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MYSTERIES OF VERB-VERB COMPLEXES IN  
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# **Verb-Verb Compounds in Turkish and Turkic Languages**

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# 1. V+V COMPOUND IN TURKISH



## V<sub>1</sub>+GER +V<sub>2</sub>

V<sub>1</sub> +A(a~e) / +I(i~ı~u~ü) /+ I(i~ı~u~ü)**p**

V<sub>2</sub>-TAM-PRS

- Bak-a kal-dı.  
watch-A remain-PST  
“remain staring”
- Al-ıp gel-di.  
take-İp come-PST  
“to bring”
- ol-up bit-  
come into existence-İp end  
“to happen”



# Levels of subordination

Lev. 1 (Conjunction, Converb)

Sbj<sub>1</sub>+V

Sbj<sub>2</sub>+V

Lev. 2 (Converb)

Sbj<sub>1</sub>+V

(Sbj<sub>1</sub>)+V

Lev. 3 (Gerund)

Sbj<sub>1</sub>+V

V

# Degrees of integration

Ali gel-ip, Osman gitti. “Ali came and Osman went.”

Sbj<sub>1</sub>+V-*Ip*

Sbj<sub>2</sub>+V



Ali gel-ip, gitti. “Ali came and went.”

Sbj<sub>1</sub>+V-*I(i~1~u~ü)p*

(Sbj<sub>1</sub>)+V



Ali kitap al-ıp gel-di. “Ali brought a book.”

Sbj<sub>1</sub>+V-*A(a~e, i~1~u~ü)*

V

# Further developments

V+GER(a~e, i~ı~u~ü) +V

yaz-a bil- (write-A know-) > yaz-abil- (write-PBT)

V+Potential suffix

\*yaz-a yorü- (write-A walk-) > yaz-ıyor (write-PROG)

V+Progressive suffix



# Aim

- Varieties of V<sub>1</sub>-GER + V<sub>2</sub> Compound are very limited in Turkish and Turkic.

Turkish; 4-8 varieties

New Uyghur; 17 varieties.

- To explicate restrictions on the variety of Verb-Verb combination in Turkish and Turkic.

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## **2. V+V COMPOUND IN TURKIC**

# Classification of Turkic Languages

- South-western group (Oghuz)  
Turkish, Azerbaijani, Kashkay, Gagauz
- North-western group (Kipchak)  
Kazakh, Nogay, Tatar, Kirghiz
- South-eastern group (Karluk)  
Uzbek, Uyghur, Old Turkic
- North-eastern group (Siberian)  
Sakha, Dolgan, Tuvan  
(Argu?) Khalaj







# New Uyghur

- -p/-a 'al-, -p/-a bär-
- -p bar-, -p baq-, -p bol-, -p čiq-, -p 'ät-,  
-p qal-, -p qoy-, -p käl-, -p kät-, -p kör,  
-p 'oltur-, -p tašla, -p tur-, -p yat-,  
-p yür-

17 varieties

Takeuči (1990)

# Tuva

- al-, bar-, ber-, düš-, kal-, kag-, kör-, kel-, olur-, tur-, čit-, ...

11 varieties

Grashchenkov (2012)



# Kirghiz

- al-, bar-, ber-, tuš-, kal-, koj-, kör-, kel-, oltur-, sal-, tur-, žiber-, ...

12 varieties

Grashchenkov (2012)

# Azerbaijani (Republic of Azerbaijan)

- -abil-, -I ver-, -A git-, -A gel-, -A kal-,  
-A gör-, -A dur-, -A koy-, -A yaz-

9 varieties

Rüstəmov (2007)



