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: -yý/i/-gel/-quý/i/-keli. 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: У ýзылый ылаука да керү чак – 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: туръган+док – as soon as I'm up; гелен+док – as soon as he came, etc. (Jannavov 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/tak – an arrow and a moment” (Dmitriyev 1940, p.154).

However, J. D. Jannavov 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." (Jannavov 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: : Хозирдапок, адабийетка уянчаирман – now I study literature (Копопов 1960, p.335, 378); Аны көрүп өк – as soon as they saw it; Арөк өк сүү, ачыкк – when you were skinny and hungry (Малов 1951, p. 404, 406).

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

Examples: сыык осхас – как ты же; «Кызыл Аал» колхозның торады чарыстарга парызбөлк –Brown horse of the farm "Kyzyl Aal" went on the run too, etc. (Диренкова 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 – док passes the value of the action, followed immediately another action occurs.

For example: пикрүсүн ангылдыңдок, Даговуңу сёзөн бёлөн, Магычча басыңың бүрүлүү –As soon as he realized Dawud’s thoughts, interrupted him and turned to Makhchak, etc. (Janmavov 1967, p.190).

As noted above, the adverbial participle is found only in the Kumyk language. Synonymous with the adverbial participle –док in other Turkic languages are forms ending in -гач, -геch (Tatar, Bashkir, Crimean Tatar, Uzbek, Uyg- hur, Tuvan), ending in -ар-мц, -эр-мц (Азерi, Karachay- Balkar, Turkmen, Turkish), –ал, –ел (Кахас, Altai, Shor).

In Modern Turkmen language the meaning of the form ending in - док is passed by the adverbial participle ending in –агадан, -эгеден, -агад, -эгеде/гadin, -гедин: алагадан – as soon as he took (Кhosrovi 1950, p.16-17), in the Yakut language – by the adverbial participle ending in –аас, -аеет, -оот, оот: танхаат таристы – as soon as he was dressed, he left [Khаритов 1947, p.238-239], in the Gagauz language– by the adverbial participle ending in –дизаанан, -дизеенен -дизеанан, -дизеянен: эмшэну-эйшэну, сорза бабуяа, - гемеди ми Пирку –as soon as he arrived, he asked the old woman if the Pirku came (Покровская 1963, p. 73-74), in the Karaim language - by the adverbial participle ending in –гачок, -гычок, -кочках, -къачок: Да эди келгчөн абар Мирзуда да көрдөлөр мишчөр ал къапыны ки көркөө ал астыры – And as soon as Abraham arrived in Egypt, Egyptians saw that his wife is very beautiful (Мусаєв 1964, p. 301).

The adverbial participle ending in –абас/-ебес is a specific form of Kachin dialect of Khakas language and semantically similar to the participial form ending in –ип.
Studied form ending in – *diinan* 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 ачытынан ыз олур – *When the rose blooms, the summer comes* (Pokrovskaya 1963, p.73).

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

Consider the examples: Гөрдөүжинай епшан сен соойла: ылан дея, сөөкто та боойдай – *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* (Kирг.) 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 participial 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*). (Nasilov 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*, -khalak/-kelek has in Khakas language conveys the meaning of the imperfect, but the expected action or condition.

Consider the examples: чыккалак (чыкпак) балала кабадай жазда – do not do a cradle for the unborn child; дөс көлөгө ген (келөгө) не лөрөдүнгө сакын түрүңө – 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 шекитер бары көдөлөр – All, never seeing, saw (subject); Анын мисли бүкөттүн умун көбүстү – 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 – *ta*, - *galakta*.

Here is an example: Пир иўс тулглашкто иўс ишкент – not yet a year old, he went to work (Tumasheva 1968, p. 79).

Specific participial form ending in (–, e) - *duron*, - *doron* = liter. -yan/-yen is registered in Olam dialect of Turkmen language.

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

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

Note that this form (in a slightly different phonetic form) is also represented in old Uzbek language: гарк боладурган – 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: чыккадорон – leaving (Olam dialect), гарк боладурган – 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-Karluk groups forms the past tense’s participles.
In modern Uzbek language studied participial form appears in the form -диган (< торган) and passes the value of the present-future tense. Note that the full form of the participle – а торган in modern Uzbek language is rarely used.

Examples: ёзадиган – writer, the person who will write, кабул каладиган – accepting, the person who will accept etc (Кононов 1960, p.238-239).

