On Some Specific Non-Finite Forms of the Verbs in the Turkic Languages

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Abstract: *This paper is devoted to a comparative-historical analysis of the structural-semantic and functional peculiarities of some specific participial, adverbial participial and infinitive forms in the Turkic languages and their dialects and patois. Currently a number of issues regarding the structural-semantic and functional features of specific participial, adverbial participial and infinitive forms in the Turkic languages have not received exhaustive coverage in Turkology. In this research similar and distinguishing features of these forms in the Turkic languages are identified, as well as their etymology is discussed. It should be noted that a systematic comparative-historical study of the grammatical elements of the Turkic languages takes on special significance in Turkology. The relevance of the chosen topic is determined by these factors.*

Keywords: specific, non-finite forms of the verbs, Turkic languages, dialects, participle, adverbial participle, infinitive

1. Introduction

As we know, non-finite verb forms in modern Turkic languages are basically identical in their semantic and syntactic functions. However, despite this, there are forms that occur only in some Turkic languages, i.e. they are specific to one or another Turkic language. The specifics of each of the non-finite forms of the verb can be detected through comparative-historical analysis. In this paper we will investigate some specific participial, adverbial participial forms in the Turkic languages, will conduct a comparative-historical analysis of their structural-semantic and functional features. The problem of specific non-finite forms of the verbs’ determination in the Turkic languages is one of the least studied issues of Turkology.

One of the specific participial forms of the Turkic languages is the form ending in –ishly/-eshly formed through a combination of none’s affix –ish/-esh, the affix –la/-le which form verbs and adverbial participial affix –a/-e, -iy/-i. This adverbial participle is registered in the modern Tatar language and its dialects.

It is interesting to note that the adverbial participle is also found in Salar language, which, unlike the Tatar language belongs to the Oghuz group of Turkic languages (note that Salar language has no official status). Perhaps, this form in Salar language appeared under the influence of Kipchak languages. A distinctive feature of the participle in –ishly/-eshly is that it attaches only to the verbal forms of movement and has no negative aspects, and does not accept voice affixes.

This form passes the value of the action that occurs simultaneously with the action of the main verb.


In Salar language this adverbial participle has a slightly different phonetic shape: -ýillus/-gelitt-ku//-kelli. This form in Salar language also conveys the meaning of simultaneity of action (Tenishev 1963, p. 40).

The adverbial participle ending in –ishly/-eshly occurs mainly in Mishar dialect of Tatar language and like the literary Tatar language is attached only to verbs of movement.

Let’s consider this example: Улынылды келауға да көрө чоң – following the path, go to the store too (Makhmutova, 1978, p.187).

One of the specific adverbial participial forms in the Turkic languages is the form –dok. This form occurs only in the modern Kumyk language. This affix is attached to the verbal form ending in –gan/-gen. For example: турскан+док – as soon as I'm up; гелген+док – as soon as he came, etc. (Janmahov 1967, p. 183).

Despite the fact that the form on –dok has all the signs of adverbial participles, many researchers of Kumyk language don’t consider it as adverbial participle. So, A.N. Batyrmurzaev, N.K.Dmitriyev, I.A. Kerimov, A.G. Magomedov did not classify the form ending in –dok to the adverbial participle (Batirmurzayev 1971, p.45; Dmitriyev 1935). I.A. Karimov and A. G. Magomedov included it in a number of adverbs (Kerimov, Magomedov 1971, p. 83-85).

Adverbial participial affix ending in –dok consists of two elements: d (goes back to consonant sound of a local case’s affix –da/-de) and –ok (goes back to intensifying particles).

Concerning the etymology of the second element –ok N.K.Dmitriyev takes a different point of view: "With some probability it goes back to semantically full word ok/uk – an arrow and a moment" (Dmitriyev 1940, p.154).

However, J. D. Janmahov inclined to a different view regarding the origin of the element -ok. So, he believes that "...the affix –ok directly traced back not to a full meaning to the word -ok "arrow", and to an intensifying particle –ok "same", "even", "just", "very", which is very often used with different categories of words in Kumyk, and in some other Turkic languages to express the highest degree of quality, sym- ptom, and to express an action before the ordinary limit, etc." (Janmahov 1967, p.187).
We also share J.D. Janmavov’s view. An intensifying particle –ok operates not only in many Turkic languages, but is registered in the ancient Turkic written monuments.

