Participial constructions in Old Anatolian Turkish: A morpho-syntactic analysis[*]

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1. Introduction

Participles are the deverbal forms that structurally may have the properties of noun, adjective and other nominal units in the sentence. Although various types of participial forms have been used in historical and modern Turkic languages and dialects, complexities of these participles and their syntactic functions on dialectal levels have not been studied sufficiently enough to show their dialectal specific and general structural and semantic peculiarities. Being the basic forms in composing complex sentences, participles take part in a large number of morpho-syntactic constructions in generating semantic nuances revolving around almost every major part of the sentence. Most of the time, these structural and semantic qualities of the participles are the dialectal-specific, and sometimes the sub-dialectal-specific. Each participial construction has its own semantic significance deriving from morpho-syntactically determined participial suffixes in terms of tense, aspect, place, case and other properties. Participles, like nouns, can take plural, possessive and case suffixes, as well as postpositions. They may constitute either part of the determinative groups. They serve as subject, object, attribute, adverbial modifier and predicate noun in the sentence. On the other hand, they are also like the verb, in having positive and negative forms, in distinguishing tenses, and in taking subject, object and adverbial modifiers. By taking subject, object and adverbial modifiers, and being a part of postpositional constructions, participles form nominalized secondary clauses in relation with

the main clause in complex sentences.[1] These nominalized clauses are semantically equivalent to what is known as subordinate clauses in Indo-European languages.[2] In this work, by using the samples from major Old Anatolian Turkish prose works, I will analyze and interpret the participles and their syntactic functions within their own syntactic contexts.

2. Participial suffixes and their general functions
In Old Anatolian Turkish, morpho-syntactically and semantically, there are nine sets of participial suffixes. These suffixes can be analyzed under three categories according to the tenses that they reflect.

1. Past Participles:
   a. *-duk/dük*
   b. *-mış/miş*
2. Present participles:
   a. *-an/en*
   b. positive form *-r* (*-ar/er*, *-[y]ur/ür*), the negative form: *-maz/mez*, rarely *-mas/mes*[3]
   d. *-ıcı/ici*, rarely *-ucı/üci*
3. Future participles:
   a. *-acak/ecek*
   b. *-ası/esi*
   c. *-ısar/iser*

Among these participial suffixes, the suffixes *-duk/dük* and *-an/en* create syntactically active participles. These two form participle constructions in almost every part of the complex sentences by getting the verbal stems nominalized with a strong verbal force featuring tense and aspect. They can be also

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1. For information on the syntactic functions of the participles in some other languages, see, Koptjevskaya-Tamm 1993; and for the functions of participles in Old Turkic, see, Eraslan 1980.
2. In this paper, I do not intend to get involved in discussions on the nature of complex sentences and subordinate clauses in Turkish which have already been elucidated by various scholars. See, Johanson 1973 and 1991, Slobin 1986, Boeschoten – Vandamme 1991, Comrie 1997, etc. My understanding of the complex sentence here is the sentence which has more than one subordinate clause attached to the main clause on semantic level. On the other hand, the subordinate clause is understood semantically, and therefore any 'syntactic' nominalization with the force of verb, time, subject and object is assumed a subordinate clause as long as it is a part of the main clause.
3. The form *-mas/mes* is originally used in Chaghatay as negative present tense participle, and among Old Anatolian Turkish texts it is encountered mostly in M. See, Eckmann 1966: 163.

the determined and determining nouns in determinative groups. They and their constructions, by taking the case suffixes and postpositions, make subordinate clauses in Old Anatolian Turkish. Participles in Old Anatolian Turkish have the following general functions:

a. They form action nouns: The participials *-duḳ/dük* and *-r* (*-ar/er, -[y]ur/ür*) may occasionally create action nouns. However, this is not the essential function of the participial suffixes in Old Anatolian Turkish, rather they function syntactically in larger structural combinations with various complex semantic significance.[4]

> *ummaduḳ* 'unexpected, unthought' (MN 143-10)
> *siñer* 'fitting' (MN 57a-6)
> *uyur* 'sleeping' (MN 26b-3)
> *yumış* 'washing' (KG 8a-13)

b. They form agent nouns as adjective:

> *göñül asıcı ve ciger yiyici* 'the one who annoys and eats livers' (KD 18a-4)
> *fehm ögredür gişi* 'the one who teaches knowledge' (MN 42a-8)
> *cihân görmüş* 'the one who has seen the world' (MN 39b-4)

c. They form determined participial nouns in a determinative groups: These participial constructs create subordinate clauses.

> *Tañrı arturduġı gişi* 'the one whom God has made successful' (KN 32a-11)

Here the participle has a subject preceding and modifying the subject of the main clause:

{[subj.] + participle + possessive}   <   {[subj.] + (...) + [verb]}
Subordinate Clause   Main Clause

> *Ḳalın Oġuzuñ gelini ḳızı bezenen çağda...* 'At the time when daughters and brides of Kalın Oghuz embellish themselves...' (DK 21-7)

Here the participle construct, by taking a noun of time with the locative, creates an adverbial subordinate clause showing simultaneity:

{[subj.] + [partic.]} < {[word of time + locative]}   <   {[subj.] + (...) [verb]}
Subordinate Clause   Main Clause

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4. In Old Anatolian Turkish action nouns (verbal nouns) were formed predominantly by the infinitival *-maḳ/mek, -maḳlıḳ/meklik, -ış/iş* and very rarely *-ma/me*. However, some other deverbal suffixes such as *-(ı/i)m* (baḳım), *-nç* (ilenç), *-ġu/gü* (sevgü) and occasionally "zero-suffix" (göç) may be operational in creating action nouns. For more information about the verbal nouns in Old Anatolian Turkish see, Timurtaş 1962, and my Harvard University doctoral dissertation, Turan 1996: 189–192.

