



The word-formation potential of affixes in the ancient Turkic runic texts

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ABSTRACT

In the era of the Old Turkic Khaganates, a full-fledged structure of the Turkic word was formed in the runic language. Historical relics of the proto-Turkic protoforms are still preserved in the root morphemes: primary roots, verb-nominal syncretism, and sound-phonemic variability of roots. In the language of runic monuments the corpus of service morphemes after the root – the affixes – was quite well developed, so there was a quite well developed system of morphology and derivation in the Proto-Turkic language. These service morphemes can be functionally classified as formative and word-formative. The purpose of the article is to reveal the functions and meanings of Old Turkic word-formation affixes.

The basic unit of affixal word-formation is a word forming component, in which the formal semantic connection between the generating and derivative stems is determined by semantic motivation. In the case of direct motivation, the meaning of a derived word is formed from the meanings of the generating word and the word-forming affix.

The affixes involved in word formation have a word-forming function, and their word-forming meaning is determined by the system-forming function. The author shows the diversity of word-formation meanings. The meanings of old Turkic affixes survived in the modern Turkic languages.

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Introduction

The linguistic system of the Old Turkic runic language is a heterogeneous formation, in which the morphemic structure of the Old Turkic word is also important, which seems to us ambiguous and has not been sufficiently studied so far. In Turkology, the structure of the Old Turkic word has not been the subject of special studies, especially as far as affixal morphemes are concerned. Only in some studies dealing with the method of name and verb formation in Old Turkic language, the ancient forms and meanings of the auxiliary morphemes have been treated in a fragmentary way.

In the era of the Old Turkic Khaganate (VI-X centuries AD) a full-fledged structure of the Turkic word with clear boundaries and meanings of root and affix morphemes was formed in the Old Turkic runic language. In the root morphemes, historical relics of the Proto-Altaic, Proto-Turkic protoforms are found, such as primary roots (*to*, *ja*, *qa*, *jü*, *al*, *sa*, *ke*, *ba*, *as*, *ko*, *ke/ki*; *to/tu*; *qo/qa*; *ja /jo*; *ju/ jü* *it*, *ir*, *er*, etc.), syncretism of verb-nominal stems (*at* “horse” and *at* “shoot”; *toy* “feast” and *toy* “get full”; phonetic-phonemic variability of roots *il /el*; *ir/er/er*; *ben/men*, *sen/sin*, *ol/ul/u* *myn/min/men/mun/mun* (Shaimerdinova, 2022: 100-101).

In the process of the historical development of the structure of the Turkic word on the basis of root bases, a new model of three-syllable roots (бүн **𐰱𐰳** «sadness», тай **𐰴𐰳** «mountain» *eki* **𐰱𐰣** «two»), along with which many other four/five/six-syllable/semi-syllabic non-derivative roots functioned in the Old Turkic language: *kuul LUX* «slave», *edgü* **𐰱𐰰** «good», *altun* **𐰱𐰳** «gold», *tokuz* *zUxT* «nine», *yablak* **𐰱𐰳** «bad » and etc.

However, not only the root morpheme was developed in the Old Turkic language, but also a corpus of morphemes after the root, the affixes, due to which a developed system of morphology and derivation existed in the runic language. Depending on their function and meaning, affixes are divided into formative and derivative. Formative affixes, which form certain grammatical forms and categories of cases, numbers, affiliation, mood, tense, voice, etc., form morphological classes of names and verbs. Word-formative affixes, which are involved in word-formation, form new derivative words.

Materials and research methods

The materials for the study were the texts of the runic inscriptions of the Orkhon, Yenisei, Altai, and Central Asian. The translated texts of the written monuments set out in the works of foreign and foreign scientists such as V.V. Radlov, P.M. Melioransky, S.E. Malov, J. Closson, M. Zholdasbekov, G. Aidarov, N. Shaimerdinova and others.

The main research methods are the general scientific methodology of search, analysis, synthesis, and generalization. In addition, techniques and means typical of integrative Turkology are used, especially the references to sources and the use of historical and cultural material. The leading method in this article is a semantic analysis of the word structure. The semantic methodology of synchronous word formation is used to analyze the component structure of an ancient derived word in order to identify the meanings of word-formation affixes that contain information about the ancient Turkic worldview.

