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Some Suffix Extending Elements in the Turkic Languages

Abstract

The paper deals with a characteristic feature of the Turkic languages, namely the agglomeration of suffixes, either of a similar function, or of a different one – to extend a suffix with an element which has a metrical purpose. The most popular element is *-an*, *-än* which appears frequently with the converb *-p*, > *-pan*, *-pän*, which may be further extended by adding suffix *-i*, *-i*; *-in*, *-in*, *-iñ*, *-iñ*, *-uñ*, *-iñ*. The purpose of extending a suffix may be explained in a different way – as instruments of intensification, to fulfill the quantity of syllables, or, very probably, to strengthen the function of those suffixes, which primary function was petrified, worn out. However, the *-an*, *-än* element occurs also with the conditional suffix *-sa*, *-sä* (Q u t b 's version of *Hüsrev u Şirin*). Another element *-ni*, *-ni* (< *-in*, *-in* ~ *én*?) occurs also with the conditional suffix *-sa*, *-sä*, and with the suffix of the second person plural of the imperative mood *-u-ni-ñ*, *-ü-ni-ñ*, and also with the perfect tense *-di*, *-di* (Q u l A l i 's version *Qissa-i Yusuf*). Various explanations of these extending elements were brought by Turkologists, but it is interesting that all the elements comprise the 'n' consonant.

In the Turkic languages there exist a number of elements extending some suffixes, whose function has not been fully explained. In this paper, an attempt is made to determine the function of some extending elements.

In the Turkic languages an agglomeration of synonymous suffixes occurs very often. It is, according to Zeynep K o r k m a z, a characteristic feature of pleonasm in the Turkic languages, which consists in adding new synonymous suffixes to other ones, whose primary function had become obscure¹. We observe a frequent adding of suffixes of the same

¹ Z. K o r k m a z, "Türkçe'de Ek Yığılması Olaylarının Meydana Gelişi Üzerine", TDAYB, 1960, pp. 173–180; Z. K o r k m a z, "*-asıl-esi* Ekinin Yapısı Üzerine", TDAYB, 1968, p. 37; "Gerçekten de Türkçe, zaman içinde

semantic function, which leads to an agglomeration of synonymous suffixes, as for example the double instrumental suffix *-le/y/-in*, the causative suffix *-t-ar*, or a piling of personal suffixes in *hep+i+si*, *-ven+in* (1 person singular). In the above mentioned examples, the second suffix overlaps with the first one and has an intensifying function.

Some suffix-extending elements, which are the subject of these remarks, are also characterized by an intensification and emphasis, but they are not synonymous suffixes, as in the described pleonastic forms. Owing to their appearance in poetry those extending elements very often play a significant role in versification.

As some of the discussed elements appear in versified works only, the present remarks are of preliminary character. Pending the discovery of other similar extending elements in literary works, a more precise conclusion can be made in the future.

Element *-an/-än*

This element appears frequently with the converb *-p, -ip -ip, -up, -üip*.

The extended suffix *-pan, -pän/-ban, -bän/-iban, -ibän, -uban, -übän* is well known in Turkic languages, such as Orkhon Turkish, Uyghur, Chaghatai, Old Anatolian. The converb *-p* and *-pan* has almost a copulative function, and should be consequently explained according to the form of the following verb (G a b a i n², B a n g u o ğ l u³). Both *-p* and *-pan, -ban* converbs express previous action Perfekt-Gerundium (P r i t s a k⁴), converbium perfecti (R a m s t e d t⁵). The converb expresses sometimes a Plusquamperfectum (P r i t s a k⁶), simultaneous action or the tempus of the following verb. The converbs *-p* and *-pan* are sometimes equivalents of conditional and temporal clauses. A complex suffix *-ban* may take such forms as: *iban-in, -ibän-in, -iban-iñ, -ibän-iñ, uban-uñ, -übän-iñ, -iban-i, -ibän-i, -uban-i, -übän-i*.

aşınmaya ağırayarak körlenmiş ve kullanılmıştan düşmüş bulunan bazı eklere, aynı nitelikte daha başka ekler eklemek suretiyle bunların görevini yeniden canlandırma veya daha da kuvvetlendirme usulüne başvurmuş bir dildir...Eski Anad. Trkç. gelüben, çağrışuban, diyübeni, diyübenin..." (In fact, Turkish is a language, which applies a system of reviving or strengthening the function of suffixes, which, with time, were worn away, petrified and were no more used, by adding to them other suffixes of the same quality).

