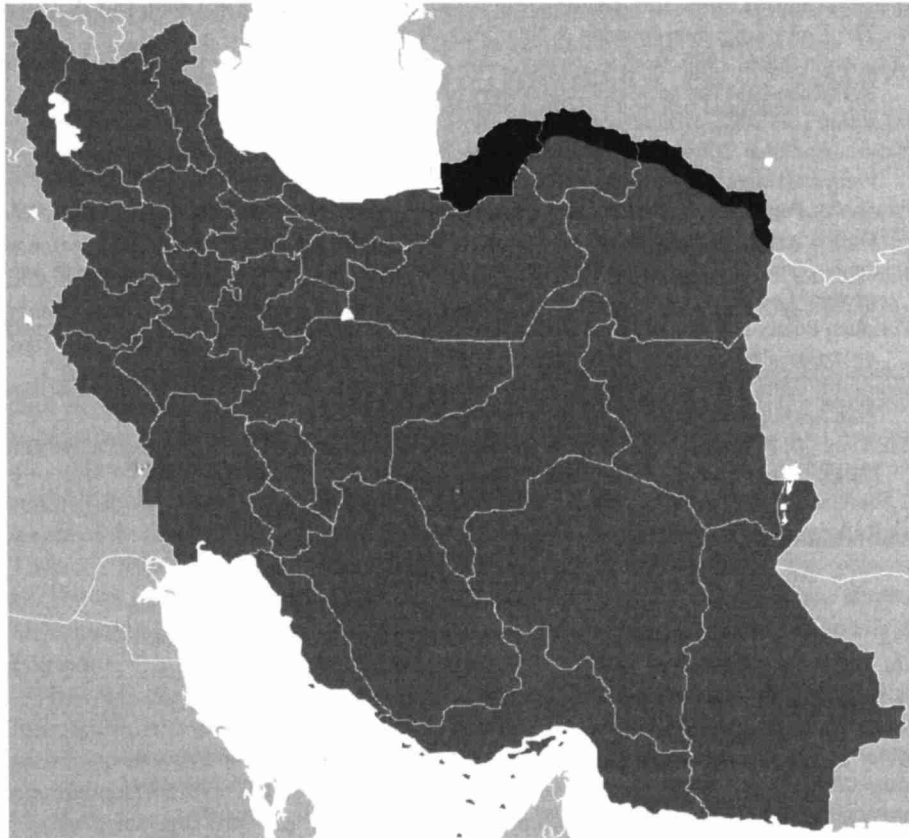
- Abish, Aynur & Csató Éva Ágnes 2011. Recent developments in Kazak as spoken in the People's Republic of China. *Turkic Languages* 15, 275–290.
- Clark, Larry 1998. *Turkmen reference grammar*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Doerfer, Gerhard 1998. Turkic languages of Iran. In: Johanson, Lars & Csató, Éva Á. (eds.) *The Turkic languages*. London & New York: Routledge. 273–282.
- Goli, Amin Allah. 1986. سیری در تاریخ سیاسی اجتماعی ترکمنها (Seir-i dar tarix-e siyasi ejtemaei Torkeman-ha) [The socio-political history of the Turkmen]. Tehran: Nashr-e Elm.
- Johanson, Lars 2002. *Structural factors in Turkic language contacts*. Surrey: Curzon Press.
- Nazari, Abdollah 2004. *Verb phrases in the Turkmen language: a minimalist programme analysis*. University of Sistan and Balouchistan, Iran. Unpublished MA thesis.
- Lewis, M. Paul (ed.) 2009. *Ethnologue: Languages of the world*. Dallas: SIL International. Online version <http://www.ethnologue.com/> [Accessed 4.September 2012]
- Schönig, Claus 1998. Turkmen. In: Johanson, Lars & Csató, Éva Á. (eds) *The Turkic languages*. London & New York: Routledge. 261–272.
- Turkmen Poetry and Literature Society of Miras 2009. *Turkmen language orthography based on Arabo-Persian script*. Gonbad, Iran. Unpublished booklet.
- Windfuhr, Gernot & Perry, John R. 2009. Persian and Tajik. In: Windfuhr, G. (ed.) *The Iranian languages*. Oxon: Routledge. 416–545.
- Zal, Ünal 2011. *Türkmen Türkçesinde isteme ifade eden yapılar*. IV. Uluslararası Dünya Dili Türkçe Sempozyumu, Muğla. Unpublished paper.

Abbreviations

1	first person	I.CLTC	clitic <i>i</i>
2	second person	IBER.POSTV	postverb <i>iber</i>
3	third person	INDIR.PST	indirect past
ABL	ablative	JE.PRTCL	particle <i>je</i>
ACC	accusative	KE.PRTCL	ke particle
ADJ	adjectiviser	LOC	locative
ADV	adverbial	MYQA.PRTCL	particle <i>myqa</i>
ANDA.CONV	converb in <i>anda</i>	NEC	necessitative
ANDADÄNI.CONV	converb in <i>andadäni</i>	NEG	negative
AOR	aorist	NOM	nominaliser
COMP	comparative	OPT	optative
COND	conditional	PASS	passive
CONV	converb	PL	plural
DA.PRTCL	da particle	POSS	possessive
DAT	dative	POSTV	postverb
DERIV.SUFFIX	derivational suffix	PRN	pronoun
DI.PST	past in <i>di</i>	PRS	present
DIM	diminutive	PST.PTCP	past participle
FUT	future	REL	relativiser
GEN	genitive	RFLX	reflexive
HA.PRTCL	particle <i>ha</i>	SG	singular
HAB.PST	habitual past	VOL	voluntative
HEDE.PRTCL	particle <i>hede</i>	YBDÄNI.CONV	converb in <i>ybdäni</i>

Appendix 1: Maps

Figure 1: Map of Iran showing Turkmen speaking area



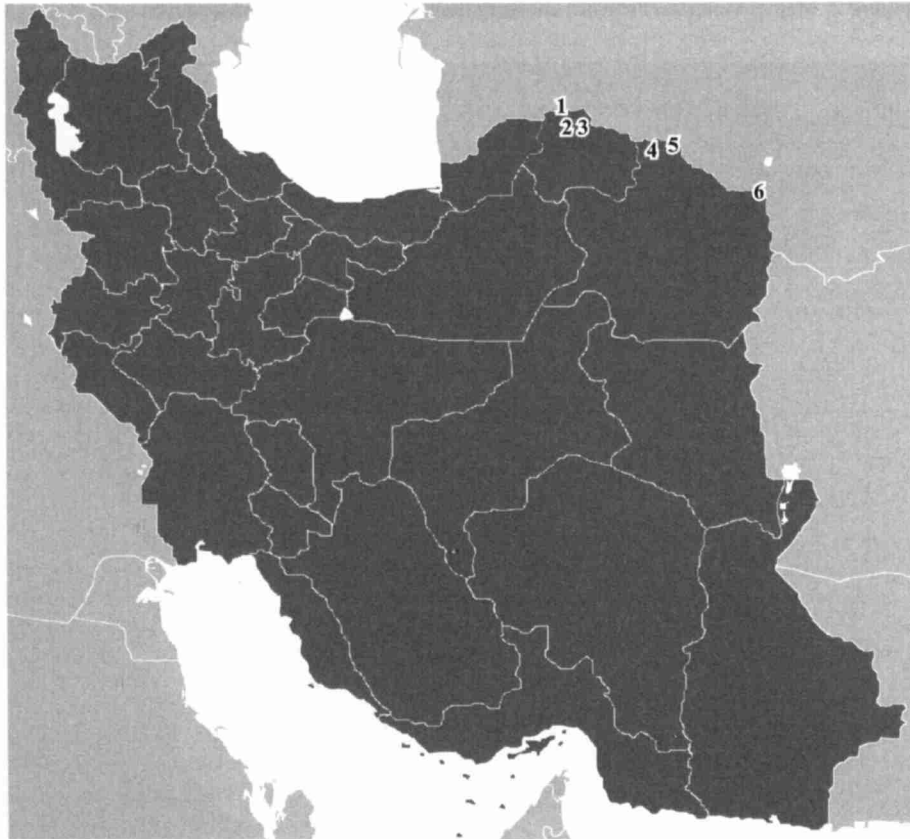
Map source: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Blank-Map-Iran-With-Water-Bodies.png>
(Shading by author)

Figure 2: Map of Golestan Province showing main Turkmen population centres



Map source: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Blank-Map-Iran-With-Water-Bodies.png>
(Shading by author. Enlargement by author.)

Figure 3: Main Turkmen population centres in North Khorasan Province (Khorasan-e Shomali) and Khorasan-e Razavi Province



Map source: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Blank-Map-Iran-With-Water-Bodies.png>

North Khorasan:

1. Jergelan
2. Ashkhaneh
3. Bojnurd

Khorasan-e Razavi:

4. Quchan
5. Dareh Gaz
6. Sarakhs

Appendix 2: Orthography Tables

Table 1: Consonants

IPA	Cyrillic	Latin Turkmen	Iranian Turkmen
b	Б	B	ب ب
p	П	P	پ پ
t	Т	T	ت ت
dʒ	Ж	J	ج ج
tʃ	Ч	Ç	چ چ
x	X	H	خ خ
d	Д	D	د د
r	Р	R	ر ر
ð	З	Z	ز ز
ʒ	Ж	Ž	ژ ژ
θ	С	S	س س
ʃ	Ш	Ş	ش ش
ɣ	Г	G	غ غ
f	Ф	F	ف ف
q	К	K	ق ق
k	К	K	ک ک
g	Г	G	گ گ
l	Л	L	ل ل
m	М	M	م م
n	Н	N	ن ن
v	В	W	و و
h	Х	H	ه ه ه ه
j	Й	Ý	ی ی
ŋ	Н	Ň	نگ نگ

Source: Turkmen Poetry and Literature Society of Miras, 2009.

Table 2: Vowels

IPA	Cyrillic	Latin Turkmen	Iranian Turkmen
a	A	A	آ ا
æ	Ə	Ä	اِ ا
ɪ	Ы	Y	اڭ اذ ائ
i	И	I	اي ي ي
e	E	E	اِ ه ه
u	У	U	او و
y	Y	Ü	او ў
o	O	O	او ў
œ	Ө	Ö	او ў

Source: Turkmen Poetry and Literature Society of Miras, 2009.

Table 3: Additional letters in words of Arabic origin

IPA	Cyrillic	Latin Turkmen	Iranian Turkmen
θ	C	S	ث ث
h	X	H	ح ح
s	C	S	ص ص
d ^h	З	Z	ض ض
t	T	T	ط ط
z	З	Z	ظ ظ
ʔ			ع ع
ð	З	Z	ذ ذ

Source: Turkmen Poetry and Literature Society of Miras, 2009.

Kazakh complex verb structures: A Distributed Morphology analysis

Hasan Mesut Meral

Meral, Hasan Mesut 2012. Kazakh complex verb structures: A Distributed Morphology analysis. *Turkic Languages* 16, 239–256.

The aim of this paper is to investigate the complex verb structures in Kazakh which have the structure [V-Converb Aux-T-AGR]. With the discussion of those particular constructions, the study seeks for evidence for one of the general claims of Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993, Embick & Noyer 2001): The syntactic structure is subject to morphological operations such as *merge*, *fission* and *fusion* in the PF (= Phonological Form) component of the grammar. For the status of the converb form, I argue that it is a *dissociated morpheme* which is added to the v head at the PF component and copies itself to the higher nodes in the derivation. I also argue for a *concord relation* between the converb form and the tense node, and extend it into the auxiliary elements in complex verb structures.

Hasan Mesut Meral, Yıldız Technical University, Faculty of Education, Department of Turkish Language Teaching, Room: A-1034, 34210 Davutpaşa İstanbul, Turkey. E-mail: mesut.meral@boun.edu.tr

1. Introduction

Complex verb structures in Kazakh¹ involve a particular converb form attached to the main verb, an auxiliary element which is attached by tense and agreement markers.² A typical example is illustrated in (1) below.

- 1 The complex verb structures studied here are those formed with converb markers (post-verbial structures). Complex verb structures formed with light verbs such as *et-* 'do' are excluded from the analysis.
- 2 The term *complex verb structure* in this paper is used only for descriptive purposes. Similar constructions have been labeled in the literature as serial verb constructions, auxiliary-verb constructions, converb constructions and gerundial constructions. What is important is that these structures are present in many languages of the world which are not necessarily related to each other in genetic or typological ways, and these structures involve similar grammaticalization procedures and semantic functions. See Haspelmath (1995), Aikhenwald & Dixon (2006) for discussions from a typological point of view.

The term *converb* here is considered as referring to a linking morpheme which links verb roots in order to create a morphologically more complex verbal structure. The use of the term goes back to Gustaf John Ramstedt, a Finnish Altaicist. The linking morpheme

- (1) *Axmet üniversitet-ke [bar-ıp qoy-du].*
 Axmet:NOM university:DAT go:IP.CONV AUX:PAST.3SG
 'Ahmet has now arrived at the university.'

Example (1) above includes the main verb *bar-* 'go', which is attached by the converb form *-IP*. The auxiliary *qoy-* 'put' following the main verb is attached by the tense and agreement markers.

Despite the scarcity of theoretical analyses of these structures within the Generative Theory, there is a vast literature on the issue from the Turcological perspective, where the issue has been investigated from both synchronic and diachronic points of view. These studies devote particular focus to the comparative discussion of Turkic languages with respect to these constructions and to the aspectual interpretations and actionality (aktionsart) involved there (Arat 1928 (cited in Erdal 2004: 26), Johanson 1988, 1995 and 2004, Csató 2003 and Demirci 2006a and b). A generative account of similar structures in Turkic languages is provided by Bowerman (2004), where the author argues that similar structures in Uzbek are light verb constructions.

The structure of this paper is as follows: In Section 2 I provide a morphological description for the different types of complex verb structures in Kazakh. Section 3 introduces the problem and raises the theoretical questions discussed in the article. In the fourth section, I provide some of the core assumptions of Distributed Morphology with respect to the organization of the grammar. Section 5 discusses the complex verb structures in Kazakh and the problems they pose for morphological theory. Section 6 summarizes the findings and discusses their theoretical implications.

(converb) is realized as *-E* and *-Ip* in Turkic languages and both has different realizations (*-e*, *-a* and *-ip*, *-ip*, *-up*, *-üp* respectively) in accordance with vowel harmony. See Johanson (2004: 181–182) for a discussion of the different realizations of these converb forms in various Turkic languages and a distinction on the basis of aspectual interpretations. Johanson (2005) introduces the term *analytic relator* for those converb forms that are also present in Orkhon Turkic and represent less advanced stages of grammaticalization. See Johanson (1988: 136) and Erdal (2004: 309) for the etymology of this suffix and Erdal (2004) for a discussion of the converbs in Old Turkic.

On a similar line of reasoning, the term *auxiliary* here involves no theoretical claim but a descriptonal convention. Following Johanson (1995, 2004), I use the term *auxiliary* for the second verbal head in complex verb structures although different labels for the same element have been used in the literature.

2. Data: complex verb structures in Kazakh:

In Kazakh a number of lexical verb roots are used as auxiliary items in order to give the actionality readings in verbal complexes.³ These verb roots are *tur-* ‘stand’, *otır-* ‘sit’, *žat-* ‘lie’, *žür-* ‘go’, *šiq-* ‘go out’, *qoy-* ‘put’, *žiber-* ‘send’, *al-* ‘take’, *ber-* ‘give’, *qal-* ‘stay’, *sal-* ‘insert, put into’, *tüs-* ‘fall’ among others. The different types of structures in which these auxiliary items occur are listed below.

Type 1: [$V_{\text{root}}-IP$ Aux-T-AGR]. This structure has a verb root, is inflected by the converb form *-IP*, and an auxiliary verb, inflected by tense and agreement markers. Consider the examples in (2a-d) below which are used to express different actionality readings. Complex verb structures are indicated by square brackets.

- (2) a. *Men dos-im-men [söyles-ip žat-ır-min].*
 I:NOM friend:POSS1SG:COM talk:IP.CONV AUX:AOR:1SG
 ‘I am talking to my friend.’
- b. *Axmet kitap-tı [oqı-p šiq-tı].*
 Axmet:NOM book:ACC read:IP.CONV AUX:PAST.3SG
 ‘Ahmet has read/read the book.’
- c. *Axmet üniversitet-ke [bar-ıp qoy-dı].*
 Axmet:NOM university:DAT go:IP.CONV AUX:PAST.3SG
 ‘Ahmet has now arrived at the university.’
- d. *Qız tereze-den [qara-p tur-a-dı].*
 girl:NOM window:ABL look:IP.CONV AUX:PRES:3SG
 ‘The girl is looking from the window.’

The examples in (2a-d) include the complex verb structure [$V_{\text{root}}-IP$ Aux-T-AGR] and involve different actionality interpretations. In (2a and d) the structures are used to express continuity while those in (2b and c) express completeness.⁴

Type 2: [$V_{\text{root}}-E$ Aux-T-AGR]. Type 2 has a verb root that is inflected by the converb form *-E* and an auxiliary verb that is inflected by tense and agreement markers. Consider (3).

- 3 Johanson (2004: 182-183) lists the actionality meanings expressed by these auxiliaries as (i) *transformatives* including suddenness, thoroughness, unexpectedness, quickness, resoluteness and completion, which are referred to in the literature as *perfectives* or *inchoatives*, and (ii) *nontransformatives* including durativity, iteration, repetition, continuity, permanence, regularity, usualness, habituality, constancy, which are referred to in the literature as *imperfective*, *durative* and *habitual* constructions.
- 4 See Johanson (1995, 2004) for a detailed discussion of properties of these constructions with respect to actionality and viewpoint aspect.

5 Kirchner (1998: 326) points out that [v+IP+Aux+e+Tense+Agr] structures are used to convey durative or habitual past, and [QAn+e+Tense+Agr] structures involve pluperfect readings in Kazakh.

markers and the position of the agreement markers in these structures constitute a problem for the *Lexical Integrity Hypothesis* of Anderson (1992) and the *Mirror Principle* of Baker (1985).⁶

More specifically, the choice of the converb form, *-IP* or *-E* is problematic with respect to the two assumptions cited above. In some constructions, there seems to be a dichotomy between progressive and non-progressive readings. However, the fact that a single element can be used in structures where different actionality readings are conveyed, and that the auxiliaries do not select a particular converb form, indicates that the choice of the converb form involves a sort of syncretism.⁷ The unpredictability of the grammatical function of the converb form within the word domain indicates that syntactic principles can have access to word structure.

Moreover, the distribution of the auxiliary elements in complex verb structures is problematic for theories which assume a one-to-one correspondence between the grammatical form and grammatical function it carries. The same auxiliary element can be used in structures where different actionality readings are indicated, involving some sort of ambiguity which is problematic for both the *Lexical Integrity Hypothesis* of Anderson (1992) and the *Mirror Principle* of Baker (1985). Moreover, while some auxiliaries seem to be grouped with respect to the actionality readings they mark, there seems to be no restriction on the choice of a particular auxiliary item from the ones with the same aspectual feature.

As for the tense and agreement markers, a similar line of reasoning applies. The problem with tense markers is that the converb forms *-IP* and *-E* can also appear as tense markers in certain structures.

Based on the data and problems given above, we raise the following questions: How can we deal with the clashes above between morphology and syntax components? Can the complex verb structures be analyzed as involving post-syntactic morphological operations, and hence support the general claim of Distributed Morphology? What kind of morphological elements are converb markers? Why do partici-

6 The Lexical Integrity Hypothesis claims that "The syntax neither manipulates nor has access to the internal structure of words" (Anderson 1992: 84). Since the earliest days of Generative morphology, the Lexical Integrity Hypothesis has been reformulated by different morphologists (Lapointe 1980, Selkirk 1982, Di Sciullo & Williams 1987). It is a lexicalist approach to word structure in that its core idea is that syntactic structure is blind to the internal structure of words.

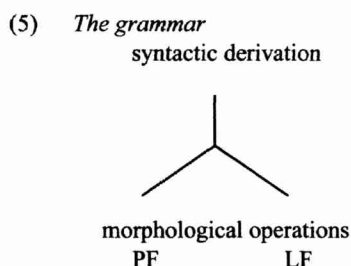
The Mirror Principle of Baker (1985), on the other hand, argues that a close parallelism occurs between morphology and syntax, and that syntax is not blind to the word structure but operates on both words and morphemes. In this view, complex words can be formed by morphological rules such as *incorporation* which resembles the syntactic rules such as head movement. The term *mirror* is used given that in this view morphological derivation reflects syntactic derivation and syntactic derivation reflects morphological derivation.

7 See however Johanson (2004: 182, 185) for an extensive discussion.

ples such as *-QAN* appear on the auxiliary element in contrast to the tense markers which appear on verb heads? The rest of the article discusses the possible solutions to these problems based on the theoretical apparatus of Distributed Morphology, whose basic assumptions are briefly given in the next section.

