



Denominal verb derivation in *Jāmi' at-Tawārīḫ* by Qadir Ali Beg

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ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:
denominal verb
derivation, finite
verb forms, Qādir
‘Ali Beg, literary
Turkic language
of Central Asia,
Jāmi' at Tawārīḫ,
'Compendium
of Chronicles',
Compendium.

IRSTI 16.41.25

DOI: <http://doi.org/10.32523/2664-5157-2024-4-168-190>

ABSTRACT

The *Jāmi' at-Tawārīḫ* 'Compendium of Chronicles' is a historical text written by Qādir 'Ali Beg in 1602, most likely in the Qasym Khanate (1452–1681), using the literary Turkic language of Central Asia. The source has two manuscripts in St. Petersburg and in Kazan, respectively, along with at least three fragments. This paper will examine sentences containing verb forms with denominal verb derivation from the St. Petersburg manuscript. The analysis will be one step in the investigation of verbal morphology in the 'Compendium of Chronicles'.

Denominal verb derivation is a synthetic process resulting in a secondary verb stem derived from a nominal stem, i.e. noun, adjective or pronoun, by adding a suffix. This process enables the creation of new verbs that retain the meaning of the original nominal. The following inventory of denominal verb derivational suffixes was attested in the investigated corpus: {+lA-}, {+A-}, {+I-}, {+(A)l-}, {+(A)y-}, {+(A)r-}, {+dA-}, {+(I)K }, {+KAr}, {+(U)(r)ka }. Additionally, there is an example of the ancient *z ~ r* correspondence, where *z* is replaced by *r* when using the denominal verbalizer {+I-}.

Received 03 October 2024. Revised 03 October 2024. Accepted 25 November 2024. Available online 29 December 2024.



For citation: G. Togabayeva Denominal verb derivation in *Jāmi' at-Tawārīḫ* by Qadir Ali Beg // Turkic Studies Journal. 2024. Vol. 6. No 4. P. 168-190. DOI: <http://doi.org/10.32523/2664-5157-2024-4-168-190>

Introduction

The *Jāmi‘ at-Tawārīḫ* ‘Compendium of Chronicles’ (hereafter the *Compendium*) is a historical work written in the early 17th century in a Turkic variety. In 1851, Berezin introduced it to the scientific community in an article titled *Tatarskij letopisec. Sovremennik Borisa Fedoroviča Godunova*, published in the journal *Moskvitjanin*. Unaware of the manuscript’s title Berezin referred to it as the ‘Compendium of Chronicles’. The rationale behind this designation was that the primary component of Qādir ‘Ali Beg’s work consisted of a translation of Rašid ad-Dīn’s Persian ‘Compendium of Chronicles’.

The *Compendium* was authored by Qādir ‘Ali Beg (hereafter QAB) in 1602 in Arabic script, using a Turkic variety, during the reign of Uraz-Muhammed Khan¹. It was most likely written in the Qasym Khanate (1452–1681). There are two known manuscripts of the *Compendium* (in St. Petersburg and in Kazan) as well as three fragments (a fragment from Kyshgary village, London manuscript (I), and London manuscript (II)). The authorship of QAB is also associated with two other manuscripts (the Berlin and Paris manuscripts), although their authenticity has not been proven². Both of the verified manuscripts are incomplete; yet they complement each other. Both manuscripts are later copies, likely derived from the identical primary source. High-resolution color photographs of the St. Petersburg manuscript can be found in the Research Repository of St. Petersburg State University (Web1), while the Kazan manuscript photographs are available on the website of the Scientific Library of Kazan State University (Web2).

Materials and methods

The data used in this paper include the historical text of the St. Petersburg manuscript. The St. Petersburg manuscript, scribed between 1641 and 1642, was chosen because it is closer in time to the original (1602) than the Kazan manuscript (1732). In cases where words were missing in the St. Petersburg manuscript, the corresponding words and their locations were provided from the Kazan manuscript. Moreover, in example sentences where certain words were difficult to understand, explanations were provided using Smirnova’s (1952) Russian translation and Thackston’s (1998) English translation of the Persian ‘Compendium of Chronicles’.

The methods used in this article are comparative, descriptive, and data-oriented. The data used for the present investigation are limited to finite verb forms; non-finite verb forms are not included. The verbs are analyzed using a functional framework based on Lars Johanson’s work (2021). The framework defines the semantic notions of verbal categories from both a functional and typological perspective, including an examination of the morphological, morphophonological, syntactic, and morphosyntactic features of the text.

¹ Uraz-Muhammed Khan was the ruler of the Qasym Khanate and the nephew of Tewkel Khan, who was the khan of the Kazakh Khanate

² For detailed information about the manuscripts, see Usmanov (1972), Alimov (2018, 2022), and Nagamine (2019).

Research background

The first researchers on the *Compendium* were Berezin (1851, 1854), Valikhanov³, Vel'jaminov Zernov (1864), and Rakhim (1927 [2008], 1930 [2008]). Later, Usmanov (1972) and Syzdykova (1989), & Ҷoygeldiev (1991) investigated its historiographical and source aspects. Researchers such as Alimov (2015, 2016, 2018) and Nagamine (2019) have provided some of the most recent and comprehensive studies on the *Compendium*.

In 2020, Danka translated a passage from the St. Petersburg *Compendium* into English. He compared the original text to the translation by Syzdykova & Ҷoygeldiev (1991), provided a syntactic analysis, and proposed a new English translation of the passage.

Wheeler Thackston made a partial Latin transcription of the *Compendium*. He translated Rašid ad-Din's *Compendium of Chronicles* into English. Since some parts of the work were incomprehensible in Persian, Thackston resorted to the Turkic text and provided the transcribed text in footnotes. He worked with the Berezin's publication of 1854, referring to pages [98] to [111] of the Arabic script. He emphasized that the text QAB worked with must have been of better quality than the one he worked with because QAB probably understood the Persian text much better (Thackston, 1998: 293-301)

More recently, there has been a new wave of investigations. Alimov's critical edition of the *Compendium* was published in Kazan in 2022, including a transcription, a translation of the entire text into Russian, a glossary, and four facsimiles (the manuscripts from Kazan, St. Petersburg, London (I), and (II)). Simultaneously, Xisamieva's publication (2022) is based on her doctoral dissertation (1980). She considered the grammatical and lexical characteristics of the language of the *Compendium*. The edition contains a transcription into Cyrillic and a translation into Russian of the first and third parts. In March 2023, the Marjani Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan hosted an international conference, with the main topic being QAB's *Compendium*. In the same year, articles related to QAB and his *Compendium* were published in the journal *Golden Horde Review* (vol 11, no. 2).

Analysis

Denominal verb derivation is a synthetical process that results in a secondary verb stem derived from a nominal stem (Johanson, 2021: 574). This process makes it possible to create new verbs with meanings related to the original nominal. Denominal formations can exhibit the characteristics of transitive, intransitive, and ambitransitive subclasses (Johanson, 2021: 572):

Intransitive verbs are verbs that convey a complete idea in a sentence without needing an object to complement the meaning. They do not require an object to convey their meaning in the sentence, e.g. *öl-di* 'X died'. See example (1).

