

Subject Version and Object Version in Tofa Auxiliary Verb Constructions*

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0 Introduction

The critically endangered language Tofa, the easternmost representative of the Altai-Sayan Turkic languages, is spoken by fewer than 100 people in a remote section of the Eastern Sayan range of south central Siberia. Despite some obvious shared innovations of non-archaic features diffused from one language of the Altai-Sayan region to another over the course of numerous centuries of shifting tribal and linguistic allegiances (e.g. an unaccomplished aspect in (*)–GAI AK, a perfective in *–Ip=Ið), the split between Tofa [and Tiva dil (Tuvan)], Xakas, and southern Altai (Ojrot) appears to be as great a cleavage within the Turkic language family as those between the southwestern Turkmen-Azeri Og`uz, the eastern Uzbek-Uyyur and the northern Tatar-Başqort, although the former three (or four) groups live in contiguous regions of the Altai-Sayan, while the latter sets are spread out among the great expanses of Central and Northern Eurasia. From a comparative-historical perspective, the significance of this is that if features are found spread across the languages of the Altai-Sayan, and are found as well in the other aforementioned groups, and in addition in certain other important, older, or archaic Turkic languages (viz. Yakut [Saxa], Čuvaš, Xalaĵ, or Old Turkic), there is a strong likelihood that the feature(s) in question date back to Proto-Turkic times. Such is probably the case with the characteristically Tofa system of auxiliary verb constructions [AVCs], used to mark the categories of subject version and object version.

While relatively common throughout the languages of the family, Altai-Sayan Turkic languages make perhaps the most extensive use of AVCs. Tofa shows numerous archaisms in its system of AVCs, reflecting in many instances Common Turkic or even Proto-Turkic formations. Just as in English, where one encounters constructions of type *be* + *-ing* for progressive, *have* + *-ed* for perfect, or *be* + *-ed* for passive, auxiliary verb constructions in Tofa (or [Altai-Sayan] Turkic languages more generally) can be subdivided formally, for example, which (converb) form they require the accompanying lexical verb to have. In the majority of (Altai-Sayan) Turkic languages, this is generally either the *-A/i/-y* converb or the *-(I)p* converb.¹ Thus, one finds such auxiliary verb constructions in Tofa as the formation in *-(I)p tur(u)* marking a (progressive) present or the construction in *-A tüş* marking an unexpected or sudden action.

The auxiliary verb constructions of Tofa language can be further subgrouped functionally, that is, by the type of verbal category or categories that the AVCs function to mark. These functional AVC groups generally fall into five basic types: complex tense (+aspect) categories, aspectual and *Aktionsart* categories, modal categories, categories of verbal orientation or direction, and, finally, so-called version categories—the subject of the present study. Each of these subtypes has parallels in the Turkic family outside the Altai-Sayan areal group, and in older Turkic sources as well.

In this paper, we address the characteristically Turkic auxiliary verb constructions functioning to mark the categories of subject version and object version in Tofa with

parallels from both other Turkic languages of the Altai-Sayan (e.g. Xakas, Tıva dıl, Altai, etc.), as well as languages from the farthest reaches of the Turkic-speaking world, both temporally and geographically, with data from such languages modern Yakut (Saxa), Turkmen, Uyğur, Tatar, Xalaǵ and Čuvaš, and Old Turkic. Typological parallels to Turkic auxiliary verb phenomena in other languages are offered on occasion, where merited.

In Tofa (aka Tofalar or Karagas), a large number of auxiliary verbs are used, numbering at least twenty. One of the characteristic features of auxiliary verb constructions in Tofa and other Turkic languages is to mark categories of version (or voice), in particular, the categories of subject-version or self-benefactive voice and object/other version or benefactive voice. The former consists of the auxiliary verb construction in *-(I)p al-* while the latter utilizes *-(I)p ber-* in Tofa. As is well known to Turkologists, etymologically *al-* means ‘take’ and *ber-* ‘give’ so their connections to self-benefactive action (or subject version) and benefactive voice (or object version), respectively, is relatively straightforward.ⁱⁱ Subject version indicates that the action is performed to the benefit of or otherwise primarily affecting the subject. Object version marks a verb as primarily affecting a non-subject or (subcategorized) object, often with accompanying benefactive or malefactive semantics

1 Subject Version or Self-Benefactive

The AVC in *-p al* in Tofa (tıfa dılı) marks subject version or self-benefactive voice. It is especially common with certain lexical verbs, e.g. *tıp* ‘find’ or *orula-* ‘gather’, but may be used freely with almost any verb. As the action is subject affecting, but not necessarily self-benefactive, as is shown in such examples as (1iii), subject version is regarded as a more suitable name for the category. Therefore, it is glossed SUBJ.VERS in the interlinear glosses in the examples below. The cognate constructions are called S[elf]BEN[efactive] in Xakas (xakas tılı, tadar tılı) by Anderson (1998) and in Tıva dıl [Tuvan] (aka Soyon, Urjangxai, Tyvan, etc.) by Anderson and Harrison (1999).