4. Theoretical background: Distributed Morphology

Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993, 1994, Harley and Noyer 1998, 1999) is a non-lexicalist approach to morphology which adopts a Y-type model of grammar. The output of the syntax component is sent to LF (= Logical Form), where the sentence receives its interpretation and PF (= Phonological Form), where the sentence receives its pronunciation. According to Distributed Morphology, the syntactic structure is manipulable in a post-syntactic morphological component where the syntactic structure is further subject to some morphological operations such as *fusion*, *fission*, *impoverishment* and *concord* at the PF component before phonetic realization. The model assumed in Distributed Morphology is represented in (5) below.



Distributed Morphology assumes the model given above and argues that morphology is not restricted to a pre-syntactic lexicon module. The syntactic operations such as *Move* and *Merge* do not manipulate the lexical items. There are bundles of morphosyntactic and semantic features which are manipulated by the post-syntactic morphological operations.

Distributed Morphology assumes *late insertion* in that only in the PF component, the *vocabulary items* are inserted (match the feature bundles associated with the morphosyntactic structure). PF rules linearize the hierarchical structure generated by syntax and add phonological material to the abstract morphemes, a process called *vocabulary insertion*. Note that the abstract morphemes are devoid of language-particular phonological and semantic content. Thus, abstract morphemes are spelled out during the vocabulary insertion. Vocabulary items are competing as a result of which the most fully specified item with compatible features is inserted into the node with the same features.

5. Discussion

The discussion will first consider the status of the converb form and move into the explanation of the different usages of the auxiliary elements. Finally, I will investigate the status of the tense and agreement markers in these structures.

5.1. The status of the converb form

Recall that there are two forms used as converbs in complex verb structures, *-IP* and *-E*, and there is no predictability on their choice within a certain structure. The verb which is inflected by these markers is in bare form while the one used as auxiliary element is inflected.

I assume that the converb form is a *dissociated morpheme* in the sense of Embick & Noyer (2001), Harley & Noyer (1998) and Embick & Halle (2005). It is a dissociated morpheme given that it is not inserted to a particular node to match any morphosyntactic feature present in the syntactic node. It is added to the syntactic structure at the PF component of the grammar in particular structural configurations (complex verb structures in this paper). The addition of these materials is done according to the particular well-formedness conditions of the particular language.

To see how well-formedness requirements work, let us compare the status of the *-IP* form in Turkish and Kazakh. Unlike Japanese and Chinese, it is not possible to incorporate/conjoin two lexical verbs in Turkic languages.⁸ Instead, these languages employ some sort of grammaticalization of some functional readings via certain buffer elements (cf. Johanson 1998a and b). I argue that the converb forms in Kazakh are used for purely morphological reasons in complex verb structures where the second verbal root is used as an auxiliary. Consider the following structures in (6a-b), including the use of these forms in Turkish and Kazakh respectively.

- (6) *Turkish*
 a. *Ali* [*kitab-ı* *al-ıp*] *gel-di*.
 Ali:NOM book:ACC buy:IP.CONV come:PAST.3SG
 'Ali bought the book and came back.'

⁸ However, see Csató (2003), where the author discusses a different type of construction in which both lexical and auxiliary verb roots are inflected the same. Thus, in the Turkish example *yaz-dı dur-du* '(He) kept writing,' both verbs have past morphology and there seems to be no converb marker used to combine the two verb forms. These structures may seem at first glance a combination of two lexical verb roots in order to provide aspectual information. However, the second verbal element in those structures seems to be restricted to a few roots which are already used as auxiliary elements in other cases. I restrict the analysis here to post-verbal structures where the first verbal element is inflected with a converb marker.

Kazakh

- b. *Axmet üniuersitet-ke [bar-ıp qoy-dı].*
 Axmet:NOM university:DAT go:IP.CONV AUX:PAST.3SG
 'Ahmet has now arrived at the university.'

In the Turkish example (6a) the converb form *-IP* is used to express the conjunction of two verbs, *al-* 'take' and *gel-* 'come'.⁹ Unlike the one in Kazakh (6b), the converb form in Turkish is used to express conjunction of two events; hence it contributes to the meaning of the sentence.¹⁰ Thus, its presence in the structure is not purely morphological in that it is inserted to match a particular morphosyntactic feature in the syntactic node. In (6b), on the other hand, the presence of the converb form *-IP* is purely morphological in that the whole structure conjoined by the *-IP* form ex-

9 See Kornfilt (1997), Csató & Johanson (1998), Özsoy (1999), Csató (2003), Demirci (2006b) for the discussion of structures with the converb markers in Turkish.

10 This does not mean that Turkish does not have structures where *-Ip* and *-E* are used in complex verb structures. Consider the following examples provided by a reviewer:

- (i) a. *Sen Ali-nin söyle-dik-ler-in-i yaz-ıp / *-a dur-du-n.*
 you Ali:GEN say:PART:3PL:ACC write:IP.CONV -E.CONV stop/stand:PAST:2SG
 'You kept on writing what Ali said'
 b. *Sen Ali-nin söyle-dik-ler-in-i yaz-a / *-ıp dur!*
 you Ali:GEN say:PART:3PL:ACC write:E.CONV -IP.CONV stop.
Ben hemen gel-iyor-um.
 I immediately come:PRES:1SG
 'Start and continue writing what Ali says. I will come immediately'

Based on the examples given above, one can say that Turkish makes use of converb forms in complex verb structures as well as in verb conjunctions in (6a). Note that this use is restricted to a few verbal roots. What seems to be the problem for our analysis is that Kazakh has the same examples in that *-IP* and *-E* contribute to the meaning of the sentence. The reviewer provides the following examples:

- men sayan xat jazıp/*-a turdum*
 'I kept writing letters to you',
sen xat jaza/-ıp tur men qazır oralamın*
 'Start and continue writing the letter; I will be back soon'.

I propose that the semantic difference in the examples where *-IP* and *-E* are used cannot be attributed to the converbs alone. Rather, it is the whole verbal domain including TAM and AGR markers that causes meaning differences in these examples. Moreover, these forms cannot be used interchangeably in that *-E* seems to be restricted to imperative structure while *-IP* is used only with a number of TAM markers.

presses the single event *go*. In other words, the lexical interpretation of the second verbal root is not available and it is the complex verb structure which expresses the aspecto-temporal interpretation.^{11, 12}

Embick & Halle (2005) points out that dissociated morphemes are not present in the syntactic part of the derivation. These morphemes are added to some functional heads at the PF module. At this point, following Embick and Halle (2005), I argue that the main verb root [*v*] combines with the auxiliary element [*Aux*] to form a complex predicate. Then at PF, the converb node is added to *v* for morphological well-formedness reasons. This process is illustrated in (7) below.

- (7) Syntactic derivation: [[root *v*] *Aux* [*aspect*]]¹³
 Morphological structure: [[root [*v* converb]] [*Aux* [*aspect*]]]

The representation in (7) above indicates how the dissociated morpheme works in Kazakh. Accordingly, there is no syntactic node for the converb marker in syntactic derivation. The syntactic node involves only the verb and auxiliary heads. However, as noted above, the syntactic derivation is subject to morphological operations in a post-syntactic module in Distributed Morphology. Thus, in the morphological structure the converb form is hosted by the syntactic node *v*. Note that the use of the converb form is an instance of *late insertion*, by which the converb marker is added to the derivation at PF component in order to save the otherwise illicit structure.

I consider the lacking predictability of those two converb forms *-IP* and *-E* as an indication of being a dissociated morpheme. If those two forms were semantically non-vacuous and inserted into a particular node to match some morphosyntactic features, we would have different distributional properties for each one. Being a dissociated morpheme, the converb form is able to copy itself to some higher nodes in the derivation. This is in accordance with the fact that the converb forms *-IP* and *-E* can also appear on the auxiliary element in Kazakh, where they mark aspecto-temporal interpretations. Consider the following structures in (8a–b).

11 This is in line with Johanson (1998a: 42), where such structures are argued to involve strong semantic fusion. Also, Kirchner (1998: 327) points out that the *-IP* form in Kazakh is merely used for clause linking purposes.

12 A reviewer remarks that Kazakh has structures where the converb *-IP* is used to express conjunction as also noticed by Kirchner (1998: 327). Thus, there are ambiguous cases where *-IP* acts as a conjunction marker in one interpretation and a dissociated morpheme in another interpretation. Note that our analysis here focuses on the use of *-IP* in complex verb structures where the second verbal root is used as an auxiliary which has actionality interpretation. Our analysis has no prediction on the structures where *-IP* is used as a conjunction marker and the second verbal root retains its lexical meaning.

13 *Aspect* in this representation is meant to be a node in the syntactic structure.

- (8) a. *Nurlan kitap-tı [oqı-p şıy-ıp-tı].*
 Nurlan:NOM book:ACC read:IP.CONV AUX:I-PAST.3SG
 'Nurlan has apparently read the book.'
- b. *Axmet şay-ya şeker [sal-a tüş-e-di].*
 Axmet:NOM tea:DAT sugar put:E.CONV AUX:PRES.3SG
 'Ahmet adds sugar to the tea (a sudden action).'

In (8a-b) above the *-IP* and *-E* also appear on the auxiliary element and mark evidential and present interpretations respectively. This is problematic with respect to the analysis presented here since the analysis assumes that the converb form is a dissociated form, hence semantically vacuous. At this point, I argue that the second occurrence of *-IP* is also predicted by the fact that it is a dissociated form. Being a dissociated form, it is able to copy itself to the higher nodes in the derivation. Accordingly, it is not only the converb form which is responsible for the temporal interpretation, but the whole verbal complex expresses it. The copying process is represented in (9) below.

- (9) *The copying of the converb form*
 [[Root [v **converb**]] [Aux [aspect]] [Tense [**converb**]]]
-

According to the copying process in (9), the converb form copies itself to the tense node where it contributes to the interpretation of the sentence with particular temporal interpretation. However, this seems to be problematic with respect to the assumption I made earlier in the paper. I have assumed that the dissociated morphemes do not correspond to any syntactic node in syntactic derivation, but are added at the PF part of the grammar for purely morphological well-formedness requirements. The tense node, on the other hand, is present in the syntactic derivation, and the feature bundle in the syntactic node has to be matched by a vocabulary item through vocabulary insertion in accordance with the general assumptions of Distributed Morphology. At this point, following Embick & Halle (2005), I suggest a *concord relation* between the converb and its second occurrence on the tense node.

Embick & Halle (2005:12) argue that the TH (= theme) node in Latin conjugation acquires the conjugation class feature of the root via a *concord process*. Then, the TH node is spelled out as one of the theme vowels. Similar to what Embick & Halle (2005) argued for the Latin TH nodes, I propose that the converb form enters into a concord relation with the feature bundle on the tense node. The whole complex then, expresses the temporal meaning of the sentence.¹⁴

¹⁴ A reviewer points out that examples such as *şıy-ıp-tı* 'went out' (13b in the text), where the converb *-IP* is used irrespective of copying from the Aux head and *qara-p tur-a-dı* 'is

To sum up so far, following Embick & Halle (2005), I argued that the converb form is a dissociated morpheme which is added to the ν head at the PF component of the grammar and copies itself to the higher nodes in the derivation. I also argued for a concord relation between the converb form and the tense node in order to explain the second occurrence of the *-IP* form on the tense node. In the next section I will be concerned with the appearance of the auxiliary items in the same structure.

5.2. The status of the aux element: is it really an auxiliary or a ν head?

Note that complex verb structures are one of the core properties of the Turkic languages, especially the North-West group in Johanson's classification.¹⁵ The similar constructions in Uzbek led Bowerman (2004) to assume that these structures are complex predicate structures rather than conjoined event structures. This section applies the tests used by Bowerman (2004) to Kazakh data and discusses whether those forms are conjoined event structures or complex verb structures. This discussion is aimed to provide clues for the exact status of the second verbal element in these structures.

Bowerman (2004) makes use of a number of tests in order to differentiate the conjoined event structures from the complex predicates. The first test in Bowerman (2004) is related to the event structure. If the whole verbal complex describes the single event, it can be assumed that the structure is a complex verb structure where the second verbal element acts as a light verb head ν rather than an auxiliary item. The

looking' (2d in the text), where a mismatch between the converb form *-IP* and the tense marker *-E* in terms of copying occurs are problematic for the analysis provided here. Thus, the question why there is no concord relation in (2d) should be answered. I leave the problem and further data for future studies at this point. However, the problem is only apparent if one considers the two occurrences of *-IP* form in (8a) as involving a type of syncretism as a result of which several abstract morphemes have the same phonetic exponent (cf. Embick & Halle 2005). The syncretism involved in complex verb structures in Kazakh is illustrated in (i) below.

(i) Converb, tense and participle forms in Kazakh

converb form	tense form
<i>-IP</i>	<i>-IP</i>
<i>-E</i>	<i>-E</i>
participle form	tense form
<i>-QAn</i>	<i>-QAn</i>

Thus, various occurrences of the same phonetic form *-IP* might be a result of syncretism as well as the concord relation. Note that the concord relation we provide between the two occurrences of the same phonetic element through a copying procedure takes place at the PF component of the grammar.

¹⁵ See Johanson (1998a and b) for a general discussion of the synchronic and diachronic aspects, and (2002) for the classification of Turkic languages.

examples in (6a–b), which illustrate the use of complex verb structures in Turkish and Kazakh respectively, are repeated here as (10a–b) respectively.

(10) *Turkish*

- a. *Ali* [*kitab-ı* *al-ıp*] *gel-di*.
 Ali:NOM book:ACC buy:IP.CONV come:PAST.3SG
 ‘Ali bought the book and came back.’

Kazakh

- b. *Axmet* *üniversitet-ke* [*bar-ıp* *qoy-dı*].
 Axmet:NOM university:DAT go:IP.CONV AUX:PAST.3SG
 ‘Ahmet has now arrived at the university.’

Turkish (10a) shows that the complex verb structure has a conjoined interpretation in that the converb element *-IP* is used to combine two lexical verbal heads *al-* ‘take’ and *gel-* ‘come’. The Kazakh example in (10b), on the other hand, describes a single event rather than the coordination of two lexical verbal heads. The single event reading implies that the whole structure is a complex predicate where the first verbal root expresses the lexical interpretation while the second one expresses some actionality interpretation.

The selection of the auxiliary element is used as the second test in Bowerman (2004). Accordingly, if the auxiliary element occurring in those structures is syntactically or morphologically selected, it has to be concluded that it is not a separate lexical verb head, but a light verb or an auxiliary in a complex predicate structure. The contrast we have observed in (11a–b) between Turkish and Kazakh is at work here too. Those constructions in Turkish employ any verbal heads as the second verbal element, as the example (11) below shows.

- (11) *Ali* [*kitab-ı* *al-ıp*]
 Ali:NOM book:ACC buy:IP.CONV
gel-di/oku-du/sat-tı/ kaybet-ti/at-tı/ gönder-di.
 come/read/sell/lose/throw/send:PAST.3SG
 ‘Ali bought the book and came back/read/sold/lost/threw away/sent (it).’

As the example (11) shows, there is no restriction on the use of the second verbal element in Turkish. That is to say, any verbal element can be added to the syntactic node in Distributed Morphology terminology. However, a kind of restriction seems to occur in Kazakh as illustrated in (12) below.

- (12) *Axmet* *üniversitet-ke* [*bar-ıp* *qoy-/*şıq-tı*].
 Axmet:NOM university:DAT go:IP.CONV AUX:PAST.3SG
 ‘Ahmet has now arrived at the university.’

The example in (12) indicates that the second verbal element in complex predicate structures in Kazakh obeys some restrictions as illustrated by the ungrammaticality of the use of the auxiliary items *şıq-* ‘go out’.¹⁶

To see the exact nature of the second verbal element in these constructions, we are dealing with the two phenomena discussed in Bower (2004) here: (i) defective paradigms, (ii) independent status. It is interesting to note that the second verbal element in complex verb structures shows both auxiliary and light verb head like properties with respect to (i and ii) above. Having a defective paradigm, we have to assume that the second verbal element is an auxiliary element. However, different from the auxiliaries in European languages, the auxiliaries in complex verb structures in Kazakh have an independent status in that they are able to act as a verbal head in non-complex verb structures. The examples below indicate this property.

- (13) a. *Nurlan kitap-tı [oqı-p şıq-tı].*
 Nurlan:NOM book:ACC read:IP.CONV AUX:PAST.3SG
 ‘Nurlan has read/read the book.’
- b. *Nurlan üy-den şıq-ıp-tı.*
 Nurlan:NOM house:ABL go.out:I-PAST:3SG
 ‘Nurlan has apparently left/left the house.’ (*Indirect past reading*)¹⁷

Example (13a) above involves the auxiliary use of the second verbal element *şıq-* ‘go’ in a complex verb structure. In (13b), on the other hand, the same verbal element is used as an independent verbal expression, as a finite verbal head. This indicates the light verb status of the second verbal element.

As the discussion above shows, the second verbal element in complex verb structures can be considered both as an auxiliary like element and as a light verb head. I assume that it is an auxiliary head at least in complex predicate structures and that it is specified for the actionality interpretation. The implication of this assumption in terms of Distributed Morphology is that there is a particular node in the syntactic derivation and the auxiliary element is inserted to that node through vocabulary insertion. I assume that that the Aspect node is a good candidate in Kazakh phrase structure for the insertion of Aux. This vocabulary insertion is illustrated in (14) below.

- (14) Vocabulary insertion
 Aspect [NONTRANSFORMATIVE] ↔ *žat-, tur-*

¹⁶ A reviewer remarks that *bar* ‘go’ can combine with the auxiliaries *jat-* and *şıq-* in its ‘conjoined verbal roots’ use. The restriction I discuss here is at work only when it is used in complex verb structures where the second verbal root is used as an auxiliary form.

¹⁷ Kirchner (1998: 326) points out that [v+IP+DI] structures convey indirect past reading.

Aspect [TRANSFORMATIVE] ↔ şiq-, qoy-, tūs-

The representation above does not predict the choice of a particular auxiliary for the aspect node in the syntactic derivation. For instance, we cannot predict which of the vocabulary elements specified for the insertion to the aspect node will be employed in the structure since the Asp [TRANSFORMATIVE] node can be filled by three different vocabulary items. At this point, I assume that membership of the particular node is an arbitrary property of the auxiliary root. This implies that each auxiliary root is specified for a feature encoding the membership of a particular class. This is illustrated in (15) below.

- (15) $\sqrt{\text{Aux}}_{[I]}$
 $\sqrt{\text{Aux}}_{[III]}$

(15) shows the feature specification for the auxiliary root via the indexes shown as subscripts. According to the representation above, a particular auxiliary item is specified with a diacritic feature encoding its class membership. At this point, following Embick and Halle (2005), I assume a concord relation between the auxiliary item and the main verb root similar to the one I assumed for the converb marker above. According to this assumption, the aspect node in the syntactic derivation will be filled by the insertion of a particular auxiliary element with a diacritic feature specification which is in accordance with the same diacritic feature specification on the main verb root. Let us look at the representation below to see how this assumption works.

- (16) Auxiliary insertion
 $\text{Aux} \rightarrow \text{Aux}_{[X]} / \sqrt{\text{VERB}}_{[X]}$

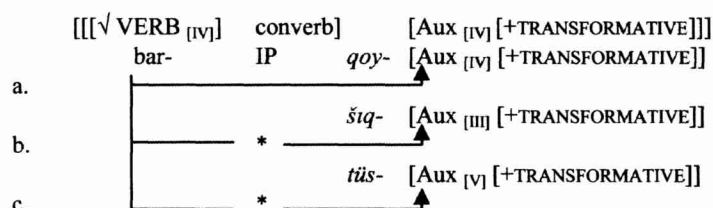
According to example (16) above, the auxiliary enters into a concord relation with the verb root and is inserted into the syntactic aspect node. It should be noted that the features in the aspect node and the features in the auxiliary should match before the concord relation takes place. Below are the different auxiliaries and their features.

- (17) a. žat- + NONTRANSFORMATIVE
 b. tur- + NONTRANSFORMATIVE
 c. şiq- + TRANSFORMATIVE
 d. qoy- + TRANSFORMATIVE
 e. tūs- + TRANSFORMATIVE

The auxiliary in (17c) above has a [+TRANSFORMATIVE] feature and can be inserted into the aspect node in syntactic derivations having the same feature. However, note that there are two more auxiliaries with the same feature competing for the insertion.

At this point, concord relation comes into play and blocks the insertion of the other two, which do not have the right diacritic feature.¹⁸ (18) shows this concord relation and how the other auxiliaries are blocked from insertion.

(18) *The concord relation*



According to the representation above, among the three auxiliaries with the same feature [+TRANSFORMATIVE], only *qoy-* is inserted into the syntactic node since only it can enter into the concord relation with the main verb as the ungrammaticality of the second and third concord relations in (18) above indicates. This is in accordance with the core assumptions of Distributed Morphology in that among the vocabulary items competing for the insertion, only the one which is the most specified among others is inserted.