# Old Turkic

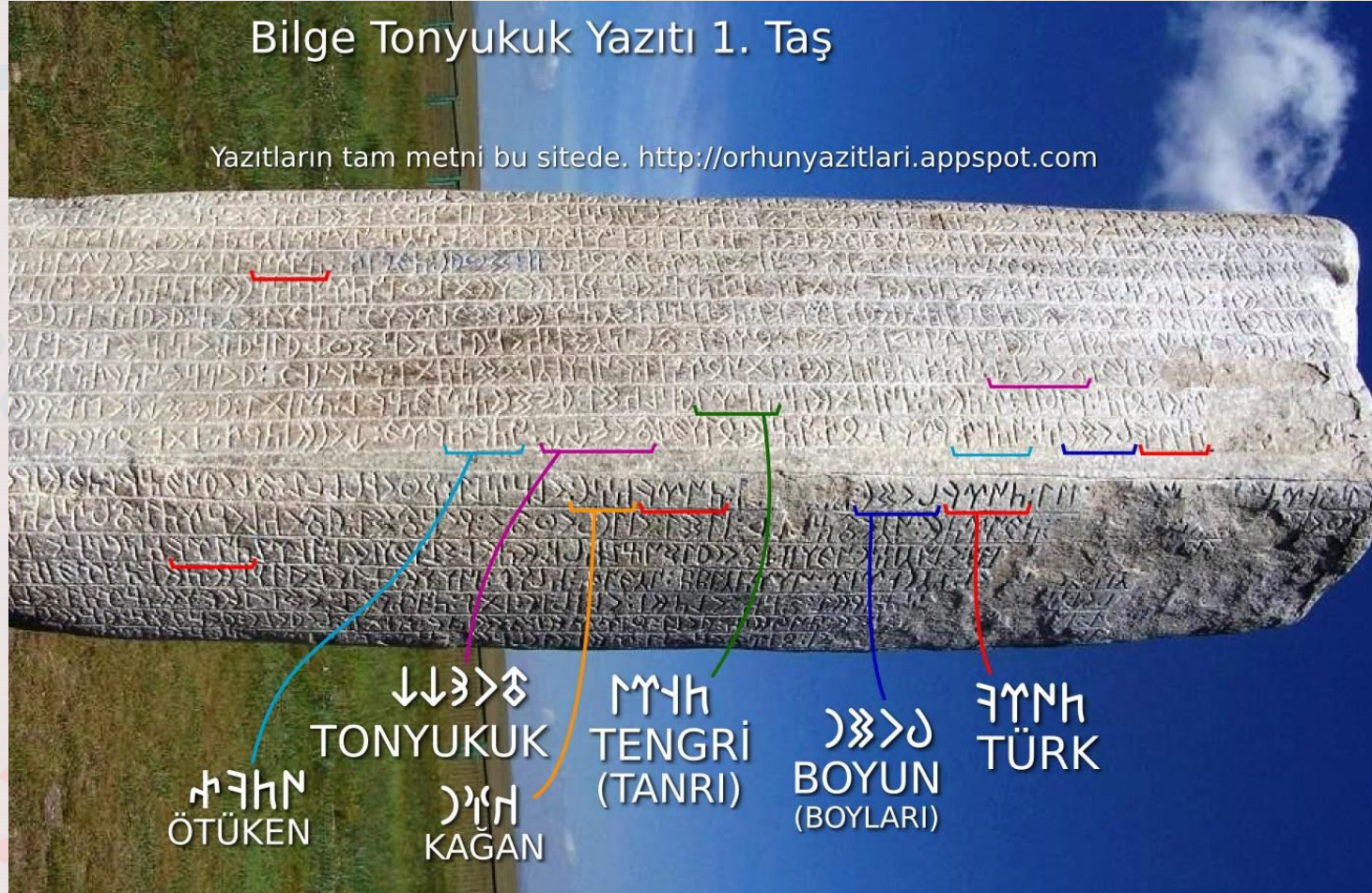
- The earliest attested form of Turkic (7c-9c)
- Turkic Rune
- Orkhon valley (Mongol)





## Bilge Tonyukuk Yazıtı 1. Taş

Yazıtların tam metni bu sitede. <http://orhunyalitlari.appspot.com>



<http://damgalar.appspot.com>

# Orkhon Turkic

- Gerund + V

-a/-p bar- “to go”, -a ber- “to give”, -a id- “to send”, -a elt- “to send”,

-a qal- “to stay”, -a käl- “to come”, -a kör- “to see”, -a u- “to be able”,

-a yori- “to walk”

Tekin (1968:119-120)

9 varieties



# Turkish

-a bil “to be able”, -i ver “to give”, -a gel “to come”, -a dur “to stop”, -a yaz “to make a mistake”, -a kal- “to remain”

6 varieties

Göksel & Karslake (2006:141)



- Possibility suffix

yi-yebil- “be able to eat”

- Swiftiness

gir-i ver- “suddenly enter”

- Habitual

kutla-ya gel- “have been celebrating”

- Continuity

yürü-ye dur- “keep on walking”

# Others

- Limited combination

-a kal: bak-a kal- “be amazed”

watch-GER remain

- Used with Free form *-Ip*

gid-ip dur- “keep going”

go-CONJ stay-

otur-up kal- “leave sitting”

sit-CONJ remain

# V<sub>1</sub>-tns V<sub>2</sub>-tns (V<sub>2</sub>=aspect marking)

(1) Tren geç-ti git-ti.

train pass-PST go-PST

“The train has gone.”



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### **3. SYNTACTICALLY FORMED V+V COMPOUND**

# Infinitival double passive (IDP)

(2) Dün bu viski yazar-lar tarafından  
yesterday this whisky author-PL by

iç-**il**-meğ-e

çalış-**ıl**-dı.

drink-**PASS**-INF-DAT work-**PASS**-PST

‘Yesterday, this whisky was tried to drink  
by authors’ Kornfilt (1977)

● \*iç-ir-meğ-e

çalış-tır-dı.

drink-CAUS-

work-CAUS-

## Active counterpart of IDP

(3) Dün yazar-lar bu viski-yi  
yesterday author-PL this whisky-ACC

iç-meğ-e çalış-tı.

drink-INF-DAT work-PST

‘Yesterday, the authors are tried to drink  
this whisky.’



## V(tns)+V(tns) complex

(4) Ben Ali gel-di san-d<sub>1</sub>-m.

come-PST think-PST-1SG

‘I thought that Ali came.’

# Test for non-lexical compounding

- Particle insertion
- Passive affix on V<sub>1</sub>
- Negative affix on V<sub>2</sub>
- Personal affix on V<sub>1</sub>
- Wide scope of operator: Johanson (1996)

For the notion of non-lexical compounding see, Kuribayashi (2010).