³ There is no information on when exactly Valikhanov (1835–1865) wrote his articles. The articles saw publication decades later, specifically between 1961 and 1972.

Transitive verbs are verbs that show an action in the sentence and require an object to complete that action. In other words, these verbs are preceded by a direct object in the sentence, e.g. *kötär-di-lär* ‘X raised (PL)’. See example (2).

Ambitransitive (neutral) verbs are verbs that can act as both transitive and intransitive verbs, depending on their usage in the sentence. One of the most frequently used ambitransitive verbs in Turkic languages is the verb *iç-* ‘to drink’, ‘to drink (something)’. Compare examples (3) and (4).

(1) *toqtaya öldi* (f.142v/10)

‘Toqtaga **died**.’

(2) *tört kim ersä tört yaqtin hazrät xänni altunliş şandalniş üstinä kötärdilär* (f.155r/8–10)

‘Four [*qaraçu* begs] from four sides **raised** His Highness, the Khan, to the golden throne.’⁴

In the following example (3), the sentence is transitive because the verb has an object ‘*äsäl* ‘mead’. The question here is, “What did he drink?” The answer is, “He drank the mead.” On the other hand, in example (4), the verb *iç-* ‘to drink’ can be used without an object in general, answering the question, “What does he/she/it do?” The answer to this is, “He/she/it drinks.”

(3) ‘*äsälni içär erdi* (f.144v/3)

‘[He] **drank** the mead.’

(4) Turkish: *İçiyor* (Johanson, 2021: 572)

‘He/she/it **drinks**.’

The following inventory of denominal verb derivational suffixes was attested in the *Compendium*: {+IA-}, {+A-}, {+I-}, {+(A)l-}, {+(A)y-}, {+(A)r-}, {+dA-}, {+(I)K-}, {+KAr}, {+(U)(r)ka-}. Tables 1–12 will provide all forms of denominal verb derivational elements.

{+IA-}

The {+IA-} suffix serves as the primary denominal verb formative, allowing unrestricted addition to foreign bases, as shown in Table 1. Verbs derived with the {+IA-} suffix can encompass a broad spectrum of meanings associated with the meaning of the base. It functions as a verbalizer for transitive, intransitive, and ambitransitive (neutral) verbs (Erdal, 1991: 415, 454).

Examples (5)–(6) illustrate instances of transitive verbs; examples (7)–(8) display instances of intransitive verbs; and examples (9)–(10) demonstrate the ambitransitive verbs.

(5) *ħajji muħammed ulanni manşur beg xānladi biri xān biri beg bolub yürür erdi* (f.144r/3–5)⁵

⁴ Uraz-Muhammed was elevated to the throne by the four highest-ranking clan leaders (*qaraçu* begs): Jalayir, Mangit, Argin, and Kipchak. *Qaraçu* begs held the chieftain positions in the main clans of the Crimea, Kazan, and Qasym khanates. Typically, the chiefs of the clans included Shirin, Barin, Argin, and Kipchak. They usually install a khan by raising him on white felt. This act of elevating on the felt symbolized their share of power (Ivanics 2022: 148). According to Beljakov (2019: 67), the enthronement ceremony of Uraz-Muhammed is more likely an exceptional instance of a khan’s inauguration in Kasimov.

⁵ † خان لاندی xānladi.

‘[After] Mansur Beg **enthroned** Hajji Muhammed Ulan, one of them was being a khan, [and the other] one a beg [and they were ruling].’

(6) *töhmät <bi-sihr>⁶ bilän anı kür suwiya taşladı* (f.137r/8)

‘On suspicion <of witchcraft>, [he] **threw** her into the Kür River.’⁷

(7) *anda qışladı* (f.54v/2)

‘[They] **passed the winter** there.’

(8) *özi läşkəri bilän nigias taba yüzländi* (f.89v/4–5)

‘He and his army **turned towards** Nikyas.’⁸

The denominal verbs *färmān-la-* ‘to order’ and *hisāb-la-* ‘to count’ have ambitransitive meanings (both transitive and intransitive). However, the *Compendium* lacks sufficient examples to directly observe the transitive and intransitive aspects of ambitransitive verbs. Only one example is available for each verb in the *Compendium*. The verb *färmān-la-* ‘to order’ is used in its intransitive form with the absence of an object in example (9). The ambitransitive verb *hisāb-la-* ‘to count’ is exemplified only together with the transitivizing causative marker {*-t-*}, see example (10), which indicates the transitive verb *hisāb-la-t-* ‘to cause to count’.

(9) *anday färmānladım* (f.19v/1)

‘I **ordered** so/ the following...’

(10) *tämügä otğigin noyanniñ uruyın qu[b]ilay χān hisāblattı* (f.40r/9–40r/10)

‘Kublai Khan **caused** (them) **to count** the descendants of Temuge *Otğigin*⁹ *Noyan*.’¹⁰

Table 1. Verbs derived with {+IA-}

etymological stems are found independently in the corpus
<i>aṭ-la-n-</i> ‘to march against, set out’ ← <i>at</i> ‘horse’
<i>baş-la-</i> ‘to begin, lead’ ← <i>baş</i> ‘head’
<i>biy-lä-</i> ‘to rule’ ← <i>biy</i> ‘biy/beg’
<i>färmān-la-</i> ‘to issue a <i>firman</i> , order’ ← <i>färmān</i> P ‘ <i>firman</i> , imperial edict’, ‘command, order’
<i>hisāb-la-t-</i> ‘to cause to count, cause to plan, cause to calculate’ ← <i>hisāb</i> A ‘counting, numbering’, ‘considering’
<i>χān-la-</i> ‘to enthrone’ ← <i>χān</i> ‘khan’

⁶ K: f.57v/16.

⁷ This is the Kura River, which flows through Turkey, Georgia, and Azerbaijan. The Kura River is called Kür in Azeri.

⁸ According to Thackston’s English translation of the Persian *Compendium* (1998: 262), the term used is Nankiyas. In the Russian translation, it is referred to as Nangias (RD/Smirnova 1952: 232). In the footnotes, it is explained that Nangias is a term used for southerners, derived from the Chinese *nan’-czja* (**nan’-gja*), and it incorporates the Mongolian plural suffix. It is a Mongolian name, while the Chinese refer the country as *manzi*. The term *manzi* comes from the Chinese *man’-czy*, which means “the southern barbarians”. In ancient times, the Chinese used this term to refer to all the alien tribes that lived in southern China. During the Mongolian period, the name *man’-czy* was specifically applied to the southern Chinese (RD/Smirnova 1952: 77 n.3, 4).