To sum up this section, we discussed the status of the auxiliary element and argued that it exhibits both auxiliary like and light verb like characteristics. We further argued that membership of the particular node is an arbitrary property of the auxiliary root. For the choice of a particular auxiliary element, I assumed a concord relation with the main verb and the auxiliary.

6. Conclusion

The paper provided a brief theoretical discussion of the complex verb structures in Kazakh within the Distributed Morphology framework. The study is limited to the discussion of two main problems that appear in complex verb structures: (i) the converb marker, and (ii) the auxiliary item. For the status of the converb form, the paper claimed that it is a dissociated morpheme in that it is added to the derivation for morphological well-formedness requirements. For the double occurrence of *-IP* in some constructions, I have provided a concord relation between the converb and the tense markers. The second problem discussed in the article was the status of the second verbal element in complex verb structures. I proposed that the second verbal

¹⁸ Some native speakers find (18c) grammatical as one of the reviewers states. I assume that there is a dialect split for the grammaticality status of this example. For those who accept (18c), there might be additional interpretations alongside the 'arrived' meaning.

element is an auxiliary item whose occurrence is another manifestation of the concord relation with the main verb.

The discussion of the problems in the data and the explanations provided here supported one of the main claims of Distributed Morphology: the syntactic structure is subject to post-syntactic morphological operations at the PF component of the grammar. The paper also contributes to the theoretical description of Kazakh in that it helps to explain the nature of grammatical relations occurring within the complex verb structures in the language. However, the article suffers from limited data and acknowledges that there may be additional data which possibly include counter examples for the argumentation here. We hope to draw attention to the theoretical description of complex verb structures in language in order to understand the exact nature of grammatical relations.

Acknowledgements:

I thank Timur Kozyrev for providing me the examples which constitute the core data of this study and Éva Ágnes Csató and anonymous reviewers for helpful comments and suggestions.

Abbreviations:

ABL	ablative	COP	copula	PAST	past
ACC	accusative	DAT	dative	PL	plural
AGR	agreement	GEN	genitive	POSS	possessive
AOR	aorist,	I-PAST	indirect past	PRES	present
AUX	auxiliary	NOM	nominative	SG	singular
COM	commutative	PART	participle	V	verb
CONV	converb	P-PART	past participle		

References:

- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. & Dixon, Robert M. W. (eds.) 2006. *Serial verb constructions: a cross-linguistic typology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Anderson, Stephen R. 1992. *A-morphous morphology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Baker, Mark 1985. The mirror principle and morphosyntactic explanation. *Linguistic Inquiry* 16, 373–415.
- Bowern, Claire 2004. (Some notes on) light verbs and complex predicates in Turkic. In: Csirmaz, Aniko & Lee, Youngjoo & Walter, Mary Ann (eds.) 2004. *MITWPL 46: Proceedings of the First Workshop in Altaic Formal Linguistics*. Cambridge & Mass.: The MIT Press.
- Csató, Éva Ágnes 2003. A typology of Turkish double-verb constructions. In: Özsoy, A. Sumru et. al. (eds.) 2003. *Studies in Turkish linguistics*, Istanbul: Boğaziçi University Press. 105–110.
- Csató, Éva Ágnes & Johanson, Lars 1998. Turkish. In: Johanson, Lars & Csató, Éva Ágnes (eds.) *The Turkic languages*. London & New York: Routledge. 202–235.

- Demirci, Kerim 2006a. *Kazakh verbal structures and descriptive verbs*. Maryland: Dunwoody Press.
- Demirci, Kerim 2006b. Japonca'daki birleşik fiiller ve Türkçedeki fiillere benzerlikleri. *Bilig* 38, 123–136.
- Di Sciullo, Anne Maria & Williams, Edwin 1987. *On the definition of word*. Cambridge & Mass.: The MIT Press.
- Embick, David & Noyer, Rolf. 2001. Movement operations after syntax. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 32, 555–595.
- Embick, David & Halle, Morris 2005. On the status of stems in morphological theory. In: Geerts, Twan & Ginneken, Ivo van & Jacobs, Haike (eds.), *Proceedings of Going Romance 2003*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 37–62.
- Erdal, Marcel 2004. *A grammar of old Turkic*. Leiden & Boston: Brill.
- Halle, Morris & Marantz, Alec 1993. Distributed morphology and the pieces of inflection. In: Hale, Kenneth & Keyser, Samuel Jay (eds.) *The view from building 20: essays in linguistics in honor of sylvain bromberger*. Cambridge & Mass.: The MIT Press. 111–176.
- Halle, Morris & Marantz, Alec 1994. Some key features of distributed morphology. In: Carnie, Andrew & Harley, Heidi (eds.) *MIT working papers in linguistics 21: papers on phonology and morphology*. Cambridge & Mass.: The MIT Press. 275–288.
- Harley, Heidi & Noyer, Rolf 1998. Licensing in the non-lexicalist lexicon: nominalizations, vocabulary items and the encyclopedia. In: Harley, Heidi (ed) *MIT working papers in linguistics 32: papers from the UPenn/MIT roundtable on argument structure and aspect*. Cambridge & Mass.: The MIT Press. 119–137.
- Harley, Heidi & Noyer, Rolf 1999. Distributed morphology. *Glott International* 4, 3–9.
- Haspelmath, Martin 1995. The converb as a cross-linguistically valid category. In: Haspelmath, Martin & König, Ekkehard (eds.) *Converbs in cross-linguistic perspective: structure and meaning of adverbial verb forms, adverbial participles, gerunds*. Empirical approaches to language typology 13 Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 1–96.
- Johanson, Lars 1988. On the renewal and reinterpretation of 'instrumental' gerunds in Turkic. *Oriens* 31, 136–153.
- Johanson, Lars 1995. On Turkic converb clauses. In: Haspelmath, Martin & König, Ekkehard (eds.) *Converbs in cross-linguistic perspective: structure and meaning of adverbial verb forms-adverbial participles, gerunds*. Empirical approaches to language typology 13. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 313–347.
- Johanson, Lars 1998a. The structure of Turkic. In: Johanson, Lars & Csató, Éva Ágnes (eds.) *The Turkic languages*. London & New York: Routledge. 30–66.
- Johanson, Lars 1998b. The history of Turkic. In Johanson, L. and Csató, É. (eds.), *The Turkic Languages*, 81–125. London & New York: Routledge. 85–125.
- Johanson, Lars 2002. *Türk dili haritası üzerinde keşifler*. Çeviren Nurettin Demir & Emine Yılmaz. (Grafiker Yayınları 7, Araştırma ve İnceleme Dizisi 5.) Ankara.
- Johanson, Lars 2004. On Turkic transformativizers and nontransformativizers. *Turkic Languages* 8, 180–190.
- Johanson, Lars 2005. Pyramids of spatial relators in northeastern Turkic and its neighbours. Ms. University of Mainz.
- Kirchner, Mark 1998. Kazakh and Karakalpak. In: Johanson, Lars & Csató, Éva Ágnes (eds.) *The Turkic languages*. London & New York: Routledge. 318–332.
- Kornfilt, Jaklin 1997. *Turkish*. London: Routledge.

- Lapointe, Steven G. 1980. *A theory of grammatical agreement*. [Ph.D. dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst].
- Özsoy, A. Sumru 1999. *Turkish*. Istanbul: Boğazici University Publications.
- Selkirk, Elisabeth 1982. *The syntax of words*. Cambridge & Mass.: The MIT Press.

Yakut verbs of thinking in comparison with Russian verbs

Vladimir Monastirev & Svetlana Prokopieva

Monastirev, Vladimir & Prokopieva, Svetlana 2012. Yakut verbs of thinking in comparison with Russian verbs. *Turkic Languages* 16, 257–264.

The present paper deals with Yakut verbs of thinking and their equivalences and correspondences to Russian verbs. The purpose is to reveal some universal and specific semantic characteristics. The verbs in question belong to the lexico-semantic group of verbs of a certain mental activity. Their meaning is ‘to reason, to infer’ as the highest form of reality reflection. Yakut verbs of thinking are lexemes such as *санаа-* ‘to think, to conceive of’, *оһдөө-* ‘to remember’, *толкуйдаа-* ‘to direct one’s mind’ and *бул-* ‘to have an idea’. This lexico-semantic group also involves variants of polysemantic verbs.

Vladimir Monastirev, Department of Yakut Lexicography, Institute of Humanitarian Studies and Problems of Indigenous Peoples of the North, Siberian Division, Russian Academy of Sciences, ul. Petrovskogo, 1, 6770027 Yakutsk, Russia. E-mail: dimamon92@mail.ru

Svetlana Prokopieva, North-East Federal University, Institute of Language and Culture of Peoples of the North-East of Russian Federation, ul. Kulakovskogo 42, 677027 Yakutsk, Russia. E-mail: dsmplana@mail.ru

The verb *санаа-*

According to the *Bolšoj tolkovyj slovar’ jakutskogo jazyka* ‘The large explanatory dictionary of the Yakut language’ (Slepcov ed. 1972, 2005, 2007), the verb *санаа-* ‘to think, to conceive of’ is represented by ten lexico-semantic variants. Seven of its variants characterize it as the verb of thinking that is functionally equivalent to the Russian verb *думать* ‘to think about; to be concerned about’. We will now analyze the equivalence more closely. Yakut *санаа-* and Russian *думать* are equivalent with respect to the meaning ‘to think of, to direct one’s mind towards’. Compare: *Мин уубуттан уйгууран инникини санаатым* ‘I was sleepless thinking about the future’ cf. *Он о чём-то все время думал и так был занят своими мыслями, что когда его спрашивали о чём-нибудь, то он просил повторить вопрос* ‘He was thinking about something all the time, and he was so deep in his thoughts that when he was asked about anything he asked to repeat the question’.

The third and the forth meanings of *санаа-* are equivalent to the second meaning of *думать*, namely ‘to make a mental effort, to come to an idea, to decide, understand, realize in one’s mind’. Compare: *Мин мантан барыахтын саныбын* ‘I’m

thinking of leaving this place' cf. *Я думаю, сегодня нам надо уехать* 'I think we should leave today'.

The seventh meaning of *санаа-* is equivalent to the fourth meaning of *думать*, namely 'to want, to desire, to intend to do'. Compare: *Тыаҕа үлэли барыахпын саныыбын* 'I intend to work in the country' cf. *И не думаю с ним спорить* 'I don't intend to argue with him'.

The equivalent meanings differ with respect to the frequency of use of *санаа-* and *думать*. Thus some meanings of *санаа-* are ranked lower than the equivalent meanings of *думать*.

A further lexico-semantic variant of *санаа-* 'to remember, to keep in mind', e.g. *Ньургунун оҕо сааһын доҕотторун мэлдьи саныыр* 'Nyurguhun always remembers the friends from his childhood' corresponds to the meaning of the memory verb *помнить* 'to keep in one's mind, e.g. *Я помню чудное мгновение* 'I remember a beautiful moment'.

In some cases the meaning of *санаа-* 'to think of, to have a particular attitude', e.g. *Мин кинилэри олус күндүтүк саныыбын* 'I think of them very warmly', corresponds to the figurative meaning of Russian *глядеть* 'to think of, to direct one's mind towards something', e.g. *Гляжу на прошлое с тоской*. 'I look back on the past with yearning'. The sixth meaning of *санаа-*, 'to recall, to call something to mind', e.g. *Мин сайын алааһым хатыннарарын көрдөхпүнэ оҕо сааспын саныыбын* 'When I see the birch trees of my alaa in summertime I remember my childhood' corresponds to the figurative meaning of Russian *восстанавливать* 'to imagine something forgotten, to bring to one's mind an awareness of something from the past', e.g. *Я читаю эти старые письма и восстанавливаю в памяти всё, что было дорого* 'I am reading these old letters and recall everything that was so dear'. The eighth meaning of *санаа-* is implicitly mental, 'to think of something that was good', e.g. *Хаһан эмэ үтүөбүн санаар* 'Think of the days that were good with me and be thankful.'

The verb *санаа-* has the causative *санат-* with the separate meaning 'to remind somebody of something', e.g. *Бу олус эйэбэс, сааһыра барбыт дьахтар ийэбин олус күүскэ санатта* 'This very friendly old woman reminded me of my mother'. It corresponds to the Russian verb of thinking *напомнить* 'to recall memories, to make somebody recall', e.g. *Эти художники напомнили мне, хотя бы внешне, лучших моих друзей ранней молодости* 'These artists reminded me of the best friends of my youth at least in their appearance.'

The verb *санаа-* forms analytical constructions at the phraseological level. Examples:

дии санаа- 'to conclude, to recognize', e.g. *Иван Николаевич, эн итини туох дии саныыгын?* 'Ivan Nikolaevich, what do you think about that?'. It corresponds to the Russian mental verb *полагать* 'to suppose, conclude', e.g. *Я полагаю, что он прав* 'I believe he's right'.

санаан кэл- 'to recall, e.g. *Мин олох туһунан, дьол туһунан олус уустук этиилэри иһиттэхпинэ төрөөбүт алааспын санаан кэлэбин* 'When I hear very complicated thoughts about life, happiness I recall my dear alaas'. It corresponds to the second meaning of *вспомнить* 'to bring to one's mind suddenly an awareness of the past', e.g. *Проезжая мимо школы, он вспомнил свою первую любовь* 'Passing by the school, he recalled his first love'.

санаан көр- 'to consider carefully, to think over', e.g. *Эн санаан көр, арай баран хааллаххына хайдах буолуоххун?* 'Think over what happens to you when you just leave?'. It corresponds to *помышлять* 'to consider the possibility of a course of action', e.g. *Он и не помышлял о поездке в Америку* 'He has never thought of going to the U.S.'.

санаан таҕыс- 'to think intensively and constantly of something', e.g. *Ийэтэ оҕотун санаан тахсара* 'Mother was thinking of her child'. It corresponds to *раздумывать* 'to think a lot and intensive of something', e.g. *Хватит раздумывать, соглашайся!* 'Stop thinking, give your consent!'.
саныы түс- 'to come suddenly to one's mind', e.g. *Ньукулай эмискэ бойобуой доҕотторун саныы түстэ.* 'Suddenly, Nikolay thought of his friends from the war.'

It corresponds to *задуматься* 'to think deeply, to be absorbed in thought', e.g. *Студент задумался о предстоящей сдаче экзаменационной сессии* 'The student thought of the coming examinations'.

The combination *эргитэ санаа*- 'to think carefully' involves the converb *эргит-э* of *эргит*- 'to turn', e.g. *Мин эмиз тыл этиэхтин баҕарабын да, диринник эргитэ санаан баран тутуннум.* 'I also wanted to speak, but, thinking it over deeply, I refrained from it.' It corresponds to *обдумать* 'to think, to consider carefully', e.g. *Прежде чем принять решение об отъезде, обдумай свой поступок* 'Before making a decision about the trip, think it over'.

Phraseological units in which a component is a verb of thinking take a special place. Thus *анныгынан санаа*- means 'to consider somebody unworthy, to regard someone lower than oneself', e.g. *Күһүни хаһан даҕаны сэнээбэт, анныгынан санаабат, улахамсыйбат, куолу бара.* 'You should not humiliate others. You should not think of yourself higher or lower than others'. *Хото санаа* 'be sure to manage something', e.g. *Сергей үлэни тоҕо эрэ кыайыам диэн хото саныыр* 'Sergey is sure that he can somehow deal with (manage) the job'.

The universal Russian verb of thinking, *думать*, is represented by five lexico-semantic variants in Ožegov & Švedova (1999). Numbers 1, 2 and 4 have equivalents to the semes of *санаа*-. Number 3 'blame, suspect' is not codified by *санаа*-. This meaning is expressed by *уорбалаа*- 'to suspect', *күтүрээ*- 'to suspect, to impute a bad deed'. Meaning 5 of *думать* 'to take care, to worry' corresponds to the fourth meaning of Yakut *толкуйдаа*- 'to worry'.

The verb *думать* is characterized by the absence of analytical constructions and fixed word complexes in the form of modal phrases.

The verb *өйдөө-*

The verb *өйдөө-* has three lexico-semantic variants and is formed from the noun *өй* 'sense, reason, memory' by the marker *-дөө*, a variant of *лаа*. All three meanings express the concept of thinking.

Its main meaning is equivalent to the meaning of Russian *помнить* 'to remember, not to forget'.

Its second meaning 'remember something from the past' corresponds to the first meaning of *вспомнить* 'to recall in memory, to turn to the past in one's mind' and the figurative meaning of *восстановить* 'to imagine, to reconstruct'.

The third meaning, 'to understand, to be aware of the true meaning', corresponds to the main meaning of *понять* 'to perceive the intended meaning'.

The verb *өйдөө-* also forms analytic constructions with the meaning of thinking.

Examples:

өйдөөн кэбис-, e.g. *Эн аҕан эппитин күүскэ өйдөөн кэбис* 'You should keep the words of your father in your memory very well', is equivalent to *запомнить* 'to keep in memory';

өйдөөн көр- 'to understand, to be aware' corresponds to *понять* 'to perceive the meaning', e.g. *Эн өйдөөн көр, дьыала хайдах буолуобун* 'You should be aware of what is going to be';

өйдөөн кэл- 'to return in one's mind to the forgotten', e.g. *Барыхтаахпын өйдөөн кэлиим мин бүгүн* 'Today I suddenly remembered that I have to go', corresponds to the second meaning of *вспомнить* 'to return suddenly in one's mind to something forgotten';

өйдүү сырыт-, e.g. *Эн эппит тылларгын куруук өйдүү сылдыабын* 'I always/continually recall the words you said', is equivalent to *помнить* 'to keep in one's memory, not to forget'.

Because of the combination of *өйдөө-* and *санаа-*, the constructions *өйдөөн кэл-* and *өйдүү сырыт-* have given rise to *өйдөөн-санаан кэл-* and *өйдүү-саныы сырыт-* with the meanings 'to remember suddenly' and 'to keep in memory'.

The verb *толкуйдаа-*

The verb *толкуйдаа-* is a loanword from Russian *толковать*. It derives from *толкуй* 'thought, idea, belief, intention, intent' + *-даа*. The verb *толковать* expresses verbal activity (speech transaction, communication). The Yakut polysemantic verb *толкуйдаа-* has four main lexico-semantic meanings. It is equivalent to the main meaning of *думать* 'to direct one's mind' and corresponds to *мыслить* 'to reason'. The third meaning is 'to make up, to invent', corresponding to *придумать* 'to invent, to find, to suppose to do'. The fourth meaning is 'to give oneself trouble', corresponding to the fifth meaning of *думать*.

As all Yakut verbs mentioned above, *толкуйдаа-* forms analytical constructions with the meaning of thinking. Thus *толкуйдаан көр* 'to think over thoroughly' cor-

responds to Russian *обдумывать* 'to think, to reason' and *раздумывать* 'to think during some time'.

The combination *толкуйдаан таһаар* can mean 'to come to a decision after long and profound thoughts'. It corresponds to *решать* 'to conclude after thinking'.

The verb *бил-*

The verb *бил-* is represented by eight lexico-semantic variants, four of them being verbs of thinking. The verb *бил-* has equivalents and correspondences with the Russian verb *знать*, which has five lexico-semantic variants, three of them having mental meaning. The second meaning of *бил-* is equivalent to the meaning of *знать* 'to have an idea'. The third meaning of *бил-* corresponds to the third meaning of *знать* 'to be acquainted with'.

The sixth meaning of *бил-* 'to consider carefully, to pay special attention to' corresponds to Russian *вникать* 'to consider deeply and attentively'. The eighth meaning, 'to be able to do' corresponds to the second meaning of *знать* 'to possess some knowledge'.

Other verbs

Polysemantic verbs complementing the picture of the conceptual sphere of mentality:

булкулун- 'to be confused, in doubt', e.g. *Тутуу салалтата туох да быһаарыылаах дьаһалы ылыабын булбакка, булкулла, ыгылыа олобут* 'The construction management was confused by not finding any good solution';

бутулун- 'to have doubt concerning the essence', e.g. *Маша араас кэпсээннэртэн хараарчы бутулан хаалла* 'In the end, Masha was confused because of different rumors';

мун- 'to get confused, to get entangled', e.g. *Куока эппиэт була охсубакка, мунан хаалбыт киһи курдук, ол-бу диэки мэлээриннээтэ* 'Not having found the corresponding answer, Koka got confused';

мунаар- 'to be in doubt, to hesitate', e.g. *Оҕонньор мунаарбыт быһыынан бытыгын имэринэ олорбохтоото* 'The old man was sitting at a loss stroking his beard'.

мунаахсый- 'to doubt, to hesitate', e.g. "Төһө түүлээҕи атыылаабыппытын барытын суруйтарарга дылы гыммыппыт дии?", - диэн оҕонньор мунаахсыйа түһэн ылла 'We have recorded how much fur we sold, haven't we? - The old man hesitated';

саарбахтаа- 'to be uncertain, to question', e.g. *Уолу үлэбэ ылыабын улаханньык саарбахтаан олодор* 'He was very uncertain if he should hire the boy';

сабаҕалаа- 'to guess, to suppose', e.g. *Киһэ диэкинэн ардах түһүө диэн сабаҕалаата* 'He thought it might rain by the evening';

сабаҕалан- 'to be supposed in one's mind', e.g. *Саха сиригэр репрессияҕа 3000 кэриҥэ киһи хабыллыбыта сабаҕаланар* (It is supposed that about 3000 people were subjected to repression in Yakutia);

чинчий- 'to study, to investigate', e.g. *Низмэс учуонайдара саха тылын бастакынан чинчийбиттэрэ* 'The German scientists were the first to study the Yakut language'.