(1) i. Tofa

<i>men</i>	<i>monu</i>	<i>oruk-ta</i>	<i>tup</i>	<i>al-dı-m</i>
I	this.ACC	road-LOC	find.CV	SUBJ.VERS-REC.PST-1

'I found this on the road'
(Rassadin 1978: 154)

ii. Tofa

<i>höörük</i>	<i>kif-ka</i>	<i>kusuk-tu</i>	<i>orula-p</i>	<i>al-yan</i>
chipmunk	winter-DAT	pinecone-ACC	gather/store.for.winter-CV	SUBJ.VERS-PST

'the chipmunk gathered pinecones to store for winter'
(ASLEP Field Notes, Sponsored by the Volkswagen Stiftung)

iii. Tofa

<i>küzün,</i>	<i>hüŋgæəri</i>	<i>uh^y-up</i>	<i>čoru-ur</i>	<i>kuškaš-tar</i>	<i>ble</i>
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during.fall to.south fly-GER AUX.PROG-FUT bird-PL with

*čarl-**ip*** *mendileš-ken-de,* *boriika* *ble* *ü,špül* *karaa-n*
 part-GER greet-RECP-PST-LOC wood-grouse with hazel grouse eye-3.ACC

kızı-dī *ıyła-p al-yanda,* *hek tödü-sü-n* *kör-gen,* *dıñna-an* *ergen*
 turn.red-REC.PST cry-GER SUBJ.VERS-PST-LOC cuckoo all-3.ACC see-PST hear-PST EVID

'during the fall, the cuckoo must have seen and heard everything when the birds flying south were parting and saying their good-byes, when the wood-grouse's and hazel grouse's eyes turned red from crying'

(ASLEP Field Notes, Sponsored by the Volkswagen Stiftung)

iv. Tofa

süye-sin *al-yaš* *kuduruktuy-lar-ni* *üzeyttæ-æš* *šeger-in-ge*
 axe-3-ACC take-SS wolf-PL-ACC cut.off-SS ski-3-DAT

tææ-p al-gaš *jan-a* *ber-dī.*
 load-CV SUBJ.VERS-SS return-GER PFV-REC.PST

'he took up his axe, cut the wolves (from the ice), loaded them on his skis and returned home'

v. Tofa

ol *ıt-in* *edert-ip* *al-yan*
 that dog-3.ACC take.w/self-CV SUBJ.VERS-PST

'he took that dog of his along with him'

(Rassadin 1994: 203)

vi. Tofa

ol *kel-geš,* *iresaŋ ıñja* *de-yidiri:--* *sen* *boojala-š-kaš* *al-ıbit-tıñ!*
 he come-SS bear thus say-NARR you bet-RECP-SS SUBJ.VERS-PF-REC.PST-2

'he came and the bear said 'you have won our bet'

(ASLEP Field Notes, Sponsored by the Volkswagen Stiftung)

vii. Tofa

dilyi oluk *bar-ip* *brææ üšpül* *tüt-kaš* *al-yan.*
 fox right.away go-CV one hazel.grouse catch-SS SUBJ.VERS-PST

'right away the fox caught himself a hazel grouse'

(ASLEP Field Notes, Sponsored by the Volkswagen Stiftung)

Note that in the final two examples given above, the lexical verb is in a different converb form, the same subject converb in *-GAš*. The converb forms in *-Ip* and *-GAš* show significant functional overlap (for example both occur primarily in same subject constructions), so this variation is not surprising from a Tofa-internal standpoint. Also, other Turkic languages exhibit variation in converb selection in both this and other AVCs, so such a situation is not overly surprising from a pan-

Turkic perspective either. In addition, some Turkic languages which clearly reflect an original subject version AVC lack the *-Ip* converb altogether, replacing it with the converb element closest in function to the *-Ip* converb in the majority of Turkic languages, e.g. *-An* in Yakut [Saxa] or *-sA* in Čuvaš, see below.

Many other Altai-Sayan Turkic languages make use of cognate subject version AVCs. Note the following examples from Tıva dıl (Tuvan), where, as mentioned above, it is called ‘self-benefactive’ by Anderson and Harrison (1999).