⁹ *Otğigin* (Mo. *otğigin* ← *ot* + *tigin* (> *çigin*) ‘fire-prince’) is the youngest son and guardian of the hearth. The keeper of (the family) fire(place) (Rachewiltz 2004: 236, 288).

¹⁰ *Noyan* is the Mongolian equivalent of the English ‘chief’, ‘commander’, ‘official’, ‘nobleman’ (Rachewiltz: 2004: 247).

<i>‘izzät-lä-</i> ‘to treat with respect, honor’ ← <i>‘izzät</i> A ‘a being glorious’, ‘flory, greatness’, ‘excellence’, ‘honor, dignity’
<i>kış-la-</i> ‘to pass the winter, go into winter quarters’ ← <i>kış</i> ‘winter’
<i>söz-lä-</i> ‘to speak, say’ ← <i>söz</i> ‘word, speech, statement’
<i>taş-la-</i> ‘to stone’ ← <i>taş</i> ‘stone’
<i>yayı-la-š-</i> ‘to antagonize each other, feud with one another’ ← <i>yayı</i> ‘hostile, enemy’
<i>yüz-lä-n-</i> ‘to face toward, turn towards’ ← <i>yüz</i> ‘face’
etymological stems are not found independently in the corpus
<i>añ-la-</i> ‘to understand’ ← <i>añ</i> ‘understanding, intelligence’
<i>bay-la-</i> ‘to tie, fasten’ ← <i>bay</i> ‘bond, tie, belt’ ← <i>ba-</i> ‘to bind’, ‘to fasten’ {- (I)G } VN
<i>iktü-lä-</i> ‘to feed (a human being or animal)’ ← <i>iktü</i> ‘a small-fed animal’
<i>jar-la-</i> ‘to call to, summon’ ← <i>jar</i> ‘onomatopoetic jingle’
<i>kiz-lä-</i> ‘to hide’, lit. ‘to put (something) in a box or bag’ ← <i>kiz</i> ‘wardrobe, clothes bag, cupboard’ (Clauson, 1972: 756); <i>*kiz</i> ‘secret’ (Boeschoten, 2023:169)
<i>konak-la-</i> ‘to entertain (a guest)’ ← <i>konak</i> ‘guest’ ← <i>kon-</i> ‘to settle’, ‘to stop (for the night)’, ‘to settle down’ {- (°)K } ¹¹ VN
<i>kuçak-la-š-</i> ‘to embrace one another’ ← <i>kuçak</i> ‘the bosom’, ‘the lap’ ← <i>kuç-</i> ‘to embrace’ { (°)K } VN
<i>sağ-la-</i> ‘to watch over guard, protect’ ← <i>sağ</i> ‘awake, alert’
<i>tñ-la-</i> ‘to hear, listen’ ← <i>tñ</i> ‘sound’
<i>yay-la-</i> ‘to pass the summer’ ← <i>yay</i> ¹² ‘summer’
<i>yiy-la-</i> ‘to weep’ ← <i>iyi</i> ‘weeping, sobbing’
<i>yuma-la-n</i> ¹³ ‘to roll’ ← <i>yumar-la-</i> ‘to knead (dough) into a ball’ < <i>yumur-la-</i> ‘id.’ ← <i>yumur</i> ‘something round, globular, coiled’ ← <i>*yum-</i> { °r } VN or { mUr } VN

¹¹ I labeled it {-**(°)K**} since the word ‘guest’ first appeared independently in Qarakhanid Turkic in the form *konok*. Erdal (1991: 238) views the derivational suffix in the noun as {-**(O)k**}, and Johanson (2021: 448) views such markers as {-**(U)K**} ~ {-**(I)K**}. For comparison, *konak* can appear in the forms of *konak/ konay/konuk/ konok/konik/* (Clauson 1972: 637)

¹² There is confusion in Turkic languages about the words for ‘spring’ and ‘summer’. *Yaz* must originally have meant ‘summer’, and *yay* must originally have meant ‘spring’. But *yayla-* always meant ‘to pass the summer’. In some modern Turkic languages, *yay* has disappeared; in others, the meaning has become inverted (Clauson 1972: 980).

¹³ The verb *yuma-la-* with the passive-reflexive-medial marker {-**(I)n-**} is of special interest. Clauson (1972: 938) indicates the form *yum-ur-la-*. *Yumur* basically refers to ‘something round, globular, or coiled’; hence, it is associated with ‘the howls’, especially those of animals (Clauson 1972: 937). It is derived from **yum-* ‘to be round’ (Clauson 1972: 934; Boeschoten 2023: 426). **Yum-* is a reconstructed verb that has survived in words such as *yumyak* ‘a spherical or globular object’ (Clauson 1972: 936), *yumurtya* ‘egg’ (Clauson 1972: 938), and *yumuš* literally something like ‘circulating’. Originally, it implied ‘an errand’ but later it survived with the broader meaning of ‘a task’, ‘piece of work’ (Clauson 1972: 938), *yumuz* ‘round, globular’ and, of course, *yumur* (Clauson 1972: 940). However, *yum-* can also mean ‘to shut, to clench’, and ‘to assemble’. Therefore, there are two ideas of derivation (Róna-Tas-Berta 2011: 399). The earliest is the aorist marker {-**(°)r**} within *yum-ur*. The second one is a suffix {-**mUr**} in **yum-mur* > *yumur*. For detailed information, see Róna-Tas-Berta (2011). Furthermore, it is highly interesting to note that in modern Kazakh, the initial consonant is rendered by the realization of Proto Turkic **d** in the form of *домала-* <*domala-*>, as the initial *d-* reflects Proto-Turkic **d** in some historical documented languages (Johanson 2021: 366–367), cf. Kirghiz (Judaxin 1985: 268) *жума-ла-* <*žuma-la-*> ‘катить, скатывать’, and Tatar (TRS 1966: 188) *йомар-ла-* <*yomar-la-*> ‘катиться, скатываться, скатать, придать круглую форму’. The WOT borrowing words in Hungarian also reflect the realization of the initial *d-*, as seen in the words like *gyümölcs* <*d’ümölc*> ☐ **jemilč* ☐ WOT **jemilč* | EOT *yemiš* ‘fruit’ < *ye-* ‘to eat’ (Róna-Tas-

Erdal (Erdal, 1991: 416) noted that, in Old Turkic, bisyllables ending in the velars K, G, and ŋ generally took the marker {+IA-} rather than {+A-}. However, in the *Compendium*, the suffix {+IA-} is found mainly after monosyllables ending in velars *k*, *g*, *ɣ*, *ŋ*, and only once after the bisyllable velar *k*. In contrast, syllables ending in any velar sound with the {+A-} suffix are not attested in the *Compendium*.

According to the corresponding examples in Table 1, the denominal verbs formed with the {+IA-} are highly productive in the *Compendium*. These verbs reflect actions or activities associated with the noun from which they are derived. Furthermore, the marker {+IA-} appears in combinations and formative sequences, such as {+IA-n-}, {+IA-š-}, and {+IA-t-}. The documented derivations include nouns from Turkic, Arabic, Persian, and other languages.

