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The peculiarity of the Kyrgyz word *art* ‘back’ among positional terms

位置関係を表す語におけるキルギス語 *art* 「後」の特殊性

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1. Introduction

Many Turkic languages use one or a small number of cognate words for positional terms expressing “in front of,” “behind,” “on/above,” and “under/below.” As is shown in Figures 1 and 2, all but the words for “behind” always contain possessive suffixes.

Figure 1 “In front of,” “behind” in Turkic languages (mostly in locative forms)

language	“in front of”	“behind”
Turkish	ön-ü-nde front-POSS.3SG-LOC	<i>arka-da/ arka-sı-nda</i> back-LOC/ back-POSS.3SG-LOC
Turkmen	öň-ü-nde front-POSS.3SG-LOC	<i>arka-da/ arka-si-nda</i> back-LOC/ back-POSS.3SG-LOC
Uzbek	old-i-da front-POSS.3SG-LOC	<i>orqa-da/ orqa-si-da</i> back-LOC/ back-POSS.3SG-LOC
Uyghur	ald-i-da front-POSS.3SG-LOC	<i>arqi-da/ arqi-si-da</i> back-LOC/ back-POSS.3SG-LOC
Kazakh	ald-ï-nda front-POSS.3-LOC	<i>art-ta/ art-ï-nda</i> back-LOC/ back-POSS.3-LOC
Kyrgyz	ald-ï-nda front-POSS.3-LOC	<i>art-ta/ art-ï-nda</i> back-LOC/ back-POSS.3-LOC
Tuva	murn-u-nda front-POSS.3-LOC	<i>art-ï-nda</i> back-POSS.3-LOC
Sakha	inn-i-ger/ inn-i-ne front-POSS.3SG-DAT/ front-POSS.3SG-LOC	<i>kenn-i-ger/ kenn-i-ne</i> back-POSS.3SG-DAT/ back-POSS.3SG-LOC

Figure 2 “on, above” and “under, below” in Turkic languages (mostly in locative forms)

language	“on, above”	“under, below”
Turkish	üst-ü-nde top-POSS.3SG-LOC	<i>alt-ı-nda</i> bottom-POSS.3SG-LOC

Turkmen	üst-ü-nde top-POSS.3SG-LOC	aşag-ï-nda bottom-POSS.3SG-LOC
Uzbek	ust-i-da top-POSS.3SG-LOC	tag-i-da bottom-POSS.3SG-LOC
Uyghur	üst-i-dä upper.surface-POSS.3SG-LOC	teg-i-dä bottom-POSS.3SG-LOC
Kazakh	üst-i-nde top-POSS.3-LOC	ast-ï-nda bottom-POSS.3-LOC
Kyrgyz	üst-ü-ndö top-POSS.3-LOC	ast-ï-nda bottom-POSS.3-LOC
Tuva	üst-ü-nde top-POSS.3-LOC	ald-ï-nda bottom-POSS.3-LOC
Sakha	ürd-ü-ger top-POSS.3SG-DAT	ann-ï-gar bottom-POSS.3SG-DAT

Possessive suffixes attached to nouns in Turkic languages, including Kyrgyz, indicate one of two relations: the person and number of the possessor (e.g., *menin kitebim* 1SG.GEN book-POSS.1SG ‘my book’) or the formation of noun-noun modification, in which the third person possessive suffix is attached to the subsequent noun to signal the preceding noun modifies the subsequent one (e.g., *Kirgïzstan respublika-sï* Kyrgyzstan republic-POSS.3 ‘Kyrgyz Republic’).

In Kyrgyz, *ald* ‘front,’ *art* ‘back,’ *üst* ‘top, upper surface,’ and *ast* ‘bottom’ are used as spatial or temporal terms, and require the designation of the point as the basis of their specification. However, whereas the three words, *ald* ‘front,’ *üst* ‘top, upper surface,’ and *ast* ‘bottom,’ are consistently followed by the possessive suffix, *art* ‘back’ is not necessarily followed by this suffix, as seen in (1).

- (1) a. *art-ta kal-ïp kel-e jat-kan uçastok*
back-LOC remain-CVB COME¹-CVB LIE-PTCP.PST plot
‘a lagging plot (lit. the plot having stayed behind)’ (Yudaxin 1965: 70)
- b. *art-tï kara-p ÿla-p, ast-ï-nï kara-p*
back-ACC look-CVB cry-CVB bottom-POSS.3-ACC look-CVB
kül-dü-m.
laugh-PST-1SG
‘I cried, looking back, and laughed, looking down.’ (<http://yntymak.kg/>)

This paper explores the peculiarity of the word *art* ‘back’ among the positional terms in Kyrgyz, examining its morphological and syntactic features.

¹ The original lexical meanings of auxiliary verbs are shown in small capitals in the glosses.

