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 se-
matic 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 parti-
cipial 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 sub-
ject, object and adverbial modifiers, and being a part of postpositional con-
structions, participles form nominalized secondary clauses in relation with

the main clause in complex sentences. These nominalized clauses are semantically equivalent to what is known as subordinate clauses in Indo-European languages. 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/diik
   b. -miş/miş
2. Present participles:
   a. -an/en
   b. positive form -r (-ar/er, -[y]ur/[ü]r), the negative form: -maz/mez, rarely -mas/mes
   d. -ici/içi, rarely -uçi/üçi
3. Future participles:
   a. -acak/ecek
   b. -asi/esi
   c. -isar/iser

Among these participial suffixes, the suffixes -duk/diik 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

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 sub-
ordinate clauses in Old Anatolian Turkish. Participles in Old Anatolian
Turkish have the following general functions:
a. They form action nouns: The participials -duk/düük and -r (-ar/er, -[y]ur/[ür]
may occasionally create action nouns. However, this is not the essential func-
tion of the participial suffixes in Old Anatolian Turkish, rather they function
syntactically in larger structural combinations with various complex semantic
significance.4

\[ ummadük \text{ ‘unexpected, unthought’ (MN 143-10) } \]
\[ sîner \text{ ‘fitting’ (MN 57a-6) } \]
\[ uyur \text{ ‘sleeping’ (MN 26b-3) } \]
\[ yûnuş \text{ ‘washing’ (KG 8a-13) } \]
b. They form agent nouns as adjective:
\[ gönlü asici ve ciger yiici \text{ ‘the one who annoys and eats livers’ (KD 18a-4) } \]
\[ fehm ögreder gişi \text{ ‘the one who teaches knowledge’ (MN 42a-8) } \]
\[ chähn görnüş \text{ ‘the one who has seen the world’ (MN 39b-4) } \]
c. They form determined participial nouns in a determinative groups: These
participial constructs create subordinate clauses.
\[ Taîni arturduşi gişi \text{ ‘the one whom God has made successful’ (KN 32a-11) } \]

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

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

\[ \text{Kalan Oğuzun gelini kızı bezenen çağda... ‘At the time when daughters and } \]
\[ \text{brides of Kalin Oghuz embellish themselves...’ (DK 21-7) } \]

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

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

4. In Old Anatolian Turkish action nouns (verbal nouns) were formed predominately by the
infinitival -mak/mek, -maklık/meklik, -işiş and very rarely -ma/me. However, some other de-
verbal suffixes such as -i[i/ihn (bakım), -niq (ileni;), -gu/gii (sevgii) and occasionally “zero-suf-
fix” (göç) may be operational in creating action nouns. For more information about the
verbal nouns in Old Anatolian Turkish see, Timurtay 1962, and my Harvard University doc-
Seni korkutmadığına 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:

$$[[\text{obj.}] + \text{participle} + \text{poss.} + \text{prn. n} + \text{dative}] < [[\text{verb}]$$

Subordinate Clause infinitive < [[subj.] + [verb]]

{-mAK} Infinitive Clause Main Clause

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

- yalancı söyleyesi kişi 'the one who would lie' (KN 28b-12)
- eren varan kız 'the girl who is marrying, the marrying girl' (DK 113-7)
- kalan nesne cüllü 'the things which remain, the remaining things' (MN 8a-12)
- bilir kişi, bilmez kişi '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:**

- [Alduğuni satduğun] güzâfe olmasun 'That which you buy and sell should not be foolish' (KN 31b-12)
- Gişi söyleyince ma'lim olmaz [ne mikdârlu gişiyidügil] 'One can not know what kind of person a man is, as long as that man does not speak.' (KN 29b-13)
- [Allah véren] umudun üzülmesin 'May the hope that God bestowed on you, not get lost.' (DK 66-8)