Research background

In Turkic science, the study of the derivational (word-forming) system of the Turkic languages, including the Old Turkic languages, was carried out in the context of the general

language system, where the fundamental works are V. Radlov, P. Melioransky, V. Bang, J. Denis, G. Ramstedt, M. Ryasenen, N. Dmitriev, V. Kotvich, E. Sevortyan, A. Yuldashev, N. Baskakov, E. Tenishev, A. Shcherbak, A. Kononov, A. Amanzholov, G. Aidarov and many others. Some aspects of Turkic derivation, especially in terms of word formation methods in various Turkic languages, morphonological processes, and semantics of some affixes, were considered in the works of B. Atalai, B. Orazbayeva, M. Erdal, M. Khabichev, F. Ganiev, A. Berta, K. Ishbaev, I.V. Shentsova and others.

In modern Turkology, however, the questions of word formation are considered under new aspects. The semasiological and onomasiological aspects of word-formation in comparative terms have been studied by L. Zhanalina (Zhanalina, 1998: 98-120). The functional-semantic aspect of the derivational units on the material of the Turkic languages of Siberia is considered in the work of A. Esipova (Esipova, 2011). The use of the achievements of modern studies for the word formation of the Kazakh language is carried out by N. Oralbaeva (Oralbaeva, 2002). The semantics of word-formation affixes in the inscriptions of the late Middle Ages is analyzed by A. Kerimov (Kerimov, 2009).

At the same time, there is no special study dealing with the semantic derivation of runic written monuments. Therefore, this article is devoted to the study of the word-formation meanings of word-formation affixes in runic texts.

Analysis

The basic unit of affixal word formation is a word-formation component (WFC), in which the generating word and the derived word have a formal semantic correlation. The formal correlation is a material similarity (sound shell), and the semantic one is a semantic connection, a motivation between the generating and the derived word. The meaning of the derivative is composed of the meaning of the generating and the meaning of the word-forming affix with direct motivation, for example: *kol-kolshik* “lake-lake (small)”. There is also a phraseologically related and extended motivation (жазу-жазушы [zhazu-zhazushi] “writer-writer”). The meaning of a word-forming affix in the modern derivation is called a word forming meaning (WFM), and the word-forming affix itself in its functional aspect is called a word-forming formant (WFF) (a debatable term). WFM is one of the types of linguistic meanings. L. Zhanalina writes: “In word formation as a nominative process, WFM goes back to the original mental content and, therefore, does not differ from the lexical meaning in its origin” (Zhanalina, 1998: 126). In other words, the WFM of a derivative word, as a lexical meaning, reflects the extralinguistic reality and is a source of various information about the surrounding world, which is confirmed by the texts of the runic monuments.

In the runic Orkhon, Yenisei, Altai, and Semirechensk written monuments there are many derivative words demonstrating the act of word formation: *otu* → *otunch*, *bediz* → *bedizchi*, *itgu* → *itguchi*, *ekin* → *ekinlig*, *uch* → *uchunch*, *kish* → *kishlak* and etc. In each derivational pair, the derivatives *otunch*, *bedizchi*, *itguchi*, *ekinlig*, *uchunch*, *kishlak* have a formal semantic connection with the generating stems *otu*, *bediz*, *itgu*, *ekin*, *uch*, *kish*. Derivative affixes *-nch*, *-chi*, *--lig*, *-unch*, *-lak* form new semantically motivated words: if *əmy* [otu] means “to ask”, then *otunch* “request”; *bediz* “stone” – *bedizchi* “one who works with stone; artisan”; *itgu* «build» – *itguchi* «one who builds, builder»; *ekin* «sowing, field» – *ekinlig* «having crops»; *uch* means «three» – *uchunch* «third» (order when counting); *kish* «winter» – *kishlak* «wintering»,

or «winter camp» of the ancient Turks. Of course, the new meaning of the derivative word is due to the meaning of word-building affixes, which captured the information, the Old Turkic worldview. It should be noted that in the formation of new words, the **word-formation function** (WFF) of word-formation affixes is realized.