Seni korkutmaduğına inanmak gerekmez 'It is not necessary to believe that he did not scare you.' (KD 32b-6)

Here the subject of the main verb is an {-mAK} infinitive clause, yet within the infinitive clause, the participial construction is the object with an action having itself a subject, an object and negativity:

{[obj.] + participle + poss. + prn. n + dative]}   <   {[verb]}
Subordinate Clause   infinitive   .   <   {[subj.] + [verb]}
{-mAK} Infinitive Clause   Main Clause

In the following participial constructions, participles, by simply modifying the nouns, create subordinate clauses:

yalan söyleyesi gişi 'the one who would lie' (KN 28b-12)
ere varan kız 'the girl who is marrying, the marrying girl' (DK 113-7)
kalan nesnecükler 'the things which remain, the remaining things' (MN 8a-12)
bilür gişi, bilmez gişi 'the one who knows, knowing one; the one who does not know, unknowing one, etc.' (MN 54a-5)

d. As a nominalized verb, either isolated or by taking declensional suffixes, they can be a subject, object, attribute and predicate in a sentence.
Subject:

[Alduğuñ satduğuñ] güzāfe olmasun 'That which you buy and sell should not be foolish' (KN 31b-12)
Gişi söylemeyice ma'lūm olmaz [ne mikdārlu gişiyidügi] 'One can not know what kind of person a man is, as long as that man does not speak.' (KN 29b-13)
[Allāh véren] umudun üzülmesin[5] 'May the hope that God bestowed on you, not get lost.' (DK 66-8)

Object:

Aldanmış gişi oldur kim [bulınmışı bulınmaduğa] degşüre 'The deceived one is the one who would change what has already been found with what has not been found.' (KN 32-1)
Yine [dédügine] peşmān olur 'Again he regrets saying [that].' (TE 8b-12)
"Göreyim [dédügimi] getürdiler mi" dédi 'He said "let me see if they brought what I asked"' (DK 87-9)

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5.   In DK, the participial -*an/en* may take a subject without getting nominalized. This is openly a characteristics of Chaghatay and other Eastern Turkish languages and dialects. When they are modifying nouns, participles usually do not take subjects in Old Anatolian Turkish as in Modern Turkish. However, in Azeri Turkish, participles may take subjects while modifying nouns as seen in DK. This situation has been rightly pointed out by Comrie in his recently published article. See, Comrie 1997.

Çün kim soralar [ta'bīr 'ilminden bilenlerden] beşāret éde ol düş görenlere 'If they ask those who know about dream interpretations, they will give good news to those who have had dreams.' (KT 16b-8)

Attribute:

[Sanmaduğuñ] gişiden yardım isteme 'Do not ask for help from those whom you do not expect to help.' (KN 32a-3)

Ol geleci kim bilür hem [söyleyecek] gelecidür ya'nī maşlaḥatlu gelecidür anı söyle-sün kim dīnine ve hem dünyasına menfa'atı var 'He should say the word that is worth of saying, in other word, it is a reasonable word which is beneficial for his belief and life.' (KN 29a-11)

Predicate:

Oğuzuñ ol tamām [bilicisiyidi] 'He was the soothsayer of all Oghuz [tribes]' (DK 2-2)

Ağam Beyrek gideli bize ozan [geldügi yok] 'Since my sir Beyrek went away no minstrel has come to us.' (DK 106-12)

e. They can make adverbial clauses by taking certain case suffixes and post-positions. In this case, the participials *-an/en* and *-duḳ/dük* are the most functional ones, and by taking case suffixes, they act converbially in the sentence: *gelende, geldükde, geldüginde* 'when he comes, when he came', *geldükçe* 'as long as he comes, whenever he comes', *geldüginden* 'because he came', etc.

{-an/en} + {locative +da/de} creates adverbial clause of time in simultaneity. This form is encountered mostly in DK.

Ṭoḳuz ay ṭar ḳarnımda götürdügüm oğul, [on ay diyende] dünyāya getürdügüm oğul '[O my son] whom I carried in my tight belly for nine months, whom I brought out into the world when the tenth month started.' (DK 52-9)

In the following syntactic combinations, the possessive suffixes are not always used. When the possessive is used, it becomes the subject of participial action. However, when pronouns precede the participle, the possessive is sometimes skipped, and in this case no meaning change occurs, because the pronoun clearly becomes the subject of the participle.

{-duḳ/dük} + {locative +da/de} has the similar syntactic-semantic function as the one above:

Ve-līkin ulaşmaḳ ol olur kim ol [kesildükde] sen kesilmeyesin 'But arriving [there] is that when he stops [doing that] you should not stop.' (KG 168b-2)

{-duḳ/dük} + [possessive] + {ablative +dan/den} creates adverbial clauses of cause indicating the source of action:

Biz [üşendügimizden] her gişiyi Şerīf'e benzcdürüz 'Because we are scared we take everyone for Sherif.' (SN 52b-3)

{-duk̩/dük} + [possessive] + [prn. n] + {inst. +layın/leyin} creates adverbial clauses of manner showing similarity:

Dahı öñdin [dédüginleyin] gine eyide 'And again he should say [it] as he said before.' (KG 14b-11)

{-duk̩/dük} + [possessive] + [prn. n] + {eqtv. +ça/çe} makes adverbial clauses of time (duration):

['Ömrüm oldukça] şükrüñe meşğül olup dilegüñc bél bağlayam 'As long as I am alive I will be busy with thanking and serving you.' (MN 32b-8)

g. They can function as deverbal noun suffixes, and create new nouns and adjectives:

bilici 'adviser, soothsayer' (DK 2-2)
düzen 'order, system, manner' (MN 13b-12)
oynayacak̩ 'a plaything' (KN 1b-8)
olmaduk̩ 'strange' (MN 26b-3)
yémiş 'fruit' (KN 45b-2)
yırtıcı 'beast of prey' (MN 30a-10)
yiyesi 'food, meal' (KN 45b-2)

3. Past participles
Past participles in Old Anatolian Turkish are formed by the suffixes *-duk̩/dük* and *-mış/miş* both of which have the non-future aspectual values.