(2) i. Tıva dıl

bižip aldim

write-CV **SUBJ.VERS-PAST.II-1**

‘I wrote (it) (down) for my self’

[Anderson & Harrison 1999: 68]

ii. Tıva dıl

sütten ižip al

milk-ABL drink-CV **SUBJ.VERS**

‘drink some milk’

[Anderson & Harrison 1999: 68]

iii. Tıva dıl

am čedip aar men

now come-CV **SUBJ.VERS.PRS/FUT 1**

‘I’ll come now’

[Anderson & Harrison 1999: 62]

iv. Tıva dıl

bižip aar men

write-CV **SUBJ.VERS.PRS/FUT 1**

‘I’ll write it down’

[Anderson & Harrison 1999: 62]

In Xakas, the auxiliary verb construction in *-Ip al* also functions as a marker of subject version.ⁱⁱⁱ

(3) Xakas

i. *min tayya-da čör-čed-ıp, köp čistek teer-ıp al-ya-m*

I taiga-LOC walk-PRES-CV alot berry gather-CV **SUBJ.VERS-PAST.I-1**

‘while walking in the taiga, I gathered up alot of berries’

(Anderson 1998: 54; Pritsak 1959: 617)

ii. Xakas

pıs köp aņ-nar at-ıp al-yan-da, köp axča al-ya-bis

we alot animal-PL shoot-CV **SUBJ.VERS-PAST-LOC** alot money get-PAST.I-1PL

‘when we shot ourselves a lot of animals, we got a lot of money’

(Anderson 1998: 69)

iii. Xakas [AVC > AFX]

pu kniga-ni tab-ıl-za-m

this book-ACC find-SUBJ.VERS-CON-1

‘if I find this book, boy will I be happy’

min xayda ör m-e-m

I oh.boy be.happy-FUT-1

(field notes, 45 yr. old man)

The subject version auxiliary verb construction in North Altai Qumandı also takes the form *-p al*. In this language, as in the Xakas form in (3iii), this element may appear in a univerbated or fused form.

(4) i. Qumandı [N. Altai]

örö kör-ip ugla-b-al-dî
 up look-CV cry-CV-SUBJ.VERS-REC.PST
 ‘they looked up and cried’
 (Baskakov 1972: 23)

ii. Qumandî [N. Altai]

süü-ge sal-ara sana-p al-ga-nar
 water-DAT put-INF think-CV SUBJ.VERS-PST-PL
 ‘they considered drowning him’
 (Baskakov 1972: 18)

iii. Qumandî [N. Altai]

mal-î +d’üz-i-ni kačır-ip al-ip jan-iy-dî
 livestock-3 +possession-3-ACC herd-CV SUBJ.VERS-CV return-PRF-REC.PST
 ‘he rounded up his livestock and possessions and set off for home’
 (Baskakov 1972: 64)

Subject version auxiliary verb constructions are also found in the S. Altai dialects, the speech of the Altai-kiži, Teleut (including Bačat Teleut) and the Telengit. The subject version or self-benefactive voice construction takes the same form as in the other Altai-Sayan Turkic languages discussed above, namely *-Ip al*.

(5) i. Altai-kiži [aka Ojrot, S. Altai]

anda men kürdük ad-ip al-dî-m
 there I capercailzie shoot-CV SUBJ.VERS-REC.PST-1
 ‘I shot myself the capercailzie there’
 (Dyrenkova 1940: 191)

ii. Altai-kiži [aka Ojrot, S. Altai]

men balık tud-up al-ga-m
 I fish catch-CV SUBJ.VERS-PST-1
 ‘I caught (myself) a fish’
 (Dyrenkova 1940: 191)

iii. Altai-kiži [aka Ojrot, S. Altai]

ol kuučın-dî bis ug-up al-dî-bis
 that conversation-ACC we hear-CV SUBJ.VERS-REC.PST-1PL
 ‘we heard that conversation’
 (Dyrenkova 1940: 191)

A number of other Turkic languages show cognate constructions with the Altai-Sayan subject version construction. Thus, auxiliary verb formations of this type may be

found in the western Turkic (Oğuz) language Turkmen, far removed from the Altai-Sayan region.