Fixed word complexes

A word may lack a particular meaning and be used as a component of a limited number of fixed word complexes. One case in point is *сыный*, i.e. *сыны-йан аах*- 'to read, thinking deeply', e.g. *Бу кэрчиги үчүгэйдик сыныйан аах* 'Read this passage of the text attentively'; *сыныйан үөрэт* 'to study in detail and carefully' *Устаабы бастаан сыныйан үөрэтиэххэ наада* 'First of all, the statute must be studied carefully and in detail'.

The meaning can be included in the paradigm of the regular polysemy of verbs of motion, which is attested by a number of examples, such as (*ис*) *иһигэр киир*- 'to go deep into', *санаан кэл*- 'to come to one's mind', *санаан табыс* 'to think much and constantly', *санаа киирэн кэллэ* 'a thought gradually coming to the mind', *санааҕа кэллэ*- 'to come to an idea', *өйдөөн кэл*- 'to come back in one's mind', *өйдүү сырыт* 'to keep in one's memory', *өйүгэр көтөн түстэ* 'suddenly come to the mind', *толкуйдаан табыс*- 'to think much and intensely'.

These complexes represent the process of thinking independent of a human being as a passive observer of the event. A characteristic feature of mental meanings derived from the motion verbs is that they relate a motion not to the visual perception of something external, but to the perception of what is happening inside the person in the domain of mind.

Certain verbs of motion, *киир*- 'to enter', *кэл*- 'to come', *табыс*- 'to exit', *түс*- 'to come down', and *сырыт*- 'to go', together with verbs of thinking form phraseological units:

(*ис*) *иһигэр (дьингэр) киир*- 'to go deep into', e.g. *Ис иһигэр киирдэххэ бу улахан бутуурдаах дьыала* 'If we go deep into it, it's a very complicated case';

санааҕа кэл- 'to come to an idea', e.g. *Бу дьыаланы хайаан да тииһэбэр тиирдэр санааҕа кэллэ* 'He came to the idea that he must finish this case-whatever it costs';

санаан кэл- 'to come to one's mind', e.g. *Мин олох туһунан, дьол туһунан олус уустук этиилэри иһиттэхпинэ, төрөөбүт алааспын санаан кэлэбин*. 'When I hear very complex thoughts about life, happiness, I come to my native alaas in my mind';

санаан табыс- 'to think much and constantly', e.g. *Ийэтэ оҕотун санаан тахсара* 'Mother was thinking of the child';

саныы түс 'to think suddenly', e.g. *Хаһан эрэ былыргы үйэҕэ хараҥа туманҥа сүппүтү саныы түһэбин* 'I suddenly think of the long disappeared dark fog';

өйдөөн кэл- 'to come back in one's mind', e.g. *Барыахтаахпын өйдөөн кэллим мин бүгүн* 'I remembered that I have to go';

өйдүү сырыт- 'to keep in one's memory', e.g. *Кэрэ түүлү көрбүттүү кэлин өйдүү сылдьабым* 'I'll keep it in my memory as a beautiful dream';

толкуйдаан табыс- 'to think much and intensely', e.g. *Оҥорбут бырайыага табыллыан дуу, табыллымыан дуу толкуйдаан табыста* 'He has been thinking whether the project initiated by him would be successful or not'

There are cases of double use of motion verbs such as *киир-* 'to enter' + *кэл-* 'to come' cf. *киирэн кэл-* 'to appear', *көт-* 'to fly' + *түс-* 'to fall' cf. *көтөн түс-* 'to run in';

санаа киирэн кэл- 'a thought gradually coming to the mind', e.g. *Кэлиэх-барыах санаата киирэн кэллэ* 'A thought of going out came to his mind';

өйбөр киирэн кэл- 'gradually return to one's memory', e.g. *Урукку олобум ыар түгээннэрэ өйбөр киирэн кэллилэр* 'Hard moments of my past life returned to my memory'.

өйүгэр көтөн түс- 'suddenly come to the mind', e.g. *Эмискэ өйүгэр били ылыммыт санаата көтөн түстэ*. 'The accepted decision suddenly came to his mind'.

The common seme shared by the lexico-semantic variants of the verbs of thinking *санаа-*, *өйдөө-*, *толкуйдаа-* and *бил-* is 'to reason, to make conclusions, to think'.

Conclusions

The Yakut verbs of thinking have a wider polysemy than the Russian verbs of thinking: *санаа-* ten (seven lexico-semantic variants with mental meaning), *бил-* eight (four lexico-semantic variants with mental meaning), *думать* seven (four lexico-semantic variants with mental meaning), *знать* five (three lexico-semantic variants with mental meaning).

This means that seven of ten lexico-semantic variants of *санаа-* characterize it as a verb of thinking. The verb has equivalent relations to the main meaning of the verb *думать*. The third and fourth lexico-semantic meanings of *санаа* have equivalent relations to the second meaning of *думать*. The seventh meaning of *санаа-* has equivalent relations to the fourth meaning of *думать*.

The main meaning of the verb *өйдөө-* is equivalent to the main meaning of the verb *помнить*.

The main meaning of the verb *толкуйдаа-* is equivalent to the main meaning of *думать*. The second lexico-semantic variant of *бил-* is equivalent to the main meaning of *знать*.

The lexico-semantic variants of the Yakut verbs of thinking also correspond to particular meanings of *мыслить* 'to reason', *придумать* 'to invent, to find, to suppose to do', *понять* 'to perceive the intended meaning', *вспомнить* 'to bring to one's mind suddenly to an awareness of the past', *вникать* 'to consider deeply and attentively' and to figurative meanings of *глядеть* 'to think of, to direct one's mind towards something', *восстанавливать* 'to imagine something forgotten, to bring to one's mind an awareness of something from the past' and *восстановить* 'to imagine, to reconstruct'.

The second lexico-semantic variant of the verb *санаа-* corresponds to the figurative meaning of *глядеть*.

The sixth lexico-semantic variant of the verb *санаа-* corresponds to the figurative meaning of *восстанавливать*.

The second lexico-semantic variant of *өйдөө-* corresponds to the verb of memory *вспомнить* and the figurative meaning of *восстановить*.

The third lexico-semantic variant *өйдөө-* corresponds to *понять*.

The second lexico-semantic variant of *толкуйдаа-* corresponds to *мыслить*.

The third lexico-semantic variant of the verb *толкуйдаа* corresponds to *придумать*.

The fourth lexico-semantic variant of the verb *толкуйдаа-* corresponds to the fifth meaning of *думать*.

The third lexico-semantic variant of the verb *бил-* corresponds to the third meaning of *знать*.

The sixth lexico-semantic variant of *бил-* corresponds to *вникать*.

The eighth lexico-semantic variant of *бил-* corresponds to the second meaning of *знать*.

In analytical constructions and fixed word complexes, the Yakut verbs of thinking correspond not only to verbs of thinking, but also to verbs of memory, emotional evaluation and decision.

The processes of semantic reanalysis of verbs of thinking in analytical constructions and fixed word complexes are of great interest.

Verbs of motion such as *киир-* 'to enter', *кэл-* 'to come', *табыс-* 'to exit', *түс-* 'to come down' and *сырыт-* 'to go' are used as verbs of thinking. Their peculiarity is that they relate motion not to the visual perception of something external, but to the perception of something happening inside a person's mind.

Yakut verbs of thinking are characterized by rather wide unspecified meanings. They are thus used in analytic forms and fixed constructions with the purpose of finer specification of their meanings. The comparison of their semantic structures to those of Russian verbs shows the universal and specific traits of the lexico-semantic variants.

References

Yakut data are taken from the following sources:

Slepcev, Petr A. (ed.) 1972. *Jakutsko-russkij slovar'*. Moskva: Sovetskaja Ėnciklopedija.

Slepcev, Petr A. (ed.) 2005. *Bolšoj tolkovyj slovar' jakutskogo jazyka*, 2. Novosibirsk : Nauka.

Slepcev, Petr A. (ed.) 2010. *Bolšoj tolkovyj slovar' jakutskogo jazyka*, 7. Novosibirsk: Nauka.

Russian data are taken from the following sources:

Babenko, Ljudmila G. (ed.) 2006. *Bolšoj tolkovyj slovar' russkix glagolov: Ideografičeskoe opisanie*. Moskva: Ast-Press.

Ožegov S. I. & Švedova N. J. (ed.) 1999. *Tolkovyj slovar' russkogo jazyka*. Moskva: Asbukovnik.

Review

Martine Robbeets: Review of András Róna-Tas & Árpád Berta † (eds.), *West Old Turkic. Turkic Loanwords in Hungarian*. (Turcologica 84.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011. 1494 pages, xx black-white illustrations. 24 x 17 cm., linen book cover. ISSN 0177-4743, ISBN 978-3-447-06260-2.

Martine Robbeets, *Seminar für Allgemeine und Vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft & Seminar für Orientkunde, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, DE-55099 Mainz, Germany*. E-mail: martine_robbeets@hotmail.com

1. The Hungarian window on West Old Turkic

In Turcological literature, the term “Old Turkic” is often restricted to what should be called “East Old Turkic” (Johanson 2001), the varieties of Turkic spoken between the eighth and the thirteenth century in Central and East Asia. The historical varieties of the Turkic languages spoken west of the Ural mountain range and the Ural River are generally swept under the carpet because they are too poorly documented. Historical records of these languages are mainly restricted to non-fully deciphered inscriptions and onomastic material scattered throughout non-Turkic sources. Moreover, historical comparative reconstruction is hindered by the fact that Chuvash is the only surviving representative of the western Turkic languages.

The study *West Old Turkic. Turkic loanwords in Hungarian* by András Róna-Tas and Árpád Berta improves this situation by using the Turkic loanwords preserved in Hungarian as a source for the reconstruction of West Old Turkic. Given the early dissolution of Turkic into an eastern, so-called “Common Turkic” and a western, so-called “Oghuric” branch, a better understanding of West Old Turkic will also lead to a more accurate reconstruction of proto-Turkic. Since this book opens an alternative window on West Old Turkic and thus paves the way for improving proto-Turkic reconstruction, it represents a major step forward in the field of Turkic historical linguistics.

Apart from students and scholars of Turkic languages and linguistics, *West Old Turkic. Turkic Loanwords in Hungarian* will also appeal to people interested in the history of the Hungarian language because it injects the advances made in Turcology over the last twenty years into Hungarian etymology and offers a concise history of the Hungarian language, including a list of core-etymologies reflecting (Finno-)Ugric affiliation.

The authors' wish expressed in the preface (p. viii) to "offer this book to PhD students in Turkology and East European Studies" is probably too modest an aspiration because not only scholars of Turkic or East European languages will benefit from reading this book; it will also be of interest to historical linguists in general. In the present review, I will concentrate on the merits that this research has for linguists who want to approach genealogical and contact studies from an integrated perspective. In Section 2, I will suggest a typology of the Turkic loanverbs in Hungarian and infer criteria to distinguish copies from cognates in cases of remote linguistic relationship. Verbs are particularly telling for this purpose, because they resist code-copying more successfully than nouns. Therefore, and in view of the limited space, I have chosen to restrict myself to an analysis of the verbs only. In Section 3, I will apply these criteria to a much debated case of remote relationship, namely the Transeurasian controversy. Finally, I will present my conclusions in Section 4, arguing that the nature of the verbal correlations in the Turkic-Hungarian contact case significantly differs from the ways in which verbs are shared across the Transeurasian languages.

2. Typology of the Turkic loanverbs in Hungarian

2.1. Contact setting

Throughout their history, the Turkic people have been massively on the move, with significant streams of migration going from East to West. From the fifth century AD on, Oghuric tribes, such as the Ogurs, Avars, Khazars and Bulgars arrived in Eastern Europe and from the ninth century on, written sources mention the presence of non-Oghuric tribes in this area, such as the Pecheneg, the Oguz and the Cumanian people. Referring to West Old Turkic (p. 1071) as "those Turkic languages spoken west of the Ural Mountains and the Ural River from the 5th century A.D. [until] ... the Mongolian invasion of this part of Eurasia [1241 AD]", the authors define it in an areal sense, including languages of Common Turkic descent. As such, the lexicon with West Old Turkic loanwords in Hungarian lists 37 words of Cumanian origin and 2 words of debated Cumanian origin.¹ However, by reconstructing asterisked West Old Turkic words, the authors imply that West Old Turkic represents a genealogical grouping, notably the common ancestor from which all Oghuric languages descend. Perhaps this confusion could have been prevented by restricting the

1 Omitting the entries H *bugâ* dial 'ox; also ox, goat, ram without or with small or unusual horns; stupid' < **buga* ← Cum **buga* 'ox' and H *kömödörög* 'breast strap' ← Cum **kömlüdürik* 'breast strap', the authors (p. 1145, 1157, 1340–1341) count only 35 loanwords of Cumanian origin. They count the entry H *tābor* 'camp, military camp' < **tabur* ← MT *tabur* 'army, military camp' ← Mo *dabkur* as a loanword of Cumanian origin on p. 1341, although the source is described as "an Oghuz language" in the lexicon (p. 839). Therefore, I consider this entry as an instance of debated Cumanian origin.

use of “West Old Turkic” to the areal sense and using “Oghuric” in the genealogical sense.

In the fifth and sixth centuries, the Oghuric languages first came into contact with Ancient Hungarian (ca. 1000 BC–1000 AD), which separated from the Ob-Ugric branch about one and a half millennia earlier. Between the sixth and the tenth century, the Hungarians lived with and among the Turks, which resulted in intensive language contact. After the tenth century, contacts between West Old Turkic and Old Hungarian (1000–1350 AD) became looser, although there still was language contact with Cumanian people, some of whom spoke a Kipchak language and lived to the east of the Hungarian territory from the eleventh until the sixteenth century. The contact was ultimately interrupted by the Mongolian invasion of Hungary in 1241, which also marked the end of the Old Turkic period.

As such, the contact setting between West Old Turkic and Hungarian is of particular interest to the historical linguist. First, it can be characterized as long and intensive: it lasted for eight hundred years and Turkic-Hungarian cohabitation implied a high degree of bilingualism. Moreover, code-copying was favoured because of a high degree of structural similarity between languages of the Transeurasian and the Uralic type. Third, the contact is prehistorical in the sense that it started at a remote time in history, predating the first (decipherable) written sources of West Old Turkic and Hungarian. And, finally, the contact was followed by roughly half a millennium during which Hungarian escaped Turkic influence, ample time to shape the Turkic loanwords in its own way. Although the Turkic influence on Middle Hungarian (1350–1550 AD) was renewed through the Ottoman occupation of Hungary in 1526, the Turkic impact rapidly decreased and lasted only until the end of the seventeenth century. This peculiar case of contact can help us draw inferences about the plausibility of other, similar contact scenarios, such as the prehistorical contacts that are believed to motivate the similarities among the Transeurasian languages.

2.2. Verbal copies

The bulk of this book (p. 53–1008) consists of a lexicon containing all Hungarian words for which the authors have found a plausible West Old Turkic model. Even if this massive word stock builds on previous treatments of Old Turkic loanwords in Hungarian such as those by Gombocz (1912) and Ligeti (1986) and re-evaluates the proposals made in two Hungarian etymological dictionaries by Benkő (1967–1984; 1993–1997), the descriptions are unprecedented in accuracy and detail.

Whereas the authors (p. 1143) count 419 main entries in the lexicon, 72 of which are verbs, my count has resulted in 414 main entries, 66 of which are verbs. For a full list of verbal copies and their distribution across different subtypes, I refer to the appendix below. The reason for the discrepancy in counting the main entries may have to do with whether one treats Hungarian entries that are redirected to a single Turkic model as different entries or not. The difference in counting verbal copies,

then, probably depends on how one defines a verbal copy. In my definition, a verbal copy is a contact-induced replication of a verb stem from the model language as a verb stem in the basic language. By consequence, I do not consider West Old Turkic non-verbs that are copied and verbalized in Hungarian as verbal copies, e.g. H *koldul-* ‘to beg, to mendicate’ < **koldu* + *-(V)l-* VBLZ ← WOT **koldu* < **kol-* ‘to pray, ask for’ + *-dU* NMLZ; H *tāplāl-* ‘to feed, to nourish’ < **tāplā* + *-(V)l-* VBLZ < **taplay* ← WOT **taplay* ‘satisfaction’; H *üdül-* ‘to refresh oneself, to rest, to become cured’ < *idül-* < **edül-* < **edü* + *-(V)l-* VBLZ ← WOT **edü* ‘good, morally good’.

a) Debated verbal copies

Our corpus of 66 verbs can further be reduced by eliminating 13 verbs which the authors mark as “of debated Turkic origin” (e.g. H *ārik-* ‘to decay, putrefy, go bad (of food, water)’ < **ār-* + *-ik-* ← WOT **ar-* ‘to become exhausted’ has semantic and phonetic difficulties and is alternatively derived from PFUgr. **arə-* ‘to become tired’); 2 cases in which the Turkic model cannot unequivocally be reconstructed as a verbal base (H *šēr-* in *šērt-* ‘to hurt’, *šēriül-* ‘to become hurt’ < **šir-* ← WOT **šir-* < **šir-* < **sir-*, but this base is mainly reflected as a nominal base **sir* ‘pain’, for instance in the denominal verbalization EOT *sizla-* ‘to ache’), 1 instance of contamination with an original Finno-Ugric root (H *ēr-* ‘to arrive, to reach, get to’ < **er-* ← WOT **er-* ‘to reach, arrive’, but the Turkic model has only contaminated the Hungarian reflex of PFUgr. **šārə-* ‘to reach, arrive’); and 1 case in which the copied verb base is only reflected in a supposedly derived nominalization in Hungarian (H *örvén-* ‘whirlpool, eddy’ < **ör-* + *-vĀn* NMLZ < **ör-* < **eür-* < **ewir-* < *eyir* ← WOT **āyir-* ‘to twist’). This elimination process leads to a core of 49 indisputable verbal copies.

b) The model is morphologically complex

Out of these 49 verbal copies, the authors list 25 cases in which the West Old Turkic model has a morphologically complex origin, whereas the Hungarian copy does not. In 4 cases, the assumed morphological complexity is less transparent. One example is H *törtēnik-* ‘to happen, to occur’ < *törtēn-* < **törtün-* ← WOT **tör(ü)tün-* < **törü-* ‘to come into existence’ + *-(X)t-* CAUS + *-(X)n-* ANTICAUS), in which the Turkic model verb can be analyzed as an anticausative ‘to happen’ from a causative ‘to bring into existence’ of a verb ‘to come into existence’, while the Hungarian copy lacks this analysis.

c) The copy is accommodated with a native suffix in the basic code

Out of 49 verbal copies, there are 15 instances in which the verb stem is indirectly inserted in Hungarian. This means that the verbal copy is accommodated with a specific, native Hungarian suffix and lacks alternant stems or roots reflecting an original bare verb root. Hence, it is impossible to reconstruct the bare verb root without accommodating suffix in Ancient Hungarian. Thus, entries such H *kēšik-* ‘to be,

become late', H *sökik-* 'to leap, to jump, to escape, to flee' and H *borul-* 'to overturn into, to get overturned, get overcast' that were attested as direct insertions of the shape *kēš-*, *sök-* and *bor^o-/bur^o-* before they were derived are not counted here.