A. -duk̩/dük
Even though this participle is morphologically a past tense participle, semantically it is a non-future participle, in other words, according to the context, it may denote past, present or infinitive meanings.[6] As opposed to other participles, this participle forms mostly object clauses.
Past meaning
When used alone as a past participial suffix, it puts the verb in the past tense:

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6. In Old Turkic, this participial shows up as -duk̩/dük/tuk̩/tük, and similarly, it had past and present temporal denotations also: Past tense: *Bilmedükügin üçün* 'On account of your having not know'; Present tense: *Biltükümün ödükümün bunça bitig bitīdim* 'With what I know and remember I have inscribed all these inscriptions.', see, Tekin 1968: 178.

Ḳaçan kim gişi yaraġ-ile sefere gidesi olur ise ol seferüñ lezzetin bulur, gökçek rāḥat ile [görmedük yćrleri] görür, [yémedük ni'metleri] yér ve [bilmedük neseneleri] ögrenür ve [bulunmaduḳ neseneleri] bulur 'If and when a person goes to travel prepared, he would get pleasure of the travel, very comfortably see the unseen places, eat the uneaten foods, learn the unknown things, and discover the undiscovered things [to him].' (KN 8a-5).

In this sentence, participles create object clauses within passive syntactic constructions:[7]

görmedük yirler 'the places have not been seen; unseen places'
yémedük ni'metler 'foods that have not been eaten; uneaten foods'
bilmedük neseneler 'things that have not been known; unknown things'
bulunmaduḳ neseneler 'things that have not been discovered; undiscovered things'

Present meaning

Together with the possessive suffix and ablative, dative or locative suffixes, this participle may be in the present tense according to the context.

[Gendü bildügüñe] maġrūr olma 'Don't be (too) proud of what you know' (KN 25a-5)

Infinitive meaning

Together with the third person possessive suffix +ı/i, this participle suffix may put the verb in the infinitive mood in subject position:

[Ḥoz pāzişāh ḥizmetinden kesildügi] ve [anuñ yüzinden düşdügi] ölümden béterdür 'It is worse than death for him to be excluded from the king's service and, falling on hard times as a result' (MN 27a-9)
Diñsüz ṭursa [ol sükūt eyledügi] 'izn olmaz 'It is not accepted his being quiet, if he stays quiet' (M 61v-3)

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7. Although the verbs *gör-, yé-* and *bil-* are transitive verbs and one expects them to be denoting 'the one who has not seen, eaten or known, etc.'. However these participial morphological constructions have no subjects – neither a pronoun preceding verbs nor a possessive enclitisized – and therefore we need to translate them in passive. Also the last participle construct *bilinmedük* being intransitive, makes a semantic parallelism between all four verbs when we translate them in passive participle. Similar usage occurs in Modern Turkish as well. For instance, in *Okumadık kitap bırakmadı* the participle *okumadık*, structurally being a non-passive construction, needs to be understood as passive, meaning 'He did not leave any books unread.'. For more examples and explanations on this issue in Modern Turkish, see, Lewis 1967: 162–163.

Syntactic functions of the participial -duḳ/dük

1. By itself alone, this suffix may make the verb an adjective of a subject, object or the nominal predicate of the sentence with a verbal force:

> *Ve [ne 'aceb olmaduḳ nesene] gördüñ ki bu şovuḳ gülmek senden şādır oldı* 'What strange thing did you see that this cold laughter came out of you?' (MN 26b-3)

2. By taking the possessive suffix, this participle creates what is called subordinate clauses in complex sentences:

Object clauses:

> *Ögretdi Pāẕişāh-ı 'ālem ādem oğlanına [bilmedügin]* 'The Lord of the universe taught the mankind that which he did not know' (KN 2a-12, 13)
> *[Yédügi ṭa'āmuñ] ve [içdügi sunuñ] ḥalāvetin bula* 'He should have the pleasure of food that he eats, and water that he drinks' (MN 40b-12)
> *['Avratıma dédigüm] yalan dédüm* 'What I said to my wife was a lie' (KG 90a-10)

Subject clauses:

> *[Ol birledügi] daḫı yalandur* 'His declaring him as one is a lie also.' (KN 4a-4)
> *İkrah dédigüm sulṭān gücile ḳorḳıtmaḳ olur* '"Ikrah" that I said, means the king's scaring [people] with force.' (KG 143a-12)

3. This participle creates adverbial clauses of time by getting converbialized through taking certain declensional suffixes and postpositions in following semantic variations:

a. Simultaneity:

{-duḳ/dük} + {[possessive + pron. n] + locative}:

> *Boğdaydan ṣadaḳa-i fıṭr ol gişiye vācib olur bayram gecesinin evvelinden Şāfi'î ḳavlında, bizüm ḳavlumuzda [bayram güni ṣubḥ toğduḳda]* 'Charity of *fıṭr* from wheat becomes necessary for him before the night of the feast according to Şafii, according to our teachings [it should be] when the daybreak starts on the day of feast.' (M 86v-6)
> *[Oğlan doğduğında] ḳoyn boğazlamak sünnetdür Şāfi'î ḳatında* 'It is a religious tradition to sacrifice a lamb when a child gets born according to Şafii' (M 133r-4)
> *Bayram geldükde ölse aña nesne vācib degül* 'If he dies at the time of festival nothing is necessary for him' (KG 52a-2)