(6) Turkmen

kim gađet oko-yaardı, kim yolloš-ı vilen gürlöš-yäärdi kim-em mašin-ıñ
 who newspaper read-IMPERF who comrade-3 with converse- IMPERF who-EMPH machine-GEN

kaθθa-θi-na köpük tašla-ap, bilet yırtı-ıv al-yaardı
 money.slot-3-DAT kopeck drop-CV ticket tear.off-CV SUBJ.VERS- IMPERF

'some read newspapers, some talked with their comrades, some dropped pennies into slot-machines and tore tickets from them'

(Hansar 1977: 90)

The eastern Turkic language Uyyur spoken predominantly in Xinjiang Province of western China shows a cognate construction as well. Here, as in the speech of certain Xakas and Qumandı speakers, it appears as a bound form, although preserving the converb, and thus attesting to its obvious origin in this AVC.

(7) Uyyur

adris-i-ni yez-ıw-al-di-m
 address-3-ACC write-CV-SUBJ.VERS-PST-1

'I wrote down her address (for my own benefit)'

(Hahn 1991: 612)

While indeed subject-affecting or subject-oriented in Uyyur, the construction often has a negative (or 'malefactive') connotation.

(8) Uyyur

qol-um-ni kes-ıw-al-di-m
 hand-1-ACC cut-CV-SUBJ.VERS-PST-1

'I got cut on my hand'

(Hahn 1991: 612)

In the northern Turkic language Tatar, a formally and functionally cognate auxiliary verb construction marking subject version is also found; see (9)

(9) Tatar

Alay bul-sa, aldayı ğomya-ya čaqır-ıp al-ıyq
 So be-CON coming Friday-DAT invite-CV SUBJ.VERS-1PL.IMP

'if that's so, let's invite them (for) next Friday'

(Schönig 1984: 89)

The Central Asian Turkic Kyrgyz likewise exhibits the subject version construction in *-Ip al*.

(10) Kyrgyz

men ošol žer-den sol-go burul-du-m da mina mu-nu taap al-dī-m

I this.here place-ABL left-DAT revolve-REC.PST-1 and here.is this-ACC find.CV SUBJ.VERS-REC.PST-1
'I turned from this place to the left and this is what I found'

(Žapar 1992: 279)

In the Caucasian Turkic language Kumyx, a similar subject version construction is also expressed.

(11) Kumyx

Nina erten ne et-me gerek-ni oylaš-īp al-dī

Nina tomorrow what do-NOMLZ NEC-ACC ponder-CV SBEN-REC.PST
'Nina pondered deeply about what (she) had to do tomorrow'

(Džanmavov 1967: 221)

In fact, some of the most highly divergent and archaic languages of the family reflect this subject version construction as well. While the auxiliary verb element is identical in such important languages as Yakut [Saxa], Xalaĵ, or Čuvaš, the converb element differs. Thus, one finds the functionally cognate construction –*An il* in Yakut [Saxa] (12), a fused (bound) auxiliary verb construction apparently (synchronically at least) lacking a converb form^{iv} in the highly archaic Xalaĵ language of Iran, i.e. –*al-* (13), or even the form –*sA il* in Čuvaš as in (14).

(12) Yakut [Saxa]

kurdari taay-an il-la

immediately guess-CV SUBJ.VERS-PST

'he guessed immediately'

(Korkina et al. 1982: 289)

(13) Xalaĵ

tut:-āġ-du-m

hold SUBJ.VERS-PST-1

'I seized (it)'

(Doerfer 1988: 169)

(14) i. Chuvash

astu-sa il

remember-CV SUBJ.VERS

'remember'

(Skvorcov 1985: 111)

ii. Chuvash

kālar-sa il

steal-CV SUBJ.VERS

'steal for self'

(Skvorcov 1985: 111)

The subject version function of the auxiliary *al-* is quite old in Turkic. It is even found in this function in Old Turkic sources. Thus we find such forms as *awla-p al* ‘erjagen’ (von Gabain 1974: 131). However, in the runic Orxon Turkic Kül Tegin inscription, one finds constructions of the following type:

(15) i. Orkhon Turkic [Kül Tegin]
qata Türgiř bodunuy ölürmış almiş
time/once T people-ACC kill-PST.II SUBJ.VERS-PST.II
‘once attacked the Türgiř people’
(von Gabain 1974: 278 l.26*)

ii. Orkhon Turkic [Kül Tegin]
ölürtümüz altımız
kill-PST-1PL SUBJ.VERS-PST-1PL
‘we killed’
(von Gabain 1974: 279 l.3)

This exhibits the so-called ‘doubled’- pattern of inflection in auxiliary verb constructions (Anderson 1999), where both the lexical verb and the auxiliary verb are fully inflected. Generally speaking, Turkic AVCs exhibit the so-called ‘basic’ inflectional pattern (Anderson 1999), where the lexical verb appears in some pre-specified form and the auxiliary verb alone serves as the inflectional head, bearing all the obligatory tense/mood/aspect and person/number categories, etc., cf. the Tofa and Xakas forms in (16).