**Object:**

- Aldanmış gişi oldur kim [bulunmuşi bulunmaduğul] deşüre 'The deceived one is the one who would change what has already been found with what has not been found.' (KN 32-1)
- Yine [dêdûgine] pesmân olur 'Again he regrets saying [that].' (TE 8b-12)
- "Göreyim [dêdûgimî] getürüler mi" dedi 'He said "let me see if they brought what I asked"' (DK 87-9)

**5.** In DK, the participial -en/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'bir 'ilinden bilenlerden] beşaret āde 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:

[Sanmaduğun] gişiden yardım ıstemе 'Do not ask for help from those whom you do not expect to help.' (KN 32a-3)
Ol geleći kim bilir hem [söyleyecek] gelecidür ya'nı maşlahatlı gelecidür ama söyle-sün kim dinine 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 tamám [bilicisiyidi] 'He was the soothsayer of all Oghuz [tribes]' (DK 2-2)
Ağam Beyrek gideli bize ozan [geldiği 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 postpositions. In this case, the participials -an/en and -duk/dük are the most functional ones, and by taking case suffixes, they act converbially in the sentence: gelende, geldiikde, geldiikinden 'when he comes, when he came', geldiikçe 'as long as he comes, whenever he comes', geldiikinden 'because he came', etc.

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

Tokuz ay tar kırmında götürdürûğüm oğul, [on ay diyende] dünyâya getûrûgûm 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.

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

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

{-duk/dük} + [possessive] + [ablative +dan/den] creates adverbial clauses of cause indicating the source of action:
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Biz [üşendüğimizden] her gişi  Serif’e benzedirüz ‘Because we are scared we
take everyone for Sherif.’ (SN 52b-3)

(-duk/dük) + [possessive] + [prn. n] + [inst. +layın/leyin] creates adverbial
clauses of manner showing similarity:

Dahi öndin [dédüginleyin] gine eyide ‘And again he should say [it] as he said
before.’ (KG 14b-11)

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

[‘Ömrüm oldukça] şüküre mesgul olup dilegünde bel 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)
oynayacak ‘a plaything’ (KN 1b-8)
olmaduk ‘strange’ (MN 26b-3)
yemis ‘fruit’ (KN 45b-2)
yirtici ‘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 -duk/dük
and -miş/miş both of which have the non-future aspectual values.

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

6. In Old Turkic, this participle shows up as -duk/dük/tuk/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 idükümün bunça bitiş bitidim ‘With what I know
and remember I have inscribed all these inscriptions.’, see, Tekin 1968: 178.
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Kaçan kim gişi yarağ-ile sefare gider olur ise ol seferüin lezzetin bulur, göçek rühat ile [görmedük yörer] görür, [yemedük ni'metler] yör ve [bilmeduct neseneleri] öğrenür ve [bulunmaduk 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:

- görmedük yılr 'the places have not been seen; unseen places'
- yemedük ni'metler 'foods that have not been eaten; uneaten foods'
- bilmeceduk neseneler 'things that have not been known; unknown things'
- bulunmaduk 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 bildiiğine] mağır olma 'Don't be (too) proud of what you know' (KN 25a-5)

Infinitive meaning

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

- [Hoş pâyiçâh hizmetinden kesildügi] ve [anun yüzinden düşdügi] öümden beter-dür '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)
- Dişiiz  térsa [ol süükät eyeledügi] 'izin olmaz 'It is not accepted his being quiet, if he stays quiet' (M 61V-3)

