Complex sentence in Turkic languages of South Siberia

Ljudmila A. Shamina*

1. Introduction

This research deals with complex sentences that consist of two predicative parts: the predicate of the main predicative unit is a finite verb form, and the predicate of the subordinate predicative unit is an infinite verb form. The research analyzes the case forms of a subordinate predicate.

In agglutinative languages in general, and in the Siberian group of the Turkic languages in particular, there are constructions that are different from Indo-European constructions. They are noted for the ability of infinite verb forms and oblique mood forms to express syntactic subordination between the parts of bipredicative constructions (BPC). It is to be emphasized that almost all the main meanings expressed by means of Indo-European complex sentences with subordinating conjunctions can be expressed by BPCs in different Turkic languages. Reflecting the character of conceptual relations between the events in BPCs they make subordinating conjunctions redundant.

The goal of this paper is to give a comparative description of BPC systems in three Turkic languages of South Siberia (Tuvan, Khakas and Altai) and to analyze their structural types and relations. The present research is the part of a composite comparative typological research of a complex sentence initiated in the Institute of Philology SB RAS. Use is made of a description meta-language originated during a corporative work and approved in a number of publications [1–2].

2. General grammatical notes

Turkic languages are taken to belong to the languages of a mixed type in which grammatical meanings are expressed both synthetically and analytically. Agglutinative character of their morphological structure determines the order of grammatical markers in a word form. Derivational and flexional affixes are added to a stem in a successive postpositional order. Notional words are always followed by auxiliary words. The following grammatical characteristics of the languages under study are relevant in the context of the present research.

2.1. Case systems

The Turkic languages of South Siberia have from 8 to 9 cases. Six cases are common to all of them: nominative, possessive (or genitive), dative, accusative, locative and ablative.

* Siberian Division of Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Philology, Novosibirsk.

2.2. Infinite forms

The core of the participial system is common for all languages under study and includes three participles: the past *-GAn* form, the present-future *-(A)r* form, and the projection *-GAlAK* form. They can function as a final predicate, a subordinate predicate, and as an attribute. The forms widely used in the predicative declension are the *GAn* participles; their case (and case-postposition) forms constitute dozens of bipredicative constructions in each language. Less use is made of the *-GAlAK* forms, especially in the Tuvinian language.

In Altaic language, in addition to the three participles mentioned, there is *-AtAn* form functioning as a participle. It is involved in predicative declension expressing a regular past action.

Analogous to Altai *-AtAn* is the Khakas *-čatχan* form expressing a present action. The present-future participle expressing a continuous form of an action, and sometimes a future action, is formed by the affix *-čAn*.

There are two future participles: the forms in *-Ar* and *-GAdAG*; but the second one is not being involved in a predicative declension.

3.   Structural characteristics of BPCs

The structure of BPCs in the Turkic languages of South Siberia is determined by three components: two components represent two events, and the third component (a marker of the syntactic connection) expresses relations between them. It is the third component that the structural and content (semantic) type of a BPC depends on.

According to the character of a syntactic connection marker, there are two major structural types of BPCs to be distinguished: 1) synthetic (mono-finite) type with infinite (participial and converb) forms of predicates; and 2) analytical (bi-finite) type with finite forms of predicates in both predicative units.

4.   Mono-finite BPCs

In mono-finite BPCs the connection marker is synthetic: the morpheme is added to the word form of the subordinate predicate.

Altai:

(1)   *Qayda-qayda*   *bar-ġan-da,*   *ol*   *kereginde*   *erik-pe-yten*   *de.*
        somewhere   travel-PP-LOC he   about   miss-NEG-PP3 PRTCL
        'If he travelled somewhere, he did not even miss her.'

Among the synthetic BPCs there is a subtype of synthetic-analytical constructions: the infinite predicate form of a subordinate predicative unit is combined with postpositions and auxiliary nouns.

Khakas:

(2) *Ol   püüngĭ čĭlĭ,   töreen-neŋ   peer   örĭn-me-en   pol-ar.*
    he   today   POSTP   born:PP-ABL   since   glad-NEG-PP   AUX:be-PRP
    'He has never been as glad as today since the time he was born.'

The predicate of a subordinate predicative unit in mono-finite BPCs can have synthetic participial, participial-declensional, converb, and analytical-synthetic participial-postpositional forms.

4.1. Participial-declensional BPCs

The infinite forms involved in participial-declensional BPCs are heterogeneous and depend on the semantics of each construction. The participles have grammatical markers indicating person and number of the subject. They are used in nominative, locative, dative, accusative and ablative case forms.