² A. von G a b a i n, "Das Altürkische", in PhTF, pp. 33, 38, "Das Konverb auf *-pan* hat die gleichen Funktionen wie das auf *-p*, es ist aber altertümlischer...Es ist stets einer weiteren Verbform untergeordnet".

³ T. B a n g u o ğ l u, Altosmanische Sprachstudien zu Süheyl-ü Nevbahar, Breslau 1938, pp. 128–130, "Die mit *-an* and *-an-in* erweiteren Formen des Gerundiums können in jeder Stellung die Hauptformen ersetzen und kommen nicht selten vor. Die Form auf *-ubanin*, die zwar seltener belegt wird, lässt sich unter den Erweiterungen der älteren Form auf *-uban* zu *-ubani, -ubanin* and *-ubanuñ* am besten erklären, nämlich als Instrumental. Ist die erste durch Schwund des Nasals und die zweite durch eine falsche Analogie zu den Personalendungen der zweiten Person oder des Genetives aus der dritten Form entstanden?"

⁴ O. P r i t s a k, "Das Altürkische", in *Handbuch*, p. 44.

⁵ G.I. R a m s t e d t, *Einführung in die altaische Sprachwissenschaft, Formenlehre*, Helsinki 1952, p. 132.

⁶ O. P r i t s a k, op. cit., p. 44.

There are different opinions among scholars concerning the origin of the extended suffix *-uban*, *-ubani*, *-ubaniñ*. The explanations given by Turcologists can be grouped as follows.

1. The converb *-uban* is a formal extended suffix with a suffix *-an*: Tekin⁷, Mansuroğlu⁸, Eckmann⁹, Gabain¹⁰, Pritsak¹¹.
2. The converb *-uban* serves to fulfill the quantity of syllables in a verse: Brockelmann¹², Eckmann¹³. Already Abû Hayyân had formed the opinion that the extended suffix *-opan* was a simple intensified form of the base suffix *-op*¹⁴.

However, the elements *-an*, *-i*, *-in* are not only formal extending elements, but also instruments of intensification and emphasis.

3. The element *-an* in the converb *-uban* was explained as an instrumental case: Ramstedt¹⁵, Menges¹⁶, Banguoğlu¹⁷. Such an explanation could be accepted under the condition that we are dealing with a converb *-on*, which has an instrumental-distributive meaning. But A. von Gabain states that the converb *-on* does not occur in the suffix *-opan*¹⁸. Besides, the instrumental function of the converb *-uban*, *-ubaniñ*, does not confirm its copulative function; the instrumental suffix does not occur in the form *-an*, which appears also, combined with the conditional suffix *-sa*, in an extending form *-sañ-an* (see below), where the instrumental function cannot be explained.

According to Ramstedt, there is an instructive case in the variant of the converb *-pan/-ypan, -upan*¹⁹.

⁷ T. Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, Bloomington 1968, pp. 182–183, “The gerund in *-pan* is an enlarged variety of the gerund in *-p*”.

⁸ M. Mansuroğlu, “Das Altosmanische”, in PhTF, p. 175.

⁹ J. Eckmann, “Das Tschagataische”, in PhTF, p. 152, “Das Konverb auf *-pan*, eine erweiterte Variante des vorigen...”

¹⁰ A. von Gabain, *Altürkische Grammatik*, Leipzig 1950, p. 120, “*-opan, -pan*. Dies Konverbium, eine formale Erweiterung des vorigen (*-op*), weicht in seiner Funktion nicht von dem auf *-p*”.

¹¹ O. Pritsak, “Das Neuigurische”, PhTF, p. 555, “In der Sprache trifft man die erweiterte Konverbform *-pan*”.

¹² C. Brockelmann, *Osttürkische Grammatik der islamischen Litteratursprachen Mittelasiens*, Leiden 1954, p. 242.

¹³ J. Eckmann, op. cit., p. 152, “...wird ausschliesslich in der Poesie zur Versfüllung gebraucht”.

¹⁴ C. Brockelmann, op. cit., p. 242.

¹⁵ G.I. Ramstedt, op. cit., p. 132.

¹⁶ K. Menges, *Das Čagataische in der persischen Darstellung von Mirzâ Mahdî Xân*, Wiesbaden 1957, p. 79, “Im Orxon, dem älteren uigurischen der manichäischen Texte und altosmanischen hat es eine durch (ein Instrumental?) Suffix erweiterte Form gegeben”.

¹⁷ T. Banguoğlu, op. cit., pp. 128–130.

¹⁸ A. von Gabain, *Altürkische Grammatik*, p. 124.