## Particle insertion

(5) O gel-me-ye-**de**-bil-ir-di.

s/he come-NEG-DE-GER-also- know-AOR-PST

‘S/he will not come.’

(emphasis on negation)

Öztürk (2004: 61)



## Passive affix on V<sub>1</sub>

(6) Kapı-dan dışarı-ya koy-u ver-**il**-di.

door-ABL outside-DAT put-GER give-PASS-PST

‘he-was-rapidly-put outside the door’

Lewis (1991:192)

## Negative affix on V2

(7) a. Çarşı-ya kadar niçin gid-i **ver-me**-di?

market-DAT until why go-GER give-NEG-PST

‘Why did he not dash as far as the market?’

b. Çarşı-ya kadar niçin **git-me**-yi ver-di?

market-DAT until why go-NEG-GER give-PST

‘Why has he suddenly stopped going as far as the market?’

Lewis (1991:192)

## Personal affix on V<sub>1</sub>

(8) a. Her şey-im-i sat-tı-**m** git-ti.

everything-POSS.1SG-ACC sell-PST-1SG go-PST

‘I sold everything I had’

(Koç 1990)

b. \*Her şey-im-i sat-tı git-ti-**m**.



## Scope of operator

(9) Gel-ip gör-**sün**.

come-CONV see-OPT

‘Let him come and see’

(converb shares modal operator with  
base clause)

Johanson (1995:323)

	Integration of V <sub>1</sub> + V <sub>2</sub>	lexical Compounding	Non-lexical Compounding
Particle Insertion (-DE-)	—		✓
Passive On V <sub>1</sub> (V <sub>1</sub> -A V <sub>2</sub> )	+	✓	
Negation On V <sub>2</sub> (V <sub>1</sub> -A V <sub>2</sub> )	—		✓
Personal Affix on V <sub>1</sub> (V <sub>1</sub> -PST V <sub>2</sub> - PST)	—		✓
Wide Scope of Operator (V <sub>1</sub> -ip V <sub>2</sub> )	+	✓	

- Some Turkish V<sub>1</sub>+V<sub>2</sub> compounds have non-lexical properties as well as lexical one.



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## **4. VERBAL COMPOUND IN TURKISH AND JAPANESE**

(10) a. Bak-**a** kal-dı. Turkish  
watch-**GER** remain-PST  
“remain staring”

a'. Mi-tuzuke-ta. Japanese  
watch (INF)-continue-PST  
“continue to watch”

b. Oku-yup dur-du. Turkish  
read-GER stop-PST

b'. Yom-**i**-tuzuke-ta. Japanese  
read-**INF**-continue-PST  
“continue to read”

# Nominal Derivation

V $\Rightarrow$ N derivation by affix in Turkish

a. oku-ma, kaldır-ma, indir-im, konuş-ma

Root

b. \*oku, \*kaldır, \*indir, \*konuş, \*al, \*sat

Infinitive or Renyookei in Japanese

c. yom-i, ag-e, sag-e, katar-i, ka-i, ur-i

read-INF raise-INF drop-INF talk-INF buy-INF sell-INF

d. yomu-koto, motiageru-koto, waribik-i, hanas-i

read-NMZ pick up-NMZ discount-INF talk-INF



# $V \Rightarrow N$ derivation

- Bound form vs. Free form
- Boundness
- Turkish: *-ma-*  $V \Rightarrow N$  derivational suffix  
+BOUND
- Japanese: Infinitive or Renyookei  
→ zero derivation  
-BOUND

# Nominal forms

	Gerund	Noun
Verb- <b>i</b> (Japanese)	yom-i “reading”	yom-i
Verb- <b>A</b> (Turkish)	oku-ya read-GER	*oku-ya oku-ma read-NMZ
Verb- <b>Ip</b> (Turkish)	oku-yup Read-GER	*oku-yup oku-ma

# Gerundive Form

(11) a. \*Bak-a # kal-dı. Turkish

b. \*Bak-a sonra kal-dı.

c. Bak-a kal-dı.

watch-A remain-PST

“remained staring”

(12) a. Soko-ni ik-i, # kangae-ta. Japanese

#=phonetic pause

b. Ora-ya gid \*-e/\*-i/-ip düşün-dü-m.

there-DAT go think-PST-1SG

“(I) went there and thought...”



- Turkish: Gerundive form > × Conjunctive  
+BOUND
- Japanese: Renyookei > Conjunctive  
-BOUND

# ±Boundness

## Gerund Noun (-Bound)

Verb-**i**  
(Japanese)



Verb-**A**  
(Turkish)



Verb-**Ip**  
(Turkish)



# Differences in Syllable Structure

ziyarét “visit” (3 syllable word, stress on the last syllable, Arabic copying)

hoo-mon “visit” (2 characters, 2+2 morae word, Chinese copying)



- Turkish: syllable based word formation, root
- Japanese: mora based word formation, root+root

ROOT

SYLLABLE

ROOT+ROOT

MORA+MORA

• V+V

# Clipped form: nickname

Turkish : first syllable + vowel

Fatma > Fat+oş, İbrahim > Ib+o,

Murat > Mur+o, Mustafa > Must+i,

Japanese : first **two** mora

Kazuo > Kazu, Sachiko > Sachi

- Turkish: syllable based clipped form
- Japanese: mora based clipped form  
cf. Kubozono (2010)