We distinguish between two paradigms of participles declining in person and number: personal-finite and possessive. The personal-finite paradigm is supposed to have no (a zero) personal marker for the predicate of a subordinate predicative unit in 3rd person singular.

Tuvan:

(3) *Sana-p   or-ar-ĭm-ɣa,   šuptu   on   ses   bol-d-u.*
    count-CV   AUX:sit-PRP-POSS1SG-DAT   all   10   8   be-PAST-3
    'When I counted (them), there were eighteen of them altogether.'

Khakas:

(4) *Ĭs   tara-p   par-ɣan-da,   kör-ze-ler,   xara*
    smoke   spread-CV   AUX:go-PP1-LOC   see-COND-PL   black
    xus-tar   tigĭr   kög-ĭn-de   andar-mĭndarla   pĭtĭras-ča-lar.
    bird-PL   sky   blue-POSS3-LOC   different   PRTCL   fly-PR-PL
    'When the smoke disappeared they saw the eagles flying in the sky in different directions.'

The possessive paradigm is characterized by a required 3rd person possessive marker (*-ĭ/-i*).

Altai:

(5) *D'ay   bol-ġon-ïn   d'ar-dï   izi-gen-i-neŋ*
    summer   be-PP-POSS3ACC   shoulder-ACC   warm-PP-POSS3-ABL
    bil-d-i,   qïš   bol-ġon-ïn   čĭray-ĭ   qïzar-a
    knew-PAST-3   winter   be-PP-POSS3ACC   face-POSS3   redden-CV
    toŋ-ġon-ĭ-naŋ   bil-d-i.
    get.cold-PP-POSS3-ABL   knew-PST-3
    'He knew the summer because his shoulders got warm, he knew the winter because his face got cold and red'.

4.2. BPCs with actant subordinate predicative units

Within the system of constructions of predicative declension there are two subsystems to be distinguished. The first subsystem represents BPCs with actant subordinate predicative unit. BPCs with governed subordinate predicative units are constituted by accusative, dative, ablative and nominative cases. Its core is constituted by accusative and nominative cases.

4.2.1. BPCs with subordinate predicative units in the accusative case

BPCs with subordinate predicative units in the accusative case form are formed by the verbs denoting "information handling" (verbs of perception and modality, verbs expressing acquisition, storage, handling and loss of information etc.): *bil-* 'to know', *kör-* 'to see', *diŋna-* 'to hear', *oraldaš-* 'to try', *boda-* 'to think', *esker-* 'to note', *ut-* 'to forget', *sayïn-* 'to remember', *ende-* 'to guess', *aytïr-* 'to ask', *küze-* 'to wish', *de-* 'to speak', *minni-* 'to feel', *sögle-* 'to tell, to transmit', *sümeleš-* 'to consult'.

In constructions constituted by the verbs denoting thinking, reasoning and perception, the predicate can be expressed by different participles realizing their temporal meanings (*-Ar, -čatqan, -GAn, -AtAn*).

Khakas:

(6)   Zvonok   pol-ɣan-ïn   is-peez-er   be?
        bell   be-PP-POSS3ACC   hear-NEG.PRP-2PL   PRTCL
        'Did not you hear the bell ringing?'

If the main predicative unit is expressed by the causative verbs like *dileer* 'to ask', *dužaar* 'to order', or the verbs of expectation and intention like *mana-* 'to wait', *küze-* 'to wish', the predicate of a subordinate predicative unit is expressed by the participial form in *-Ar*.

Tuvan:

(7)   Ava-m-niŋ   čagï-ïn   dürgen   küüsed-ir-iŋ
        mother- POSS1-GEN   order-POSS3ACC   quickly   do-PRP-POSS2SG
        dile-d-im.
        ask-PAST-1SG
        'I asked you to perform my mother's order as soon as possible.'

Khakas:

(8)   Amdï   Qavris tayï-zïn   Xara talay-daŋ   aylan-ar-ïn
        now   Kavris uncle-POSS3ACC   black sea-ABL   return-PRP-POSS3ACC
        kün-nïŋ   taŋ-da   čidïk-pin   say-ïp   čör-če.
        day-GEN   tomorrow-LOC   endure-NEG.CV wait-CV   AUX:go-PR
        'Day by day Kavris is looking forward to his uncle's arrival from the Black Sea.'

4.2.2. BPCs with subordinate predicative units in the dative and ablative cases

BPCs with subordinate predicative units in dative and ablative case forms are formed by emotive intransitive verbs, like in Tuvinian language *öörü-* 'to be glad, pleased, happy', *maġada-* 'to admire', *aźin-* 'to get angry' and etc.