7. Although the verbs gör-, yéra- 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 endclitisized – 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 Okumadik kitap hıra kidnadı the participle okunaduk, 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 -duk/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 'acceb omladuk nesene] gördün ki bu şavuk gühnek senden şadır 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:**
   Ögredı Pâizişah-ı 'âlem âdem öğlamına [bilmедин] 'The Lord of the universe taught the mankind that which he did not know’ (KN 2a-12, 13)
   [Yediligi ta'âmüni] ve [icdügi sunu] halavetin bula 'He should have the pleasure of food that he eats, and water that he drinks’ (MN 40b-12)
   ['Awwatına dedigüüm] yalan dedüm ‘What I said to my wife was a lie’ (KG 9oa-10)
   **Subject clauses:**
   [Ol birledügi] daňı yalandur ‘His declaring him as one is a lie also.’ (KN 44a-4)
   İkräh dedigüm sulîân gülçile körkütma olur “İkrrah” 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:
      [-duk/dük] + {[possessive + pron. n] + locative}:
      Bogdaydan şadaka-i fitr ol giisye vâcib olur bayram gecesinin evvelinden Şâfi’i kâlinında, bizüm kâvûnumuzda [bayram gûni subh tôgdukda] ‘Charity of fitr 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 doğduında] koyn boğazlamak sünnetdür Şâfi’i kâlin ‘It is a religious tradition to sacrifice a lamb when a child gets born according to Şafii’ (M 133r-4)
      Bayram geldükde ûlse aña nesne vâcib dêgül ‘If he dies at the time of festival nothing is necessary for him’ (KG 52a-2)

   [-duk/dük] + {equative +ca/ce/ça/çe}:
   Yigitleriñ mengi şol günes doğduğî vehlet håline beñizer kim [vardukça] artar, núrlanur ‘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)
   ['Omüür gedükçel] giç kuvoet gider ‘Power and strength weaken through the passage of life time.’ (KN 38a-13)
b. Anteriority:
[-duk/diük] + {posses. + ablatitive] + [prep. soñ/soñra or gérü]:

![Example sentences from the text.](https://example.com)

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

![Example sentence from the text.](https://example.com)

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

![Example sentence from the text.](https://example.com)

b. -mis/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/diük:

![Example sentences from the text.](https://example.com)

8. In Old Turkic, the -mis/miş participial suffix does not appear with the negative -ma/me as well, and instead, the negative form of -duk/diük; -maduk/medük are used. It seems that the tradition of this suppletive usage was followed in Old Anatolian Turkish widely. However, the form -mis/miş takes the negative suffix when it is used as tense suffix in Old Anatolian Turkish. Nevertheless, using the -mis/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 -mişt/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.

\[ \text{Muhammed kavlında [ol boğazlanılmış koyn] lazım olur 'According to the teachings of Muhammad, that slaughtered sheep becomes necessary.' (M 4v-13, 14)} \]

\[ \text{Kalıns namazlar] bir ay kalsa bir aya dегin tertibе kalıns-lazım olur 'If the unperformed prayers last one month, it becomes necessary to perform them within one month in order.' (M 25t-12)} \]

\[ \text{Kesilmişt dıranık, çıkılmış dış] 'clipped fingernails, fallen tooth' (M 116v-7)} \]

\[ \text{Yokdur [gey köcalıms gişiyle] oruç için fidye vermek 'It is not prescribed for the too old person to give alms in lieu of [unperformed] fasting.' (M 138v-14)} \]

\[ \text{Sıçan [değmişt] yerin ve yöresini yumuş gerek 'It is necessary to wash its place and sides which the mouse touched.' (KG 8a-13)} \]

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

\[ \text{Bilgil kim kimse vakfktlur olsa dürüsti ol olur kim ileşi mi? nesneyi vakıftılsa ve ismarlasa 'Know that if someone establishes a charity organization, the best way is that he should use and put in it divided properties.' (KG 117a-13)} \]

\[ \text{Biziim 'ulenı kaıılda [geşişi] ödeme lakhızm degıl 'According to the teachings of our religious scholars it is not necessary to perform [that] which is remaining from the past.' (M 25v-8)} \]

\[ \text{Biziim kaıınumuzda riciyi noksan eylemeye ne [gitişiinde] ne gérü kalıında 'In our teachings, he should not devalue the returned portion, neither the consumed part nor the remaining part.' (M 51v-9)} \]

\[ \text{Bir şahsi dağı bir şahsa eyitse 'Kulün biı aççaya benüm için azaz eyle' kul issi azaz eylese azazlık buyuranını olmaz [buyrılınıı] olur 'If one person tells another ‘liberate your slave for me in return for a thousand acças’, and if the owner of the slave liberated the slave, that liberation would not belong to the one ordered, [but] to the one who was ordered.' (M 44v-18)} \]