Let’s consider a few examples:  

1. Hozhirjanok, adabietla yurinaiyirm – now I study literature (Konopov 1960, p.335, 378); As you are as soon as they saw it; Arprk ok cini, aciq a – when you were skinny and hungry (Malov 1951, p. 404, 406).

As you can see, the particle -ok in the ancient Turkic written monuments has two phonetic variants: -ok/-ök. Note that in Khakas language the particle -ok also comes in two phonetic variants ox, ök and is used not only in the end, but in the middle of a word.

Examples: сиык оксас – how you see; «Кызыл Аал» колхозыны тартора марыстарга парыбочка –Brown horse of the farm "Kyzyl Aal" went on the run too, etc. (Direnkova 1948, p.120).

The use of an intensifying particle -ok with a front vowel, in our opinion, occurs as a result of obedience to the law of vowel harmony.

In Kumyk language adverbial participial form ending in – dok passes the value of the action, followed immediately another action occurs.

For example: пирасун англындоок, Даудовну сёзөн бөлөк, Магычча бабуя бөрөлдө –As soon as he realized Daudov’s thoughts, interrupted him and turned to Makhch, etc. (Janmavov 1967, p.190).

As noted above, the adverbial participle is found only in the Kumyk language. Synonymous with the adverbial participle –dok in other Turkic languages are forms ending in -gach, -gech (Tatar, Bashkir, Crimean Tatar, Uzbek, Uyg- hur, Tuvan), ending in -ar-maz, -er-mex (Azeri, Karachay-Balkar, Turkmen, Turkish), –ala, -ele (Khakas, Altai, Shor).

In Modern Turkmen language the meaningful form ending in - dok is passed by the adverbial participle ending in –agadan, -egeden, -agada, -eigeado/gadin, -gedi: алагадан – as soon as he took (Khosrovi 1950, p.16-17), in the Yakut language – by the adverbial participle ending in –aat, -eet, -oot, ott: таанат тарысты – as soon as he was dressed, he left (Kharitonov 1947, p.238-239), in the Gagauz language– by the adverbial participle ending in –diijan, -deeeen -dijaan, -dyeejene: эмишти-эййиң, сорар бабуяна, - гемеда ми Пирку – as soon as he arrived, he asked the old woman if the Pirku came (Pokrovskaya 1963, p. 73-74), in the Karaim language - by the adverbial participle ending in –gachokk, -gyachokk, -kachokh, -kyachokh: –Na эди келгячох абар Мирчили дэ кёрдюлар магарлар ол катыны ки кёркю ол астрь - And as soon as Abraham arrived in Egypt, Egyptians saw that his wife is very beautiful (Musayev 1964, p. 301).

The adverbial participle ending in –abas/-ebes is a specific form of Kachin dialect of Khakas language and semantically similar to the participial form ending in –ip.

For example: кылебес – coming, салабас - laying, etc. (Grammar of Khakas language 1975, p. 243). This form is not used in the negative form.

The form ending in –gadag/-gedeg, -kadag/-kedeg, -adag/-edeg in Khakas language is a participle of the estimated future tense and combined with both positive and negative forms of the verb.

This participial form passes the value of the action that might happen in the future by assumption of the speaker: сүлгөзге хызыкты – it seems that the girl will sing etc. (Grammar of Khakas language 1975, p. 237). The participle ending in –gadag/-gedeg takes place also in the Shor language. This form, like the Khakas language, is a participle of the possible future tense, i.e., passes the value of the action that may be committed in the future.

For example: По керек поладагык - It seems that this case will be released (may be released) (Direnkova 1941, p.135).

In the dialects of modern Turkic languages registered affix -k, which took place in the common Turk era and whereby was formed the participles.

Interesting fact that in the dialects of Turkmen language, namely in Ersar and Chovdur, the affixes –ik, -uk, -k, -ike participate in the formation of participial forms. For example: горку гэйтдө – having visited instead of literary горку гэйтө etc. (Annaurov, Berdiyev, Durdiyev, Shamuradov 1972, p.171).