Only a limited set of four suffixes is used for the accommodation of Turkic verb stems, i.e. H *-(V)l-*, *-(A)l-*, *-(V)d-* and *-ik-*. The denominal verb suffixes H *-(V)l-* or *-(A)l-* occur in 4 instances, e.g. H *čātol-* 'to add, to join; to buckle up sg' < **čatol-* < **čat-* + *-(V)l-* VBLZ ← WOT **čat-* 'to bring together, to join'. According to the authors (p. 1139–1140), *-(V)l-* is the common loan verbalizer, also accommodating copies from Germanic and Slavic languages. However, the verbalizer *-(A)l-* also displays this function in Hungarian, e.g. Eng. *realize* → H *realiz-ál* 'to realize' (Farkas & Kniezsa 2002: 285; Wohlgemuth 2009: 96). The deverbal frequentative *-(V)d-* occurs in 5 instances, e.g. H *erñed-* 'to tire, lose vitality, slacken, relax' < **erin-* + *-(V)d-* FREQ ← WOT **ärin-* 'to be lazy, indolent'.² The suffix H *-ik-* which originally had reflexive-anticausative meaning and developed into a marker of indefiniteness in what is known as "the *-ik-* conjugation" (p. 1136–1139), occurs in 6 instances, e.g. H *toyik-* 'to lay eggs' < **tuik-* < **tuyik-* < **tuy-* + H *-ik-* ← WOT **tuy-*, *toy-* 'to be born'. Note that a denominal verb suffix is not the only means that languages across the world use for accommodating verbal copies. Since the purpose of the marker is to add valency, thereby assigning "verbhood" to the word, many languages use factitives or causatives or suffixes that assign the verb to a particular class of verbs (Wohlgemuth 2009: 97–101). From this perspective, the choice of the deverbal frequentative *-(V)d-* or the indefinite conjugational marker H *-ik-* as loan verb markers makes sense.

d) The meaning of the copy is restricted to secondary semantics of the model

Out of 49 verbal copies, there are 19 instances in which the meaning of the Hungarian verb corresponds to the secondary meaning of the Turkic model. The primary meaning of the Turkic verb has thus not been copied into Hungarian, e.g. H *bāsik-* 'to fuck' < **bas-* ← WOT **bas-* 'to press, oppress', whereby most Turkic varieties have developed the secondary meaning 'to fuck'. The primary meaning 'to press, oppress' is not attested in Hungarian.

e) "Clean" copies

Only 6 verbal copies are "clean" in the sense that they combine a simplex Turkic model with direct insertion and a correspondence to the primary meaning. Out of these 6 etymologies, 2 occur in a binary setting, going from Turkic into Hungarian

2 Note that in the cases of *āporodik-* 'to decay, putrefy, turn stale' and *d'ārāpodik-* 'to increase, put on weight, grow stronger' the loan verb marker *-(V)d-* is further derived with the indefinite conjugational marker *-ik-*. This is reminiscent of how more recent loanverbs from German such as Grm *büffeln* 'to swot' → H *bifláz-* 'to cram' which are first accommodated by only the loan verb marker *-Vz-*, may later enter the *-ik-* conjugation, i.e. *biflázik-* is accepted as well (p. 1139–1140).

(H *kēšik*- ‘to be, become late’ < *kēš*- < **kēč*- ← WOT **kēč*- ‘to be late’; H *vāy*- ‘to hollow out, to scoop out’ < **vay*- ← WOT **vay*- ‘to hollow out’), while 4 occur in a triple setting, involving a copy into or from Mongolic as well (e.g. H *tūr*- ‘to endure, suffer, bear, stand’ < **tür*- ← WOT **tör*- | EOT *töz*- ‘to endure, suffer’ → Mo *tes*- ‘to bear, stand, to endure’).³ None of these verbs has been copied in yet a fourth language. None has a so-called “basic” meaning corresponding to an item on either the Swadesh 100 list (Swadesh 1955) or the recently updated Leipzig-Jakarta list (Tadmor et al. 2010).

f) Copies of verbal morphology

On p. 1125–1135, the authors provide a long list of Turkic suffixes which have been borrowed into Hungarian attached to Turkic stems, including 14 bound verbal morphemes. However, none of these suffixes has become productive on native, Hungarian bases. Hence, one of the most striking aspects of the West Old Turkic-Hungarian contact is that after 800 years of intensive code-copying, not a single bound morpheme—be it nominal or verbal—has been copied. Although the authors mention two lexical copies, i.e. H *kēp* ‘picture, shape, form’ and H *kor* ‘age, period’, which grammaticalized over a postposition into, respectively, a comparative suffix ‘like, as’ and a temporal suffix, these forms were borrowed as independent nouns from, respectively, WOT **kāp* ‘mould, model’ and WOT **kur* ‘time, rank’ and grammaticalized late in the history of Hungarian.

2.3. Analysis

For a complete analysis of the verbal copies present in the lexicon, I refer to Appendix I below. A numerical overview of my findings is given in Table 1.

Table 1: Numerical overview according to type of verbal copy

Entries in the lexicon: 414

Verbal: 66

Disputable: 17

debated Turkic origin: 13

uncertain verbal origin: 2

contamination: 1

nominalized in Hungarian: 1

Undisputable: 49

indication(s) of copying: 44

complex origin: 25

probable complex origin: 4

indirect insertion: 15

³ The authors (p. 1114) date the West Old Turkic–Mongolic contacts to the period between the third century B.C. and the fifth century A.D.

+ H -(V)l- : 4
 + H -(V)d- : 5
 + H -ik- : 6
 secondary semantics: 20
 “clean” verbal copies: 5
 in binary setting: 2
 in multiple setting: 3
 triple setting: 3
 quadruple setting: 0
 basic vocabulary: 0
 Non-verbal: 348
 Cumanian origin: 37
 Uncertain Cumanian origin: 2

a) Contact perspective

Observing the West Old Turkic verbal copies in Hungarian, we thus learn that

1. copying of verbs is rare in cases of low to moderate contact such as in the Cumanian-Hungarian case. In instances of intensive contact such as in the Oghuric-Hungarian case, however, verbal copies do occur.

2. the proportion of verbal copies is 16% (= 66/414), which is about 5 times lower than that of non-verbal copies, i.e. 84% (= 348/414). Note that the proportion of verbal cognates to non-verbal cognates in the list of Hungarian words of (Finno)-Ugric origin (p. 1272–1293) is 35% (= 173/ 494), which is only 3 times lower.

The authors suggest counting the proportion of verbal copies in another way: “If we count the number of verbs in our sample that exist as verbal bases of nouns or as verbs, their number is about 170. ... Thus, we can conclude that the proportion of verbs to non-verbs among the WOT lws in H is 33% : 67%.” In my definition (see Section 2.2.), however, the borrowing of a nominalized Turkic verb as a noun in Hungarian, cannot be regarded as a verbal copy.

3. 90% (= 44/49) of verbal copies can be recognized on the basis of one or more characteristics, unmasking them as a copy. For 59% (= 29/49) of verbal copies, the Turkic model is morphologically complex. 30% (= 15/49) have been accommodated with a native Hungarian suffix. 41% (= 21/49) reflect only the secondary meaning of the Turkic model verb.

4. 10% (= 5/49) of verbal copies cannot be recognized on the basis of these characteristics. Moreover, only 6% (= 3/49) of verbal copies are shared in a triple contact setting. None of them is shared in a quadruple contact setting. None represents basic vocabulary.

5. no bound verb morphology has been copied from Turkic into Hungarian.

b) Genealogical perspective

Extrapolating these observations to genealogical linguistics, we infer that

1. sharing verb roots requires intensive contact, including centuries of contact and a high rate of multilingualism among the languages concerned. If languages share verb roots, but the archeological record does not preserve indications of such a contact setting, genealogical relationship is the hypothesis that should be tested first.

2. when the proportion of verbal etymologies involves more than a third of all etymologies, genealogical inheritance is a more plausible explanation than code-copying.

3. excluding etymologies that display indications of code-copying will increase the probability of inheritance up to about 90% and reduce the probability of code-copying to about 10%. We should thus exclude etymologies

- (a) in which one member is morphologically complex, while the other(s) is (are) not
- (b) in which the corresponding verb root is systematically attached to a specific native affix, which is either the common native loan verbalizer or another native suffix recurrent on other shared verbs
- (c) in which only secondary semantics are shared.

4. when corresponding verbs that do not display any indications of code-copying share similarities over three or more (proto-)languages, the probability of inheritance increases beyond 90%. When such corresponding verbs represent basic vocabulary, the probability that the correlations are induced by language contact is extremely low.

5. sharing of bound verb morphology is indicative of inheritance.

3. Implications for the Transeurasian controversy

Let us now apply these observations and inferences to the verbs shared across the Transeurasian languages. The label “Transeurasian” was coined by Johanson & Robbeets (2010: 1–2) in reference to a large group of geographically adjacent languages, traditionally known as “Altaic”, that include up to five different linguistic families: Japonic, Koreanic, Tungusic, Mongolic, and Turkic. The question of whether these families go back to a single common ancestor is one of the most disputed issues in historical comparative linguistics. The controversy is not primarily fueled by a shortage of similarities, but by the difficulty of accounting for them: are all shared forms generated by borrowing, or are some residues of inheritance? The application of the five genealogical guidelines proposed in Section 2.3.b) to the verbs shared across the Transeurasian languages can, in my opinion, substantially help to unravel this question.

1. *Extra-linguistic evidence for intensive contact setting*

In Robbeets (2005: 380–395), I propose 170 etymologies for verbs, corresponding formally and semantically across the Transeurasian languages. A borrowing scenario would require the assumption of an intensive multilateral contact situation, lasting for centuries—if not millennia—and involving a high degree of multilin-

gualism in Turkic, Mongolic, Tungusic, Koreanic and Japonic. Obviously, the archaeological records preserve no evidence for such a longstanding, multilateral cohabitation.

2. Proportion of verbal etymologies

Out of 354 lexical etymologies proposed in Robbeets (2005: 380–411), only 184 are non-verbal. The proportion of verbal etymologies (48%) thus practically involves half of all etymologies and is nearly the same proportion as that of non-verbal etymologies (52%), which favours a genealogical explanation.

3. Copy-proof properties

For the present purpose, I will restrict myself to 11 etymologies for basic verbs and verbal adjectives, summarized in Table 2. For the underlying data, I refer to Appendix II below. These verbal etymologies are relatively “copy-proof” because (a) except for the verbs reconstructed in etymology (4) ‘to burn’, none of the compared proto-verbs is morphologically complex in one branch and simplex in another, (b) there is no trace of a specific native suffix accommodating corresponding verbs in one or more individual branches and (c) the shared verbal meanings are not restricted to secondary semantics.

4. Basic vocabulary in multiple setting

The proto-Transeurasian verbs reconstructed in Table 2 are “basic” in the sense that they represent meanings belonging to the basic vocabulary Leipzig-Jakarta (LJ) or Swadesh (S) 100-list. Note that all etymologies have members in three different branches of the Transeurasian unity, while 6 etymologies [(5), (7), (8), (9), (10), (11)] have cognates in four branches. Therefore, in line with the inferences made above, the probability that the correlations are induced by language contact is extremely low.

Table 2: Basic verbs and verbal adjectives shared across the Transeurasian languages

No	LJ/S item	Japonic	Koreanic	Tungusic	Mongolic	Turkic
(1)	LJ 3 ‘go’	OJ in- ‘go away’ pJ *na-	MK na- ‘go out’ pK *na-	Evk. -na:- ‘go out to’ pTg *-na:-		
(2)	LJ 36 ‘hit, beat’	OJ tuk- ‘hit with force’ pJ *tuk-	MK ·thi- ‘hit, strike’ pK *t(λ)ki-	Evk. dug- ‘hit’ pTg *dug-		
(3)	S 56/ LJ 46 ‘bite’	OJ kam- ‘bite’ pJ *kam-			WMo. kemeli- ‘bite’ pMo *keme-	OTk. kemür- ‘gnaw’ pTk *kem-

(4)	S84/ LJ 53 'burn'	OJ tak- 'burn (tr.)' pJ *tak-	MK ·tho- / tahi- 'be on / set fire' pK *takΛ- /*taki-		OTk. yak- 'burn (tr.)' pTk *ya-k-
(5)	LJ 70 'carry'	OJ op- 'carry on back' pJ *əpə-	MK ep- 'carry on back' pK *ep-	Evk. ewe- 'carry' pTg *ebe-	WMo. eyüre- 'carry on back' pMo eyüre-
(6)	LJ 76 'be thick'	OJ puto ₁ - 'be thick' pJ *puta-	MK "pwuT- 'increase intr.' pK *pwutΛ-		WMo. büdügün 'large' pMo *büdü-
(7)	LJ 96 'be(come) wide'	OJ nobi ₂ - 'spread intr.' pJ *nənpa-	K nelp- 'be wide' pK *nelpΛ-	Evk. nepte- 'spread out' pTg *nepte-	WMo. nebsei- 'be broad/long' pMo *nebse-
(8)	LJ 99 'be hard'	OJ kata- 'be hard' pJ *kata-	MK kwut- 'be hard' pK *kata-		WMo. qata- 'become hard' pMo *kata- pTk *kat-
(9)	S65 'walk'	J kati 'walking' pJ *kat-	MK "keT- 'walk' pK *ketΛ-		MMo. ketül- 'cross, pass' pMo *ketü- pTk *ket-
(10)	S90 'be white'	OJ siro ₁ - 'be white' pJ *sira-	MK ·huy-/ hoy-Ma. šara- MK syey- 'become 'be(come) white' pK *si(l)Λ-	Evk. murume 'round' pTg *muru-	WMo sira 'yellow' Copy? pTk *sia:ri- (< *si:ra-?)
(11)	S 99 'be round'	MJ maro- 'be round' pJ *maru-	MK mulu- 'turn around' pK *mili(-)l-	Evk. murume 'round' pTg *muru-	WMo murui 'curve' pMo *muru- pTk *bur-

5. Bound verb morphology in common

In previous publications (Robbeets 2007a, 2007b, 2009, 2010, 2012), I have identified twenty-one verb suffixes reflecting regular phonological and functional correspondences in at least three branches of the Transeurasian languages. In line with the verbal evidence, this sharing of bound verb morphology is indicative of inheritance.

4. Conclusion

In this magnum opus, András Róna-Tas and Árpád Berta use the loanwords preserved in Hungarian as an alternate window on the reconstruction of West Old Turkic. As such, this study represents a major step forward in the field of Turkic

linguistics, but it also has important implications for historical linguistics in general and in particular for Transeurasian comparative linguistics. In this review article, I have explored the merits of their research for an integrated approach of genealogical and contact linguistics by inferring criteria to distinguish between inheritance and code-copying on the basis of a typology of Turkic loanverbs in Hungarian.

Contrary to the authors' claim (p. 1142) that "In respect of the hypothesis of the relationship of the Trans-Eurasiatic or the "Altaic" lgs, this carries an important message. After one and a half thousand years, verbs borrowed fr an unrelated lg cannot be detected with internal methods. They are deeply embedded," my analysis suggests that verbs borrowed from an unrelated language can be distinguished from inherited verbs shared between related languages, even after millennia have elapsed. The loanverbs in Hungarian show that criteria such as morphological complexity, indirect insertion and secondary semantics can unmask 90% of the verbs copied from West Old Turkic into Hungarian. Adding requirements such as basic vocabulary and multiple setting further reduces the verbal copies to 0% in the Turkic-Hungarian case. Extrapolating these observations to genealogical linguistics, we can make our etymologies copy-proof by eliminating instances of morphological complexity, indirect insertion and secondary semantics and requiring basic verbs corresponding in a multiple setting.

Applying these guidelines to the Transeurasian controversy, it becomes possible to answer the key question whether all shared forms are generated by code-copying, or whether some are residues of inheritance. The 11 etymologies for basic verbs and verbal adjectives presented here are fully copy-proof from the perspective of our guidelines. Moreover, twenty-one verb suffixes are shared between the Transeurasian languages, whereas not a single bound morpheme has been copied from Turkic into Hungarian, in spite of the intensive contact, so well described in this study. Inspired by this magnificent work, I cannot but conclude that not all correlations between the Transeurasian languages are the result of language contact and that some bear witness to inheritance.

Abbreviations

ANTICAUS	anticausative	MIM	mimetic
CAUS	causative	PASS	passive
FREQ	frequentative	NMLZ	nominalizer
INCH	inchoative	tr.	transitive
intr.	intransitive	VBLZ	verbalizer

References

- Beckwith, Christopher 2004. *Koguryo. The language of Japan's continental relatives*. Leiden: Brill.
- Benkő, Loránd (ed.) 1967–1984. *A magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára 1–4*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

- Benkő, Loránd (ed.) 1993–1997. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Ungarischen* 1–3. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Clauson, Gerard 1972. *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Doerfer, Gerhard 1963–1975. *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung älterer neupersischer Geschichtsquellen, vor allem der Mongolen- und Timuridenzeit* 1–4. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.
- Doerfer, Gerhard 1985. *Mongolo-Tungusica*. Wiesbaden: Steiner.
- Erdal, Marcel 1991. *Old Turkic word formation. A functional approach to the lexicon*. (Turcologica 7.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Farkas, Judit & Kniezsa, Veronika 2002. Hungarian. In: Görlach, Manfred (ed.) *English in Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 277–290.
- Frellesvig, Bjarke & Whitman, John 2008. Evidence for seven vowels in proto-Japanese. In: Frellesvig, Bjarke & Whitman, John (eds.) 2008. *Proto-Japanese: Issues and prospects*. (Amsterdam studies in the theory and history of linguistic science. Series IV - Current issues in linguistic theory 249.) Amsterdam: Benjamins. 15–41.
- Georg, Stefan 2007. Review of Robbeets, Martine 2005. Is Japanese related to Korean, Tungusic, Mongolic and Turkic? *Korean Studies* 31, 247–278.
- Gombocz, Zoltán 1912. Die bulgarisch-türkischen lehnwörter in der ungarischen sprache. (Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne 30.) Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura.
- Heine, Bernd & Kuteva, Tania 2002. *World lexicon of grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Johanson, Lars 2001. *Vom Alttürkischen zu den modernen Türksprachen*. In: Haspelmath, Martin & König, Ekkehard & Oesterreicher, Wulf & Raible, Wolfgang (eds.) 2001. *Language Typology and Language Universals. An international handbook* 2. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. 1719–1742.
- Johanson, Lars & Robbeets, Martine 2009. Introduction. In: Johanson, Lars & Robbeets, Martine (eds.) 2009. *Transeurasian verbal morphology in a comparative perspective: genealogy, contact, chance*. (Turcologica 78.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1–5.
- Joseph, Brian D. 2013. Demystifying ‘drift’ — A variationist account. In: Robbeets, Martine & Cuyckens, Hubert (eds.) *Shared grammaticalization: With special focus on the Transeurasian languages*. (Studies in Language Companion Series 132.) Amsterdam: Benjamins. 43–66.
- Lee, Ki-Mun 1977. *Geschichte der Koreanischen Sprache*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.
- Ligeti, Louis 1986. *A magyar nyelv török kapcsolatai a honfoglalás előtt és az Árpád-korban*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Martin, Samuel Elmo 1987. *The Japanese language through time*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Martin, Samuel Elmo 1992. *A reference grammar of Korean*. Tokyo: Tuttle.
- Martin, Samuel Elmo 1996. *Consonant lenition in Korean and the Macro-Altaic question*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Miller, Roy Andrew & Street, John 1975. *Altaic elements in Old Japanese* 1. Madison: The authors.
- Miyake, Marc Hideo 1999. *The phonology of eighth century Japanese revisited: Another reconstruction based upon written records*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii at Manoa Ph.D. Dissertation.

- Nugteren, Hans 2011. Mongolic phonology and the Qinghai-Gansu languages. Utrecht: LOT [Leiden University Ph.D. Dissertation]
- Poppe, Nicholas 1954. *Grammar of Written Mongolian*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Poppe, Nicholas 1955. *Introduction to Mongolian comparative studies*. (Mémoires de la société Finno-Ougrienne 110.) Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura.
- Ramsey, Samuel Robert 1977. S-clusters and reinforced Consonants. In: Kim Chin-W. (ed.) 1978. *Papers in Korean Linguistics*. Columbia: Hornbeam Press, 59–66.
- Robbeets, Martine 2005. *Is Japanese related to Korean, Tungusic, Mongolic and Turkic?* (Turcologica 64.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Robbeets, Martine 2007a. How the actional suffix chain connects Japanese to Altaic. *Turkic Languages* 11, 3–58.
- Robbeets, Martine 2007b. The causative-passive in the Trans-Eurasian languages. *Turkic Languages* 11, 235–278.
- Robbeets, Martine 2009. Insubordination in Altaic. *Journal of Philology* 31. *Ural-Altaic Studies* 1, 61–79.
- Robbeets, Martine 2010. Transeurasian: Can verbal morphology end the controversy? In: Johanson, Lars & Robbeets, Martine (eds.) 2010. *Transeurasian verbal morphology in a comparative perspective: genealogy, contact, chance*. (Turcologica 78.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 81–114.
- Robbeets, Martine 2012. Shared verb morphology in the Transeurasian languages: copy or cognate? In: Johanson, Lars & Robbeets, Martine (eds.) 2012. *Copies versus cognates in bound morphology*. (Brill's Studies in Language, Cognition and Culture 2.) Leiden: Brill. 427–446.
- Rozycki, William 1994. *Mongol elements in Manchu*. (Uralic and Altaic Series 157.) Indiana: Bloomington.
- Sapir, Edward 1921. *Language*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World.
- Swadesh, Morris 1955. Towards greater accuracy in lexicostatistic dating. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 21, 121–137.
- Tadmor, Uri; Haspelmath, Martin & Taylor, Bradley 2010. Borrowability and the notion of basic vocabulary. *Diachronica* 27, 226–246.
- Thorpe, Maner Lawton 1983. *Ryukyuan language history*. Los Angeles: University of Southern California Ph.D. dissertation.
- Vovin, Alexander 2008. *Koreo-Japonica: A re-evaluation of a common genetic origin*. (Center for Korean Studies Monograph.) Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Whitman, John Bradford 1985. *The phonological basis for the comparison of Japanese and Korean*. Cambridge: Harvard University Ph.D. dissertation.
- Wohlgemuth, Jan 2009. *A typology of verbal borrowings*. (Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs 211.) Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Yanagida, Yuko & Whitman, John 2009. Alignment and word order in Old Japanese. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 18, 101–144.