SYLLABLE+VOWEL

MORA+MORA

- V+V (more stable)



# Suffixes in contrast

## Japanese

- ko “come” (stem)
- -i (**Infinitive=Renyookei**)
- -te (*TE*-form)
- \*k, \*ko, ki (Infinitive)
- ko > ko+\*i > k-i  
“come” cf. Oono (1978)
- ki-te “come-CONJ”

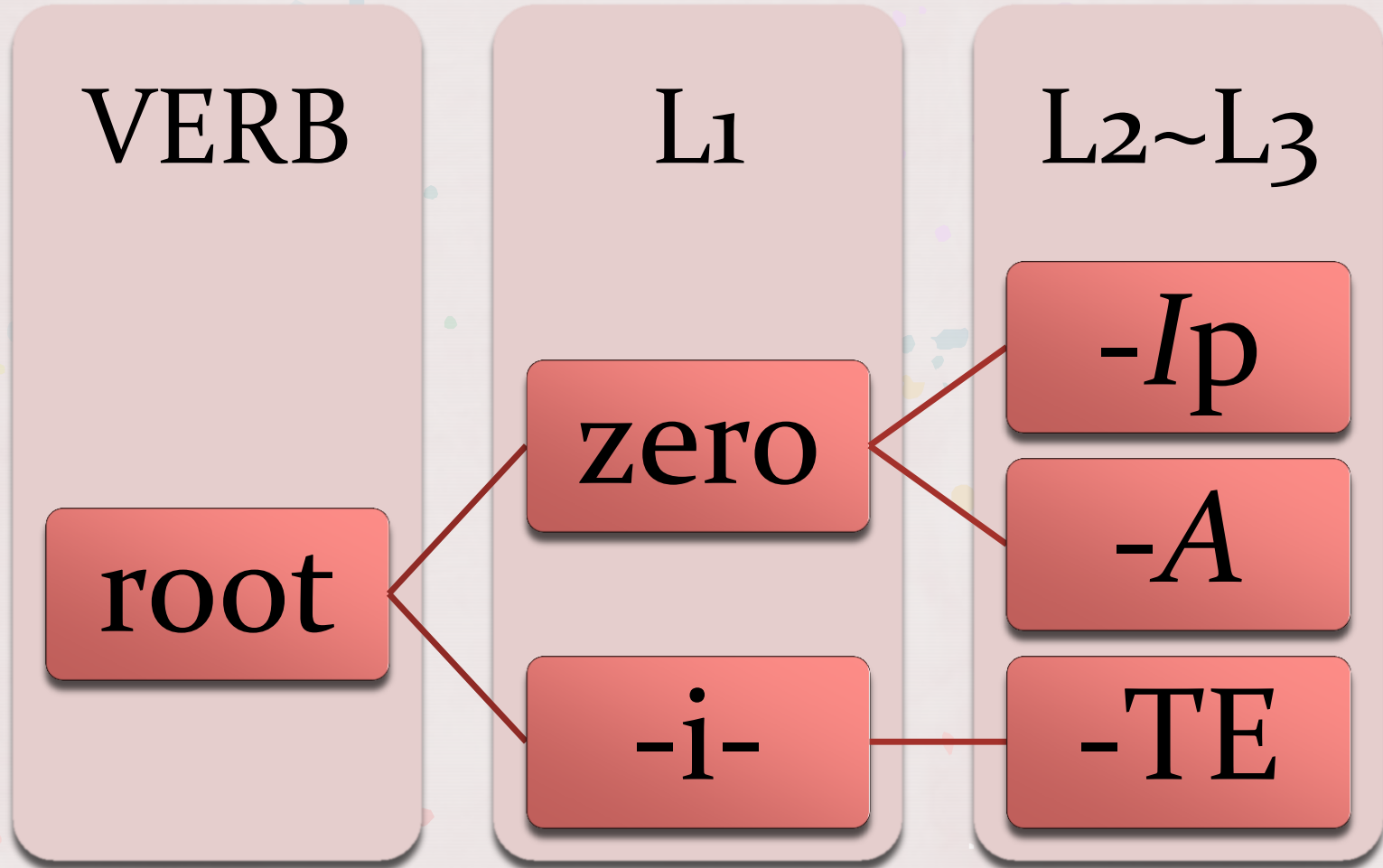
## Turkish

- gel “come” (stem)
- -A (a~e, i~ı~ü~u )  
(**Gerund**)
- -Ip, -i (Converb, Gerund)
- Gel-e (Gerundive form)
- Gel-ip (Converb, Conjunction)