¹⁹ G.I. Ramstedt, op. cit., p. 132.

4. An explanation of the element *-aniñ* as a genitive case of the personal or demonstrative pronoun *an* was brought by Deny²⁰, as a genitive case by Brockelmann²¹, Banguoğlu²², Çağatay²³. A hypothesis to explain the element *-i* in *-uban-i* as an accusative case was brought also by Brockelmann²⁴, Banguoğlu²⁵ and Çağatay²⁶. Indeed, the suffixes *-iñ* and *-i* are similar to the genitive and accusative cases. We are inclined to accept this explanation of the element *-i* in the suffix *an-i*, as a shortened suffix *-in* (< *-i* < *-in*), or as the third person singular of the possessive suffix (*-i*), with the converb *-°pan*, *-°ban* (cf. the forms *-sun-i*²⁷, *miş-i*²⁸). There is no reasonable argumentation for use of the genitive and accusative cases in the examples known to us from the written sources. The converb *-uban*, *-ubani*, *-ubaniñ* has, first of all, a copulative function.
5. The extending element *-aniñ* was explained by Korkmaz as a piling of the converb *-°n* (the same converb which occurs in *-madan/-madin/-mazin/-mati*)²⁹. It is an interesting explanation, but limited to the converb *-°p* exclusively.
6. Some Turkologists, like Çağatay³⁰, think that the etymology of the suffix *-(ub)an* remains unclear, the others hesitate to accept a definite explanation (Menges, Brockelmann, Banguoğlu).
7. Many Turkologists confine themselves to explain only the function of the converb *-°pan*, *-°ban* in the Turkic languages or in a particular literary monument.

²⁰ J. Deny, "Le gérondif de liaison *-(y)üp*", *Fuad Köprülü Armağanı*, İstanbul 1953, pp. 125–126, "Quant aux variantes plus complètes que le suffixe *-(y)üp* a en osmanli ancien et en turk ancien (*-uban*, *-übanı*, *-übanin*) ce sont manifestement des allogements qui n'ont pas survécu d'élément rajouté, semble, en effet, être le génitif du pronom personnel (ou démonstratif *ol*) qu'un adjoignait anciennement au gérondif pour plus précision (quand le verbe était logiquement à la 3-me personne du singulier)".

²¹ C. Brockelmann, "Altosmanische Studien. I. Die Sprache Äşyqpāşās und Ahmedīs", ZDMG, vol. 73 (1919), pp. 1–30, "Die Varianten der Hdss. zeigen, dass wenigstens für die Schreiber die Formen auf *-ban*, *-bany*, *-banun* schon völlig synonym waren..."

²² T. Banguoğlu, op. cit., p. 130.

²³ S. Çağatay, "Eski Osmanlıca'da Fiil Müştaklarından. III Gerundifler", AÜDTCFD, cilt VI, sayı 1-2, Ocak-Nisan 1948, pp. 27–33, "Etimolojisi karanlık olduğu gibi, şekil alma itibarile de msl. *-banı*, akkuzatife benzer, *-ban-ung*, genitif benzer şekiller meçhul ve karanlıktır." (The same deals with its etymology which is unclear, regarding the formation, like in *-banı* which is similar to the accusative case, and *-ban-ung*, which is similar to the genitive case, it is also unclear and obscure).

²⁴ C. Brockelmann, "Altosmanische Studien", p. 2.

²⁵ T. Banguoğlu, op. cit., p. 130.

²⁶ S. Çağatay, op. cit., p. 31.

²⁷ C. Brockelmann, *Osttürkische Grammatik*, p. 226.

²⁸ C. Brockelmann, *Osttürkische Grammatik*, p. 226.

²⁹ Z. Korkmaz, "Türkiye Türkçesindeki *-madan*, *-meden/-madı*, *-medin* Zarf-Fiil (Gerundium) Ekinin Yapısı Üzerine", AÜDTCF-TDEAE, II cilt, 1. sayı, 1956, pp. 259–269, "... *-°n* Zarf-fiil ekinin Türkçede ek yığılması şartlarına uygun olarak, başka zarf -fiiller, özellikle *-°p* ile yapılan olumlu şekillere de getirdiği görülmektedir: *sök-üp-en*, *ağ-ıp-an*, *kel-ıp-en-in*, *tut-ıp-an-in* v.b.". (The gerund *-°n* in Turkish is conducive for a piling of suffixes; one observes also the same structure in other gerunds, especially in the affirmative forms made with *-°p...*).

³⁰ S. Çağatay, op. cit., pp. 27–30.