Appendix I

Analysis of verbal copies arranged on Hungarian headword in transcribed form

1. Entries in the lexicon reflecting verbal copies

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| (1) <i>áynāroz-</i> 'to fondle' | (23) <i>d'ārāpodik-</i> 'to increase' | (45) <i>šēpēr-</i> 'to sweep, broom' |
| (2) <i>āpol-</i> 'to nurse' | (24) <i>d'ārt-</i> 'to produce, build' | (46) <i>sān-</i> 'to have pity for, regret' |
| (3) <i>āporodik-</i> 'to decay, putr[i]fy' | (25) <i>d'ōnik-</i> 'to confess (sins)' | (47) <i>sān-</i> 'to wish, to intend' |
| (4) <i>ārāt-</i> 'to mow' | (26) <i>d'ōtör-</i> 'to torture' | (48) <i>senderedik-</i> 'to slumber' |
| (5) <i>ārik-</i> 'to decay, putrefy' | (27) <i>d'ōz-</i> 'to conquer, triumph' | (49) <i>sōr-</i> 'to spread, scatter' |
| (6) <i>bān-</i> 'to regret, to be sorry' | (28) <i>d'ül-</i> 'to catch fire' | (50) <i>sōkik-</i> 'to leap, jump, escape' |
| (7) <i>bāsik-</i> 'to fuck' | (29) <i>d'ūr-</i> 'to knead, pug' | (51) <i>sūnik-</i> 'to cease, to stop' |
| (8) <i>bēcül-</i> 'to estimate, to esteem' | (30) <i>d'ūlik-</i> 'to assemble, gather' | (52) <i>sūr-</i> 'to strain, to filter' |
| (9) <i>bočānik-</i> 'to be forgiven' | (31) <i>d'ūlöl-</i> 'to hate' | (53) <i>tārt-</i> 'to hold, carry; to last' |
| (10) <i>bočāt-</i> 'to forgive' | (32) <i>iyest-</i> 'to frighten' | (54) <i>teker-</i> 'to wind round, twist' |
| (11) <i>borūt-</i> 'to cover, to overturn' | (33) <i>illik-</i> 'to suit, be proper' | (55) <i>teng-</i> 'to vegetate' |
| (12) <i>bossānt-</i> 'to annoy' | (34) <i>imád-</i> 'to adore, worship' | (56) <i>tēr-</i> 'to turn' |
| (13) <i>čātol-</i> 'to add, to join' | (35) <i>īr-</i> 'to write' | (57) <i>toyik-</i> 'to lay eggs' |
| (14) <i>čekēl-</i> 'to bind (sg)' | (36) <i>izzik-</i> 'to glow, be hot' | (58) <i>torol-</i> 'to pile up (tr)' |
| (15) <i>čökik-</i> 'to become smaller' | (37) <i>kērōdzik-</i> 'to ruminate' | (59) <i>tökēl-</i> 'to perform' |
| (16) <i>čūr-</i> 'to wind, to turn' | (38) <i>kēšik-</i> 'to be, become late' | (60) <i>tör-</i> 'to break, separate' |
| (17) <i>dōl-</i> 'to lean, topple over' | (39) <i>kösön-</i> 'to greet, thank' | (61) <i>törtēnik-</i> 'to happen, occur' |
| (18) <i>dug-</i> 'to squeeze, thrust into' | (40) <i>ölt-</i> 'to stitch, put on a dress' | (62) <i>tūr-</i> 'to endure, suffer, bear' |
| (19) <i>enged-</i> 'to allow, permit' | (41) <i>ōn-</i> 'to elect, to select' | (63) <i>vāy-</i> 'to hollow out, scoop' |
| (20) <i>ēr-</i> 'to arrive, to reach' | (42) <i>ōr-</i> 'to grind, mill' | (64) <i>ver-</i> 'to plait, lay the rope' |

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| (21) <i>erned-</i> 'to tire, lose vitality' | (43) <i>örül-</i> 'to rejoice, to be glad' | (65) <i>örvén-</i> 'whirlpool, eddy' |
| (22) <i>d'älāz-</i> 'to abuse, calumniate' | (44) <i>örül-</i> 'to become mad' | (66) <i>šērt-</i> 'to injure, to hurt' |

2. Verbal copies of debated Turkic origin

- | | |
|--|---|
| (1) <i>āynāroz-</i> 'to fondle, pet' | (8) <i>kērōdzik-</i> 'to ruminate' |
| (2) <i>āpol-</i> 'to nurse, take care of' | (9) <i>senderedik-</i> 'to slumber' |
| (3) <i>ārik-</i> 'to decay, putrefy' | (10) <i>teng-</i> 'to vegetate' |
| (4) <i>dug-</i> 'to squeeze, thrust into' | (11) <i>torol-</i> 'to pile up (tr)' |
| (5) <i>d'ül-</i> 'to catch fire, be kindled' | (12) <i>tökēl-</i> 'to perform' |
| (6) <i>iyest-</i> 'to frighten' | (13) <i>ver-</i> 'to plait, lay the rope' |
| (7) <i>izzik-</i> 'to glow, be hot' | |

3. Not unequivocally "verbal" copies

- (1) *šēr-* in *šērt-* 'to hurt', *šērül-* 'to become hurt' < **šir-* ← WOT **šir-* < **šir-* < **sir-*, but this base is mainly reflected as a nominal base **sir* 'pain' in e.g. EOT *sizla-* 'to ache'
- (2) *d'älāz-* 'to abuse, calumniate' < **d'ala-* + -(V)z- FREQ < **jala-* ← WOT **jala-* | EOT *yala-* 'to make false accusation' < **yal* 'lie' + A- VBLZ, but we cannot exclude that this is a copy of WOT **jal* 'lie' + H -Vz- VBLZ following /l, n, r/ final stems (p. 1139); cf. WOT **jal* → Mo. *jali* 'ruse, craft, cunning, trick, deceit' is a nominal copy.

4. Verbal copies with morphologically complex origin

- (1) *āporodik-* 'to decay, putrefy, turn stale' < **oporō-* ← WOT **op(u)ra-* 'to grow old, decay, to wear out' < **op* + -rA- MIM
- (2) *ārāt-* 'to mow' < **orat-* ← WOT **orat-* < **or-* 'to mow' + -(X)t- CAUS
- (3) *bān-* 'to regret, to be sorry' < **baγin-* ← WOT **bagin-* < **bak-* 'to look' + -(X)n- ANTICAUS
- (4) *bēčül-* 'to estimate, to esteem, to appreciate' < **bečel-* ← WOT **bičil-* 'to be cut' < **bič-* 'to cut' -(X)l- PASS
- (5) *bočānik-* 'to be forgiven' < **bočan-* < **bolčan-* ← WOT **bolčan-* 'to free oneself (from sin)' < **bolč* 'empty' + -A- VBLZ + -(X)n- ANTICAUS
- (6) *bočāt-* 'to forgive' < **bulšat-* < **bulčat-* ← WOT **bolčat-* 'to release' < **bolč* 'empty' + -A- VBLZ + -(X)t- CAUS
- (7) *bossānt-* 'to annoy' < *bossan*°- < **busan-* << WOT **busan-* 'to grieve, to be sorrowful' < **busa-* 'to cause sorrow' + -(X)n- ANTICAUS
- (8) *enged-* 'to allow, permit, concede; yield, give way' < **eng-* ← WOT **āṅ-* 'to bend (intr.)' < **äg-* 'to bend (tr.)' + -(X)n- ANTICAUS
- (9) *erned-* 'to tire, lose vitality, slacken, relax' < **erin-* ← WOT **ārin-* 'to be lazy, indolent' < **er-* 'to criticise' + -(X)n- ANTICAUS
- (10) *d'ārāpodik-* 'to increase, to put on weight, to grow stronger' < **d'ārāp-* < **jarap-* < **jarpa-* ← WOT **jarpa-* < **jarp* 'firm, solid' + -A- VBLZ

- (11) *d'ärt-* 'to produce, build, fabricate' < *d'arat-* < **jarat-* ← WOT **jarat-* 'to make, create something' < **jara* 'to be useful, or suitable' + *-(X)t-* CAUS
- (12) *d'önik-* 'to confess (sins)' < *d'ön-* < **d'un-* < **jün-* ← WOT **jün-* 'to make oneself clean' < **jū-* 'to wash' + *-(X)n-* ANTICAUS
- (13) *d'ötör-* 'to torture, to make suffer' < **jütür-* < **jitür-* ← WOT **jitür-* 'to cause to tear, make somebody tear, cut into pieces' < **jirt(t)ür-* < **jir-* 'to dig through, to cut through' + *-(X)t-* CAUS + *-tUr-* CAUS
- (14) *d'ülük-* 'to assemble, gather' < *d'ül-* < **d'il-* < **jīyil-* ← WOT **jigil-* 'to be heaped up, collected, to assemble' < **jig-* 'to collect, assemble' + *-(X)l-* PASS
- (15) *d'ülöl-* 'to hate' < **d'üle-* < **d'eüle-* < **jeyile-* ← WOT **jägilä-* 'to be hostile' < **jägi* 'enemy, hostile' + *-lA-* VBLZ
- (16) *kösön-* 'to greet, to thank' < **küsen-* ← WOT **küsän-* 'to wish' < *küsä-* 'to wish' + *-(X)n-* ANTICAUS
- (17) *ölt-* 'to stitch, to put on a dress' < **ilt-* ← WOT **ilt-* < **il-* 'to catch, to hang, to suspend' + *-(X)t-* CAUS
- (18) *örül-* 'to rejoice, to be glad' < **ör-* < *ör-* < **öyir-* ← WOT **öyir-* 'to be joyful, to rejoice' < **öyi* 'joy' + *-(A)r-* intr. VBLZ
- (19) *örül-* 'to become mad' < **evril-* < **evril-* ← WOT **ävril-* 'to revolve' < **ävir-* 'to turn' + *-(X)l-* PASS
- (20) *sän-* 'to have pity for, to regret' < **sän-* < **sayin-* ← WOT **sayin-* 'to think anxiously about something, to be worried' < **sak-* 'to think' + *-(X)n-* ANTICAUS
- (21) *sän-* 'to wish, to intend, to devote' ← WOT **sän-* 'to think' < **sä-* 'to count' + *-(X)n-* ANTICAUS
- (22) *sör-* 'to spread, to scatter, to winnow' < **sawur-* ← WOT **sawur-* 'to scatter, to winnow' < **sav-* 'to spray' + *-(U)r-* CAUS
- (23) *sür-* 'to strain, to filter' < **sür-* ← WOT **sür-* < **sü-* 'strain' + *-(X)z-* CAUS
- (24) *tör-* 'to break, to separate into pieces, to crush' < **tör-* < *tür-* < *tüyür-* ← WOT **töyür-* < **töy-* 'to pound, crush, grind' + *-(U)r-* CAUS
- (25) *törtēnik-* 'to happen, to occur' < *törtēn-* < **törtün-* ← WOT **tör(ü)tün-* < **törü-* 'to come into existence' + *-(X)t-* CAUS + *-(X)n-* ANTICAUS

5. Verbal copies with a less transparent morphologically complex origin

- (1) *čūr-* 'to wind, to turn, to dist[r]ort, misinterpret, to spin a yarn' < **čevür-* ← WOT **čäwür-* 'to turn' < ?**čAv-* + *-(I)r-* INCH
- (2) *tärt-* 'to hold, carry; to last' < *tart-* ← WOT **tart-* 'to pull, to drag, to weigh, to stretch' < ?**tar-* 'to be narrow' + *-(X)t-* CAUS
- (3) *teker-* 'to wind something round, to twist' < **teker-* ← WOT **täkir-* 'to surround' < ?**täk-* 'to reach' + *-(I)r-* INCH
- (4) *tēr-* 'to turn, to change the original direction' < **tevir-* ← WOT **tävir-* 'to turn (tr.)' < **täw-* 'turn, twist, move' + *-(I)r-* INCH

6. Verbal copies accommodated by a native suffix

6.1. Accommodation by the Hungarian denominal verb suffix *-(V)l-*

- (1) *čátol-* 'to add, to join; to buckle up' < **čátol-* < **čat-* + *-(V)l-* VBLZ ← WOT **čat-* 'to bring together, to join'

- (2) *čekēl-* ‘to bind (tr.)’ < *ček- < *čik- + -*ál-* VBLZ ← WOT *čik- ‘to tie up (a parcel)’
(Uncertain: Hungarian item is a hapax)
(3) *d’ülöl-* ‘to hate’ < *d’üle- < *d’eüle- < *jeyile- + -(V)l- VBLZ ← WOT *jägilä- ‘to be hostile’
(4) *örül-* ‘to rejoice, to be glad’ < *ör- < *ör- < *öyir- + -(V)l- VBLZ ← WOT *öyir- ‘to be joyful, to rejoice’

6.2. Accommodation by the Hungarian deverbial frequentative -(V)d-

- (1) *āporodik-* ‘to decay, putrefy, turn stale’ < *oporo- + -(V)d- + -ik- ← WOT *op(u)ra- ‘to grow old, decay, to wear out’
(2) *enged-* ‘to allow, permit, concede; yield, give way’ < *eng- + -(V)d- ← WOT *äñ- ‘to bend (intr.)’
(3) *erñed-* ‘to tire, lose vitality, slacken, relax’ < *erin- + -(V)d- ← WOT *ārin- ‘to be lazy, indolent’
(4) *d’ārāpodik-* ‘to increase, to put on weight, to grow stronger’ < *d’ārāp- < *jarap- < *jarpa- + -(V)d- + -ik- ← WOT *jarpa- ‘to be firm, solid’
(5) *imád-* ‘to adore, worship; to ask for, pray’ < *vimad- < *vim- + -(V)d- ← WOT *vīm- ‘to ask for, covet’

6.3. Accommodation by the Hungarian indefinite conjugational marker -ik-

- (1) *bāsik-* ‘to fuck’ < *bas- + -ik- ← WOT *bas- ‘to press, oppress’
(2) *bočānik-* ‘to be forgiven’ < *bočān- < *bolčān- + -ik- ← WOT *bolčān- ‘to free oneself (from sin)’
(3) *čōkik-* ‘to become smaller, remain small’ < *čōk- < *čūk- + -ik- ← WOT *čōk- ‘kneel down, to sink, to collapse’
(4) *illik-* ‘to suit something, to be proper, to fit into’ < *il- + -ik- ← WOT *il- ‘to hang on, attach to (tr./intr.)’
(5) *sūnik-* ‘to cease, to stop’ < *sūn- < *sōn- + -ik- ← WOT *sōn- ‘to die down, to disappear (e.g. a flame)’
(6) *toyik-* ‘to lay eggs’ < *tuik- < *tuyik- < *tuy- + -ik- ← WOT *tuy- ‘to be born’

7. Verbal copies reflect secondary semantics

- (1) *bān-* ‘to regret, to be sorry’ ← WOT *bagin- ‘to pay heed, look around; (>) look at the (negative) consequences’
(2) *bāsik-* ‘to fuck’ ← WOT *bas- ‘to press, oppress; (>) to fuck’
(3) *bēčül-* ‘to estimate, to esteem, to appreciate’ ← WOT *bičil- ‘to be cut; (>) to be in agreement’
(4) *bočānik-* ‘to be forgiven’ ← WOT *bolčān- ‘to become untied, divorced, to free oneself; (>) free oneself from sin’
(5) *bočāt-* ‘to forgive’ ← WOT *bolčāt- ‘to release, make free; (>) make free from sin’
(6) *borīt-* ‘to cover, to overturn’ ← WOT *bur- ‘to twist, wind around, wrinkle, turn over; (>) to wrap around, to cover’
(7) *bossānt-* ‘to annoy’ ← WOT *busan- ‘to be misty, clouded; (>) to grieve, be sorrowful’

- (8) *čökik-* ‘to become smaller, remain small; to sway, to totter; to sprain’ < ← WOT **čök-* ‘to go down; (>) to kneel down, to sink, to collapse’
- (9) *döl-* ‘to lean, topple over, stream down’ ← WOT **tül-* ‘to move downwards; (>) to fall, get off (a horse), to settle, to retire’
- (10) *enged-* ‘to allow, permit, concede; yield, give way’ ← WOT **äŋ-* ‘to bend (intr.); (>) to bow, allow, permit, obey’
- (11) *d’ärt-* ‘to produce, build, fabricate’ ← WOT **jarat-* ‘to make useful; (>) to make, create something’
- (12) *d’önik-* ‘to confess (sins)’ ← WOT **jün-* ‘to wash oneself; (>) make oneself clean (of sins)’
- (13) *d’ötör-* ‘to torture, to make suffer’ ← WOT **jitür-* ‘to cause to tear, make somebody tear, cut into pieces; (>) to make suffer’
- (14) *ir-* ‘to write’ ← WOT **ir-* ‘to make a notch, breach in (something); (>) to carve script in (something)’
- (15) *ön-* ‘to elect, to select’ ← WOT **ün-* ‘to rise; (>) to be lifted out’
- (16) *ölt-* ‘to stitch, to put on a dress, to dress somebody’ ← WOT **ilt-* ‘to cause to hang; (>) wear’
- (17) *ör-* ‘to grind, mill’ ← WOT **ävir-* ‘to turn, to turn (a wheel), to overturn (a cup), to turn (the face) towards/ away from; (>) to turn (a grinding wheel)’
- (18) *örül-* ‘to become mad’ ← WOT **ävril-* ‘to revolve, be turned; (>) to be turned on emotionally’
- (19) *šeper-* ‘to sweep, to broom’ ← WOT **sipir-* ‘to clean, drive out, send away; (>) to sweep’.
- (20) *toyik-* ‘to lay eggs’ ← WOT **tuŋ-* ‘to rise (of sun), to be born (intr.); (>) lay eggs (tr.)’

8. “Clean” verbal copies

8.1. Binary setting

- (1) *kēšik-* ‘to be, become late’ < *kēš-* < **kēč-* ← WOT **kēč-* ‘to be late’
- (2) *vāy-* ‘to hollow out, to scoop out’ < **vay-* ← WOT **vay-* ‘to hollow out’

8.2. Multiple setting

- (1) *d’ür-* ‘to knead, pug’ < **jūyur-* ← WOT **jūyur-* / *jūyur-* ‘to knead’ ← Mo **jīgura-* ‘to knead, mix’
- (2) *sökik-* ‘to leap, to jump, to escape, to flee; to spring, dance’ < *sök-* < **sek* < **sek-* ← WOT **sek-* ‘to spring, jump, move quickly’ = ? Mo **sekü-* / *seke-* ‘to raise, lift up, open by lifting up’
- (3) *tūr-* ‘to endure, suffer, bear, stand’ < **tür-* ← WOT **tör-* | EOT *töz-* ‘to endure, suffer’ → Mo *tes-* ‘to bear, stand, to endure’

Appendix II

Data underlying the overview of basic verbs and verbal adjectives in Transeurasian

(1) 'to go'

OJ *in-* 'to go away, leave, depart' A, OJ *-in-* perfective auxiliary, J *nar-* B, OJ *nar-* 'to become, come into being', J *nas-* B, OJ *nas-* 'to make, do, give birth to', pJ **na-* 'to go out, become',

K *na-*, MK **na-* 'to go out, emerge, leave, become, come into being, come out', MK **nay-* 'take out, produce' (pK **-i-* causative), MK *nat-* 'to appear' (pK **-t(i)-* passive), MK *-na-* resultative, pK **na-* 'to go out, become',

Ma. *-na-* ~ *-ne-* ~ *-no-*, Na. *-nda-*, Olch. *-ŋda-*, Oroch, Ud. *-na-*, Sol. *-na:-*, Neg. *-na-*, Evk., Even. *-na:-*, pTg **-na:-* 'to go out'

OJ *in-* 'to go, leave, depart' belongs to the n-irregular verb paradigm (*na-hen*) along with only two other verbs: OJ *sin-* 'to die' and the perfect auxiliary OJ *-in-*, which are probably reflexes of the same etymon (Robbeets 2005: 123, 162). The n-irregular verb paradigm is an exception to the athematic paradigm (*yodan*) because it has 'long' adnominals (*rentaikei*) *-uru* and subjunctives (*meireikei*) *-ure* in contrast to the 'short' adnominals *-u* and subjunctives *-e* of the athematic paradigm.

Whitman (1985) has argued that at some proto-Japanese stage **-r-* was deleted after short vowels but retained after long vowels. The loss of the intervocalic *-r-* in the adnominals and subjunctives of the athematic paradigm is commonly attributed to this rule, so in the case of the n-irregular verb paradigm a preceding long original vowel must have blocked the application of the rule. Since the root vowel in monosyllabic morphemes was automatically long at the proto-Japanese stage, it is inviting to reconstruct monosyllabic pJ **na-* 'to go'.