{-duḳ/dük} + {equative +ca/ce/ça/çe}:

> *Yigitlerüñ meẕeli şol güneş doğduğı vehlet ḥāline beñzer kim [vardukça] artar, nūrlanur* 'The case of young people resembles the moment when the Sun rises, and it gets stronger and lighter through the passage of time.' (KN 38a-13)
> *['Ömür geçdükçe] güç ḳuvvet gider* 'Power and strength weaken through the passage of life time.' (KN 38a-13)

b. Anteriority:

{-duk/dük]} + {[posses. + ablative]} + {prep. soñ/sonra *or* gérü}:

> *[temām eyledükden soñra]... '*After he completed [it]...' (M 94r-5)
> *[Gün geçdükden gérü] olınan 'amel ne işe gelür* 'What purpose it serves the deed that is performed after its time has passed.' (KN 35b-12)
> *Müdebber ol ḳul olur kim çelebisi eyitse ben öldügümden soñra sen āzādsın dése* '"Müdebber" is the slave whose master says "you are free after I have died".' (KG 92b-3)

4. By taking the possessive, pronominal *n* and the ablative +*dan/den*, this participial suffix creates adverbial clauses of cause:

> *Bir yaġır eşek [gicidüginden] gelüp ol direge sürindi* 'A donkey with sores on back came and rubbed itself to that pole, because it was itching.' (MN 38b-3)

5. By taking the possessive, pronominal *n* and instrumental +*layın/leyin* this participial suffix creates adverbial clauses of manner showing similarity in action.

> *Ben daḥı senden şöyle götürü alurvan dése ya fülān aldüġınlayın dése bey' fāsid olur* 'If he says I also buy it in lump sum like that, or like so-an-so bought it, then the sale becomes invalid.' (KG 125b-9)

B. -mış/miş:

This participial suffix, making a past tense participle, is mostly added to intransitive verbal roots. The negative form of this participle is often substituted by the negative form of the other past participial -*duk/dük*:[8]

> *[İşlenmedük işi] [işlenmişe] dutma* 'Do not assume an uncompleted deed completed.' (KN 33b-11, 12)
> *[Ḳabūl olınmış yalan] yigrekdür ḳabūl [olunmaduḳ muḥāl gérçekden]* 'An accepted untruth is better than an unacceptable absurd fact.' (KN 27b-6)
> *[Dögülmedük birinci] [dögülmiş birince] ṣatmaḳ revā olmaz* 'It is not acceptable to sell unthrashed rice in return for thrashed rice.' (KG 123b-10)

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8. In Old Turkic, the -*mış/miş* participial suffix does not appear with the negative -*ma/me* as well, and instead, the negative form of -*duk/dük*; -*maduḳ/medük* are used. It seems that the tradition of this suppletive usage was followed in Old Anatolian Turkish widely. However, the form -*mış/miş* takes the negative suffix when it is used as tense suffix in Old Anatolian Turkish. Nevertheless, using the -*mış/miş* with the negative is widespread in Modern Turkish and Azeri. See, Banguoğlu 1995: 422–423; Abdullayev 1972: 74–79; Underhill 1976: 279–280.

Syntactic functions of the participial -mış/miş:

1. Like the participle suffix *-duk/dük*, this suffix also makes the verb an adjective of a noun in a participial construction. The only difference is the fact that this suffix shows up mostly with intransitive or passive verbs, and it forms mostly subject clauses.

> *Muḥammed ḳavlında [ol boğazlanmış ḳoyn] lāzım olur* 'According to the teachings of Muhammad, that slaughtered sheep becomes necessary.' (M 4v-13, 14)
> *[Ḳalmış namāzlar] bir ay ḳalsa bir aya degin tertibçe ḳılmaḳ·lāzım olur* 'If the unperformed prayers last one month, it becomes necessary to perform them within one month in order.' (M 25r-12)
> *[kesilmiş dırnaḳ, çıḳmış diş]* 'clipped fingernails, fallen tooth' (M 116v-7)
> *Yoḳdur [gey ḳocalmış gişiye] oruç içün fidye vérmek* 'It is not prescribed for the too old person to give alms in lieu of [unperformed] fasting.' (M 138v-14)
> *Sıçan [degmiş] yérin ve yöresin yumış gerek* 'It is necessary to wash its place and sides which the mouse touched.' (KG 8a-13)

2. By getting substantivized or being a participial modifier, this participle creates subordinate clauses in passive construction or subordinate clauses with an intransitive verb:[9]

> *Bilgil kim kimse vakf ḳılur olsa dürüsti ol olur kim üleşmiş nesneyi vakf ḳılsa ve ısmarlasa* 'Know that if someone establishes a charity organization, the best way is that he should use and put in it divided properties.' (KG 117a-13)
> *Bizüm 'ulemā ḳavlında [geçmişi] ödemek lāzım degül* 'According to the teachings of our religious scholars it is not necessary to perform [that] which is remaining from the past.' (M 25v-8)
> *Bizüm ḳavlumuzda rücū'ı noḳsān eylemeye ne [gitmişinde] ne gérü ḳalanında* 'In our teachings, he should not devalue the returned portion, neither the consumed part nor the remaining part.' (M 51v-9)
> *Bir şaḫsı daḳı bir şaḫsa eyitse 'Ḳuluñı biñ akçaya benüm içün āzāz eyle' ḳul issi āzāz eylese āzāzlıḳ buyuranuñ olmaz [buyrılmışuñ] olur* 'If one person tells another "liberate your slave for me in return for a thousand akças", and if the owner of the slave liberated the slave, that liberation would not belong to the one ordered, [but] to the one who was ordered.' (M 44r-18)

