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Yakut verbs of thinking in comparison with Russian verbs

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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.

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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 барыхтын 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, диригинник 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 аҕаҥ 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. *Барыахтаахпын өйдөөн кэллим 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 улаханнык 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. *Низэмэс 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.

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