The semantic difference between the shorter form of the converb -*°p* and the extended form -*uban*, -*ubani*, -*ubaniñ* cannot be easily distinguished. We may observe, however, some formal differences between them.

- a. The converb -*uban* does not build compound tenses, as it occurs for example in Anatolian (Old Osmanli): -*kalupvan*, *kalupsan*, *kaluptur*³¹.
In Nogay : *barip män*, *baripsin*, *baripti*³².
In old literary Turkish of Central Asia: -*°p idim*, ~ -*°ptim*, -*°p imiř män*³³.
- b. The converb -*uban* does not build phraseological verbs, as for example: *gidip gelmek*, *yazip durmak*, etc.
- c. The converb -*uban* does not occur more than once in the same sentence.

Examples:

(‘A1i, *Qissa-i Yusuf*, Mss. Dresden no 419, fol. 6 v, 15)

Rāvil urup dutuban saçın çäkär (copulative meaning)

‘Rubil beats (Yusuf), holding (him), tears his hair out’

(Mss. fol. 41 r, 1-3)

Sän Mīs(i)r ičrā ulu padšāh olubaniñ
Zālīhaya ‘aqd-i nikāh qilubaniñ
Zālīha sāniñ sän aniñ olubaniñ

‘You shall be a great padishah in Egypt,
You shall wed Zeliha,
Zeliha shall belong to you, and you to her’

Note: In the Kazan print (1841) of *Qissa-i Yusuf* there occur instead of the converb -*ubaniñ*, the future tense suffix -*isär* and the future-optative suffix -*a*:
olīsar sän, *edisär sän*, *olasin*.

(*Sultan Veled*, ed. S. Ç a ğ a t a y, *Türk Lehçeleri Örnekleri*, Ankara 1950, p. 230)

Bu yiri koyıbanun göke ağasın

‘You shall abandon this world and shall ascend onto the heaven’

³¹ M. Mansuroğlu, “Das Altosmanische”, PhTF, p. 175.

³² A. Temir, “Die Nordwestliche Gruppe der Türk Sprachen”, *Handbuch*, p. 171.

³³ A. von Gabain, “Die Zentralasiatische Gruppe der Türk Sprachen”, *Handbuch*, p. 153–154.

(A. Zajączkowski, *Études sur la langue vieille-osmanli. II. Chapitres choisis de la traduction turque-anatolienne du Qorân*, Kraków 1937, p. XVIII)

-uban, -übän, -ubanuñ, -übänuñ, -ibäniñ – copulative meaning
 verübän ‘en donnant’ qorquban ‘en craignant’
 edibäniñ ‘en faisant’ qorqubanuñ ‘en craignant’

(A. Zajączkowski, *Studia nad językiem staroanatolijskim. I. Wybrane ustępy z anatolijsko-tureckiego przekładu Kalili i Dimny*, Kraków 1934, p. 178)

-übän (only in versified parts) – copulative meaning
 bilübän ‘knowing’ (aj) toluban ‘having become (full moon)’

(T. Banguoğlu, *Altosmanische Sprachstudien zu Süheyl-ü Nevbahar*, pp. 128–129)

-uban, -ubani, -ubaniñ – copulative meaning
 čixuban ‘coming out’ olubaniñ ‘becoming’
 čiqubani ‘appearing’

E. Rossi, *Il Kitāb-i Dede Qorqut. Racconti epico-cavallereschi dei Turchi Oğuz*, Vaticano 1952, p. 81)

qalqubani ‘having arisen’ gelübeni ‘having come’

The converb -uban appears in Ottoman poetry of the 16th century to add an archaic character and to meet the needs of versification.

(*Muhibbi Divanı*, Mss. University Library, Warsaw)

Bu dil bilübän aldī häcäl bildi hatäsın
 ‘He knew this heart, felt ashamed (and) recognized his mistake’

Element -an, -än with the conditional suffix -sa, -sä

This element appears, as far as I know, only in Qutb’s version of *Hüsrev u Širin*³⁴, an important literary and linguistic monument of the Golden Horde period.

-an, -än suffix is combined with the second person singular conditional suffix -sañ, -säñ > sañ-an, -säñ-än. There is no semantic difference between the extended and not extended form. The use of the -an element has a metrical purpose, it gives one closed syllable.

³⁴ A. Zajączkowski, *Najstarsza wersja turecka Husräv u Širin Quṭba. Cz. I. Tekst*. Warszawa 1958.