It is noteworthy that the southern dialect of the Bashkir language adverbial participles and participles are formed by means of the affix –ik. This affix has the following phonetic variants: -gл/-e/-ik/-e/-gизa/-геze. The form ending in -gизa/-геze serves mainly to formation of adverbial participles.

Consider some examples: Кем алык? – Who is the first taker? Исход барооа ушунда изе – When the mother arrived, he was still alive (Mirjanova 1979, p. 213).

Specific adverbial participial form ending in – agadan /-egeden, -agada /-ege-den/-adag/-edin functions in modern Turkmen language. This form is not registered in other Turkic languages.

Semantically the form ending in – agadan /-egeden in the Turkmen language represents a sequence of two actions (as soon as, immediately etc.).

Consider the example: Менин хавар адалдын, артъымдан адам гойбери – As soon as you receive news from me, immediately send a person (Khosrovi 1950, p.17).

Adverbial participles in –dinan and -diijan are specific forms of Gagauz language. As noted by L.A. Pokrovskaya, adverbial participial form ending in –dinan "...derives from a combination of verbal name ending in -di with possessive suffixes (3-rd person and postposition –lan/-nan (<silen) i.e –digi+lan >diilan//diinan” (Pokrovskaya 1963, p.72).
Studied form ending in – dïiänıan sends the value of the action, proposed earlier before the main action and is a very common adverbial participle of the Gagauz language.

Examples: Гул ачытылан ыйаз олур – When the rose blooms, the summer comes (Pokrovskaya 1963, p.73).

Another specific adverbial participial form ending in – dïiään of Gagauz language semantically different from the above-mentioned form ending in – dïiänıan. So, adverbial participle ending in – dïiään indicates action that immediately followed by the main action and corresponds to the value of the form ending in – gach/-kach in the Turkic languages of the Kipchak group.

Consider the examples: Гөрдү жайынын епсүү сөйлө: ыйаан дейн, сөйкөө м гойлө – As soon as you see, tell other people: this is not a lie but true... (Pokrovskaya 1963, p. 74).

Participial affix ending in – galak found in the Altai, Khakas, Shor, Tuvan, barabinsk dialects of Siberian Tatars, Kirghiz and Yakut languages. In the Kirghiz and Yakut languages this affix functions in the following phonetic variants: a - elek (Kirg.) and – a ilk (Yakut).

As you can see, considered a participial affix is observed only in “Siberian” Turkic languages and Kirghiz language. It seems to us that this is the specificity of the participle form ending in – galak.

The presence of the form - galak in the Turkic languages of Siberia is the result of Old Kirghiz language’s influence, as namely the Kirghiz language provides enough consistent data for the etymology of this form (the presence of the negative modal particle - elek). (Naslov 2000, p. 56-61).

The result of Old Kirghiz language’s influence, in our opinion, can be considered the functioning of the participle ending in – galak in Siberian Turkic languages, as well as in the modern Yakut language.

Perhaps the presence of the considered form in Khakas language and in the language of Chulym Turks is also the result of Old Kirghiz language’s and Kirghiz language’s influence. The statement of N. N. Shirobokova is indicative on this point: "Kirghiz language, interacting with the languages of different tribes, formed the Khakas language with all its dialects. Through the Kizil dialect of Khakas language the language of Yenisei Kirghiz participated in the formation of the language of Chulym Turks" (Shirobokova 2013, p. 82-86).

Participle ending in – galak, - kalak/-kelek has in Khakas language conveys the meaning of the imperfect, but the expected action or condition.

Consider the examples: чыңгалаа парын – not yet opened flower, сымхалаа кун – has not yet raised sun etc. (Inkijekova-Grekul 1953, p.108-123).

Participial form ending in – kalak/-galak in the Shor language, like Khakas language, conveys the value of not yet accomplished, but expected action.

Consider the examples: келгелек – has not yet arrived, нангалак – has not yet returned etc. (Direnkova 1941, p.136).

The situation is somewhat different in the Altai language. Participial form ending in – kalak/-galak in the Altai language indicates the action that was not carried out, and refer to the past tense. This participle in the Altai language is often replaced by the negative form of the participle ending in – gan. In other words, this form passes only the value of the past (negative) tense.

Examples: чыкпаган (чыкпаган) балага кабай жазаба – do not do a cradle for the unborn child; дис келге-ген (келгелек) нөкөрөйдюсти сакып түрүгүс – we expect our mate that has not come back yet etc. (Tadikin 1971, p.88).