2. The peculiarity of the word *art* ‘back’

The peculiarity of the word *art* ‘back’ among positional terms is observed when it is used without a possessive suffix. First, a web research result is presented to illustrate positional term uses. Second, a further examination is carried out by comparing the behavior of a synonym of *art* ‘back.’ Then, I consider where this peculiarity comes from.

2.1 With or without possessive suffixes

As already noted, among the four positional terms: *ald* ‘front,’ *art* ‘back,’ *üst* ‘top, upper surface,’ and *ast* ‘bottom,’ only the word *art* ‘back’ can be used without being followed by the possessive suffix, which is illustrated by the following result of the search.

Figure 3 The number of hits of the phrases, using a search engine (Google) (8/21/2019)

“forward”		“backward”	
<i>ald ĵak-ka</i> front side-DAT	0	<i>art ĵak-ka</i> back side-DAT	75
<i>ald ĵag-i-na</i> front side-POSS.3-DAT	0	<i>art ĵag-i-na</i> back side-POSS.3-DAT	41
<i>ald-i ĵak-ka</i> front-POSS.3 side-DAT	54	<i>art-i ĵak-ka</i> back-POSS.3 side-DAT	4
<i>ald-i ĵag-i-na</i> front-POSS.3 side-POSS.3-DAT	60	<i>art-i ĵag-i-na</i> back-POSS.3 side-POSS.3-DAT	31

“upward”		“downward”	
<i>üst ĵak-ka</i> top side-DAT	0	<i>ast ĵak-ka</i> bottom side-DAT	0
<i>üst ĵag-i-na</i> top side-POSS.3-DAT	0	<i>ast ĵag-i-na</i> bottom side-POSS.3-DAT	0
<i>üst-ü ĵak-ka</i> top-POSS.3 side-DAT	19	<i>ast-i ĵak-ka</i> bottom-POSS.3 side-DAT	15
<i>üst-ü ĵag-i-na</i> top-POSS.3 side-POSS.3-DAT	54	<i>ast-i ĵag-i-na</i> bottom-POSS.3 side-POSS.3-DAT	63

While the three words, *ald* ‘front,’ *üst* ‘top, upper surface,’ and *ast* ‘bottom,’ are always used as nouns and followed by the possessive suffix, *art* ‘back’ is more frequently used as an adjective, as in *art ĵak-ka/ĵag-i-na* (back side-DAT/side-POSS.3-DAT ‘to the backside, backward’).

The status of the possessive suffixes must also be examined, because the following example may indicate that the forms *aldi* ‘front,’ *üstü* ‘top,’ and *asti* ‘bottom’ cannot be analyzed as a combination of noun and possessive suffix, but should be regarded as simple

words, since the third person possessive suffix attached to each positional term in (2) has no correspondence to the possessor.

- (2) *menin* {*ald-ï* /*üst-ü* /*ast-ï*} *ĵag-ïm-da...*
 1SG.GEN front-POSS.3 top-POSS.3 bottom-POSS.3 side-POSS.1SG-LOC
 ‘on my front/upper/below side...’

Moreover, when genitive nouns precede the phrases in Figure 3, not *ĵak-ka* (side-DAT ‘to the side’) but *ĵag-ï-na* (side-POSS.3-DAT ‘to the side’) is always used, as seen in (3). This indicates that the possessive suffix corresponding to the preceding genitive noun is the one used with *ĵak* ‘side,’ not the one used with each positional term.

- (3) *üy-dün* {*ald-ï* /*üst-ü* /*ast-ï*}
 house-GEN front-POSS.3 top-POSS.3 bottom-POSS.3
ĵag-ï-na / ?? *ĵak-ka*
 side-POSS.3-DAT side-DAT
 ‘front/upper/below side of the house’

Therefore, the forms *aldï* ‘front,’ *üstü* ‘top,’ and *astï* ‘bottom,’ which are used like adjectives as in (3), might not necessarily be considered to contain possessive suffixes.

Still, when case suffixes are attached, the forms *aldï* ‘front,’ *üstü* ‘top,’ and *astï* ‘bottom,’ are analyzed as “noun + third person possessive suffix” because they exhibit the specific morphological patterns of third person possessive suffixes as shown in (4).