# Layered Approach

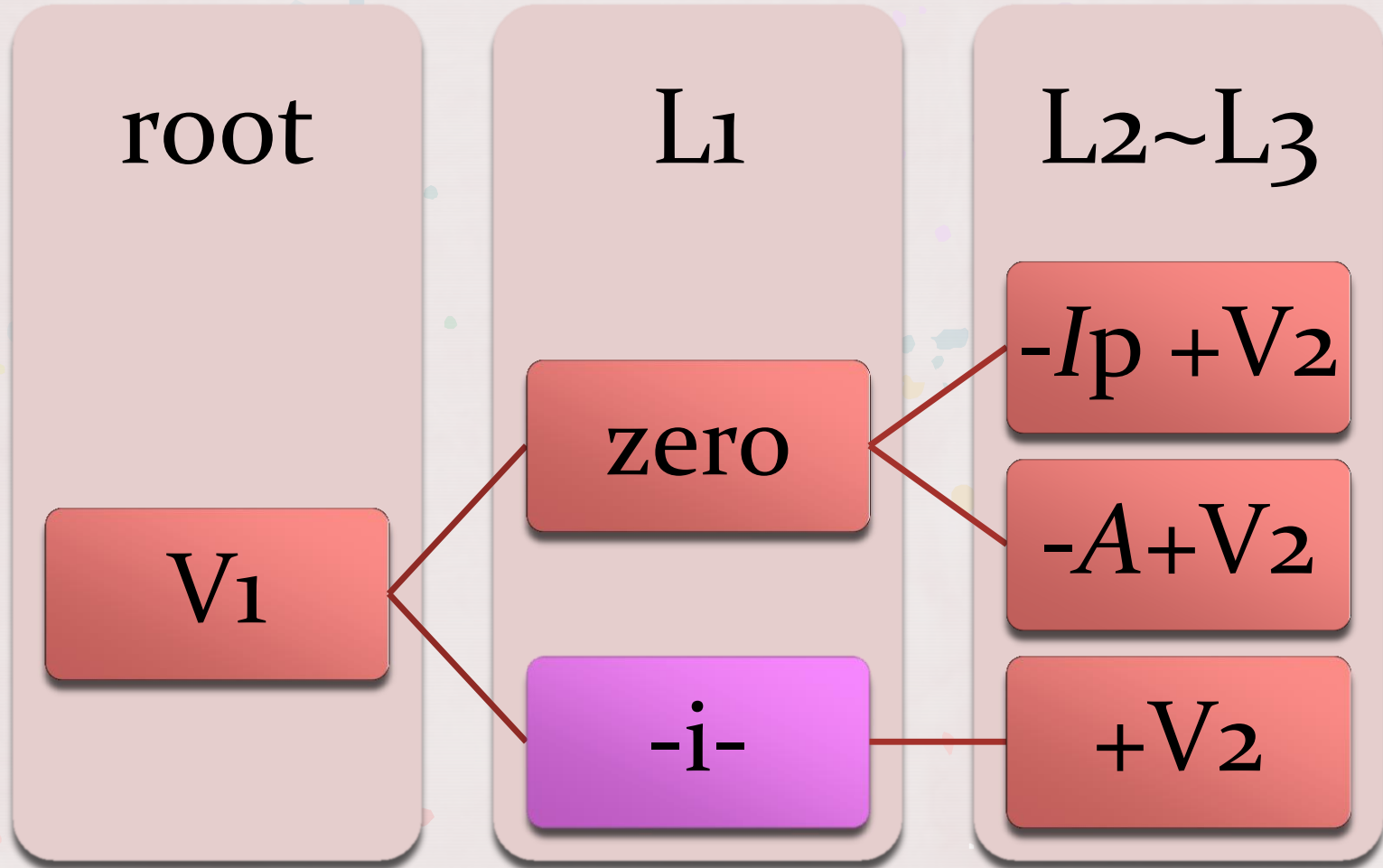
- Layer 1
- Layer 2
- Layer 3

# Hierarchy of Conjugation

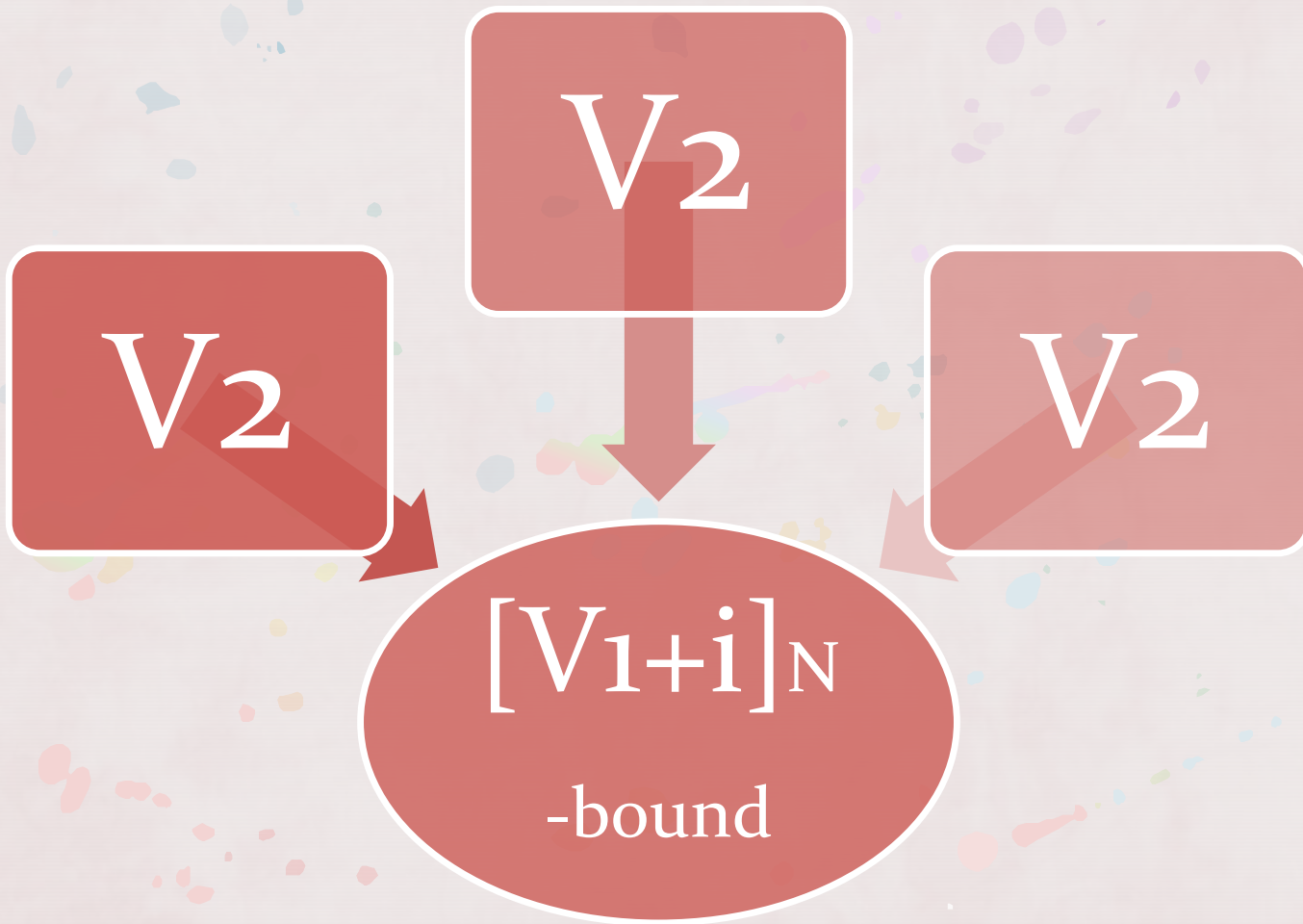




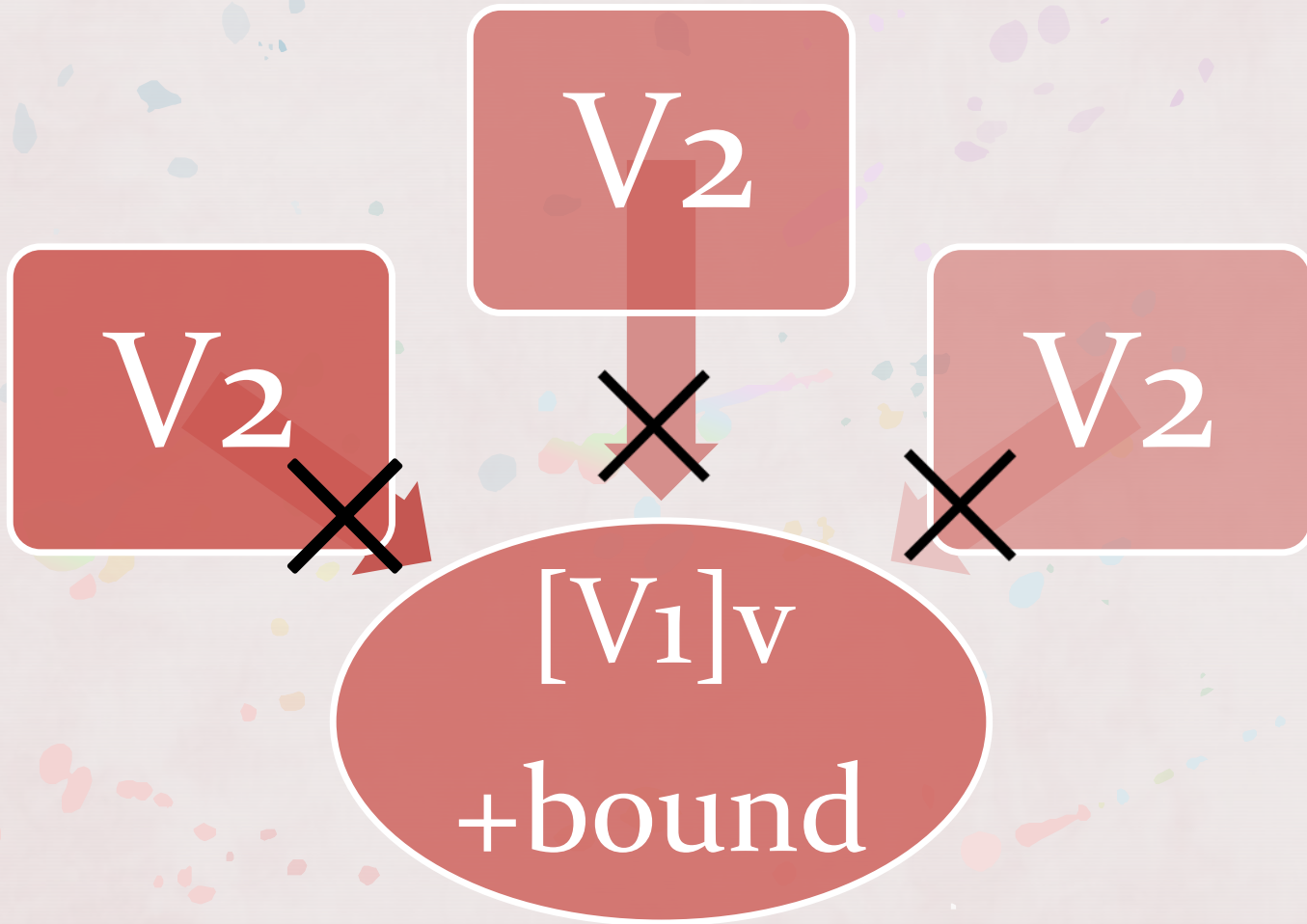