In the Yakut language Participial form ending in – galak, as noted above, has a phonetic variant – a ilk. In the Yakut language the mood of unimplemented action (in the past, present, future tenses) is formed through this affix.

Participle ending in –a ilk in the Yakut language takes the possessive affixes, predicativity’s affixes and also acts in the role of any part of the sentence (subject, circumstances of tense, object, etc.).

Consider the examples: Көрө илкетер барын чөкүлөр – All, never seeing, saw (subject); Аның илкети бұлғаты ның көзісті – He forgot that he still didn’t eat (object), etc. (Grammar of modern Yakut literary language 1982, p. 240).

In Barabinsk dialect of the language of the Siberian Tatars the form ending in – galak also passes the value of the expected actions and acts only in the case form, i.e. it combined with the affix of the local case – та: – galakta.

Here is an example: Про вчера тулгалаа ішіг ыкты – not yet a year old, he went to work (Tumaseva 1968, p. 79).

Specific participial form ending in –a, e – duran, - doron = liter. -yan/-yen is registered in Olam dialect of Turkmen language.

Compare for clarity: чыңгадырөн - leaving = liter. ыкты, etc. (Hajiyeva 1975, p.175).

The form ending in - (a, e) duron is characteristic of Sarik dialect of Turkmen language: алырөн - taker, etc. (Nartiyev 1960 p. 16).

Note that this form (in a slightly different phonetic form) is also represented in old Uzbek language: гарқ боладургъан – drowning (Bagiyev 1965, p. 23).

Unlike Olam dialect of Turkmen language, in old Uzbek language the form ending in –durgan conveys the significance of the past tense’s participle: чыңгадырөн – leaving (Olam dialect), гарқ боладургъан – drowning (old Uzbek language). In our opinion, this is motivated by the fact that the second element of the affix – durgan – gan in the Turkic languages of the Kipchak-Karluks groups forms the past tense’s participles.
In modern Tatar language the form ending in -алатығанын (-atagan) and the participle - а тORGan in modern Uzbek language is rarely used.

Examples: ęзадыған – writer, the person who will write, 羰бас ымаладыған – accepting, the person who will accept etc (Копонов 1960, p.238-239).

In the modern Tatar language the form ending in –а tORGan refers to present tense’s participles and operates as an attribute, not only in the subject, but in the object of the action. Here are some examples: өңдө жиилөрөн бөшөлөй көбөн бөшөн тORGан инеи – here is a little river which almost dries up in summer (with the value of the subject of the action); Светлана зүйрөн кепен остал остилөөн ушкай тORGан кытабны алуу – Sветлана, stretched, took out a book from the table, which was read (with the value of the object of the action), etc. (Tatar grammar 1993, p. 222).

Substantivization of the form ending in -а tORGan is not typical for the Tatar language. Substantivized form of this participle in the Tatar language was only registered in idioms and poetical works.

Example: Уз акыны пүзүүгө караап авылына су кынбы тор жарчыдан түүгө – He is not one of those, who looks down and keeps silence, like lost his tongue etc. (Tatar grammar 1993, p.223).

In the dialect of the Chern Tatars (Tuba-kizhi) participial form ending in –а tORGan has a phonetic variant –атан/-етен/-ятан/-yten. The participle ending in –атан/-етен/-ятан/-yten in this dialect belongs to the participle of the future debitive tense. Form ending in –атан/-етен/-ятан/-yten in dialect of Chern Tatars perceives as attributive and predicative functions.

For example: Өгөө бөрүү күү – The girl who should marry, атапшен кыз жылуу - travelingadin (in attributive function); кияшиш көрүүлөө көгөн кыз кирешпейтен – a woman should not interfere in the Affairs of others (in predicative function) (Baskakov 1966 p. 49).

In the dialect of the West Siberian Tatars the participle ending in –а tORGan performs in phonetic form in –атоғон/-атагон/-етогон/-атин/-етин ends and passes the value of the present tense.

Examples: паратоғон – the one that is going, қалатыған – the one that is coming etc. (Akhatov 1963, p. 173).

Note that the participial form ending in - атогон/-атан in a dialect of the West Siberian Tatars acts as a subject, an object and attributives.