{+A-}

The suffix {+A-} is the second most frequently occurring denominal verb formative in the *Compendium*. It attaches to nominals that end in a consonant and forms transitive and intransitive verbs from nouns and adjectives. This denominal verbalizer {+A-} indicates the action or activity associated with the noun or adjective from which it is derived, functioning similarly to the denominal verbalizer {+IA-}. It can be added to both mono- and bisyllabic bases, although in bisyllabic bases, the second vowel is usually shortened (Erdal, 1991: 416; 2004: 228; Johanson, 2021: 574). The *Compendium* provides evidence for only five examples of denominal verbs with the {+A-} suffix on a monosyllabic bases.

All the documented examples in the *Compendium* are synthetically derived from nouns and an adjective, as illustrated in Table 2. Among these verbs, the transitive denominal verb at a- ‘to call out’, ‘to nominate to a post’, ‘to betroth’ displays a wide range of usage; see instance of transitive meaning in example (11). However, the reflexive form {-(I)n-} also attests to instances indicating intransitive meanings, as seen in example (12).

(11) *ani öz ayasiniñ oylıya atadı* (f.141r/6–7)

‘[He] **betrothed** her to his elder brother’s son.’

(12) *jüngiz çänniñ zamānında göyän¹⁴ atandılar* (f.30v/11–31r/1)

‘In Genghis Khan’s time they **were called out** as *göyen*.’

The denominal verbs *aš-a-* ‘to eat (up)’ and *yaš-a-* ‘to live (for many years)’ have been attested only once as transitive verbs in the *Compendium*; see example (13).

(13) *yil ašasun yüz yašasun* (f.2r/3)

‘**Let him consume** the year[s], **let him live** one hundred [of them].’

One of the most frequently used verbs with the suffix {+A-} in the *Compendium* is *tıl-ä-* ‘to wish’.

Berta: 2011: 417), cf. Kazakh жеміс *žemis*. In Kazak, it usually takes the initial ž-. It is intriguing that this initial ž- is preserved in Kazakh words, such as жұмыртқа *žumırtqa* ‘egg’ and жұмыс *žumis* ‘work’ or ‘labor’ which share the same original stem. This is a perfect illustration of the word-initial sounds *y- ~ j- ~ ž- ~ t’- ~ d’- ~ ts- ~ ś- ~ s-*. While EOT displays the initial *y-*, the WOT illustrates *j-*. Chuvash and Yakut show the initial *s-*. Old and more recent languages exhibit variations between *j- ~ y-*. Many modern languages show *y-*. The vacillation between *y- ~ j-* is observed in Kipchak languages, whereas Kazakh shows a stable ž-. The North Altay varieties illustrate *t’- ~ d’- ~ ts- ~ y-*. South Siberian languages illustrate the initial *d’-* and *t’-*, which is the dentalization of *y-* (Johanson 2020: 110).

¹⁴ *ma’nā-yi köyän uluğ beg demäk* (f.31r/1–31r/2) ‘the meaning is ulugbeg (great lord)’.

(14)*pādišāh bariṣ fyodaraviñniñ tilägin tilädi* (f.156r/9–10)

‘[He] **complied with** (lit. wished) the wishes of Tsar Boris Fyodorovich.’

Table 2. Verbs derived with {+A-}, where the etymological stems are found independently in the corpus

<i>aš-a-</i> ‘to eat’, ‘to eat up, destroy’, ‘to enjoy, experience (something)’ ← <i>aš</i> ‘food’
<i>at-a-</i> ‘to call out (someone’s name)’, ‘to nominate to a post’, ‘to betroth’ ← <i>at</i> ‘name’
<i>keñ-ä-š-</i> ‘to take counsel (together)’ ← <i>keñ</i> ‘wide, broad’
<i>til-ä-</i> ‘to wish’ ← <i>til</i> ‘tongue’
<i>yaš-a-</i> ‘to live (for many years)’ ← <i>yaš</i> ‘year’

The productivity of the {+A-} suffix is limited in the *Compendium*, as only five forms have been observed. These five verb forms are linked to nominal stems related to nouns such as *at* ‘name’, *aš* ‘food’, *yaš* ‘year’, and *til* ‘tongue’ and the adjective *keñ* ‘wide, broad’. Danka (Danka, 2019: 199) noted that the connection between *tilä-* ‘to wish’ (Clauson, 1972: 492) and *til* ‘tongue’ was not made by Clauson or Erdal.

The verb *keñ-ä-* ‘to arrange one’s affairs with somebody’ itself is not found in the *Compendium*; the verb only appears with the cooperative-reciprocal voice {-(I)š-} in the form *keñ ä-š-* ‘to take counsel (together)’. According to Erdal (Erdal, 1991: 420), the semantic connection between *keñ* ‘wide, broad’ and *keñ-ä-* ‘to arrange one’s affairs with somebody’ is not entirely transparent, but it is possible that the term was calqued on some foreign language. Danka (Danka, 2019: 198) considered *keñ* as a base word for *keñ-ä-š-* in his example of verbs. However, Clauson (Clauson, 1972: 727) did not establish the connection between *keñ* ‘wide’ and *keñ-ä-* ‘to arrange one’s affairs with somebody’, and Boeschoten (Boeschoten, 2023: 161) suggests **keñä-* as a reconstructed verb ‘to settle one’s affairs.’

Based on the attested verbs listed in Table 2, we can observe three clear examples of stem derivative pairs: *at* ‘name’ ← *ata-* ‘to call out (someone’s name)’, ‘to nominate to a post’, ‘to betroth’; *aš* ‘food’ ← *aša-* ‘to eat (up)’; and *yaš* ‘year’ ← *yaša-* ‘to live (for many years)’. Additionally, there are two examples of *til-ä-* ‘to wish’ and *keñ-ä-* ‘to arrange one’s affairs with somebody’, where the derivation of the verbs may already not be transparent. However, the existence of three examples of verbs derived with {+A-}, where both the stems and the derivatives are found transparent, suggests that {+A-} tended to be productive in the *Compendium*.

{+I-}

The denominal verbalizer {+I-} serves a similar function in Turkic languages as the commonly used {+A-}. Like {+A-}, it is used exclusively with base words that end in consonants. However, unlike {+A-}, it generates only intransitive verbs. Its purpose is to indicate the process of becoming the entity that the base noun or adjective represents (Erdal, 1991: 474, 479; Johanson, 2021: 574). In the *Compendium*, there are only two pure instances

of the { +I-} verbalizer in three examples (15)–(17) with transparent derivation; see instances from Table 3.

(15) *anlar (sic!) bu sâbâbdin köjüllâri ayridi* (f.52v/10)

‘For this reason [they] **became angry** (lit. their hearts became heavy) [at him].’