# Layers of $V+V$ complex



# Japanese V+V compounding (L1)



# Turkish V+V compounding (L1~L2)





# Turkish and Japanese

Common V<sub>1</sub> (L<sub>3</sub>)

Turkish V<sub>1</sub> (L<sub>2</sub>)

Japanese V<sub>1</sub> (L<sub>1</sub>)

root

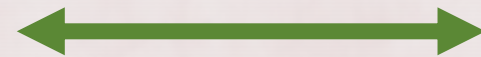
+i

-A

-Ip

-TE

-Ip



# BOUNDNESS

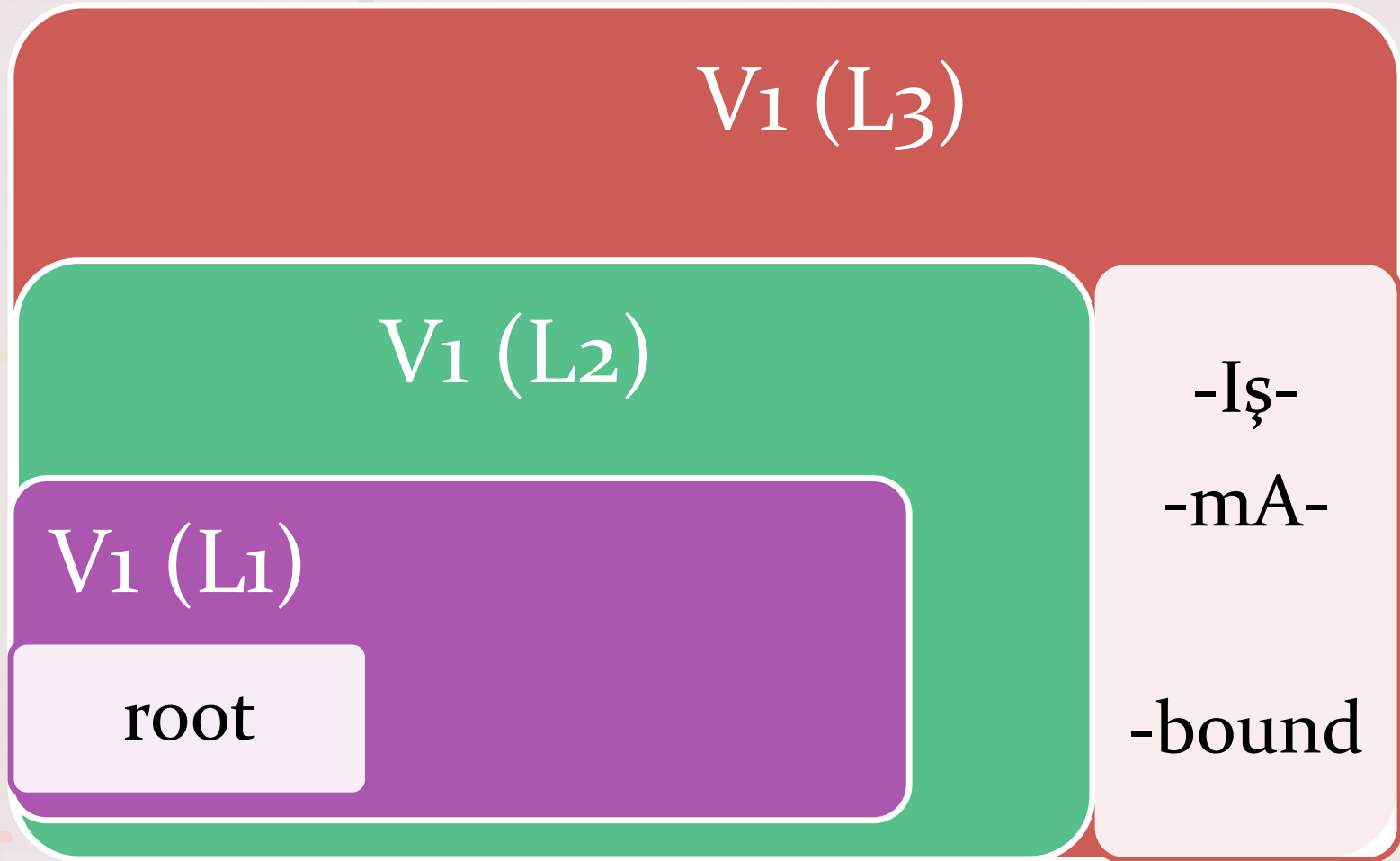
- Turkish: L<sub>3</sub> -bound  
L<sub>2</sub> +bound  
L<sub>1</sub> +bound
- Japanese: L<sub>1</sub> -bound