(op. cit., fol. 53 v, 1-3, remel /- ʷ - -/- - ʷ -/- ʷ - /)

*Bu ‘asr içrâ ägär sözlätsänän qyl
jahüd bülbül mäniz-lig sajratsañan til*

‘Nowadays if you make the string speak out
Or make the tongue sing like a nightingale’

(op. cit., fol. 69 r, 39)

*Ägär körgüzsäñän jüz türlü ärdäm
Başarmaz-sän bu tohsun at bilä häm*

‘If you show the virtue of hundred faces
You shall get nothing on this jibber’s back’

(op. cit., fol. 78 r, 34)

*Ägär kertü musulmān ersänän bir
Ne-din qylmaz sän ol ävāz täkbīr*

‘If you are a truly Moslem
Why then you pray not loud (Allah)’

Element *-nī, -ni* (< *-in, -in*)

This element occurs often in *Qissa-i Yusuf* of ‘Alī, a poem characterized by a mixed Kiptchak-Oguz dialect. The element *-nī, -ni* is found with several suffixes.

This element is inserted into suffixes ending with *-ñ*. However, since some copies of the manuscript were made quite late, a defective writing or spelling of *-ñ* may occur.

1. With the conditional suffix *-sa, -sä* > *sa-nī-ñ, -sä-ni-ñ* (or *-sanēñ*, similar to *-sañan* in *Husrev u Şirin*?)

(‘Alī, *Qissa-i Yusuf*, Mss. Dresden no 419, fol. 53 r, 17)

*Yusuf aytur bilürvān ‘ışq isāñ (ēsāñ?)
‘aşıq üzrā kārčäk sādīq olsaniñ (olsanēñ?)*

‘Yusuf says I know if you are in love
For a beloved you ought to be truthful’

(op. cit., fol. 69 r, 11)

Yusūfina yavlaq bānzäyür sän
Yusūf isāniñ nišä yadliq äylä(y)ür sän

‘You are very like Yusuf
 If you are Yusuf, what do you remember (from your childhood)’

(op. cit., fol. 73 r, 10)

Firištälär aytur ägär kirär ersäniñ (ersänēñ)
Haqīqat bu maqāmü sävār ersäñ
Bu rahāta qawuşmağa istär isäñ (esäñ)

‘The angels say, if you go inside
 You shall certainly like this place
 If you wish to gain peace’

2. With the suffix of second person plural of the imperative mood *-u-ni-ñ*, negative form *-ma-ni-ñ*

(op. cit., fol. 54 v,6)

Aytur darliq bizlärä äsär qıldı
Aşliq alu Misra baruniñ deyür emdi

‘He says, hunger had a bad effect on us
 Go to Egypt to buy grain, he says’

(op. cit., fol. 54 v, 8)

Darliq bizi muñlattı hōş kälmedi
Ya ävlädi, Misra baruniñ deyür emdi

‘We were beset by hunger, it gladdened us not
 Oh, my children, go to Egypt, he says’

(op. cit., fol. 27 v, 2)

Bänim ‘ışqım hātiriñdan salmaniñ
Bändän özgä kimsälärä baqmaniñ

‘You cannot raise my love (to you) from your memory
Look not at anybody but me’

3. With the suffix of the second person singular of the perfect tense *-di* > *dü-ni-ñ*. The lack of one syllable is fulfilled by the *-ni* (<*in*) element.

(op. cit., fol. 60 r, 8-9)

Sän här kâz šād haram olmaz idüniñ
Yusûfî qurt yiyâli külmâz idüniñ
Dişniñ açıp tûbâssüm qılmaz idüñ

‘Not always forbad you the mirth
Since a wolf guzzled Yusuf you laughed not
You opened your mouth (but) laughed not’

Conclusion

Suffix-extending elements occur with different suffixes like the converb *-°p*, the conditional mood *-sa*, the imperative mood and perfect tense *-di*. The extended elements/suffixes *-an*, *-anî*, *-an-in*, *-an-in*, *-an-un*, are variants of the converb *-°p*.

They play a significant role in some Turkic languages, especially in Old Osmanli, and Central Asian Turkish. The suffix extending elements, though the difference in meaning and function is sometimes no more distinguished between the extended and not extended suffixes, are instruments of intensification and emphasis, and were often used to top up the quantity of the required syllables in a verse.

Abbreviations

AÜDTCTF-TDEAE = *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi, Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Araştırmaları Enstitüsü*

Handbuch = *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, vol. V, 1, Turkologie, Leiden–Köln 1963

PhTF = *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, vol. I, Wiesbaden 1959

TDAYB = *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı Belleten*

ZDM6 = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*