- (4) a. *ald-ï-na*, but not **aldï-ga* or **aldï-sï-na* ‘to the front’
 front-POSS.3-DAT *aldï-DAT* *aldï-POSS.3-DAT*
 Cf. *dari-ga* ‘to the medicine’, *dari-sï-na* ‘to his medicine’
 medicine-DAT medicine-POSS.3-DAT
- b. *üst-ü-ndö*, but not **üstü-dö* or **üstü-sü-ndö* ‘on the top’
 top-POSS.3-LOC *üstü-LOC* *üstü-POSS.3-LOC*
 Cf. *küzgü-dö* ‘in the mirror’, *küzgü-sü-ndö* ‘in his mirror’
 mirror-LOC mirror-POSS.3-LOC
- c. *ast-ï-nan* but not **astï-dan* or **astï-sï-dan* ‘from the bottom’
 top-POSS.3-ABL *astï-ABL* *astï-POSS.3-ABL*
 Cf. *baktï-dan* ‘from happiness’, *baktï-sï-nan* ‘from his happiness’
 happiness-ABL mirror-POSS.3-ABL

In contrast to the above three words, *art* ‘back’ can be used without the possessive suffix; thus, there are the forms *art-tï* (back-ACC), *art-ka* (back-DAT), *art-ta* (back-LOC), and *art-tan* (back-ABL), but there are no forms such as **ald-dï* (front-ACC), **üst-ka* (top-DAT), or

**ast-ta* (bottom-LOC).

2.2 *arka* ‘back’ as a synonym of *art* ‘back’

As a number of Turkic languages use *arka* ‘back’ or its cognate words as a positional term (cf. Figure 1), Kyrgyz also uses *arka* ‘back’ as a synonym of *art* ‘back.’ *Arka* ‘back’ can also be used without a possessive suffix, as in (5).

- (5) *AzİR arka-da kal-gan kizil too*
 now back-LOC remain-PTCL.VN Red mountain
anda kör-ün-gön emes.
 then see-REFL-PTCL.PST.3 NEG
 ‘The red mountain, remaining behind, was not seen then.’ (Akmataliev et. al 2011: 138)

However, when *jak-ka* (side-DAT ‘to the side’) or *ĵag-ĵ-na* (side-POSS.3-DAT ‘to the side’) follows *arka* ‘back,’ the distribution is different from that of *art* ‘back.’

Figure 4 The number of hits of the phrases, using a search engine (Google) (8/21/2019)

<i>art</i> ‘back’		<i>arka</i> ‘back’	
<i>art ĵak-ka</i>	75	<i>arka ĵak-ka</i>	25
back side-DAT		back side-DAT	
<i>art ĵag-ĵ-na</i>	41	<i>arka ĵag-ĵ-na</i>	54
back side-POSS.3-DAT		back side-POSS.3-DAT	
<i>art-ĵ ĵak-ka</i>	4	<i>arka-sĵ ĵak-ka</i>	0
back-POSS.3 side-DAT		back-POSS.3 side-DAT	
<i>art-ĵ ĵag-ĵ-na</i>	31	<i>arka-sĵ ĵag-ĵ-na</i>	1
back-POSS.3 side-POSS.3-DAT		back-POSS.3 side-POSS.3-DAT	

While *art-ĵ* (back-POSS.3 ‘back’) often appears in the position immediately prior to *ĵak-ka* (side-DAT ‘to the side’) or *ĵag-ĵ-na* (side-POSS.3-DAT ‘to the side’), *arka-sĵ* (back-POSS.3 ‘back’) is merely used in that position.

When the examples of *arka* ‘back’ are counted together with those of *art* ‘back’ in the number of hits for the phrases shown in Figure 1, 2 and 4, the peculiarity of the words that mean “back” appears to be more obvious.²

² I can at present offer only a conjecture; the third person possessive suffix attaching to *art* ‘back’ might be used by analogy with the possessive suffixes of the other three positional words. When preceding *ĵak-ka* (side-DAT ‘to the side’) or *ĵag-ĵ-na* (side-POSS.3-DAT ‘to the side’), both *art* ‘back’ and *arka* ‘back’ can be used without a possessive suffix, which seems to be a basic use. The analogy, if it is, might be applied to *art* ‘back,’ but not *arka* ‘back.’

Figure 5 The number of hits of the phrases “positional word + *jak-ka/ jag-i-na*”

	“forward” (<i>ald</i> ‘front’)	“backward” (<i>art, arka</i> ‘back’)	“upward” <i>üst</i> ‘top’	“downward” <i>ast</i> ‘bottom’
Without POSS.3	0	195	0	0
With POSS.3	100	35	73	68

Incidentally, although *art* ‘back’ and *arka* ‘back’ share the meaning “the rear part of the body,” *art* ‘back’ has an extended meaning: “feature or result,” as in (6a), which *arka* ‘back’ does not have. Conversely, *arka* ‘back’ has an extended meaning: “support or help,” as in (6b), which *art* ‘back’ does not have.