The prefix in OJ *in-* 'to go, leave, depart' is a lexicalized instance of the Old Japanese verb prefix *-i-*. Various semantic and syntactic analyses of this prefix circulate in the literature,⁴ but, arguing that Old Japanese has active alignment in nominalized clauses, Yanagida and Whitman (2009: 117–119) demonstrate that the *i-* prefix is exclusively attached to active verbs, i.e. to transitive verbs and to intransitive verbs with an agentive subject. The separate accentuation of *i-* is high atonic 1.1. (Martin 1987: 668), which explains the B register in a number of lexicalizations such as J *imasu* B 'deign to be/stay/go/come' (< OJ *mas-* A 'to deign to be/stay/go/come'), OJ *ino2r-* B 'to pray' (< OJ *no2r-* A 'to declare') and OJ *ituk-* B 'to purify' (< OJ *tuk-* B 'to soak'). Lexicalized stems showing a reduced form of *i-* such as OJ *ik-* / *yuk-* 'to go', OJ *yokos-* 'to send here' and OJ *yusug-* 'wash out, rinse' have A register. OJ *in-* 'go, leave, depart' and OJ *sin-* 'die' have A register. How-

4 Martin 1987: 94, 668: independent adverb; Hino 1997: 2–5: agentive marker; Unger 2000a: 676: reanalysis of a preceding *-i* converb Russell 2006: 141–142: goal focus marker; Vovin 2009a: 561: directive-locative focus marker

ever, in reference to Kindaichi, Martin (1987: 201) points out that the original accent type may be B because “these verbs originally had a fall (instead of just low) on the ending of the predicative [...] and that of the infinitive [...] like verbs of Type B.” From this perspective, pJ **na-* ‘to go’ may underlie derivations such as OJ *nar-* ‘to become, come into being’ and OJ *nas-* ‘to make, do, give birth to’ which have B register. The grammaticalization of ‘to go’ into a change-of-state verb is cross-linguistically well attested (Heine and Kuteva 2002: 156-157).

A similar pathway of grammaticalization probably underlies in MK *·na-* ‘to go out, emerge, leave, become, come into being, come out’. In addition to the most common meaning ‘to become’, the Korean verb is used in the sense of K *na-ka-* ‘to go out, leave’, e.g. in *nwun-ey nata* ‘go out of a person’s favor’. Derivations such as MK *·nay-* ‘take out, produce’ with the causative suffix **-i-* and MK *nat-* ‘to appear’ with the passive **-t(i)-* indicate that the original meaning was ‘to go out’. Martin (1992: 702, 933) further considers the so-called “effective suffix” MK *·na-*, that can only apply to the verb MK *·wo-* ‘to come’ yielding MK *·wo.na-* ‘to end up by coming, ultimately come’, to be a grammaticalization from the auxiliary MK *·na-* ‘to go out, emerge’.

The Tungusic languages share a suffix that denotes departure from a place to other places or towards the object of an action (Benzing 1955a: 1068, Gorelova 2002: 239-240), such as Ma. *feku-* ‘to jump’ → *fekune-* ‘to jump away from the speaker, to jump to the other side’, *guri-* ‘to move’ → *gurine-* ‘to move to another place’ and Ma. *omi-* ‘to drink’ → *omina-* ‘to go to drink’. In Manchu, this construction can be replaced by a periphrastic converb construction with the verb *gene-* ‘to go’. From the viewpoint of cyclic grammaticalization, the synthetic construction may also go back to an original verb pTg **na-* ‘to go out’. Its origin as an independent verb is further supported by the observation that there is no development of vowel harmony for the suffix, except in Manchu.

(2) ‘to hit, beat’

J *tuku* B, OJ *tuk-* ‘to pound, husk, beat, hit with force’, Shuri *cicun*, pJ **tuk-* ‘to pound, hit with force’

MK *·thi-* ‘to hit, strike’, pK **t(Λ)hi-* < **t(Λ)ki-* ‘to hit, strike’

Evk. *dug-* ‘1 to hit, beat, hammer’, Even *duy-* ‘1’, *duy-* ‘2 batter, hit repeatedly’, Neg. *duw-* ~ *duy-* ‘2’, *dukte-* ‘1’, Ma. *du-* ~ *du:-* ‘1, thresh’, Jur. *du-ŋu-mij* ‘1’, Olč. *du:čĩ-* ‘2’, Orok *du:* 1, *du:čĩ-* ‘2’, Na. *du:-* 1, *do:čĩ-* ‘2’, Oroč. *du:-* ‘1, 2’, Ud. *du:-* ‘2’, *dukte-* ‘1’, pTg **dug-* ‘hit with force’

According to Ramsey’s law (cf. (20)), the reconstruction of a minimal vowel in pK **tΛhi-* is legitimate. Velar lenition (cf. (30)) supports the reconstruction of pK **tΛki-*. Although the semantic and formal correspondences among the Japanese, Korean and Tungusic participants are very close, we cannot exclude the possibility that we are ultimately dealing with a sound symbolic formation.

(3) 'to bite'

J *kamu* B, OJ *kam-* 'to bite, gnaw, chew, masticate, eat', pJ **kam-* 'to bite, chew'
 MMo. (Muq) *kemile-* 'to gnaw', WMo. *kemeli-*, *kemele-* '1 to gnaw, nibble, crack with one's teeth (tr.)', *kemki-* '2 to bite, snap with the teeth (tr.)', Khal. *ximle-*, *xemle-* '1', Bur. *ximel-* '1', Bur. (Bargu dial) *ximil-*, Kalm. *keml-* '1', Ordos *kemele-* '1', *kemxel-* '2', Bao. *kamel-*, Baoan (Dahejia dial.) *kaməl-* 'bite', Dag. *keme-* '1', Eastern Yugur *kemle-*, *kelme-*, Kangjia *kemle-*, pMo **keme-* 'to bite' (pMo **-la-*/ **-li-* intensive-iterative suffix)
 Karakh. *kemür-* 'to gnaw, chew (tr.)', MTK. *kömür-*, Tk. *gemir-*, *kemir-*, Az. *gämür-*, Tkm. *gemir-*, Gag. *kemir-*, Uz. *kemir-*, Uigh. *kemi(r)-*, Tat. *kimer-*, Khak. *kimar-*, Krm. *kemir-*, Kirg. *kemir-*, Tuva *xemir-*, Tof. *xemir-*, Kazakh *kemir-*, Nogh. *kemir-*, Bash. *kimər-*, pTk **kem-* 'to bite, chew (intr.)' (pTk **(U)r* causative).

In his review of Robbeets (2005), Georg (2007: 273) objects: "Had they used more scientifically oriented sources [...] or any Mongolistic expertise for a change, they would have found the *meaning* of this verb to be 'to crack open a bone with one's teeth and to suck the marrow', which makes clear that it is derived from *kemi* 'marrow of bones' and has to be eliminated from this "etymology"." However, these Mongolic forms can be analysed in two different ways: whereas Georg derives them from pMo **kemi(n)* 'marrow of the bones', I derive them from pMo **keme-* 'to bite'. Thus, I take the general meaning 'to bite' as the primary one and assume that the peripheral attestation of MMo. *kemi-le-* is a case of metathesis. Both *-la-* and *-li-* are attested as deverbal iterative-intensive suffixes in Mongolic. The intensive-iterative pMo **-la* is frequently lexicalized in verb pairs such as WMo. *alqu-* 'to step, walk (intr.)' -> *alqula-* 'to march, walk with quick steps (intr.)', WMo. *seji-* 'to butt with the horns' -> *sejile-* 'to butt repeatedly with the horns', WMo. *ili-* 'to caress, stroke' -> *ilile-* 'to touch or stroke repeatedly'. However, the suffix **-la-* in Georg's analysis may also be the denominal verb suffix, e.g. WMo. *šibayun* 'bird' -> *šibayula-* 'hunt birds'. The suffix **-ki* in WMo. *kemki-* 'to bite, snap with the teeth (tr.)' can be explained either as a deverbal transitivizer or as a denominal verb formant; the second explanation based on Georg's analysis, is more problematic, however, since **-ki-* is a grammaticalized form of MMo. *ki-* 'to make' with the meaning 'to make the verb base', e.g. WMo. *sayad* 'hindrance' -> *sayadki-* 'to hinder'. The expected meaning of the derived verb would thus be 'to make marrow' rather than 'to bite'. In the present analysis, WMo. *kemki-* 'to bite, snap with the teeth (tr.)' reflects a deverbal transitivizer pMo **-ki*, lexicalized in verb pairs such as WMo. *kel-* 'to be strung (as pearls) (intr.)' -> *kelki-* 'to string pearls (tr.)'. Furthermore, the final vowel in all contemporary attestations reflects *-e-* rather than *-i-*, which suggests that **keme-* is the primary form.⁵

5 Dagur has a verb *kam'* 'to ruminate, chew the cud', which reflects a final high front vowel. However, in view of the meaning of this form, it is probably a reflex of pMo. **kebi-* 'to chew, to ruminate' (Nugteren 2011: 407).

According to Clauson (1972: 723), the Turkic transitive verbs meaning ‘to gnaw, chew’ can be derived as a causative of pTk **kem-*. The causative suffix **(U)r* is lexicalized in Turkic verb pairs such as OTk. *ač-* ‘to be hungry’ → *ačur-* ‘to starve (tr.)’, OTk. *keč-* ‘to be late (intr.)’ → *kečür-* ‘to delay (tr.)’ (Erdal 1991: 710–726). As Róna-Tas et al. (2011: 534) note, the root pTk **kem-* ‘to gnaw’ should be kept separated from pTk **keb-* ‘to chew’ which is reflected in Hungarian *kérődzik-* ‘to ruminate’.

(4) ‘to burn’

J *taku* A, OJ *tak-* ‘to burn, boil, cook (tr.)’, Shuri *tak-* ‘to burn’, pJ **tak-* ‘to burn’, MK *·tho-* ‘to burn, be on fire (intr.)’, MK *ta·hi-*, K *tay-* ‘make (fire), heat (with fire) (tr.)’ (MK *-i* causative-passive), pK **taha-* < pK **tak-* ‘to burn’
Karakh. *yak-*, MTk. *yaq-*, Tk. *yaq-*, Tkm. *yaq-*, Gag. *yak-*, Az. *yax-*, Tat. *yay-*, Krm. *yaq-*, Uz. *yəq-*, Uigh. *yaq-*, Yak. *saq-*, Kirg. *žaq-*, Kaz. *žaq-*, Bash. *yaq-*, Khalaj *ya·q-*, Chu. *šot-*, pTk **ya-k-* ‘to ignite, burn (tr.)’

According to Ramsey’s law, the original root underlying MK *·tho-* ‘to burn, be on fire (intr.)’ can be reconstructed as pK **taha-* ‘to burn’, which probably is an assimilation to the second syllable vowel from pK **taha-*. The transitive verb MK *ta·hi-* ‘make (fire)’ can be derived from this root by adding a causative-passive suffix *-i-*. As expected, the addition of a final suffix *-i-* blocks the weakening process of the vowels. Velar lenition took place at an early stage in Korean (Martin 1996: 36–37), supporting the reconstruction of pK **tak-* ‘to burn’.

The correspondence with the Turkic verbs may of course be coincidental. Indeed, the proto-Turkic verb **yak-* ‘to ignite (tr.)’ may represent a complex form, while the inclusion of the Turkic form would lead us to expect register B rather than A in Japanese. As Róna-Tas et al. (2011: 410) note, the attestation of OTk *yal-* ‘to blaze, burn, shine (intr.)’ and OTk *yan-* ‘to burn, blaze up (intr.)’ suggests that these verbs are morphologically complex. The underlying verb being pTk **ya-* ‘to burn (tr.)’, OTk *yal-* ‘to blaze, burn, shine (intr.)’ would represent a derivation with a passive suffix pTk **(X)l-* (Erdal 1991: 651–693), OTk *yan-* ‘to burn, blaze up (intr.)’ a derivation with an anticausative suffix pTk **(X)n-* (Erdal 1991: 584–638) and, Karakh. *yak-* ‘to ignite, burn (tr.)’ with an inchoative suffix pTk **(X)k-* (Erdal 1991: 645–650). This inchoative suffix can be traced back to proto-Transeurasian. Ultimately, Japanese and Korean may only have inherited the Transeurasian complex inchoative form.

(5) ‘to carry’

J *ou* B, OJ *op-* ‘to bear, carry on the back’, EOJ *opuse-*, OJ *opose-*, J *ooseru* ‘to charge with’, J *obuu*, OJ *obup-* ‘to carry on the back’, pJ **əpə-* ‘to carry on the back’
MK *ep-* ‘to carry on the back’, pK **ep-* ‘to carry on the back’
Na. *iwarī-* ‘to unload’, Evk. *ewe-* ‘to carry’, Oroč. *ewu-gi-* ‘to bring’, *iwa-dala-* ‘to put a person on one’s shoulder’, pTg **ebe-* ‘to carry’

WMo. *eyüre-*, *egür-*, *ügür-* ‘to carry or load on one’s back; to bear; to take a burden upon oneself (tr.)’, (SH) MMo. *u’ur-* ‘to lift on the shoulders, carry’, Khal. *ü:re-* ‘carry on one’s back, bear’, Kalm. *ü:r-*, pMo **eyüre-* ‘to carry on the back’

The deep-velar consonant with velar origin WMo. $\gamma < *g$ only occurs in stems with back vowels. In intervocalic position, it converged with the deep-velar consonant with bilabial origin WMo. $\gamma < *β < *p/*b$ (Poppe 1955: 98). In cases like WMo. *eyüre-*, where γ occurs in stems with front vowels, a velar origin can be excluded.

(6) ‘to be thick’

J *hutoi* B ‘to be thick, burly, fat’, OJ *putoI-* ‘to be thick, fat’ ($< *puta-wo-ra$ (thick-COP-ADN), Shuri *butasaN*, pR **buta-* ‘stout, thick’ (Thorpe 1983: 335), pJ **puta-* ‘to be thick’

K *pu:s-* ‘to swell (intr.)’, MK *pwuT-* ‘to swell, increase’, pK **pwuti-* ‘to become thick’ WMo. *büdügün*, *bidügün* ‘large, huge, big’ (WMo *-yun / -gün* deverbil noun deriving quality words (Poppe 1954: 46)), MMo. *bidun*, Khal. *büdü:n*, Kalm. *büdü:n*, *bödü:n*, Ordos *büdü:n*, *bidü:n*, Dong. *biedun*, Bao. *beidoŋ*, Dag. *budun*, *budu:n*, SYugh. *budü:n*, Mgr. *budin*, *bidun*, Mgr. *beidü:n*, *beidun*, pMo **büdü-* ‘to be large’

The Old Japanese initial *p-* may require special notice because it has been suggested that its articulatory definition had already become a bilabial fricative *f* by the time of Old Japanese. Miyake (1999: 396–400) has argued against the spirantization of OJ *p*, demonstrating that *p* remained unchanged until Middle Japanese when it became a fricative *f*.

In Mongolic, two descriptive verb stems alternate: pMo **büdü-* ‘to be large’ and pMo **bedü-* ‘to be large’. The latter form may have arisen through convergence with a form ancestral to OTk. *bēdū-* ‘to be(come) big, great’ (Doerfer 1963: 235; 1975: 275).

(7) ‘to be(come) wide’

J *noboru* B, OJ *nobe2-* ‘to stretch, spread, lengthen (tr.)’, J *nobiru* B, OJ *nobi2-* ‘extend, lengthen, stretch, spread, grow; be postponed (intr.)’, J *nobasu* B, OJ *nobas-* ‘extend, lengthen, stretch, spread (tr.)’, pJ **nənpa-* $> *nəmpi-$ ‘to become long and wide’ K *nelp-* ‘to be wide’, MK *nep-* ‘to be wide’, MK *nelu-* ‘to be wide’, pK **nelp(i)-* ‘to be wide’

Neg. *nepte-nepte* ‘even’, Na. *nepte-nepte* ‘even’, Olch. *nepte-nepte* ‘even’, Orok *nette-* ‘spread out’, Even *nebde-* ‘to pull off the skin in one piece’, *nebde* ‘open(ness); wide(ness)’, *nebden-* ‘to unfold widely; open up (of cloth, wings); straighten out; open up (of leaves) (intr.)’ (Even *-(A)n(2)-* processive), *nebdeñe:* ‘flat, wide’ (Even *-ñA* deverbil adjectivizer), *nebder-* ‘to open, come out (of flowers) (intr.)’, *nebdeku* ‘opened up; wide’, Evk. *nepte-* ‘to unfold, smooth out, spread out’, pTg **nepte-* ‘to become flat and wide’

WMo. *nebseger* ‘wide and long’ (WMo. *-GA* deverbil quality noun (Poppe 1954: 46)), WMo. *nebseyi-* ‘to be wide and long (of clothes), to be tattered, in rags (intr.)’

(pMo *-yi- anticausative, cf. (3)), WMo. *nebsegene-* ‘to move (of something wide and long)’ (WMo. -GA- factitive: Poppe 1954: 61; pMo *-nA- processive.), Khal. *nevsiy-*, Bur. *nebši-*, pMo *-nebse- ‘to be(come) wide and long’

Robbeets (2005: 375; 2008) argues that the voiced series in Japanese, which are internally derived from original nasal clusters, can be traced back to clusters in the Transeurasian languages. The original clusters can be divided into homorganic and heterorganic clusters (Sagart pc.) Homorganic clusters are composed of a sonorant and a stop (pTEA *-Rp-, *-Rt-, *-Rk-) and merge in a nasal cluster (pJ *-np- > OJ -b-, pJ *-nt- > OJ -d-, pJ *-nk- > OJ *-g-) in Japanese. In heterorganic clusters, such as those reflected in this etymology, on the other hand, the nasal and the stop have a different place of articulation, which results in the insertion of a parasitic stop (pTEA *-m(P)T-, *-n(T)K-, *-ŋ(K)T-). The nasal is lost in the continental Transeurasian languages (*-PT-, *-TK-, *-KT-), whereas Korean and Japanese lose the final stop (pJ *-mp- > OJ -b-, pJ *-nt- > OJ -d-, pJ *-ŋk- > OJ *-g-).

(8) ‘to be hard’

J *katai* A, OJ *kata-* ‘to be hard, solid, tough, rigid’, Shuri *kata-* A ‘to be sturdy, sure, saturated’, pJ *-kata- ‘to be hard’

K *kwut-*, MK *kwut-* ‘to be hard’, K *kkatalop-*, MK *skatalwop-* ‘to be hard, difficult, complicated; be harsh, severe’ (adj. n. + MK -lwop- ‘to be characterized by’; pK

*s(u/o)- intensive prefix), pK *-kata- ‘to be hard, severe’

WMo. *qata-* ‘1 to become hard, dry (intr.)’, *qata-yu* ‘2 hard’ (WMo -yu / -gü deverbial noun deriving quality words (Poppe 1954: 46)), *qata-n* ‘hard, strong’, MMo. *qata’u* ‘2’, Khal. *xat-*, *xatu:* ‘2’, Mgr. *xada-* ‘1’, *xadoŋ* ‘2’, pMo *-kata- ‘to become hard’

OTk. *kat-* ‘to be(come) hard, firm, tough’, *katīy* ‘2 hard’, Karakh. *kat-* ‘1’, *katīy* ‘2’,

Tat. *katī* ‘2’, Uz. *katik* ‘2’, Uig. *ketik* ‘2’, Az. *gati* ‘2’, Tkm. *gat*, *gati* ‘2’, Khak. *xatīy*

‘2’, Shor *kadiy* ‘2’, Chu. *xidə* ‘2’, Yak. *kīta:nax* ‘2’, Dolg. *kat-* ‘to become dry’,

kīta:nak ‘2’, Tuva *ka’dīy* ‘2’, Kirg. *katū* ‘2’, Kaz. *kattī* ‘2’, Nog. *kat* ‘2’, Bash. *kati* ‘2’,

KKalp. *kattī* ‘2’, pTk *-kat- ‘to be hard’

In Korean, relatively higher and lower vowels alternate phonologically in certain color adjectives, mimetic and expressive adjectives, a phenomenon referred to as “ablaut” by Vovin (2008a: 6) and as “heavy and light isotopes” by Martin (1992: 343–344). The higher and more back vowels *e*, *ey*, *wu*, *wi* (< MK *wuy*) are typical of the heavy isotopes, while the lower and more front vowels *a*, *ay*, *o* (MK *wo*), *oy* (MK *woy*) are typical of the light isotopes. The higher vowels are associated with weighty, bulky concepts, while the lower vowels are used for small and unsubstantial things, e.g. K *ce:k-* ‘to be small in number or quantity, few’ vs. K *ca:k-* ‘to be small in size, tiny’. It is not surprising that the adjective meaning ‘to be large’ has a higher vowel in its default form K *khu-*. A trace of a lower alternant, however, can be found in the obsolete adjective K *ha-* (< MK *·ho-*) ‘to be large in number, much, many, be great’, lexicalized, for instance, in K *hankul* ‘hankul, lit. great script’. Similarly, the stem meaning ‘to be hard’ has developed a higher vowel in its default

form K *kwut*-, MK *kwut*- ‘to be hard’, while there is a trace of a lower —and probably original— alternant in the adjective with metaphorical meaning K *kkatalop*-, MK *skatalwop*- ‘to be hard, difficult, complicated; to be harsh, severe’. This form can be derived from **s-kata-lwop*- (INT-hard-be.characterized.by). The first element is the intensive prefix pK **s(u/o)*- > MK *s*- > K reduplication (Lee 1977: 145, Ramsey 1977: 64, Martin 1996: 24, 27, 91), e.g. MK *tih*- ~ *stih*- ‘to pound’. The last element is the verbal adjective formant pK **-lwop*- > MK *-lwop*- > K *-lop*- ‘to be characterized by’ (Martin 1992: 677), e.g. K *say* ‘new’ vs. *saylop*- ‘to be new’. Apophony between the higher vowel *wu* and the lower vowel *a* can be found in other adjective pairs, such as in K *phalah*-, MK *pha-la ho*- ~ K *phwulu*-, MK *phwulwu*-, *phwulu* ‘be blue’, where it is used for its expressive effects only.