# Nominal forms

	Gerund	Noun
Verb- <b>i</b> (Japanese)	yom-i “reading”	yom-i
Verb- <b>A</b> (Turkish)	oku-ya read-GER	*oku-ya oku-ma read-NMZ
Verb- <b>Ip</b> (Turkish)	oku-yup Read-GER	*oku-yup oku-ma



# Turkish Nominalization



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## **5. V+V COMPOUND IN LANGUAGE CONTACT**

# Qashqai (Kashkay)

- semi-nomadic ethnic group live in southwestern Iran (Fars Province)
- Population: 141,000 to 530,000  
(cf. Soper 1986)
- Language: Oghuz Turkic





Caspian  
Sea

TURKMENISTAN

IRAQ

AFGHAN  
STAN

KUWAIT

PAKISTAN

SAUDI  
ARABIA

BAHRAIN

Persian  
Gulf

Marand  
Ahaz  
TABRIZ 4824m  
ARDABIL  
Kuh-e Sabalan  
3772m  
Maragheh  
Mianeh  
RASHT  
Lahija  
Rar  
Bandar-e Anzali  
ZANJAN  
Chalus  
Noshahr  
Behshahr  
Amol  
Babol  
Emamshahr  
3314m  
Quchan  
3117m  
MASHHAD  
Sebzavar  
Neyshabur  
3020m  
Torbat-e Heydariyeh  
Kashmaro  
Gonabad  
Ferdows  
2886m  
Birjand

Alborz  
KARAJ  
TEHRAN  
Semnan  
5604m, Qolleh-ye Damavand

SANANDAJ  
HAMADAN  
Tafresh  
BUKHTARAN  
Malayer  
Eslamabad  
Nahavand  
Borujerd  
Ilam  
KHORRAMABAD

QOM  
ARAK  
Kashan  
Khomein

Zagros  
Masjed Soleyman  
4548m, Zard Kuh

Isfahan  
Esfahan  
Shahr Kord  
Qomshahr  
3723m  
Ardakan  
YAZD  
4075m

AHVAZ  
Masjed Soleyman  
4431m

ABADAN  
Bandar-e Emam Khomeini

Mojabi Mountains  
Persepolis  
Mary Dasht  
SHIRAZ  
Kazerun  
Borazjan  
Farrashband  
Firuzabad  
Jahrom

BUSHEHR  
Fasa  
Aliabad  
3992m  
Kuh-e Seh Konj  
4419m  
Kuh-e Hazaran  
Kerman  
Nosratabad  
ZAHEDAN  
4042m  
Bam

Dayyaz  
Nay Bando

Lar  
Kahurestan  
Bandar-e Lengeh  
Qeshm  
3280m

BANDAR-E-ABBAS  
Hormoz  
Larak  
Bandar-e Lengeh  
Qeshm  
Lavan  
Hendorabi  
Qeys  
Forur  
Abu Musa  
Sirri

Bampur  
Iranshahr  
Davar Pa  
Sarbaz

# Qashqai informants





## Loss of Serialization

- (12) a. Ged-di dukan-a (vä) bir qarpz al-li.  
go PFT store-DAT and a watermelon buy-PFT  
'he went to the store and bought a watermelon.'
- b. \*ged-**ip** dukana bir qarpz al-li.
- c. \*dukana ged-**ip** bir qarpz al-li.

(Soper 1986)





# Khalaj

- Endangered Turkic language in Iran
- 17,000~28,000 speakers
- Preservation of archaic features
- Classified as isolated (Non-Oghuz) group
- Heavy linguistic influences from prestigious Persian
- Verbaladverb -di

Doerfer (1998)

# Universal Tendency

- $V_1$  has [+bound] feature in  $L_1$ 
  - ▷ less the varieties of  $V_1 + V_2$  compound  
e.g. Turkish, Turkic, Altaic?
- $V_1$  has [-bound] feature in  $L_1$ 
  - ▷ more the varieties of  $V_1 + V_2$  compound  
e.g. Japanese



# Universal Tendency (Prospects)

- $V_1$  has [+bound] feature in  $L_1$ 
  - ▷ absence of Adjective declension  
e.g. Turkish, Turkic, Altaic?
- $V_1$  has [-bound] feature in  $L_1$ 
  - ▷ presence of Adjective declension  
e.g. Japanese

## 6. Conclusion

- Non-lexically formed V+V Compounds
- Stability of Morphological ( $V \Rightarrow N$  derivation) and Phonological (Syllable, Mora) structures in Turkish and Japanese
- Universal Tendency of the varieties of V+V compound based on BOUNDNESS
- Contact induced change (e.g. Qashqai, Khalaj)
- V+V compounding vs. Adjective declension

# Abbreviations

ABL: ablative, PST: possibility, ACC: accusative, CAUS: causative, CONJ: conjunctive, CONV: converb, DAT: dative, GER: gerund, INF: infinitive, NEG: negative, NMZ: nominalization, PASS: passive, PFT: perfect, PL: plural, PROG: progressive, PST: past, POSS: possessive, PRS: present, SG: singular, TAM: tense-aspect-mood, TNS: tense



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