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

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 -miş olan/-mişt olan. Kitap yazmış olan öğrenci 'A student who has written a book.', etc. See, Underhill 1976: 279–280.
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syntactic context, the verb with the participial -miş/miş shows past tense and perfect aspect (perfective):

'Ol iş anuni gözine ve gönlüne bezenmiş gösterem 'I will show his eyes and his heart that work embellished.' (KD 28a-2)

'Pes görlü 'iharet ile ve yumuşak dil ile ve alçaklık ile ol işiünü ziyânuñ ve fesâdin ana aîladâm ve 'âkibetin ana bildürem söyle kim ayruk kullukçilardan anuñ gibi söz ve âgüt gürmeniñ 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)

'Kacurmnış olmaz 'He does not get him missed' (M 4or-7)

'Arumüş ola 'He should get cleaned.' (M 41v-2)

Kabz eylemis olsa... 'If he had it held...' (M 38v-19)

Depelennis bülsalar... '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] dañi bilmezüz, görmedük diyeler 'We do not know who killed him, we did not see it.' (KG 150-5)

'Sen [seri yaradana] ne kadar muñi oldun? 'How much did you obey the one who created you?' (KN 4b-1, 2)

Present:

[Kizlar oturan otaña] geldi 'He came to the room in which the girls were sitting.' (DK 112-2, 3)

[Eylüg-ile bulunan eylük] şöyle oğul oğluna 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] Tañriódur, yérüñ, ildzuñ 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 dâdîgümüzen soûra [ičenîñ] iki fâyidesi 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:

   
   *Dahi serverlik ve [uluuk isteyen] zalmetden yüz döndürmek gerek 'And also those who want leadership and greatness should not avoid hardships.' (MN 42b-3)

   isteyen 'one who seeks, seeker'

   Ol ölenü ni diyeti ol [korkidanın 'äkilesi] üzeline olur 'The blood money of the one who died falls on the family and relatives of the one who scared [him].'

   (M 19v-14)

   korkidan 'one who is scaring, one who has scared somebody'

   *Kul, vekillige buyuranu ni olur 'The slave gets to be owned by the one who made [that person] a proxy [for himself].' (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 [qevre yirticilardan ürken] senii ni himayetine siginalar '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] ku§lar arasinda anu ni ne hürmeti 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 altinda hığ dutanlarını arasinda] 'adlı siyaset eyleye 'He would adminis-

   ter justice among those people who treated well those who were under their

   administrations.' (KN 2a-6)

   [Şüf'a dileyenini şüf'a dilemegi] bâtil olmaz 'The desire of the use of pre-emp-

   tion by someone does not get void.' (KG 133b-6)

   Modified:

   [Kaçanını] Kazan Bég komadı, [âman 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:

   Ey Süleyman utanmaz musn ki [benü ni gibi kimseyi senü ni için besleyenler] sen

   uyku düzersin uyuyasin dör '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)
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‘İlm-ehlin hör kilan] dünýada ahiretde yer bulmaz ‘Those who look down on scholars will find a place neither in this world nor in the next world.’ (MN 26a-5)

[Hoşk yanduran çrağüi] yana şursun ‘May your candle which God has lit, last [forever].’ (DK 35-8, 9)

[Ilden çıkap Aygir Gözler Suyu’ndan at yüzüren], [elli yedi kal’anui kilidin alan], [ Ağ Melik Çeşme kızına nikâh eden], [Süfî Şandal Melik’e kan kusdurun], [kirk cubbe biririnip atuz yedi kal’a béginüni mahbub kizlarnı çalup bir bir boymın ku- can], [yüzinde, âudağında öpen] Eylik Koca oğlu Alp Eren çapar yezdi ‘Âlp Eren, the son of Eylik Qoca, who [once] left the tribe and had [his] horse swim across the Aygir Gözler River, who got married to the daughter of Âg 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 daň buña [elümüzden gelen iştii] edevüz ‘We will also do for him every thing that we can do.’ (MN 56a-8)