(16) *tamâmisî bu sözni eştkâj oyuzdin ayridilar* (f.20v/10–11)

‘Everyone, having heard these words, **became angry** at Oghuz.’

(17) *tört tarafka bārib hič kāmimās* (f.5v/1)

‘[Even] giving out to the four corners [of the word], they **will not diminish.**’

Table 3. Verbs derived with { +I-}

etymological stems are found independently in the corpus
<i>ayr-i-</i> ‘to be(come) heavy’, ‘to be in pain, be angry’ ← <i>ayir</i> ¹⁵ ‘heavy in the physical sense’
<i>kām-i-</i> ‘to diminish’ ← <i>kām</i> P ‘few, little, diminished’, ‘less’
<i>semür-t-</i> ‘to be(come) fat or corpulent’ ← <i>semri-</i> ‘id.’ ← <i>semiz</i> ‘fat, corpulent’ {+I-} NV

The denominal verb *kāmi-* suggests that the denominal verbalizer { +I-} was quite active in the 17th century. It was derived from the Persian word *kām* ‘few, little, diminished’ and has not been attested in earlier stages by either Erdal (in Old Turkic), Clauson (in pre-13th century Turkic), or Boeschoten (in Early Middle Turkic).

Nominal bases ending in the consonant *z* undergo substitution with *r* when the { +I-} suffix is added; refer to Table 3. This descriptive statement can only be replaced by an explanatory one if it is part of a theory that explains the phenomenon of *rhodacism* vs. *zetacism* in the “Trans Eurasian”¹⁶ (or “Altaic”) languages as a whole.

Erdal (Erdal, 1991: 480) attested to the verb *semri-* meaning ‘to be(come) fat or corpulent’ in Old Turkic languages. It demonstrates the ancient *z* ~ *r* correspondence¹⁷, where the verb *semri-* is derived from the adjective *semiz* ‘fat, corpulent’ through the omission of its second vowel, and clearly indicating the *z* + { +I-} derivation. This process likely had ancient origins and was probably active during an undocumented historical linguistic stage. The Early Old Turkic (EOT) runiform transcriptions already attest to the presence of the *semiz* ← *semir-*. In the *Compendium*, the verb *semri-* underwent certain phonological processes and transformed into *semür-*; see example (18).

¹⁵ Numerous Turkic languages exhibit a distinct type of pattern in which lax vowels alternate with \emptyset in a group of bisyllable primary roots ((C)VC-VC). It means that the vowel in the second syllable is deleted. These vowels are known as volatile vowels. Most primary stems that have volatile vowels tend to end in the consonants *n*, *r*, *l*, and *z* (Johanson 2021: 293-294).

¹⁶ A newly used term by Johanson and Robbeets (2010: 1-2).

¹⁷ The postconsonantal *r* has been preserved in *semri-* ‘to be(come) fat’ (Common Turkic), and later in the form *semür*, but it has changed in the word *semiz* ‘fat’. It is possible that an old distinction between **r** and **r** was maintained as a difference between -*r* and -*z* in Common Turkic, while these two sounds merged into -*r* in Oghur Turkic (Johanson 2021: 397-398).

*rdiš suwini yaylamişi qildi tā atin ulayin*¹⁸ *semürtti* (f.60v/4–5)

‘He passed the summer on the Irtysh River and **fattened** his horses and post horses.’

Thus, the *Compendium* lists three examples of denominal verb formations using the {+I} suffix. All these examples appear to be productive, with both stems and derivatives of the adjective being found. Therefore, I classify the verb formative {+I-} as productive in the *Compendium*.

All examples with the denominal derivational suffix {+I-} indicate actions related to the notion conveyed by the adjective, such as the {+IA-} and {+A-} suffixes. The occurrence of these markers is restricted to monosyllabic and bisyllabic words ending in a consonant.

{+(A)y-}

The dental lenis (weak) *d* in the earliest reconstructible hypothetical Proto-Turkic language transformed into the fricative sound represented by the symbol ←, which later commonly evolved into the sound y (Johanson, 2021: 363; 2022b: 101). Erdal (Erdal, 2004: 62) expresses greater confidence in using the written symbol d rather than the fricative symbol ←. Johanson (Johanson, 2021: 576) documents the fricative ← within the formative {+(A)←-} of the {+(A)D-} group, illustrating the examples from modern Turkic languages by {+(A)y-}. Johanson explains that the {+(A)D-} forms create intransitive verbs meaning ‘to become (something)’, although these derivatives can sometimes be transitive. The bases of these verbs may consist of one or two syllables. A significant number of verbs with the {+(A)D-} suffix have human subjects (Erdal, 1991: 485).

There is only one example of the formative {+(A)y-} in the *Compendium*; see example (19).

(18) *soñ kartaydi* (f.74r/5)

‘Later [he] **grew old**’

Table 4. Verb derived with {+(A)y-}, where the etymological stem is not found independently in the corpus

kart-ay- ‘to grow old, get old’ ← *kart* ‘an old man’, ‘old’

It is interesting that there is no evidence of the verb *kart-ay-* ‘to grow old’ in either Erdal (Erdal, 1991) or Clauson’s work (Clauson, 1972). However, Boeschoten (Boeschton, 2023: 240) indicates *kart-ay-* ‘to grow old’ in *at-Tuhfa az-zakkiyya* (Atalay, 1945; Fazylov, Zijaeva, 1978).

¹⁸Ulağ is “a technical term for a horse used for carrying goods or riding, more particularly a horse for hire or post horse. The specific meaning seems to be that it is one of a string of horses available for hire or use, and it may originally have meant a string of horses rather than a single animal, but if so, this meaning became obsolete very early” (Clauson 1972: 136). Ulağ also has multiple translations according to fundamental dictionaries and scholarly works. Two main definitions of this term can be found in the dictionaries. One definition portrays ulağ as a pack animal or beast burden, while the other closely associates it with the postal system, translating it as a post-horse or a similar concept. Scholars, when interpreting the standard editions of the documents, have followed these two primary directions and selected the interpretation that best suits the context. After examining all available instances of the term in Uyghur documents, VÉR concluded that in the 13th and 14th century Uyghur documents of Central Asia, the word ulağ could refer to any livestock owned by or used in the postal relay system. Specific combinations such as *at ulağ* (‘horse ulağ’) and *eškeq ulağ* (‘donkey ulağ’) were used when the authors of the documents wanted to specify a particulate type of animal within this category (VÉR 2019: 45–46).

{ + (A)l- }

Johanson (Johanson, 2021: 574-576) notes the use of the marker { + (A)l- } in the Oghuz branch, which means ‘to become something’. The suffix { + (A)l- } is common in Oghuz but not in Kipchak and Karluk (Nugteren, Korpershoek, 2007: 59).