Róna-Tas et al. (2011: 511–513) find that a nominalized form on *-(X)η* of the root pTk **kat(a)*- ‘to be hard’ is reflected in Hungarian *kâtāng* ‘chicory’.

(9) ‘to walk’

OJ *kati*, EOJ *kasi*, MJ *kati* ‘walking’ (deverbal noun on *-i* from unattested verb ‘walk’), pJ **kat*- ‘to walk’

K *keT*-, MK *keT*- ‘to walk’, pK **keti*- ‘to walk’

(SH) MMo. *ketü-gelje*- ‘to cross over, go across (intr.)’, (pMo **-gA-ljA*- inchoative suffix denoting multiple actants), *ketü-s* ‘crosswise, straight through (water)’ (pMo **-s* adverbializer), *ketü-l*- ‘to cross, pass (tr.)’ (WMo. *-l*- intensive-iterative; cfr (1)), WMo. *ketül*- ~ *getül*- ‘to traverse, cross, ford; be delivered’, Khal. *getle*- ‘1 cross’, Bur. *getel*- ‘1’, Kalm. *getl*- ‘1’, Ordos *getül*- ‘1’, Dag. *hedele*- ‘1’, *xedelgē*- ‘1’, *xedle*- ‘1’, pMo **ketü*- ‘to cross, traverse’

OTk. *kēt*-, MTk. *kēt*-, Tk. *git*-, Tat. *kit*-, Uz. *ket*-, Uig. *kät*-, Az. *gät*-, Tkm. *git*-, Kirg. *ket*-, Kaz. *ket*-, Nog. *ket*-, Bash. *kit*-, Gag. *get*-, Karaim *ket*-, KKalp. *ket*-, pTk **ke:t*- ‘to go, go away’

Vovin (2008: 150) rightly argues against Whitman’s (1985: 225) suggestion that OJ *kati* is derived from a thematic verb pJ **kati*- because we would not expect palatalization to /si/ is Eastern Old Japanese if this were the case. However, his suggestion that “WOJ *kati* was borrowed from Korean as a set form, and then re-borrowed into Eastern Old Japanese as *kasi*” is difficult to support because the nominalized form in Korean would be pre-MK *keli* and pK **keti* ‘walking’. The quality of the vowel and/or the liquid in the Korean model are difficult to reconcile with the Old Japanese form.

(10) ‘to be white’

J *siroi* B, OJ *siroi*- ‘to be white’, J *siro* (2.5), OJ *siroi* ‘white’ (< **sira-wo-m* (thick-COP-NML)), J/ OJ *sira*- in e.g. J *sirakami*, OJ *sira-kami* ‘white hair’, Shuri *sirusaN*, pR **siro*- ‘white’ (Thorpe 1983: 347), pJ **siro*- ~ **sira* ‘(to be) white’, OKog **tšiar* ‘silver’ (Beckwith 2004: 100, 112), OKog **šilap* ‘white’ (Miller 1979: 7)

MK *hoy*- ~ MK *huy*- ‘to be white’, MK *syey*- ‘to become white (of hair, of face)’, pK **si(l)A*- ~ pK **si(l)i*- ~ pK **si(l)e*- ‘to be white’

Ma. *šara*- ‘to become white’, Ma. *šari* ‘light’, Evk. *se:ru:-*, dial. *še:ru:-* ‘to sparkle, glitter, flash’, Evk. *se:ru:n*, dial. *še:ru:n* ‘rainbow’ (cf. pTg **-n* nominalizer), Evk. *sereme* ‘yellow’ (cf. pTg **-ma* nominalizer), Orok *se:rro*, *sīro* ‘rainbow’, pTg **sia:ra-* ‘to be light, white’

WMo. *sira* ‘yellow, yolk of an egg, bile, heartburn’, MMo. *šira*, *šira:*, Khal. *šar*, Bur. *šara*, Kalm. *šarə*, Ordos *šara*, Dong. *šara*, *šira*, Bao. *šira*, Dag. *šara*, *šar*, *šari*, Yogh. *šara*, Mgr. *s!ira*, Mogh. *šira*, *sira:*, pMo **sira* ‘yellow’

OTk. *šarīg*, *sarīg* ‘1 yellow’, Karakh. *sariy*, MTk. *sariy*, Tk. *sari* 1, Tat. *sari* 1, Uz. *sariq* 1 Uigh. *seriq* 1, S.-Yugh. *sariy* 1, Az. *sari* 1, Tkm. *sa:ri* 1, Khalaj *sa:ruy* ‘orange’, Tuva *sariy*, Kirg. *sari* 1, Kaz. *sari* 1, Bash. *hari* 1, Sal. *sari* 1, Chu. *šur*, *šurā* ‘white’, *šur-* ‘to become white’, Khazar Šarkel ‘the white city’, pTk **sia:ri-* ‘to be white, yellow’ (< pTk **si:ra-* ?) (pTk **(X)g* nominalizer; cf. Erdal 1991:172-232)

The seven vowel system proposes a double origin for OJ *i*; the front vowel derives either from pJ **e* or from pJ **i*. In the case of OJ *siro* 1- ‘be white’, there is no internal or Ryukyuan evidence, supporting the reconstruction of a mid front vowel. However, Frellesvig and Whitman (2008: 37) take the attestation of MK *syey-* ‘become white (of hair, of face)’ as external evidence for the reconstruction of pJ **sero* ‘white’. This reconstruction seems implausible, however, in view of the attestation of two other, related stems MK *hoy-* ‘be white’ and MK *huy-* ‘be white’. I assume the following developments in Korean:

pK <i>*si(l)ə-</i>	> <i>*syo-</i>	> <i>*hyo-</i> (metathesis)	> MK <i>hoy-</i> ‘white’
pK <i>*si(l)i-</i>	> <i>*syu-</i>	> <i>*hyu-</i> (metathesis)	> MK <i>huy-</i> ‘white’
pK <i>*si(l)e-</i>	> <i>*si(l)ye-</i>	> <i>*syey-</i>	> MK <i>syey-</i> ‘become white’

Proto-Korean had three apophonical alternants for the adjective root ‘be(come) white’. The original final mid vowel in pK **si(l)e-* diphthongized. Diphthongization of mid front vowels by way of assimilation to a high front vowel also occurred in the derivation of MK *myey-* ‘get stopped up’ from MK *mek-* ‘stop up’ and a passive suffix MK *-i*.

After liquid loss, the vowels of the three alternants contracted. Initial pK **s-* developed into pre-MK **h-* whenever it was followed by a front vowel *-i-* or palatal glide *-y-*, but this development was blocked when a second glide was present in the syllable. This explains why MK *syey-* ‘become white (of hair, of face)’ maintained its silibant. The Koguryo cognate OKog *ᄒᄡᆞᆫ* *tsiar* ‘silver’ proposed by Beckwith, while semantically rather distant, would support the high front vowel. Although Miller’s Koguryo proposal would be a better fit, it may concern a ghost-word which has arisen via a modern scholar’s handwritten copy of the character 刀 (Beckwith 2004: 72).

It is clear that Tungusic forms such as Ma. *sira* ‘yellow’, Even *hiranjan* ‘yellowish (of reindeer skin)’ and Ud. *si:* ‘yellow paint’ are copies from Mongolic (Miller & Street 1975: 133, Doerfer 1985: 302, Rozycki 1994: 184). These are nominal forms with high front vowels meaning ‘yellow’. However, the Tungusic stems proposed in

the etymology can be derived from descriptive verbs, reflect pre-glided low vowels and share the meaning ‘to be light’ or ‘to be white’.

The Mongolic forms may be borrowed from Turkic because they are restricted to the meaning ‘yellow’ and cannot be derived from descriptive verbs. If the contact scenario is correct, the copies suggest that the Turkic model was an unbroken pTk **si:ra-*.⁶ Some contemporary Mongolic forms have recently undergone “*i*-breaking” whereby the vowel *i* develops into *a* or *ia* before *a*. If the Koguryo, Tungusic and Turkic forms cited are indeed related, then they should have undergone a similar development of “*i*-breaking”. Although “*i*-breaking” must have occurred independently at different points in time in each of the languages, it may represent “Sapirian drift” (Sapir 1921: 126–127, Joseph 2013), a specific type of recurring changes in related languages at widely separated stages of their development.

Since the formant *-(X)g* is very frequent in deverbal nouns in Old Turkic, e.g. OTk. *isi-* ‘to be hot’ → *isi-g* ‘hot; heat’, we can reconstruct pTk **siarī-* ‘to be white, yellow’ as an original descriptive verb. This is supported by the Chuvash descriptive verb *šur-* ‘to become white’. The palatal sibilant in Chuvash, Khazar and in the Hungarian loanwords *šār* ‘yellow’ and *šārgā* ‘yellow’, as well as the palatalized variant Orkhon OTk. *šarīg* support the diphthong in the reconstruction.⁷ Note that Róna-Tas et al. (2011: 691–695) propose that the West Old Turkic models underlying H *šār* ‘yellow’ and *šārgā* ‘yellow’ are WOT **šarī* and **šarug*, respectively, but they derive both forms from a single origin **siarī-g*. In my view, pTk **sia:rī-* ‘to be white, yellow’ represents the original proto-Turkic form, rather than deriving it from pTk **sa:rī-*, as is proposed by them. Róna-Tas et al. (2011: 693) further point out that the meaning ‘yellow’ is probably secondary because it denotes a light yellow color, which probably evolved from the word for ‘white’. The original meaning is preserved in Chuvash and in the Khazar place name.

(11) ‘to be(come) round’

J *marui* A, EMJ (10th C) *maro-* ‘to be round’, J *maru*, OJ *maro2* ‘round thing’, Shuri *marusaN*, pR **maro-* (Thorpe 1983: 321), pJ **maru-* ~ **maro-* ‘to be round’, OKog **mawr* ‘round, circle’ (Beckwith 2004: 66, 114, 158)

6 Contrary to Doerfer (1963: 220–221), who considers the parallel between the Mongolic and Turkic forms as a coincidence, Georg (2007: 274) explains it in terms of a loan connection. He finds that “adding Japanese to this does not lead to any serious objections on the semantic side, but the vowel does not fit the Turkic etymon (which is the source of Mongolian here)”. But if Turkic indeed is the loan source of Mongolian, this indicates that the model was pTk **si:ra-* ‘yellow’ with a vowel that fits the Japanese etymon.

7 Old Turkic distinguished between two sibilants in native words: alveolar /s/ and palatal /ʃ/ (Erdal 2004: 82–83). The distinction is found in most runiform inscriptions of Orkhon Old Turkic. Manichean writing uses two different characters, but other Old Uighur texts do not distinguish consistently, as is the case here for Orkhon OTk. *šarīg* vs. Uighur OTk. *sarīg*.

K *mulu-* (-*ll-*) 'to turn around, retreat, go back (intr.); give back, return (tr.)', MK *mulu-* (-*ll-*) 'to retreat, withdraw', pK **mili-l-* 'to turn around'

Evk. *mur-* '1 to walk round, return', *murume* '2 round' (cf. pTg **-mA* nominalizer), Even *merək-* 'to return', Even *mereldin-* 'to circulate, circle, orbit', *mere:ti* 'circle', Neg. *meysel* 2, Ma. *muri-* 'to twist, wring', *murigan* 'curved place on a road', *murcaku:* 'spiral, whorl, helix', Olch. *mur-muru* 2, Orok *moroline* 2, Na. *murgi* 2, pTg **muru-* 'to turn around'

WMo. *muri-* ~ *mur-* 'to go astray, act contrarily', WMo *muruyi-* 'to be bend, to be crooked, to turn, to meander (intr.)' (pMo. **-yi-* anticausative), WMo *murui* 'awry, slanting, bending; bend, curve, crookedness (n. and adj.)' (cf. pMo **-i* deverbal noun suffix), MMo. *mur-*, *muri* '1 curve', Khal. *muruy* '1', Buriat *muṛu:* '1', Kalm. *muṛu:* '1', Ordos *murʷi:* '1', Dag. *morčigui* '1', Mgr. *muri:* '1', pMo **muru-* 'to make a curve, turn round'

OTk. *bür-* 'to twist, wind round, screw (tr.)', MTK. *bur-*, Tk. *bur-*, Tat. *bor-*, Uz. *bur-*, *bura-*, Uig. *bur-*, Az. *bur-*, Tkm. *bur-*, *bürü-*, Khak. *pur-*, Shor *pur-*, Kirg. *bura-*, *bür-*, Kaz. *bura-*, *bür-*, Nog. *bur-*, *bura-*, *bür-*, Bash. *bor-*, Balkar *bur-*, Gag. *bur-*, Karaim *bur-*, KKalp. *bur-*, *bura-*, Chu. *pär-* 'to turn, wind, bend, screw', pTk **bür-* ~ *bur-* 'to turn over, wind around'

The regular medial vowel reflex of a high back vowel **-u-* is Japanese *-u-*. However, the reflex *-a-* in pJ **maru-* ~ **marə-* 'to be round' is the one expected in a particular phonological environment, whereby the vowel is preceded by an initial labial consonant (**p-*, **w-*, **m-*) and followed by a medial resonant (**-r-*, **-n-*). The phonological development probably involved the diphthongization of the high back vowel: **muru-* > **mauru-* > *maru-* > *marə-*. The final vowel alternation in pJ **maru-* ~ **marə-* reflects the change in medial vowel quality and the following assimilation of the final vowel. Note that MJ *waru-* ~ *waro-* 'to be bad' (< pJ **waru-* ~ **warə-* 'to be bad') reflects a similar development. Based on Beckwith's reconstruction of OKog **mawr* 'round, circle', the dissimilation may have already started in Japonic (Japanese-Koguryoic).

MK *mulu-* (-*ll-*) 'to retreat, withdraw' belongs to a small class of seven verbs that are marked by *-ll-* doubling infinitives. Ramsey (1986: 186) derives these verbs from original verb roots that were closed by a final liquid *-l*. Given the intensive or iterative connotation of some of these verbs, it is inviting to set up a final intensive-iterative suffix pK **-l-* in some cases.

The deverbal anticausative suffix pMo **-yi-* can be reconstructed on the basis of verb pairs such as WMo. *sekü-* 'to raise, lift up (tr.)' -> *seküyi-* 'to rise, stand out (intr.)', WMo. *čarda-* 'to starch (tr.)' -> *čardayi-* 'to harden, become hard (intr.)' and WMo. *julbu-* 'to shed skin, to lose hair (intr.)' -> *julbuyi-* 'for the hair to lie down (as when wet), to be short-wooled'. In view of WMo *muruyi-* 'to be bend', this suffix supports the reconstruction of a verb root pMo **muru-* meaning 'to make a curve, turn round'.

The basic meaning of the Turkic verbs is 'to turn over, wind around', but it has secondarily developed meanings as 'wrinkle, wrap around, cover', which have been

borrowed into Mongolic, e.g. Wo. *burgi*- ‘to rise in clouds, whirl’, *burjiyi*- ‘to curl, frizzle’, *büri*- ‘to cover, envelop’, etc. (Róna-Tas et al. 2011: 150). The Mongolic copies are easily unmasked because their meaning is restricted to the secondary meaning of the Turkic model. The back- and front-vocalism in the Turkic languages may be iconic, having to do with the differentiation between larger and smaller concepts, as it does in Korean (see etymology (8) ‘to be hard’).

TURKIC LANGUAGES

Information and Guidelines for Contributors

Contents. TURKIC LANGUAGES contains articles, review articles, reviews, contributions to discussions (remarks and replies), reports, surveys of publications, lists of publications received, and addresses of contributors.

Original contributions. As a rule, only original contributions are accepted. Submission of a manuscript implies that it has not been previously published and that it is not under review elsewhere.

Language. The preferred language of publication is English. Authors not writing in their mother-tongue are asked to have their manuscripts checked with respect to language and style.

Length of contributions. The suggested length of articles and review articles is 10–30 pages.

Submission of manuscripts. Authors are requested to send their manuscripts in electronic form, preferably as a doc-file together with a pdf version. Manuscripts should have a separate title page with the author's name and full mailing address. Please submit your contribution electronically, by e-mail or on disk. Manuscripts will not be returned.

Style sheet. Contributors are requested to comply with the style sheet which will be sent on request.

Permissions. It is the author's responsibility to request any permission required for the use of material owned by others.

Abstracts. Authors submitting articles and review articles are requested to include an English abstract of about 100 words.

Referee system. The journal uses a referee system in order to ensure a high standard. The anonymous reviewers will only read copies of the contributions without any identification of the author. While they may give suggestions for improvements, they are not obliged to specify the motivations for their decision to recommend or not to recommend publication in each case.

Proofs. Authors will receive one copy of the first proof, which, duly corrected, should be returned normally within two weeks. Changes against the original manuscript must be avoided or kept to a minimum.

Free author copies. Authors will receive a free copy of the volume in which their article appears. Additionally they will receive the print-ready pdf-file version of their article.

Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. Lars Johanson, Turkic Languages, Institute of Oriental Studies,
University of Mainz, D-55099 Mainz, Germany
Fax: +49-6131-368662, E-mail: johanson@uni-mainz.de

Turcologica

Herausgegeben von Lars Johanson

94: Marcel Erdal, Irina Nevskaya,
Astrid Menz (Eds.)

Areal, historical and typological aspects of South Siberian Turkic

2012. 246 pages, 7 tables, 20 diagrams, pb
ISBN 978-3-447-06734-8
€ 62,- (D)

The volume contains a selection of articles on areal, historical and typological aspects of the South Siberian Turkic language group, written by linguists from Germany, the Netherlands, Russia, Turkey and the United States. Beside dealing with South Siberian Turkic languages (Altay Turkic, Tuvan, Shor, Khakas), the volume also presents papers on Tuvan varieties spoken in Mongolia and China and on Yellow Uyghur, a language spoken in the Qinghai-Gansu region of China which appears to be genetically close to South Siberian Turkic. Kazakh, a contact language to several of these idioms, is also discussed. The papers cover the typology of the sound, morphological and syntactic systems as well as the areal features and the historical development of these languages.

95: Béla Kempf

Studies in Mongolic Historical Morphology

Verb Formation in the Secret History
of the Mongols

2013. 239 pages, pb
ISBN 978-3-447-06895-6
€ 54,- (D)

The book gives an examination of the verbalization processes as observed in the Middle Mongol period of Mongolic language history (13th–16th centuries). As primary source the *Secret History of the Mongols*, the epic chronicle of the

Mongols was taken, which in many ways is their most ancient record. Of the 1,100 verb types of the text, more than 380 are discussed in detail. 37 derivational verb-forming suffixes are dealt with, 15 of which are deverbal verb suffixes and 22 denominational ones.

Descriptions of the derivational elements traceable from this stage of the language include characterizations of the stems to which the suffix may be added, the distributional rules of the suffix and describing the function of the suffix, based on the semantic field of the derived verbs. If possible, every statement of characterization is exemplified by lexical data taken from the *Secret History of the Mongols*.

96: László Károly

Deverbal Nominals in Yakut

A Historical Approach

2013. X, 205 pages, 22 tables, pb
ISBN 978-3-447-06928-1
€ 42,- (D)

László Károly's study presents an elaborated analysis and description of the deverbal nominal derivational suffixes in Yakut as spoken in the pre-Soviet times. Based on the analysis, various aspects of Yakut and at the same time Turkic and Mongolic word formation processes are discussed, such as historical development of the suffixes from Old Turkic up to modern Yakut, changes in the system through language contacts, similarities to and divergency from the other Turkic languages. Besides a formal description, the functional side of the analysed derivational suffixes is presented in a systematic fashion, providing a general framework for future works on comparative derivational morphology.

HARRASSOWITZ VERLAG · WIESBADEN

www.harrassowitz-verlag.de · verlag@harrassowitz.de