- (6) a. *Toltoj menen Činkojo öz-ü-nün art-i-n oylo-sun.*
 PN with PN self-POSS.3-GEN back-POSS.3-ACC think-IMP.3
 ‘May Toltoy and Činkojo think about their feature.’ (*Semetej*³)
- b. *Senin arka-ŋ menen men öz-üm-dü kara-y*
 2SG.GEN help-POSS.2SG with 1SG self-POSS.1SG-ACC look-CVB.PRES
bašta-dī-m.
 begin-PST-1SG
 ‘With your help, I began to look at myself.’ (<http://sputnik.kg/>)

2.3 Possible background of the peculiarity of the word *art* ‘back’

The key to the peculiarity of the word *art* ‘back’ among positional terms may lie in its etymology. Clauson (1972: 130) suggested that Old Turkic *alt* and *ast* ‘bottom, lower surface’ and *üst* ‘top, upper surface’ might have been related to the forms *altın*, *astın*, and *üstün*, respectively, pointing out that in addition to these three words, *öñdün* ‘in front’ and *ké:đin* ‘behind’ have the suffix “-*dun/-dün/-tun/-tün*, etc.”⁴ Whereas the words *öñ* ‘front’ (or *öñdün*, cf. Clauson 1972:178), *üst* ‘top, upper surface,’ and *alt* or *ast* ‘bottom, lower surface’ have survived in the modern Turkic languages (see Figure 1 and 2), *ké:đin* ‘behind’ has been replaced by *arka* and *art* ‘back.’⁵ This difference in etymology may have reflected the peculiarity of *art* ‘back’ among positional terms.

³ *Semetej* is the second part of the Kyrgyz epos *Manas*.

⁴ Erdal (2004: 181-182) denies the existence of the forms *alt*, *ast* or *üst* in Old Turkic, arguing that they are resultant of the backformation of *al-tün*, *astın*, and *üstün/üztün* (cf. Erdal 1991: 457). I thank the reviewer for this important information.

⁵ The form **ké:*, carrying no suffix, is an unattested form (Clauson 1972: 686). The stem of the Sakha form *kenniger* ‘to the behind’ and *kennine* ‘after’ (see Figure 1) might date back to the Old Turkic *ké:đin*. Moreover, *keyin* ‘after’ is used in Kazakh and Uzbek (I thank the reviewer again for this information).

3. Concluding remarks

This paper introduces the fact that in Kyrgyz, among the four positional terms, meaning “front,” “back,” “top,” and “bottom,” only the words for “back” are used without a possessive suffix. Through the examination of each positional term, there seems to be doubt that the possessive suffixes that attach to them are genuinely possessive, because the suffixes sometimes do not agree with the possessors. However, morphological evidence indicates that there is no alternative but to consider them possessive suffixes. The etymology of these positional terms may explain the peculiar behavior of the possessive suffixes, but it only reveals part of the issue.

Abbreviations

ABL	ablative	PL	plural
ACC	accusative	PN	proper noun
COND	conditional	POSS	possessive
DAT	dative	PST	past
CVB	converb	PTCP	participle
GEN	genitive	REFL	reflexive
LOC	locative	SG	singular
NEG	negative	VN	verbal noun

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位置関係を表す語におけるキルギス語 *art* 「後」の特殊性

大崎紀子

チュルク語の「前」「後」「上」「下」など位置関係を表す語には、1種類あるいは数種類の同源語が用いられている。これらの語は、基準となる時点や位置などの指定が常に必要であるが、キルギス語の *ald* 「前」、*üst* 「上」、*ast* 「下」は「必ず所有接尾辞を伴う」という特徴を持っているのに対し、*art* 「後」は所有接尾辞を伴わない場合もある。本稿では、*art* 「後」の特殊性を、形態論・統語論的観点から調査し、考察を行った。

まず、Web 検索では、*ald* 「前」、*üst* 「上」、*ast* 「下」には所有接尾辞を伴わない例が皆無であるのに対し、*art* 「後」は所有接尾辞無しの用例の方が多という結果が得られた。このとき、*ald* 「前」、*üst* 「上」、*ast* 「下」に接続する所有接尾辞は、所有者と一致しない例も見られることから、それらが真の所有接尾辞かどうかという疑問が生じる。しかし、その形態論的特徴から、とくに格接尾辞が付く場合には、やはり所有接尾辞と考えるほかない、ということを確認した。

次に、*art* 「後」の類義語である *arka* 「後」の用例を併せて考察することにより、*art* 「後」の特殊性、ひいては「後」の意味を持つ語の特殊性を指摘した。すなわち、「後」の意味を持つ語においては、所有接尾辞が付かない形の方がむしろ主であると言えるかもしれない。

最後に、*art* 「後」の特殊性の背後には、語源が関わっている可能性を指摘した。*ast* 「下」や *üst* 「上」が *altın, astın, üstün* という古い形式に関係するのに対して、「後」は *ké:din* という古い形式が使われなくなり、*art* や *arka* に置き換わったという語源の違いが関係している可能性がある。