3. Together with the auxiliary verbs *ol-* and *bul-*, this participle forms compound participle tenses in which the action of verb is completed. In this

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9. In Modern Turkish, this participle usually appears within intransitive verbs as well. In addition, in Modern Turkish, it mostly shows up together with another participle *olan* 'being' as *-mış olan/-miş olan. Kitap yazmış olan öğrenci* 'A student who has written a book.', etc. See, Underhill 1976: 279–280.

syntactic context, the verb with the participial *-mış/miş* shows past tense and perfect aspect (perfective):

> *Ol iş anuñ gözine ve göñline bezenmiş gösterem* 'I will show his eyes and his heart that work embellished.' (KD 28a-2)
>
> *Pes görklü 'ibāret ile ve yumşak dil ile ve alçaklığ-ile ol işüñ ziyānuñ ve fesādın aña añladam ve 'ākıbetin aña bildürem şöyle kim ayruk kullukçılardan anuñ gibi söz ve ögüt görmemiş ola* 'Then I should tell him about the harm and wickedness of that action and its results using eloquence, soft word and humility in a way that he would not have had such words and advice from his other servants.' (KD 28a-6)
>
> *Kaçurmış olmaz* 'He does not get him missed' (M 40r-7)
>
> *Arınmış ola* 'He should get cleaned.' (M 41v-2)
>
> *Kabz eylemiş olsa...* 'If he had it held...' (M 38v-19)
>
> *Depelenmiş bulsalar...* 'If they find him killed...' (M 62v-3)

4. Present participles
A. -an/en:
This suffix forms a non-future active participle. According to the context, it may mean past, present and infinitive:

Past:

> *[Öldüreni] dahı bilmezüz, görmedük diyeler* 'We do not know who killed him, we did not see it.' (KG 150b-5)
>
> *Sen [seni yaradana] ne kadar mutī' oldun?* 'How much did you obey the one who created you?' (KN 4b-1, 2)

Present:

> *[Kızlar oturan otağa] geldi* 'He came to the room in which the girls were sitting.' (DK 112-2, 3)
>
> *[Eylüg-ile bulınan eylük] şöyle oğul oğlına kalur* 'The favor that is gained by the good deed would go up to the grand child like that.' (KN 19b-3)
>
> *Geyik [ilk dutanuñ] olur* 'The deer belongs to the person who catches it first.' (KG 104b-11)

Infinitive:

> *[Bitüren bitürmeyen] Tañrı'dur, yérüñ, ılduzuñ nesi var?* 'It is the God who would grow and would not grow [it], what do the earth and star have [to do with it]?' (KN 1a-13)
>
> *Uşbu dédügümüzden soñra [içenüñ] iki fāyidesi ola* 'After that which we have said, [it may be said that] the one who drinks would have two benefits.' (KN 43a-3)

Syntactic functions of the participial -an/en:

1. By getting added to transitive verbs, it makes agent nouns:

Daḫı serverlik ve ·[ululıḳ˙ isteyen] zaḥmetden yüz döndürmemek gerek 'And also those who want leadership and greatness should not avoid hardships.' (MN 42b-3)
isteyen 'one who seeks, seeker'

Ol ölenüñ diyeti ol [ḳorḳıdanuñ ʿāḳilesi] üzerine olur 'The blood money of the one who died falls on the family and relatives of the one who scared [him].' (M 19v-14)
ḳorḳıdan 'one who is scaring, one who has scared somebody'

Ḳul, vekillige buyuranuñ olur 'The slave gets to be owned by the one who made [that person] a proxy [for himsef].' (KG 140b-1)
vekillige buyuran 'the one who makes someone a proxy'

2. By itself alone, this participle acts as the subject of the sentence.

Ve [çevre yırtıcılardan ürken] senüñ ḥimāyetüñe sıġınalar 'Those who get scared of the beast of prey would take refuge in your protection.'. (MN 30b-6)

3. By preceding the nouns, it functions as an adjective:

[Kalan] ḳuşlar arasında anuñ ne ḥürmeti ola? 'How much honor he may have among the remaining birds?' (MN 34a-13)

4. It may be both the modifier and modified by getting substantivized:
Modifier:

[Eli altındaġın ḫōş dutanlaruñ arasında] ʿadl-i siyāset eyleye 'He would administer justice among those people who treated well those who were under their administrations.' (KN 2a-6)
[Şüfʿa dileyenüñ şüfʿa dilemegi] bāṭıl olmaz 'The desire of the use of pre-emption by someone does not get void.' (KG 133b-6)

Modified:

[Ḳaçanını] Ḳazan Bég ḳomadı, [āmān diyenini] öldürmedi 'Qazan Beg did not let go those who were [trying] to run away, [and] he did not kill those who asked for forgiveness.' (DK 65-2, 3)

5. By taking subject, object and postpositions, this participial suffix forms subordinate clauses in complex sentences:
Subject clause:

Éy Süleyman utanmaz mısın ki [benüm gibi kimseyi senüñ içün besleyenler] sen uyḳu düzersin uyuyasın dér 'O Süleyman, don't you feel ashamed by the fact that those who are providing for me, say that you are sleeping' (TE 17b-13)

'İlm- ehlin ḫōr ḳılan] dünyāda āḫiretde yér bulmaz 'Those who look down on scholars will find a place neither in this world nor in the next world.' (MN 26a-5)

[Ḥaḳḳ yanduran çırağuñ] yana ṭursun 'May your candle which God has lit, last [forever].' (DK 35-8, 9)