How can word-forming meanings be correctly identified word-forming formants (WFF) that form new derivative words are frequently repeated in runic texts, realizing their system-forming function, which makes it possible to determine the word-forming meanings of the affixes. Thanks to the system-forming function, it was possible to determine the word-forming meaning (WFM) of the productive Old Turkic WFFs *-chy*, *-chi* : *sab-sabchy* «word – herald, predictor, diviner, soothsayer»; *yol* – *yolchy* «way – traveler»; *yer* – *yerchi* «land – guide, conductor»; *aigu* – *aiguchy* «advice – adviser». The derivational meaning of the affix is «a person according to the subject.» For example: «*Sonsha sheberlerdi keltirdi* [Brought so many masters]». «*Kolbasshi men edim* [I was the commander]» (Malov, 1951: 31-33). «*Kenesshisi bilgish edi* [The adviser was knowledgeable]» (Zholdasbekov, 2006: 317).

If the affixes *-chy*, *-chi* are attached to the verbal generative stem *itgu* – *itguchi* «to build – a builder», *iog-* *iogchy* «to sob – a weeper», *sygyt* – *sygytchy* «to cry – a mourner»), then WFM is «a person by action». For example: *Bark itguchi, bediz yaratymga, bitig tash itguchi tabgach kagan chykany Chang senun kelti*. [A simple builder, a pattern setter, and a stone carver with inscriptions, Chan senun came from the Tabgash Khagan] (Zholdasbekov, 2006: 190).

The meaning of the nominal derivational suffix *-liq/lik* [-lyk /-lik], *-liγ/lig* [-lyg/-lig] is debatable, as several meanings are attributed to it: collective plurality, abstract meaning and affiliation (V. Radlov, V. Kotvich, P.M. Melioranskii, A.N. Kononov). The origin, of this affix is ancient, and goes back to the Proto-Altaic language. The structure of the affix was formed from a combination of sonorous and stop back-lingual [γ] [q] according to the model: *-l* → *l* + *γ(g)*, *l* + *q (k)* → *liγ/liq*. Some scholars believe that *liγ/liq* may have been borrowed from the Old Tungus language and originally had a comitative meaning (collective plurality). V.V. Radlov argues that the affix *liγ/liq* in Turkic languages both nouns with the meaning of abstractness (*bashlyg* «head»), and adjectives (*illig* «stem»). According to V. Kotvich, the affixes *-lyk/-lyg* are formed by adjectives, “denoting belonging: “to possess something, to have something, to be endowed with something” [Kotvich, 1962: 109].

A.N. Kononov also believes that the affix *-liγ* (and its synharmonic variants) forms adjectives with the meaning of possession indicated by the generating stem (designation of a feature corresponding to the subject of possession): *ellig* ~ *illig* (Ktb 29; M 24) “possessing an elem” – *illig* *bodun ertim* (Ktb 9) «I was a people having ale»; *tonliγ* ~ *tonluy* (Ktb 4; M 23) «having clothes»[Kononov, 1980: 106].

We share the position of V. Kotvich and A.N. Kononov, because when using the system-forming function, the word-forming meaning is *liγ/liq* repeating, which denote «belonging»: *kuch* – *kuchlig* «strength - strong», *kedim* – *kedimlig* «clothes – dressed», *bodun* – *bodunlyg* «people – folk», *kul* – *kullig* «slave - slave».

Thanks to the system-forming function, it is possible to determine the word-forming meanings of the word-forming formants that form verbal substantives. The most common affixes in texts are *-uq/iik*, *-uy-/ug*; *-iq/-ik*, *-iγ/-ig*. Interestingly, the verbal semantics influences the meaning of these affixes, therefore the word-formants express either the process of action: *bil* – *bilig* «know – knowledge»; *öt* (*ötün*) – *ötüg* «to ask - a request»; *jaz* – *jaziq* «to sin – a sin», or the result of an action; *öl* – *ölig* / *öliq* «die – dead»; *ül* - *ülig* / *üliq* «divide – part (share)»;

bil – bilik «to know, to own – power». For example: «*Bilik berdik*». [We have given the power]. «*Oligi zhurtta zholda zhatyp kalgan*». [His body was lying on the road] (Zholdasbekov, 2006: 189-191).