For example: Қызығатынан ишенип жатоо - My word finally ended (in the role of subject); Нитипдөй ат алатынчыны пеңемең иш - He didn't know what a horse to buy (in the role of object); Пескип кызатын кешелер –We are the people who should stay at home (in the role of attributives) (Akhatov 1963, p. 175).

In the language of the Siberian Tatars the form ending in –а tORGan has a contracted phonetic variant – тин/-тогон/-тин/-tkin and belongs to the present tense’s participles.

For example: Үй шайлооғон кылт – the woman who usually cooks dinner etc. (Tumasheva 1968, p. 81).

The form ending in –а tORGan in the modern Kazakh language appears in the phonetic version –атин/-етин/-itin. It is interesting to note that the participle ending in –атин/-етин/-itin in the Kazakh language, combined with possessive affixes, acts as a verb in a sentence.

Consider this example: келет кизи – the man who is to come (as an attributive); Біз ұдайдыны көк майсыз жасағанда отыртынбыз, оны өзі кела таптыңыз – We sat on the green Bank of the Udai and rested (as predicate) (Modern Kazakh language 1962, p. 323).

In Karachay-Balkar language the form ending in –а tORGan passes the value of the present moment of speech, and expresses the constancy and repeatability of subject and object of the action.

For example: сөзсө турган – the person who is talking (at the moment of speech), жаза турган адам – the person who is writing, often dealing with Scripture, etc. (Grammar of Karachay-Balkar language 1976, p. 218).

Noteworthy is the following adverbial participial -participial form – атогон, -ыдогон, -едогон in the Karaim language. Through this affix can be formed as adverbial participles and participles in the Karaim language.

Adverbial participial form, formed trough the affix –адогон, -ыдогон, -едогон passes the value of the action that takes place simultaneously with the action of the main verb. In some cases, this form combined with the affix -cha: odogoncha. In the modern Karaim language the affix ending in -адогон operates in the reduced form – adogoch. For clarity, we give a few examples: айтадогъон – speaking, айтадогъон – opening, etc. (Musayev 1977, p.61).

As noted above, the affix -адогон in the Karaim language forms also participial forms. The form –адогон forms present tense’s participles from intransitive verbs.

Consider the examples: чыгъадогъон – is coming out, көп жылдым – is going etc. (Musayev 1977, p.62).

Participial form in –уchu is registered in Karaim, Uzbek, Tatar, Karachay-Balkar and Kirghiz languages.

In the Karaim language the affix ending in –уchu forms the present and past tense’s participles.

Examples: айтучуу – the person who is saying (Musayev 1977, p.62).

In the Tatar language the affix ending in –уchu has a slightly different phonetic shape: -уchu/-uche and, unlike the Karaim language, only refers to the present tense’s
participle. In the modern Tatar language participle –uchu reports:

1) The value of the action preceding the action of the main verb: О, энем Якуб, уз сүбүрөңө дилөүөрө кайычан жөмөлөөлө сөл? – дөө элөө су турында суу күзүтүчү көрт – Brother Jacob, and when is this meeting? Said the old man, who started talking about water;

2) The value of the action that is simultaneous with the main verb: Туба боқта кийин баручу Гафият, Бер жырмал Мимулла, Гапсаттар өлүм толун беринчес кыш кызы чачу турында сөйлөшөрү – Returning to the other end of the street Gafiyet, Mimulla, Gapsattar and several people talked about the spring sowing (Tatar grammar 1993, p. 221).

It should be noted that the participial form ending in -uchi/-uchu in the Tatar language is often substantivated. It is noteworthy that in the early grammars of the Tatar language the form ending in -uchi was regarded mostly as the name of the actor that was pointed out by M.A. Kazembek: "Name existing in different relations can be considered as a kind of present participial form. It is formed by adding the particle –uchi (-uchu)" (Kazembek 1839, p. 67).

Let’s consider some examples: Ул төнөө аялда йөлөөчү булгандырымыш, элкер Фатымынын күзене йөчү керек – did anyone sleep that night in the village, but Fatima could not sleep (Tatar grammar 1993, p. 221).

Some participles ending in -uchi/-uchu in the Tatar language, having lost its verbal properties, began to be used as nouns: язычы - writer, якучу - student, etc.