[İlden çıḳup Ayğır Gözler Ṣuyı'ndan at yüzdüren], [elli yedi ḳal'anuñ kilidin alan], [Ağ Melik Çeşme ḳızına nikāḥ éden], [Sūfī Ṣandal Melik'e ḳan ḳusduran], [ḳırḳ cübbe bürinüp otuz yédi ḳal'a béginüñ maḥbūb ḳızlarını çalup bir bir boynın ḳucan], [yüzinde, ṭudağında öpen] Eylik Ḳoca oğlı Alp Eren çapar yétdi 'Alp Eren, the son of Eylik Qoca, who [once] left the tribe and had [his] horse swim across the Aygır Gözler River, who got married to the daughter of Ag Melik Çeşme, who oppressed Sofi Sandal Melik ruthlessly, who by wearing forty [kinds of] robes, abducted lovely daughters of the lords of thirty seven castles, and then embraced their necks one by one and kissed them on cheeks and lips, arrived in haste.' (DK 62-8, 9, 10)

Subject clause:

Biz daḫı buña [elümüzden gelen işi] édevüz 'We will also do for him every thing that we can do.' (MN 56a-8)

Adverbial clause:

Dānā gişiler, bu dünyā sarayı kim 'amel evidür, [şol yağmur ḳatresinden olan ḳuyucuklar gibi] gördiler 'The wise ones viewed this world which is the house of deed, as puddles made of the rain drops.' (MN 31a-5)

6. By taking the locative suffix, it forms the converb *-anda/ende*, and it is encountered mostly in DK. The function of this converb is to make a temporal clause in simultaneity:

[Birin atanda] ikisin üçin yıḳdı '[Each time] when he threw one [stone] he felled two or three people.' (DK 41-10)

Yād oğulı saḳlamağ-ile oğul olmaz, [böyüyende] ṣalur gider 'The child of someone else would not be the [real] child [like one's own] by raising him, when he grow up he would leave abandoning.' (DK 3-5)

B. -r (-ar/er, -[y]ur/ür), neg. -maz/mez:

This participle is called as aorist participle by some grammarians (Lewis 1967: 161–162, Underhill 1990: 281–282). This is not a very productive and functional participle in Old Anatolian Turkish. It mostly modifies nouns and by getting nominalized, it forms nouns and adjectives:

Bilür 'the knowledgeable one, knowledgeable' (KG 2a-6)
Bilmez 'the ignorant one, ignorant' (KG 2a-6)

1. The main function of this participle is to make the verb an adjective of a noun in the present tense showing an act habitual or continual:

> *[Bilür gişi] dahı [bilmez gişi gözine] eyle ḥakīr görinür* 'The knowledgeable one looks low to the eyes of the ignorant one.' (MN 57b-14)
> *[Görür gözüm aydını] oġul* 'The son, the light of my seeing eyes.' (DK 119-3)
> *[Kimsenenüñ aḳar başı] olsa...* 'If someone had a bleeding wound...' (KG 11a-1)

In the above examples *bilür, görür* and *akar* denote habitual and continual action modifying the nouns. Therefore it has an adjectival character showing general features in present tense.

2. By taking subject, object and adverbial modifiers, this participle makes subordinate clauses in the present and present continuous tenses within the structure of complex sentences:

Subject clause:

> *[Zāhiri delü, gendözin esrük gösterür, gönli ayaġı 'Utāride fehm ögredür gişi] var idi* 'There was a man who looked mad and appeared to be drunk, and whose heart [as if] was teaching Mercury skills [i.e. he was very knowledgeable].' (MN 42a-8)
> *İşitdüm kim [bir yüz yıl yaşar pīr] süksüni iki bükilmiş ḥalḳa yay gibi olmış, yola girmiş gider* 'I heard that a man who is a hundred years old, bent double like a bow, was going down entering into the street.' (KN 37b-5)

Here the complex sentence structure is formed by the Persian style *ki/kim clause* – dependent clause introduced by relative conjunction *ki/kim* – and the Turkic participial construction forming the subject clause within the first subordinate clause:

{main clause} > {dependent clause: [participle] < [subject] > (...) [verb]}

Object clause:

> *Baḳdı gördi kim [ayuñ on dördine beñzer bir maḥbūb ala gözlü genç yigit] burçaḳ burçaḳ derlemiş uyur* 'She looked and saw that a lovely hazel eyed young man, resembling the full moon, was sleeping while sweating very much.' (DK 266-12)
> *Eger 'avrat yüklü olsa ya [süd emer oġlancuġı] olsa, oruç dutsa südi şoġılur ya yüklü olup gücenür olsa, orucın yése ḳayurmaz* 'When she is pregnant or she has a suckling, and as a result of fasting if she does not have enough milk or if she feels hard [to manage things] by the time when she is pregnant, it has no harm if she does not fast.' (KG 53a-3)

c. -ıcı/ici:

This participial suffix makes morpho-syntactic constructs with a present meaning showing the subject of an action, and therefore it is used with non-passive verbs denoting habitual and continual acts as the participial *-r (-ar/ er, -[y]ur/ür)*. The negative form of this participle is rarely used, and it occasionally functions as a deverbal noun suffix and creates new nominal lexical items:

> *eydici* 'story-teller' (MN 38b-13)
> *götürici* 'porter' (MN 7b-4)
> *çalıcı* 'player' (GT 8a-13)