In addition, these affixes can denote subject-object meanings, as well as the place and instrument of action: *qap – gapıy* «to close – the gate», *bujur – bujurug* «to order – order», *keč – kečig* «to pass/cross – crossing», *süj – sünjüg* «to pierce – a spear»: Temir kapygka tegi konturdymyz [We landed up to the iron gate] (Zholdasbekov, 2006: 190).

It should be noted that the affixes of verbal substantives are quite developed in the ancient Turkic inscriptions. In the course of the research, we managed to identify the following word-forming formants *-qu/kü, -yu/gü; -us/üs, -us/üš; -n/in/in, -un/ün; -im/im, -um/üm* and so on. The word-forming meanings of these affixes are also determined by the verbal semantics and denote either a process, a method of action, or the result of an action: *it – itgü* «to do / build – construction», *ur – uruš* «to beat – battle / war», *teg – tegiš* «to reach / achieve – attack (on the enemy)», *kel – kelin* «to come – daughter-in-law» (the one who came to the husband's family), *bul – bulun* «to find / get – a prisoner / captive», *bat – batım* «to dive – depth (diving)», *bar – barım* «to have / have – possession». For example: Sung batymy karyg sekdim. [I cleared the deep snow]. Barymyn anta altym. [I got worldly possessions there] (Zholdasbekov, 2006: 192; 265).

In runic texts, word-forming affixes also function in other parts of speech, such as adjectives, numerals and verbs, where word-forming formants involved in the act of word formation realize their word-forming functions. The most productive and frequently occurring derivational affixes have been identified. So for adjectives, such affixes turned out to be *-ly/-li* bukaly «having bulls»; *-syz/-siz* yolsyz «off-road»; *-tai/-teg* boriteg «wolf», koiteg «sheep»; *-daki, -deki, -taki, -teki* konildegi «hearty», yerdeki «earthen», balikdaki «settlement», bulundaki «four-sided», etc.

The word-forming meaning of these affixes is also revealed with the help of a system-forming function. For example: *konil* → *konildegi*, “heart – hearty”, *balyk* → *balykdaky* “settlement – settlement”, *yer* → *yerdeki* “earth – earthen”, *bulun* → *bulundaky* “four sides – four-sided” SF *-daky, -deki* designate “space, terrain”. For example: Kagany alp ermis, *aiguchsy bilge ermis*. [The ruler was a hero, and the councilor was knowledgeable]. Kagan susi boriteg ermis, yagysy koiteg ermis. [Kagan's army was like a wolf, and his enemy was like a sheep] (Zholdasbekov, 2006: 317-319).

Among the derivational affixes of numerals are: *-nt ekinti* «second», *-nch /-unch / -inch uchunch* «third», *tortinch* «fourth», *bisinch* «fifth»: *laýzin jıl bisinč aj jiti otuzqa joq ertiürtim* “In the year of the pig in the fifth month of the twenty-seventh day, I ordered a funeral feast” (Kormushin, 1997: 143).

Similarly, in the system we have defined word-forms of the Old Turkic verb, which include: *-a/-e ata* “name”, *-lat/-let atlat* shoot, *-lan/-len katylgan* “to be strong”, *-q/-k/-yq/-ik/* “climb the mountain”, *-syra/-sire/-ilsire kagansyra* “to weaken, to leave without a kagan”; *-d, -ad, -ed, -id bashad* «to lead, rule» etc. For illustration, the word-formation meaning of verbs with formants in *-d* is determined: *bash – bashad* «head – head», *bun – bunad* «sorrow – be sad», *yok – yokad* «not – perish», *ig – igid* «height – rise», *kul – kulad* «slave», *yag – yagyd* «enemy», etc. The built-up system of word-forming pairs shows that the word-forming formants *-d, -ad, -ed, -id* indicate a process originating from that or another name. For example: Kunedmis, kuladmys budunyg torusin ychgynmis. [Deprived the people of their freedom, who were

enslaved]. **Yokadu** barir ermis. Turk bilge kagan esir budunyg, oguz budunyg igidu olurur. [The knowledgeable Turkic khagan raised the Turkic enslaved people, the Oghuz people] (Malov, 1951: 69).