Adverbial clause:

Dânâ gişiler, bu dünýa sarayi kim ‘amal evidür, [sol yağınur katresinden olan kuşucuklar gibi girdiler] ‘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 -andal/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 yıkl ‘[Each time] when he threw one [stone] he felled two or three people.’ (DK 41-10)

Yâd âgil sałamag-ile âgil olmaz, [bûyûyende] şalur 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, -yjur/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:

[Biliir gi§i] dalji [bilmez gi§i gözinc] eyle hakir goriniir “The knowledgeable one looks low to the eyes of the ignorant one.’ (MN 57b-14)
[Görüür gözüm aydın] oğul “The son, the light of my seeing eyes.’ (DK 119-3)
[Kimse nenin akar başı olsa... ‘If someone had a bleeding wound...’ (KG 11a-1)

In the above examples biliir, 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:

[Zahiri delii, gendözün esrük gösterüür, göñli ayağ “Ultâride fehm ögredür gi§i] 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)

İşitmiş kim [bir yüz yıl yaşar pîr] süksüni iki bükmiş halka 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 kil/kim clause – dependent clause introduced by relative conjunction kil/kim – and the Turkic participial construction forming the subject clause within the first subordinate clause:

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

Object clause:

Bakdi gordi kim [layûn on dördine beñzer bir mañbûb ala gözü Gonz gågit] burçak burçak 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 yüklû olsa ya [süd emer oğlançuğlu] olsa, oruç dutsa südî şoğîlur ya yüklû olup güçenur olsa, orucun yese kayarmaz ‘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)
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c. -ıcı/içi:
This participial suffix makes morpho-syntactic constructs with a present meaning showing the subject of an action, and therefore it is used with nonpassive 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)
- çalici ‘player’ (GT 8a-13)

1. This participial suffix makes agent nouns:

Çaya baksan çalışan, çalı kara kuş erdemli, kır kurma kuşaklu, kulağı altun kılıp, [kalin Oğuz béglerini bir bir atmından yıldı] Kazılık Koca oğlu Bég Yigenek çapar yedi ‘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)
yıldı ‘one who brings sb. down, one who fells [someone]’

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

Kocalık [bir incidici yolcula] beşer ‘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 çömert er var idi [konuk ağrılancı] ve [garib egleyici] ‘There was a generous man who welcomed and served guests and strangers.’ (MN 20a-12)

[Bir buyruk dütici] Taiştunun aciz kılıdır ‘It is only the weak slave of the God who would follow the order.’ (KN 1a-13)

[Hayra kulaçuyarıcı gişi] ol hayri 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] hörnetsüz egleyüp kovma ‘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 substantivized they look rather as any deverbal nouns and adjectives.

A. -acak/ecek:
This is the most productive participial form among future participles in Old Anatolian Turkish. They form mostly positive participial constructions. It shows following functions.

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

   Beyrek'den soiira bașuña [bu hâl gelecegin] bilîr idîk ‘We knew that this thing would happen to you after Beyrek [has gone].’ (DK 114-8)
   Senden soiira [sığınacağım] yokdur ‘I have no place to take refuge in but you.’ (GT 50b-1)
   Hiç kimesne İbrahim'i [nice oda atacağım] fîkr edemediler ‘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 bilîr hem [söyleyecêk] gelecidür ya'ni mașlahtılı gelecidür amı söyle-sün ‘He should tell the word that he knows and is also worth mentioning.’ (KN 29a-11)
   Boy, [deli bûğma çikaračak] olanca ‘aybunuza kaçürü ‘Oh this man - may he have a bad croup - cast all of our faults in our teeth.’ (DK 114-7)
   Söz kim [inâmîacak degüldür], söyleme ‘Do not say the word that is not credible.’ (KN 27b-7)