1. This participial suffix makes agent nouns:

> *Çaya baḳsa çalımlu, çal ḳara ḳuş erdemlü, ḳur ḳurma ḳuşaḳlu, ḳulaġı altun küpelü, [ḳalın Oġuz béglerini bir bir atından yıḳıcı] Ḳazılık Ḳoca oġlı Bég Yigenek çapar yétdi* 'Bég Yigenek, the son of Qazılık Qoca, who was a swaggering one when he looks at the stream, who was with the manners of the grey eagle, who was with the tight arrow belt and a gold earring, who fell the heroic Oghuz leaders from their horses one by one, arrived galloping.' (DK 61-9)
> *yıḳıcı* 'one who brings sb. down, one who fells [someone]'

2. As an adjectival participle, it modifies the noun:

> *Ḳocalıḳ [bir incidici yoldaşa] beñzer* 'The old age resembles a hurting friend.' (KN 39a-12)

3. By taking an object and getting substantivized this participle forms subordinate clauses in complex sentences:

Subject clause:

> *Bir cömerd er var idi [ḳonuḳ aġırlayıcı] ve [ġarīb egleyici]* 'There was a generous man who welcomed and served guests and strangers.' (MN 20a-12)
> *[Bir buyruḳ dutıcı] Tañrı'nuñ 'āciz ḳulıdur* 'It is only the weak slave of the God who would follow the order.' (KN 1a-13)
> *[Ḥayra ḳulavuzlayıcı gişi] ol ḥayrı işlemiş gibi olur* 'The one, who would lead [others] to the good deed, is deemed as he performed that deed.' (KN 16b-11)

Object clause:

> *[Nesene dileyiciyi] hörmetsüz eyleyüp ḳovma* 'Do not humiliate and turn out the one who asks for something.' (KN 23a-5)

Predicate clause:

> *Bu ni'met ve milk elden ele [gidicidür]* 'This good fortune and worldly rich are [the things] that move from hand to hand.' (GT 21b-13)

5. Future participles

The main distinctive feature of the future participles in Old Anatolian
Turkish is the fact that these participles always have the future, voluntative
and rarely present meanings. These suffixes originally function as future
tense morphemes and appear together with other personal suffixes. Within
the context of complex syntactic constructions these participles have tense,
aspectual and modal values. Although in Old Anatolian Turkish three sets of
suffixes operate as future participial forms, they are not very productive.
They act mostly adjectivally and denote wish and desire. They are rarely
substantivized and shown up with declensional suffixes in the sentence, and
they usually do not have negative forms. When these participles are sub-
stantivized they look rather as any deverbal nouns and adjectives.

A. -acaḳ/ecek:

This is the most productive participial form among future participles in Old
Anatolian Turkish. They form mostly positive participial constructions.[10] It
shows following functions.

1. By taking subject, object and adverbial modifiers this participle makes de-
pendent clauses in the future and rarely in the present tenses (non-past):

> *Beyrek'den soñra başuña [bu ḥāl gelecegiŋ] bilür idük* 'We knew that this thing
> would happen to you after Beyrek [has gone].' (DK 114-8)
> *Senden şoñra [sığınacağım] yoḳdur* 'I have no place to take refuge in but you.'
> (GT 50b-1)
> *Hīç kimesne İbrāhim'i [nice oda atacağın] fikr édemediler* 'No one could find how
> they would throw Ibrahim into fire.' (KE 52a-7)

2. As a participial modifier, it has the meaning of 'desire, wish, being worth
of, being supposed to, might' in optative mood:

> *Ol geleci kim bilür hem [söyleyecek] gelecidür ya'nī maşlaḥatlu gelecidür anı söyle-
> sün* 'He should tell the word that he knows and is also worth mentioning.'
> (KN 29a-11)
> *Boy, [delü boğma çıḳaracaḳ] olanca 'aybumuzı ḳaḳıdı* 'Oh this man – may he have
> a bad croup – cast all of our faults in our teeth.' (DK 114-7)
> *Söz kim [inanılacaḳ degüldür], söyleme* 'Do not say the word that is not cred-
> ible.' (KN 27b-7)

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10. On the etymology and morphological peculiarities of the *-acaḳ/ecek* in Turkic languages and
dialects see, Korkmaz 1959: 159–168.

3. As a modifier of the words *yér* and *vaḵt*, it has the meaning of 'place to...' and 'time to...' in present tense consecutively. Then it functions as adverbial clauses indicating time and place in semantically complex constructions:

> *[Yatacaḵ yér] mi bulduñ* 'Did you find a place to sleep.' (DK 192-12)
> *[Anuñ girecek ve çıkacaḵ yérlerin] endişe ḵılmaḵ gerek* 'It is necessary to be careful about places where he comes in and go out.' (MN 41b-7)
> *[Doġacaḵ vaḵt] ol meşīme ayrılur* 'At the time of birth that placenta gets separated.' (MN 9b-14)
> *[Bu cānlaruñ varacaḵ yéri] ġayb 'ālemidür* 'It is the world of emptiness where these souls will go to.' (MN 25a-11)
> *Çārasuzluḵ vaḵtında [ḵaçacaḵ yéri] olmaya elin kesegen ḵılıca ḵarşu dutar olur.* 'If he does not have a place to flee he puts his hand to the sharp sword at the time when he is helpless.' (GT 9b-3)
> *Bu ne [gülecek vaḵtdur]!* 'What [a strange] time is this to laugh!' (GT 19a-7)

B. -ası/-esi:

This participial suffix has a very restricted usage in Old Anatolian Turkish. It sometimes functions as a deverbal noun suffix and forms nouns:[11]

> *géyesi* 'clothes' (GT 72a-2)
> *yiyesi* 'food, meal' (MN 53b-11)

This participle has following functions:
1. It functions as a participial modifier as an adjective with a verbal force in optative mood.
In future tense:

> *Bu yıl varmazın, [gelesi yıl] varam dérseñ revādur* 'It is acceptable if you say I do not go this year, I will go next year.' (KN 9b-4)

In present tense:

> *Bu bir aġaçdur ne [göresi gözi] var ne [işidesi ḵulaġı] var* 'This is a tree [which] has neither a seeing eye nor a hearing ear.' (MN 34b-13)
> *Bu évi ḫarāb olası ere varaldan berü daḫı ḵarnum ṭoymadı* 'Since I got married to this husband – may his house be destroyed – my stomach has not had enough [food].' (DK 8-1)
> *[Sen varası kāfir] degül* 'This is not [a kind of] unbeliever you can go against.' (DK 130-8)

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11. About etymological and morphological analyses and explanations on this participial suffix, see, Korkmaz 1969.