There are two examples of the formative { + (A)l- } in the *Compendium*, see Table 5. This linguistic characteristic was found in the *Compendium* as a derivation of adjectives, with both instances being intransitive. Instances in examples (20)–(21) illustrate this derivation.

soñ bir birindin ösä artuñrañ köpöldilär (f.78v/5–6)

‘Then increased by each other, [they] **became more numerous.**’

(20) *anlarya üstün bolub bäkret kawminiñ tüb tüz kildi*¹⁹ *yañi yokaldı* (f.48r/8)

‘[He] overpowered them, razed the Bekret tribe to the ground, that is, [they] **were destroyed.**’

Table 5. Verbs derived with { + (A)l- }, where the etymological stems are found independently in the corpus

<i>köp-äl-</i> ‘increase, become numerous’ ← <i>köp</i> ‘much, many’
<i>yok-al-</i> ~ <i>yoy-al-</i> ²⁰ ‘to be destroyed, perish, disappear’ ← <i>yok</i> ‘not-existent’

{ + (A)r- }

A denominal verbalizer, represented by { + (A)r- }, is used to create intransitive verbs (Erdal, 1991: 499; 2004: 228; Johanson, 2021: 574), often conveying an inchoative meaning derived from adjectives. This verbalizer is more commonly used in the Kipchak branch than in the Karluk branch, except when forming verbs from color adjectives (Johanson, 2021: 574).

Verbs formed with the { + (A)r- } suffix do not undergo passive or transitive transformations. Typically, these verbs consist of one, two, or three syllables when using { + (A)r- }. It is worth noting that a considerable number of these stems are derived from bases ending in gU. Another notable group includes derivatives formed from color names. In general, { + (A)r- } verbs express the meaning ‘to be or become’ or ‘to form or transform into what the base nominal represents’ (Erdal, 1991: 506–507). In the *Compendium*, there are examples of denominal verbs that were derived synthetically from a color adjective, see example (22), as well as verbs derived from a noun ending in gU; see example (23).

(21) *ñingiz ÷ān yigit zamānida ertä uykuñin turdi ersä kākülindä bir näñä killar añarib turur erdi* (f.101v/7–9)

‘When Genghis Khan woke up early in his youth, a few strands on his forehead **had turned white.**’

¹⁹ K: f.19r/11.

²⁰ According to Nugteren & Korpershoek (2007: 62), *yok-a-l- displays passive formation from the denominal verb *yok-a in { + A- }.

(22) *-anıñ*²¹ *yüzindä* *χastalık belgürdi* (f.63r/10)
 ‘[A sign of] illness **appeared** on *his* face.’

Table 6. Verbs derived with {+(A)r-}, where the etymological stems are found independently in the corpus

<i>ak-ar-</i> ‘to turn/become white’ ← <i>ak</i> ‘white’
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<i>belgü-r-</i> ‘to appear, became manifest’ ← <i>belgü</i> ‘sign, mark’, ‘distinguishing characteristic’

{+dA-}

The denominal verb formative {+dA-} is an exceptionally uncommon verbalizer that attaches exclusively to a limited range of consonants, resulting only in transitive verbs. It did not appear prior to the Qarakhanid period (Clouston, 1972: xlv; Erdal, 1991: 417, 455). In Old Turkic, {+dA-} is attested after bases ending in *l*, *n*, and *z* (Erdal, 1991: 457–458). Monosyllabic stems ending in consonants also take the suffix. There does not seem to be any clear synthetic implication associated with the suffix. Similar to {+IA-} and {+A-}, there are no apparent limitations on the formation of verbs with {+dA} bases, indicating an indeterminate behavior. The *Compendium* provides only one documented instance of this verbalizer derived from a noun.

(23) *bu qulı anday erdi kim hulagu χān irān zamıngä baryanda tā här jänibdayi šahzādälärni läškäri bilän jihat özünä boluşluqya ündädi* (f.107v/9–108r/1)

‘It was the same Quli who, when Hulagu Khan marched into the land of Iran, **urged shahzades**²² from all sides to join him with their armies.’

Table 7. Verb derived with {+dA-}, where the etymological stem is not found independently in the corpus

<i>ün-dä-</i> ‘to call, urge, encourage, invite’ ← <i>ün</i> ‘sound’
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{+(IK)-}

The denominal verb formative {+(IK)-} can be observed after both vowels and consonants in an intransitive construction. Verbs formed with {+(IK)-} typically have bases consisting of one or two syllables. The transitive or causative counterpart of {+(IK)-} is the formative {+KAr-}. With a few exceptions, the subjects of {+(IK)-} verbs do not correspond to the bases of these verbs, indicating that they do not signify ‘to become what the base nominal denotes’ (Erdal, 1991: 492, 498–499). In the *Compendium*, only a single transparent instance

²¹ According to Nugteren & Korpershoek (2007: 62), *yok-a-l- displays passive formation from the denominal verb *yok-a in {+A-}.

²² Zhahzade is a prince, heir to the throne.

of a finite verb form utilizing this verbalizer, derived from the numeral *bir* ‘one’, is attested; see example (25).

(24) *muḡa birikti* (f.80r/6)
 ‘[They] **joined** him.’

Table 8. Verb derived with { + (I)K-}, where the etymological stem is found independently in the corpus

bir-ik- ‘to join’ ← *bir* ‘one’

Another example of a denominal verb derivation can be seen in the verb *čik-*, which means ‘to go out’, with { + (I)K}. However, this verb is completely non-transparent. In the EOT, *čik-* was developed from *taš-ik-* ← *taš* ‘exterior’ and { + (I)K-} suffix, indicating an inherent lack of transparency in its formation (Clauson, 1972: 562; Danka, 2019: 200).

(25) *künlärdä bir küñ oyuz yaziya čikti* (f.18v/8–9)
 ‘One day [Oghuz] **went out** to the plain’

Table 9. Non-segmentable denominal verb with { + (I)K-}

čik- ‘to go out’ < *taš-ik* ‘id.’ ← *taš* ‘exterior’

Generally, the denominal verb formative { + (I)K-} exhibits limited productivity, as it was observed in only one transparent example with the numeral *bir* ‘one’. In this particular case, the { + (I)K-} means ‘to become what the base nominal denotes’, specifically ‘to become one with others.’ The second example, however, lacks transparency. Therefore, it is concluded that the { + (I)K-} suffix is unproductive within the corpus of the *Compendium*.

{ + KAr- }

All formations with { + KAr-} form transitive verbs and serve as the transitive counterpart of { + (I)K-} (Erdal, 1991: 415, 498). This verbalizer has only one verb form in the *Compendium*; see example (27). Based on similarities in form and meaning, it is likely that the formative { + KAr-} originated from the combination { + (X)k-} + { + Ar-} (Erdal, 1991: 747).

hämišä mäniñ niyätim ol turur kim ilgäriki šäkär siyuryamišini anlarıñ ayızlarıya širñ kıldim wä ilgäriki wä soñyi yürüzüñ anlarıya altunli tonlar bilän keltürdüm wä anlarıñ yaχši aχta atlarıya mindirib yolda yürüzdüm wä tatli ariχ aχin suwlardıñ içirdim wä tawar қarasın²³ anlarıñ yaχši otluχ suwluχ yärlärdä otқardüm²⁴ ... (f.98v/3–8)

‘My intentions were always the following: to further sweeten the gift [like] sugar to their mouths, and let them go back and forth, to dress them in golden fur coats, and let them ride

²³ Tawar қара is cattle.