The definition of the word-forming meanings of the Old Turkic affixes or word-forming forms reveals the semantic potential of derivative words in the runic texts and makes it possible to trace the historical patterns of development of the word-forming units of the modern Turkic languages. In this context, it should be noted that many of these derivational formants have continuity in the modern northwestern, southwestern, northeastern, southeastern Turkic languages. For example, derivational forms *-chy/-chi; -syz/siz; -lig/-lyg/-lyk/-lik; -ly/-li; -syra/-sire/-ilsire* in the Kipchak northwestern languages, in particular, in the Kazakh language, have been preserved with the same derivational meanings, differing in some phonetic variants. Compare in Old Turkic: *sab* → *sabchy* “word-messenger”, *yer* → *yerchi* “earth-conductor”, *bediz* → *bedizchi* “stone-carver”, *yol* → *yolchy* “road-leader”, where the derivational form *-chy/-chi* means «person on the subject»;

in Kazakh: *zhol* → *zholshy* “road – leader”, *mal* → *malshy* “cattle-herdsman”, *zhylky* → *zhylkyshy* “horse-rider”, where the derivational form *-shy* also means “a person according to the subject”.

In the Old Turkic language: *itgu* – *itguchi* «to build – a builder», *iog-* *iogchy* «to sob – a weeper», *sygyt* – *sygytchy* «to cry – a mourner », where the derivational form *-chy/-chy* means «a person by action»;

in the Kazakh language: *zhazu* → *zhazushy* «write → writer», *aitu* → *aitushy* «speak → speaker», *kaytu* → *kaytushy* «return → returner», in which the derivational form *-ши [-shy]* also means “a person by action” (Shaimerdinova, Sandybaeva, 2015: 290). Similar examples of semantic continuity of word-forming derivatives of the Old Turkic and modern Turkic languages can be established with other above-mentioned derivatives.

Results

The study of the structure of the Old Turkic word allows us to come to the following conclusions:

- in contrast to the amorphous structure of the Proto-Turkic word in the 6th - 10th centuries AD. a full-fledged structure of the Old Turkic word was formed, in which root and affixal morphemes, their means of expression and meaning were clearly distinguished;
- the Old Turkic root morpheme has preserved some ancient relics, such as primary monosyllabic, verb-nominal syncretism, sound-phonemic variability;
- in the Old Turkic language, the official affixal morphemes are quite developed, word-forming, which form the derivational system of the language, and formative, which determine the development of grammatical forms and grammatical categories of names and verbs;
- the Old Turkic language is rich in derivative words, where in the act of word production there is a formal semantic connection between motivating and motivated words;
- the system-forming function of word-forming affixes, or word-forming formants, makes it possible to reveal their word-forming meanings, and the illustrative material of derivative nouns in the article confirms the diverse range of these meanings;
- the word-forming potential of the Old Turkic word is also realized in the word-forming forms of other parts of speech and has a successive connection with the forms and meanings of the word-forming words of the modern Turkic languages.

Conclusion

In the period of the Old Turkic Khaganates, a full-fledged structure of the Turkic word emerged, with clear boundaries, forms and meanings of the root and affixal morphemes. The root morpheme, which expresses the main lexical meaning of the word, has preserved the historical relics of the Proto-Turkic metaforms. Affixal morphemes form systems of morphology and derivation of the Old Turkic language. The derivational system of the runic texts is still poorly studied.

Abbreviations

- Word-forming formant – WFF
- Word-forming meaning – WFM
- Word-forming function – WFF

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Көне түркі руникалық мәтіндеріндегі қосымшалардың сөзжасамдық әлеуеті