2. By getting nominalized and taking other syntactic elements, it makes subordinate clauses in a non-past temporal connotation.

> *[Ol ele giresi] ma'lūm degül* 'It is not known whether it will come into hand.' (MN 41a-12)
> *[Yalan söyleyesi gişi]...* 'The one who would lie...' (KN 28b-12)

3. By modifying nouns of time and place *vakt/vakıt* and *yér* this participle forms adverbial clauses of time and place.

> *[Ol eri sancasın vakıt] deñedüm, göż ucu-y-ile ol ere bakdum, dayım Emen imiş* 'By the time I was about thrusting [the spear] in, I tested him out, I cast a furtive glance at him, [I figured out that] he was my maternal uncle Emen.' (DK 207-3, 4)
> *Andan ol ferişteniñ [ayağı durası yér] yoğ-idi* 'And also there was not any place for that angel to put his foot.' (KE 5a-11)

4. Together with the auxiliary verb *ol-* this participle suffix is widely used as the prothesis of the conditional sentences in present-future meaning:

> *Bu ağacuñ yémişine [érişesi olur iseñ] baña andan tuhfe getürgil* 'If you reach [the time of] the fruit of this tree, bring me [some] of it as gift.' (MN 67a-13)
> *Eger bu iş niteligin şāh [bilesi olursa], bana katı 'ukūbet kılısar* 'If the king knows the nature of this matter, he will punish me severely.' (MN 57b-9)
> *Eger nice içmek geregin [ögrenmeyesi olur iseñ] ağudur* 'It is poison, if you do not learn how to drink it.' (QN 42b-6)

c. -ısar/iser:

This participial suffix functions as a tense suffix, and usually it neither gets nominalized nor takes syntactic formations in complex sentences as opposed to other participial forms in Old Anatolian Turkish. Therefore, it has a very restricted function lacking the adjectival and clausal capacity.

> *Buğday ekesi olur iseñ [şeker bitüriser degül], ya ağu eker iseñ [tiryak bitüriser degül]* 'If you sow wheat, he is not the one who will grow sugar, if you sow poison, he is not the one who will grow the antidote.' (KN 1a-10)
> *Ol güç, kuvvet ve zevk dimāğda kalmışdur, gérü arzū éderler, [ele giriser degül]* 'That strength, power, and pleasure have been in the memory, they desire [them] again, [but] they are not the things that will be obtained again.' (QN 37a-9)

6. Conclusion

Participles in Old Anatolian Turkish act as the main nominalizers of the secondary clauses in complex sentences. They fulfill this function by making the participle constructions to be the subordinate parts of the sentence. Even

though these sentences are grammatically simple sentences, they are se-
mantically complex sentences, because of the verbal force, tense and agent
that the participle constructions create in a series of clauses. Participles in
Old Anatolian Turkish have following qualities:

Almost all participial suffixes occasionally create new nouns and adjec-
tives as deverbal noun forms.

While the participials *-duk/dük* and *-mış/miş* have a non-future temporal
meaning, and usually show past and present tense, the participles *-acak/ecek*,
-ası/esi, *-ısar/iser* have a non-past temporal denotation and usually show fu-
ture and present tense. In contrary to the both, the present participle *-an/en*
shows the quality of past, present and future tenses according to the context.

The forms *-duk/dük* and *-an/en* are the most productive participials in
terms of getting added to transitive, intransitive, negative and other verbal
stems and creating various syntactic formations. Therefore, they can be sub-
ject, object and predicate of the sentence, and sometimes they can be ad-
verbial complements by taking certain case suffixes or "words of place and
time". As a result, they form subordinate clauses of subject, object, predic-
ate, and adverbial clauses.

The past tense participle *-mış/miş* usually does not take any negative
suffixes, and instead, when necessary, the negative form of the other past
participial *-duk/dük* is used.

The present tense participials *-r* (*-ar/er*, *-[y]ur/ür*) and *-ıcı/ici* function
mostly as adjectival forms showing acts that are habitual and continual.

Future tense participles usually have no negative forms and negative de-
notations. However, they may have modal denotations showing sometimes
no tense properties.

Abbreviations of the texts used

DK	Kitâb-ı Dede Korkut (Dresden copy), see Ergin 1958
GT	Gülistân Tercümesi, see Özkan 1993
M	Manzûme fi-l- Hilâfiyya, see Adamović 1990
MN	Marzubân-nâme, see Korkmaz 1973
KD	Kelile ve Dimne, Manuscript; Süleymaniye Library (Laleli, no. 1897)
KE	Kısas-ı Enbiyâ, see Cemiloğlu 1994
KG	Kitâb-ı Gunya, see Akkuş 1995
KN	Kâbus-nâme, see Birnbaum 1981
KT	Kitâbü't-Ta'bir, Manuscript; Süleymaniye Library (Hekimoğlu, no. 588)
SN	Saltuk-nâme (Malatya copy), see Akalın 1987–1990
TE	Tezkiretü'l-Evliyâ, see Olcay 1965

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