²⁴ StP: † otқazdüm; K: otқardüm (f.40r/11).

on good horses, and give [them] drink from some delicious clean streaming water, and **graze** their cattle in a good place for pasture with abundant water and streams.

The abovementioned sentence is found in the section of Genghis Khan's exhortation to his sons, where all the verbs are used in the causative voice. The first verb, *širīn kīl-* 'to sweeten, make sweet', is derived from the light verb *kīl-* 'to do, make' and indicates that the action expressed by the verb is caused or initiated by the subject. The next verb, *kel-tiir-* 'to bring, make to come,' uses the causative marker {-DUR-}, followed by *yür-güz-* 'to let ride,' which uses the causative marker {-GUZ-}, and *ič-ir-* 'to give drink,' which is formed with the causative marker {-ir-}. And finally, the verb *ot-ķar-* 'to pasture' derives with the denominal verb derivational element of causation {+KAR-} (Erdal, 1991: 742–748).

The initial velar sound of the formative {+KAR-} has been voiced since the earliest texts, with the voiceless variant appearing only in Qarakhanid (Erdal, 1991: 746). Therefore, it is expected that the voiced g would be found in the {+KAR-} formation in the Compendium, as in *ot-gar-*, consistent with Erdal's findings (Erdal, 1991: 746). The presence of the velar ķ in the Compendium could potentially be attributed to a mistake made by the scribe or rewriter. However, a closer examination of the Compendium reveals that the velar ķ is consistently used on two separate occasions (the second being in the infinite verb form), indicating a deliberate choice rather than random usage.

(26) *tawar qarasiñ otķarīb ol yärdä mänzil ķildilar* (f.9v/3)

'They settled down in that place, **grazing** their cattle.'

Table 10. Verb derived with {+KAR}, where the etymological stem is found independently in the corpus

ot-ķar- 'to pasture, graze (an animal)' ← *ot* 'grass, vegetation'

{+(U)(r)KA-}

The denominal verbalizer {+(U)(r)KA-} functions as a very rare formative that creates transitive verbs expressing emotions, attitudes, or opinions towards their objects (Erdal, 2004: 228). Erdal classifies the transitive denominal verb formative {+(X)(r)kA-} under the category of *verba sentiendi* and describes it as follows:

"The verbs created with this formative all denote feelings or sensations, the base nominal being either the name of the feeling, the object of the attitude, what one sees an object as, the mental source of the attitude, etc." (Erdal, 1991: 458).

According to Erdal's explanation, when the base is monosyllabic, the full form of the formatives {+(X)(r)kA-} appears, as in *soy-urya-*. For a bisyllabic base ending in a vowel, the formative is used without a vowel, which is expressed as {+(r)kA-}. However, if the bisyllabic base ends in a consonant, the alternative formative is expressed as {+kA-}, as seen in the example like *yarlık-ga*. Erdal notes that no other formatives in Old Turkic share the shape {+kA-}. The alternation among {+(X)(r)kA-}, {+(r)kA-}, and {+kA-} is a deliberate pattern aimed at maintaining a consistent number of syllables in the stem (Erdal, 1991: 458-459).

Poppe (Poppe, 1954 (2006): 65) interprets the semantic function of this formative in written Mongolian as “to denote possession of something in abundance”²⁵, while Erdal describes the function of the formative {- (X)(r)kA-} as expressing a particular type of action in Turkic (Erdal, 1991: 463).

In the *Compendium*, there are examples of both a monosyllabic stem, see example (29), and a bisyllabic stem, see example (30). However, neither of them can be segmented at the synchronic level of the *Compendium*.

(27) *ǰiŋgiz χān ani bisyār soyuryar erdi* (f.38r/7)

‘Genghis Khan **showed** a lot of **favor** to him.’

In the given sentence, the verb *soyurya-* serves as a denominal verb derived from the Chinese *tz’ü* ‘kind, merciful’ in Old Turkic. It was borrowed into Mongolian as a non-segmental form *soyurka-* with an alteration to its first vowel, becoming a non-segmentable unit. Later, it was borrowed back into Turkic as *soyurka-*, retaining its unsegmented structure. By the time the *Compendium* was written, it was a Mongolic loanword that was already not segmental. Moreover, the stem *soy* has no independent meaning in Turkic. In its original Turkic context, it signified ‘to have pity on (someone), be compassionate’. However, in Mongolian, the term acquired a more practical connotation, meaning ‘to show favor to (someone), reward’. During the medieval period, it was reborrowed from Mongolian into Turkic with the same practical sense, but it appears to have become obsolete everywhere (Clauson, 1972: 556; Danka, 2019: 200).

(28) *ǰiŋgiz χān soǰ aniŋ ǰalyan aǰliǰına öküš sohuryallar ǰildi ǰalyanin yarliǰadi* (f.59v/11–60r/2)

‘Genghis Khan [because of] respect [for the deceased Burgul Noyan] made many gifts [to wives and children] who remained after him and **was gracious** to the rest.’

The verb form *yarliǰ-ka-*, which means ‘to be gracious’ or ‘to command,’ was frequently used as an auxiliary of majesty, commonly translated as ‘to deign’ in Old Uyghur. The distinction between *yarliǰka-* and *yarliǰa-* is considered to be influenced by chronological or stylistic factors. The honorific usage of this verb appears to be secondary and aligns with the appropriate transfer of pragmatic norms within this domain (Erdal, 1991: 462). By the time of the *Compendium*, *yarliǰka-* had already become a non-segmentable unit.

Table 11. Non-segmentable denominal verbs with {+(U)(r)KA-}

<i>soyurya-</i> ‘to show favour to (someone), reward’ < * <i>tsuy-urya-</i> ← <i>tz’ü</i> Chin. ‘kind, merciful’
<i>yarliǰka-</i> ‘to issue orders, be gracious, be compassionate, forgive’ < * <i>yarliǰ- ǰa-</i> ‘id.’ ← <i>yarliǰ</i> ‘a command from a superior to an interior’

In the *Compendium*, the transitive denominal verb formative {+(U)(r)KA-} is observed to lack transparency and is used as a cohesive syntactic unit. It can be argued that this formative was no longer productive or active in its use.

²⁵ For the use of the denominal verb marker {+rKA-} in Mongolian, see Kempf (2013).

Results

The functions of nearly all denominal verb derivational elements presented in the *Compendium* indicate a range of processes related to becoming what the base noun or adjective represents, such as {+lA-}, {+A-}, {+I-}, {+(A)l-}, {+(A)y-}, {+(A)r-}, {+dA-}, {+(I)K-}, {+KA-}. However, the denominal verb marker {+(U)(r)kA-} expresses emotions, attitudes, or opinions about its objects.