In the modern Tatar language the form ending in –а торган 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: өңдә жөлүүлөр бөтөлүй көйбен бөтө торган үйдә – here is a little river which almost dries up in summer (with the value of the subject of the action); Светлана урешеп кенә остала остеп үкәй торган катабаи алды – Svetlana, 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 торган 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: Ул алай түбәндә киришпейт, ауызлаары су каныб тора торгандардан түңәл – 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 (Туба-кизи) participial form ending in –а торган has a phonetic variant –атан/-етен/-итен/-етен in this dialect belongs to the participle of the future deitative tense. Form ending in –атан/-етен/-итен/-итет in dialect of Chern Tatars perceives as attributive and predicative functions.

For example: Эрө өз бартаи көс – The girl who should marry, атаптан кыйын – traveling man (in attributive function); кийин сөзгө өзгө кайын кыйышты ишет – 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 торган performs in phonetic form in –атогон/-атаган/-атеген/-атин/-етен and passes the value of the present tense.

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

In the Karaim language, only refers to the present tense’s participles. It is not

For example: Мышлайтыган қатына – the woman who usually cooks dinner etc. (Тunasheva 1968, p. 81).

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

Consider this example: көлтүм киши – the man who is to come (as an attributive); Биз өндөгөн көй маалым таарыктооң болбосо, оның дем алатанысыз – 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 торган passes the value of the present moment of speech, and expresses the constancy and repeatability of subject and object of the action.

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

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

Adverbial participial form, formed trough the affix –адогон, -адогон, -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 -ча: odogoncha. In the modern Karaim language the affix ending in -адогон operates in the reduced form – адогоч.

For clarity, we give a few examples: айтадогон – speaking, арадогон – 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: чыгымдогон – is coming out, келдогон –is going etc. (Musayev 1977, p.62).

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

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

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

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

1) The value of the action preceding the action of the main verb: Doch, when you put it in a bag, a singer sings, a habit of writing, etc. (Grammar of Karachay-Balkar language 1976, p. 218).

Participial form -учу/-учу in Karachay-Balkar language, combined with the verb -тур, takes a narrative form.

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

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

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

Examples: Мыл алычу Хасан – purchasing (permanent) cattle Hassan, жырлаучу жаш – singing guy; жаза тургучу – often writing, the person who has a habit of writing (descriptive form) etc. (Grammar of Karachay-Malkar language 1976, p. 218).

2) The value of the action that is simultaneous with the main verb: Убом очка кайтп тарууча Гафият, Бер яркы Машулла, Гапсаттар нам тым берип көп жылга чуу түрүндө сөйлөгүрүр –Returning to the other end of the street Gafiyet, Minnalla, Gapsattar and several people talked about the spring sowing (Tatar grammar 1993, p. 221).

It should be noted that the participial form ending in -учу/-уче in the Tatar language is often substantivated. It is noteworthy that in the early grammars of the Tatar language the form ending in -учу 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 participle. It is formed by adding the particle -учу (-учи)" (Kazembek 1839, p. 67).

Let’s consider some examples: Ул тонне алында ычылууну булагандыр-мы, элки Фатыйманын күзене ичкем көрмөл – did anyone sleep that night in the village, but Fatima could not sleep (Tatar grammar 1993, p. 221).

Some participles ending in -учу/-уче in the Tatar language, having lost its verbal properties, began to be used as nouns: язучы- writer, учучу - student, etc.

In modern Kirghiz language participial form ending in –учу has a phonetic variant –учу, -оочу, -очу 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: Ашык алдыга бир азга кымты тиемге тиешкем, саныктысы кат саптоочу түзлүкчү салып коёт – Then she, still looking at the letter, put it in a bag for storage of letters lying on the chest (as a participle): жазуучу- writer (as a noun) etc. (Grammar of Kirghiz literary language 1987, p. 309).

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

For example: Чынында атал Эргешти 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 –увчи, -оочу participates in the formation of participles, noun and finite form of the past tense.

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

However, N.A. Baskakov believes that "the form ending in –ичу/-ичу 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).

Thus, it has become clear that the specific form of 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.
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 -işin). 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 affix of specific participial forms has different phonetic variants (–a torgan, atand/-etan/-yten, atin/-etin/-itin, -digan, (-a, e) –daron, -doron)

References


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