Khakas:

> (9)   *Kirek-ter-ĭ*   *kilĭs-pin*   *par-ɣan-ĭ-na*   *čon*   *χomzĭn-ɣan.*
>   affair-PL-POSS3   go.well-NEGCV   go-PP-POSS3-DAT   people   be.not.pleased-PP1
>   'His affairs did not go well, so the people were not pleased.'

The predicate of a subordinate predicative unit is mostly expressed by the participial form in *-GАn* reserving the absolute time meaning. Ablative is governed by the verbs denoting aversion, disgust, fear or shame.

Tuvan:

> (10)   *Baġay ketti-n-ip*   *al-ġan-in-dan*   *ool ï*   *yad-ip*
>   poor   clothe-RFL-CV   AUX:take-PP-POSS3-ABL   boy   ashamed-CV
>   *tur-ġan.*
>   AUX:stand-PP
>   'The boy was ashamed of his poor clothing.'

Our research has shown that the verbs of the stated semantic group may, to some extent, govern the dative and the ablative. In Altai the dative may be governed by the verbs denoting emotional state aimed to keep away from the object causing aversion, disgust, fear or shame, this group of verbs being usually governed by the ablative.

Altai:

> (11)   *Men*   *bu*   *iš-ti*   *ed-ip*   *bol-boz-ïm-a*
>   I   this   work-ACC   do-CV   AUX:be-NEGPRP-POSS1SG-DAT
>   (*bol-boz-ïm-naŋ*)   *qorq-ip*   *tur-um.*
>   (AUX:be-NEGPRP-POSS1SG-ABL)   afraid-CV   AUX:stand-1SG
>   'I am afraid I will not cope with this work.'

In Khakass language the verbs of the stated semantic group are mainly governed by the ablative, though the dative government of verbs denoting aversion is quite possible.

Khakas:

> (12)   *Min pu*   *kĭzĭ-neŋ*   *tanïs*   *pol-ɣan-ïm-naŋ*   *saɣïn-ar-ɣa*
>   I   this   man-GEN   know   AUX:be-PP-POSS1SG-ABL   think-PRP-DAT
>   *daa*   *čirkestĭg*   *pol-ɣan.*
>   PRTCL   disgusting   be-PP
>   'Even thinking that I knew this man is disgusting.'

4.2.3. BPCs with subordinate predicative units in the nominative case

BPCs with subordinate predicative units in the nominative case form: structural models of BPCs with verbal predicates are opposed to those with non-verbal (nominal) final predicates. A word form of a subordinate predicate contains a possessive suffix expressing the subject of the action.

Tuvan:

(13)	*Aalčï-lar-nïŋ*	*keep*	*tur-ar-ï*	*eki.*
	visitor-PL-GEN	come:CV	AUX:stand-PRP-POSS3	good
	'It is fortune to have visitors'.			

4.3. BPCs with circonstant (adverbial) subordinate predicative units

The second subsystem of participial predicative declension represents circonstant (adverbial) subordinate predicative units. Its core is constituted by local, dative, ablative and instrumental cases.

The following Tuvan forms are used in participial predicative declension of the circonstant type: the future participle in -*Ar*, the past participle in -*GAn*, the projection participle in -*GAlAK*. The forms are negated as -*BAs*, -*BAAn*, -*BAAlAK*.

In the Altai and Khakas systems of temporal BPCs, a wide use is made of the participles -*GAn*, -*Ar*, -*GAlAK*, -*čAŋ*, -*GAdAG*. The system of infinite forms of causal BPCs is constituted by the Altaic form -*AtAn*, the Khakas form -*čatχan*, and the forms in -*Ar* and -*GAn*.

Functioning as a subordinate predicate they may have the following case affixes: local -*DA*, dative -*GA*, ablative -*DAn*, and instrumental -*BIlE*. In Altai, temporal BPCs do not use the dative. In Tuvan, the dative affix is added only to the participial form -*Ar*, in Khakas – to the participle -*GAlAK*. The Altai system of causal BPCs does not use instrumental case forms.

The participles lose their absolute tense characteristics in the circonstant BPCs. The subject of a BPC with subordinate predicative units in the local, dative or instrumental case forms is used in the nominative. In BPCs with subordinate predicative units in the ablative case form, the subject can have the local affix (in Khakas) or the nominative affix (in Tuvan), and the predicate of a subordinate predicative unit may take the 3rd person possessive affixes.