Among the twenty-four finite verbs observed with the denominal verb formative {+lA-}, four denominal verbs (17%) are derived from the deverbal nominals with markers such as { (I)G} (*ba γ la-* ‘to tie, fasten’), {-(A)K} (*kon-aḱ-la* ‘to entertain (a guest)’, *kuč-aḱ-la-* ‘to embrace’) and { (°)r} or {-mUr} (*yuma-la-n* ‘to roll’ ← *yumar-la-* ‘to knead (dough) into a ball’ < *yumur-la-* ‘id.’). The remaining verbs are directly derived from nominal stems without any derivational suffixes. Notably, the text does not contain a single denominal verb derived from a denominal nominal.

A few foreign roots were detected in the *Compendium*, particularly Chinese root (tz’ü ‘kind, merciful’), which, accompanied by an unproductive suffix, was already found in Old Turkic before the 13th century, suggesting earlier incorporation. Arabic roots like *ḥisāb* (‘counting’) and *‘izzāt* (‘honor, dignity’), as well as Persian roots like *fārmān* (‘command’) and *kem* (‘few, little’), Arabic (*ḥisāb* ‘counting’; *‘izzāt* ‘honor, dignity’) and Persian (*fārmān* ‘command’; *kem* ‘few, little’) roots are also present, consistently accompanied by productive suffixes.

The verb *semür-* ‘to be(come) fat’ appears due to the phenomenon of *rhotacism* vs. *zetacism* in connection with the denominal verbalizer {+I-}, where the consonant z changed to r.

The text also attests to the Kipchak and Oghuz formatives {+(A)y-} and {+(A)l-}, respectively.

Conclusion

This study identifies the process of denominal verb derivation in the *Compendium*. the process of analyzing the text, Turkic, Arabic (via Persian), and Persian roots are mostly shown, and the semantic relations of the denominal verb derivation are determined. The findings indicate that once a well-developed system with a wide variety of suffixes is already reduced, with only a limited number of productive suffixes remaining. Table 12 below provides a summary of the denominal verb derivational elements found in the *Compendium*.

Table 12. Denominal verb derivational elements in the *Compendium*

{+lA-}	productive
{+A-}	productive
{+I-}	productive
{+(A)l-}	unproductive

{+(A)y-}	attested
{+(A)r-}	unproductive
{+dA-}	attested
{+(I)K-}	unproductive
{+KAr-}	unproductive
{+(U)(r)KA-}	unproductive

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Қадыр Әлі бектің *Jāmi' at-Tawārīḡ* еңбегіндегі есім негізді етістікті деривациясы

Аннотация: *Jāmi' at-Tawārīḡ* «Шежірелер жинағы» – Қадыр Әлі бектің 1602 жылы жазылған тарихи шығармасы. Шығарманың түпнұсқасы Қасымов хандығы (1452–1681) аумағында жазылу ықтималдығы жоғары деп саналады. *Jāmi' at-Tawārīḡ* Орта Азияда кең таралған әдеби түркі тілінде тамамдалған. Қазіргі уақытта осы еңбектің екі толық тізімі (Санкт Петербург қолжазбасы мен Қазан қолжазбасы) бар. Біреуі Санкт-Петербургте және екіншісі Қазанда сақталған. Бүгінгі күнге дейін бұл екі қолжазбадан басқа кем дегенде «Шежірелер жинағының» үш үзіндісі (Қышғары ауылынан табылған үзіндісі, бірінші Лондон қолжазбасы және екінші Лондон қолжазбасы) белгілі. Бұл мақалада Санкт-Петербург қолжазбасының материалы негізінде есім негізді етістікті деривацияның мысалдары қарастырылды. Бұл талдау «Шежірелер жинағындағы» етістік морфологияны кеңірек зерттеудің бір бөлігі болып табылды.

Есім негізді етістікті деривация – жұрнақпен аяқталатын есім негізді түбірден, яғни зат есім, сын есім немесе есімдіктен жасалған туынды (екінші таңбаның жасалуын білдіретін) түбір арқылы көрсетілген синтетикалық үдеріс. Бұл үдеріс бастапқы есім негізді мағынасы нәтижесінде жаңа етістіктер жасауға мүмкіндік береді. Зерттелген корпуста келесі есім негізді етістіктерге қосылған туынды жұрнақтары расталды: {+IA}, {+A}, {+I-}, {+(A)l-}, {+(A)y-}, {+(A)r-}, {+dA}, {+(I)K-}, {+KAr}, {+(U)(r)ka-}. Сонымен қатар, {+I-} есім негізді вербализатор қолданғанда z r-ге ауыстырылған z ~ r ежелгі сәйкестіктің мысалы табылды.

Кілт сөздер: есім негізді етістікті деривация, етістіктің жақтық тұлғасы, Қадыр Әлі бек, Орталық Азияның түркі әдеби тілі, *Jāmi' at-Tawārīḡ*, «Шежірелер жинағы», *Жинақ*.

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Отыменная глагольная деривация в *Jāmi' at-Tawārīḡ* Қадыр Али бека

Аннотация. *Jāmi' at-Tawārīḡ* «Сборник летописей» – исторический текст, написанный Қадыр Али беком в 1602 году. Предположительно, текст был создан на территории Касимовского ханства (1452-1681) на литературном тюркском языке, распространенном в Центральной Азии. До наших дней дошли два полных списка рукописи: Санкт-Петербургская и Казанская рукопись. Одна хранится в Санкт Петербурге, другая – в Казани, соответственно. Помимо этих двух списков, существуют как минимум три фрагмента (фрагмент из села Кышгары, первая Лондонская рукопись и вторая Лондонская рукопись). В данной статье исследуются предложения

с примерами отыменных глагольных дериваций на материале Санкт Петербургской рукописи. Этот анализ является частью широкого исследования глагольной морфологии в «Сборнике летописей».

Отыменная глагольная деривация представляет собой синтетический процесс, выраженный вторичной глагольной основой, происходящей от именной основы, т.е. существительного, прилагательного или местоимения, дополненного суффиксом. Этот процесс играет важную роль в создании новых глаголов со значением действия, связанного с исходной именной основой. В исследуемом корпусе были засвидетельствованы следующие производные суффиксы отыменных глаголов: {+IA}, {+A}, {+I-}, {+(A)l}, {+(A)y}, {+(A)r-}, {+dA}, {+(I)K-}, {+KAr}, {+(U)(r)ka-}. Кроме того, был обнаружен пример древнего соответствия $z \sim r$, когда z заменялась на r при использовании именного вербализатора {+I-}.

Ключевые слова: отыменная глагольная деривация, личные формы глагола, Кадыр Али бек, тюркский литературный язык Центральной Азии, *Jāmi' at-Tawārīḫ*, «Сборник летописей», *Сборник*.

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