In modern Kirghiz language participial form ending in -uvchu has a phonetic variant -ushu, -oochu, -chu and is regarded as the present-future tense’s participle. This form is quite often substantivized in Kirghiz language, like the Tatar language. Let’s consider few examples: Аңы алдыңғы бир аз элкү алынан түшүнүү төмөн, саныздығын көр сактоочу түшүнүү салын көөт – Then she, still looking at the letter, put it in a bag for storage of letters lying on the chest (as a participle); язычычы - writer (as a noun) etc. (Grammar of Kirghiz literary language 1987, p. 309).

Note that an affix –ushu, -oochu in the Kirghiz language forms the finite form of the past tense.

For example: Чынында атал Эршешти сыйлоочу... – actually my father always respected Ergesh... (Grammar of Kirghiz literary language 1987, p. 309).

As you can see, in the modern Kirghiz language affix –uvchu, -oochu participates in the formation of participles, noun and finite form of the past tense.

In Karachay-Balkar language participial form ending in –iuchu/uchu formally belongs to the participles of the present tense.

However, N.A. Baskakov believes that "the form ending in –iuchu/uchu is not specifically associated with any one time. It characterizes the action, as a permanent property of the subject, which is very close to real tense" (Grammar of Karachay-Balkar language 1976, p. 218).

Participial form –iuchu/uchu in Karachay-Balkar language, combined with the verb -tar, takes a narrative form.

For clarity, let us consider some examples: Маг алуучу Хасан – purchasing (permanent) cattle Hassan, жырлаучу жаш – singing guy; жаса түрүчү – often writing the person who has a habit of writing (descriptive form) etc. (Grammar of Karachay-Balkar language 1976, p. 218).

In the modern Uzbek language the form -uchi is regarded as a verbal adjective, functionally contiguous with participles. This form is in Uzbek language conveys meaning as participle and noun. It is noteworthy in this regard, the statement of A.N. Kononov: "Forms ending in –uchi often by the value of affix -chi, also referred to the face, and because, for example, the word ызыңұң matters: 1) constantly professional writer, 2) the writer; төрөүний – 1) collecting, 2) collectors (Kononov 1960, p. 239).

In the Kazakh language participial form ending in –uvchi functions in phonetic version –ushi. Like other Turkic languages, in the Kazakh language this participial form often goes into the category of verbal nouns. The form ending in –ushi, as a participle, passes the value of the action that is performed currently.

Examples: Үй сыырыуышы кыз бир топ көзгө көйдө – the Girl who cleans the room (the cleaning lady), put on the table a pile of papers (the participle); саптмышы – seller, окучычы – teacher (noun) etc. (Modern Kazakh language 1962, p. 324-325).

Some dialects of Turkish language have the participial form ending in -ishin (mainly occurs in the dialect of the city of Kutakhya).

This form passes the value same as the value of adverbial participle ending in –inci/інчи.

Examples: gelisin – when he comes, алиsun – when he takes etc. (Gulensoy 1988, p. 114).

2. Results

Though non-finite forms of the verb in Turkic languages studied in detail, but there are problems that require new approaches. In particular, the problem of comparative functional-semantic analysis of the specific non-finite forms of the verbs in the Turkic languages and their dialects has not investigated. In this regard, a comparative study of specific non-finite forms of the verbs in the Turkic languages gives the opportunity to discover their common and distinctive features.

Thus, it has become clear that the specific form of non-finite forms of the verb in Turkic languages and their dialects are characterized by the different and distinctive semantic-morphological features. Distinctive features of these forms are observed not only in their semantic, morphological, and phonetic signs.
Specific forms of non-finite verbs are the most commonly used in the Turkic languages of the Kipchak group. Some specific forms of non-finite verbs are found only in the dialects of Turkic languages (participial form ending in -ishin). This form occurs only in the dialect of Kutakhya of modern Turkish language.

Note that the category of negation is only available in some specific non-finite forms of verbs. Some specific adverbial participial forms are observed only in one Turkic language (the form –dok). This form occurs only in the modern Kumyk language. It is noteworthy that the same suffix of specific participial forms has different phonetic variants (–a torgan, atand/-eten-ytan/-ytan, atin/-etin/-itin, -digan, (-a, e) -daron, -doron).

References


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