4.3.1. BPCs with subordinate predicative units in the local case

The local affixes are added to the participles -*Ar*, -*GAn* (-*BAAn*), -*čatxan*.

Khakas:

(14) *Irten*   *Küdet*   *kontora-zar*   *par-čatχan-da,*   *tura-lar*
      morning   Küdet   office-LAT   go-PP4-LOC   house-PL
      üstü-ler-ĭn-de   *appaγas*   *ĭs-tar*   *χat-χla-p*
      over-PL-POSS3-LOC   very.white   smoke-PL   harden-FREQ-CV
      par-γan   *čĭli*   *tur-γan-nar.*
      AUX:go-PP1   as   be-PP-PL
      'When Küdet was going to the office in the morning, there was a white smoke
      over the houses as if stiffened with cold.'

4.3.2. BPCs with subordinate predicative units in the dative case form

The dative affixes are added to the participles *-Ar* (*-BAs*), *-GAn* (*-BAAn*).

Tuvan:

(15) *Ton-um*   *kedi-p*   *tur-ar-ïm-ġa,*   *χol-dar-ïm*
      coat-POSS1 put.on-CV   AUX:stand-PRP-POSS1SG-DAT   arm-PL-POSS1SG
      bolġaš   *baldïr-lar-ïm*   *sir-iŋeyn-ip*   *tur-ar*   *mïndïġ.*
      and   calve-PL-POSS1SG   tremble-FREQ-CV   AUX:stand-PRP   such
      'When I put on my coat my arms and legs were trembling like this.'

The Tuvan form in *-ArGA* is mainly used in different-subject BPCs, though same-subject realizations of this form are also possible.

Tuvan:

(16) *Ol*   *χire-de,*   *bir*   *minni-p*   *boda-p*
      it   POSTP-LOC   one   came.to.senses-CV   think-CV
      tur-ar-ïm-ġa,   *šuu-ġan*   *tur*   *men.*
      AUX:stand-PRP-POSS1SG-DAT   argue-PP   AUX:stand   1SG
      'In spite of it, when I came to my senses I turned out to be arguing.'

In Khakas and Altai languages, in addition to the infinitive *-ArGA,* the dative case affixes are also added to the participles *-čatχan, -AtAn.*

4.3.3. BPCs with subordinate predicative units in the ablative case form

The ablative affixes are added to the participial forms *-GAn* (*-BAAn*), *-Ar, -čatχan.*

Tuvan:

(17) *Čaaġay*   *čemiš* *ün-gen-in-den*   *taraa-nïŋ*   *baž-ï*   *sïgïl-a*
      full   grain   come-PP-POSS3-ABL   millet-GEN   head-POSS3   bend-CV
      ber-gen-dir.
      AUX:give-PP1-PRTCL
      'The heads of the millet stalks sagged because the grain had come up.'

4.3.4. BPCs with subordinate predicative units in the instrumental case form

In Tuvan and Khakas, the instrumental case forms are added to the participles in -*Ar*, -*GAn*
(-*BAAn*), -*čatχan* constituting same- and different-subject BPCs. The predicate of a subordinate predicative unit gets the 3rd person possessive affix -*ï*/-*i.*

Tuvan:

(18)   *Bis-ke*   *duzala-ar-ï-bile*   *kel-gen-ner.*
       we-DAT   help-PRP-POSS3-POSTP   come-PP-PL
       'They came over to help us.'

(19)   *Daŋ   ad-ïp   keer-i-bile,*   *quš-tar ïrlaž-ï beer.*
       dawn   rise-CV   come:PRP-POSS3-POSTP   bird-PL sing-CV AUX:give-PRP
       'Birds will start singing at daybreak.'

Khakas:

(20)   *Xïzïčaχ*   *ïl-γan-ï-naŋ*   *uzu-bïs-χan.*
       girl   cry-PP-POSS3-ABL   sleep-PFV-PP
       'Since the girl had been crying, she fell asleep.'

Conclusion

To sum up, the system of the participial predicative declension is the core of the Turkic
syntax. Each subsystem that was considered has its own internal mechanisms concerning
the structure of subordinate predicative units, use of declensional and participial forms,
the character of participial temporal meanings, etc. Six cases are involved in the system of
participial predicative declension. The nominative and the accusative are used in constructions with a governing component expressing modus semantics. The rest cases may
be used both as governed (dative, ablative) and non-governed. The application of participial forms is also different. The semantics of a predicate in the main predicative unit
depends on the tense forms of a subordinate predicative unit within the governed subsystem. The absolute temporal characteristics of participles disappear in the adverbial subsystem.

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