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3. As a modifier of the words yer and vakt, 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:

[\text{Yatacak yer} \text{ mi buldu} fi 'Did you find a place to sleep.' (DK 192-12)
[\text{Anufi girecek ve cıkacak yerlerin]} enişe kilmak gerek 'It is necessary to be careful about places where he comes in and go out.' (MN 41b-7)
[\text{Doğacak vakt]} ol meşime ayırlur 'At the time of birth that placenta gets separated.' (MN 9b-14)
[\text{Bu cänların varacak yerleri]} gayb 'älemidir 'It is the world of emptiness where these souls will go to.' (MN 25a-11)
Çarasuzluğ vaktında [kaçacak yer] olmaya elin keseğen kilica karşu dur 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 vakıtlar!] 'What [a strange] time is this to laugh!' (GT 19a-7)

b. -asi/-esi:
This participial suffix has a very restricted usage in Old Anatolian Turkish. It sometimes functions as a deverbal noun suffix and forms nouns:

- giyesi '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 varmaz, [gelesi yil] varam dérseñ revâdur '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 ağaçdur ne [göresi gözi] var ne [işidesi kulağı] var 'This is a tree [which] has neither a seeing eye nor a hearing ear.' (MN 34b-13)
   Bu evi harâb olası ere varaldan berü dahti karnum töynadh 'Since I got married to this husband — may his house be destroyed — my stomach has not had enough [food].' (DK 8-1)
   [Sen varasi kâfir] değül 'This is not [a kind of] unbeliever you can go against.' (DK 130-8)

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`lûm degiil ‘It is not known whether it will come into hand.’
(MN 41a-12)
[Yalan söyleneşi gişi] ‘The one who would lie...’ (KN 28b-12)

3. By modifying nouns of time and place vakıt/vaktı and yer this participle forms adverbial clauses of time and place.

[Ol eri sancasun vakıt] deñedîm, göz ucu-y ile ol ere bakdutn, 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 fereştenü (ayagi durasi yer) yoğ-idi ‘And also there was not any place for that angel to put his foot.’ (KE 5a-n)

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 ağacun yemişine (erişesi 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 iç niteligin şah [bilesi olursa], bana katı ‘ukûbet kilsar ‘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. -isar/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 degiil], ya agu eker iseñ [tiryak bitüriser degiil] ‘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, kuvoet ve zevk dimağda kalmişdur, geri arzü ederler, [ele giriser degiil] ‘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 semantically 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 adjectives as deverbal noun forms.

While the participials -duk/diik and -miş/miş have a non-future temporal meaning, and usually show past and present tense, the participles -acak/cecek, -aselyesi, -isar/iser have a non-past temporal denotation and usually show future 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/diik 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 subject, object and predicate of the sentence, and sometimes they can be adverbial complements by taking certain case suffixes or “words of place and time”. As a result, they form subordinate clauses of subject, object, predicate, and adverbial clauses.

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

The present tense participials -r (-arler, -lyur/lür) and -icilici function mostly as adjectival forms showing acts that are habitual and continual.

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

Abbreviations of the texts used

**DK** Kitâb-i Dede Korkut (Dresden copy), see Ergin 1958
**GT** Gülistân Tercimesi, see Özkan 1993
**M** Manzûme fi-l- Hilâfiyya, see Adamović 1990
**MN** Marzubân-nâme, see Korkmaz 1973
**KD** Kelile ve Dimne, Manuscript; Suleymaniye Library (Laleli, no. 1897)
**KE** Kisas-i Enbiya, see Cemĭloğlu 1994
**KG** Kitâb-i Gunya, see Akkuş 1995
**KN** Kâbus-nâme, see Birnbaum 1981
**KT** Kitâbü’t-Ta’bir, Manuscript; Suleymaniye Library (Hekimoğlu, no. 588)
**SN** Saltuk-nâme (Malatya copy), see Akalin 1987–1990
**TE** Tezkiretî’l-Evliyâ, see Olcay 1965
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