Аннотация. Ежелгі Түркі қағанаттары дәуірінде руникалық тілде түбір және аффиксті морфемалардан түзілген нақты мәні мен мағыналары бар түркі сөзінің толыққанды құрылымы қалыптасты. Түбір морфемада прототүркілік протоформалардың тарихи сарқыншақтары: бастапқы түбірлер, етістік-номиналды синкретизм, тубірлердің дыбыстық-фонемалық түрленгіштігі әлі күнге дейін сақталған. Көмекші морфемалар – аффикстер руникалық ескерткіштер тілінде де дамыған, соның арқасында көне түркі тілінде морфология мен туынды сөздің біршама жетілген жүйесі қалыптасты. Сондықтан бұл көмекші морфемаларды функционалдық жағынан сөзтүрлемдік және сөзжасамдық деп бөлуге болады. Көне түркі тілінің туынды жүйесі аффикстік сөзжасам түрғысынан бүтінгі түркология ғылымында азын-аулақ сөз етілгені болмаса, жеткілікті деңгейде зерттелмеген. Дегенмен қазіргі мағыналық туынды жасау әдіснамалары көне сөзжасамды егжей-тегжейлі қарастыруға, руникалық мәтіндердегі сөзжасамдық бірліктердің семантикалық әлеуетін ашып көрсетуге мүмкіндік береді. Аффиксті сөзжасамның негізгі бірлігі – сөзжасамдық жұп, онда тудыруышы және туынды түбірлер арасындағы формалдық-семантикалық байланыс мағыналық уәждеме арқылы айқындалады. Тікелей уәждеме жағдайында туынды сөздің мағынасы тудыруышы сөз бен сөзжасамдық қосымшаның мағыналары арқылы жасалады. Мақалада осыған сай көне түркі сөзжасамдық қосымшаларының қызметі мен мағыналары ашып көрсетіледі. Сөзжасам әрекетіне қатыса отырып, аффикстер сөзжасамдық қызмет атқарады, ал олардың сөзжасамдық мәні жүйе құраушы қызметіне байланысты айқындалады. Автор сөзжасамдық мағыналардың алуан түрлілігін дәйектеп, олар әлемнің көнетүркілік бейнесі туралы дерек көзі екенін атап көрсетеді. Көне түркі аффикстерінің мағыналары мен формалары қазіргі түркі тілдерінің туынды сөздер жүйесімен сабақтастып жатқанын байқауға болады.

Кілт сөздер: руникалық ескерткіштер, тіл, түбір және көмекші морфемалар, сөзжасамдық жұп, сөзжасамдық әрекет, сөзжасамдық морфемалардың қызметі мен мағыналары, әлемнің көнетүркілік бейнесі.

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Словообразовательный потенциал аффиксов в древнетюркских рунических текстах

Аннотация. В эпоху древнетюркских каганатов в руническом языке сформировалась полноценная структура тюркского слова с чёткими границами и значениями корневых и аффиксальных морфем. В корневой морфеме еще сохранились исторические реликты пратюркских праконформ: первичные корни, глагольно-именной синкретизм, звуко-фонемная вариативность корней. В языке рунических памятников также развиты были служебные морфемы

– аффиксы, благодаря которым в древнетюркском языке существовала достаточно развитая система морфологии и деривации. Поэтому эти служебные морфемы функционально можно классифицировать как формообразующие и словообразовательные. Деривационная система древнетюркского языка в ее аффиксальном словообразовании в настоящее время в тюркологии изучена фрагментарно и недостаточно. В то же время методологии современной семантической деривации позволяют более детально рассмотреть древнее словоизменение, выявить семантический потенциал словообразовательных единиц в рунических текстах. Основной единицей аффиксального словообразования является словообразовательная пара, в которой формально-семантическая связь между производящей и производной основами определяется семантической мотивированностью. При прямой мотивации значение производного слова формируется значениями производящего слова и словообразовательного аффикса. В данном контексте в статье раскрываются функции и значения древнетюркских словообразовательных аффиксов. Участвуя в акте словоизменения аффиксы выполняют словообразовательную функцию, а их словообразовательное значение определяется благодаря системообразующей функции. Автор выявляет многообразие словообразовательных значений и отмечает, что эти значения являются источником информации о древнетюркской картине мира. Значения и формы древнетюркских аффиксов имеют преемственные связи в деривации современных тюркских языков.

Ключевые слова: рунические памятники, язык, корневая и служебные морфемы, словообразовательная пара, акт словоизменения, функции и значения словообразовательных морфем, картина мира древних тюрков.

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