(16) i. Tofa
boriika ble ü,řpül eder-e ber-gen-ner
wood-grouse and hazel-grouse accompany-CV INCH-PST-PL
‘a wood-grouse and a hazel-grouse set off with them’
(ASLEP Field Notes, Sponsored by the Volkswagen Stiftung)

ii. Xakas
annařar ijem xazixta-n par-ar-ina ızen-ıp odır-ya-m
therefore mother-1 be.healthy AUX-FUT-3.DAT hope-CV AUX-PAST.1-1
‘for that reason I hoped that mama will get healthy’
(Anderson 1998: 67)

In a certain instances, e.g. the Xakas probabilitive AVC, a split inflectional pattern (Anderson 2001) is observed with tense/aspect/mood on the lexical verb and person/number on the auxiliary (17i-ii). Many constructions with the auxiliary verb *pol-* show split inflection: the lexical verb appears with the negative and a tense/mood/aspect form of some type, while the auxiliary verb appears with some

(possibly other) tense/mood/aspect marker and the subject suffix (17iii). This pattern is also seen in Tofa, for example, in the counterfactual/irrealis conditional (18)

(17) i. Xakas

sin it-ken polar-zɨŋ

you do-PAST.I PROB-2

'you probably did it'

(Anderson 1998: 60)

ii. Xakas

min nime-e čobal-čatxan-im-ni sɨrer pil-če polar-zar

I what-DAT be.sad-PRES.PRTCPL-1-ACC y'all know-PRES.I PROB-2PL

'you probably know what I am sad about'

(Anderson 1998: 60)

iii. Xakas

oraylat-pa-jaj

be.late-NEG-HAB.PAST

pol-za-bis

AUX-CON-1PL

'if only we hadn't been late' B. 1975: 194

(18) Tofa

sen bar-ba-an bol-di-ŋ er-se, ekkɪ bol-ir iik

you go-NEG-PST AUX-REC.PST-2 AUX₂-CON good be-SBJ (< -FUT PARTICLE)

'if you had not gone, it would be good'

(Rassadin 1978: 231)

This pattern is also characteristic of Altai-Sayan Turkic and many other languages with negative forms in AVCs, the negative appearing on the lexical verb and tense/aspect/person/number on the auxiliary verb (19), as well as with various categories in a number of other languages (20).

(19) i. Tofa

sooda-ar-ga oŋ čü-nü te tüt-pas bol-gan

say-PRES/FUT-DAT he what-ACC EMPH hold-NEG.FUT AUX-PST

'when they spoke, he didn't understand anything'

(Rassadin 1978: 221)

ii. Tofa

oŋ čoru-veyŋ oluru

he go-NEG.CV AUX.PROG.III

'he is not going'

(Rassadin 1978: 205)

iii. Tiva dil

men ol nom-nu nomču-vastay ber-di-m

I that book-ACC read-NEG.CV INCH-PAST.II -I

'I stopped reading that book'

(Anderson and Harrison 1999: 46)

(20) i. Palana Koryak [Chukotko-Kamchatkan; Siberia]

gəmmə el e-l'lep-ke t-itə-tkən

I not NEG-look-NEG 1-AUX-PRES

'I'm not looking' (Zhukova 1980: 114)

ii. Jakalteq (Jacalteq) [Mayan, Kanjobalan; Guatemala]

šk-ach w-ila

CMPL-ABS2 ERG1-see

'I saw you' (Craig 1976: 60)

Note that in addition to Orxon Turkic, the doubled inflectional pattern occurs in numerous other languages as well, for example, in the South Munda (Austroasiatic) language Gorum (21), or the Nilotic (Nilo-Saharan) language Lango (22).

(21) i. Gorum (Parengi) [Austroasiatic, South Munda; India]

miŋ ne-gaʔ-ru ne-laʔ-ru

I 1-eat-PAST 1-AUX-PAST

'I ate vigorously' (Aze 1973:279)

ii. Gorum (Parengi) [Austroasiatic, South Munda; India]

miŋ ne-adaʔ-ruʔ ne-k-ruʔ

I 1-thirst-PAST.AFF 1-AUX-PAST.AFF

'I was thirsty' (Aze 1973:296)

(22) Lango [Nilo-Saharan, Eastern Sudanic, Western Nilotic; Uganda]

án à-wót-ó à-lób-ḍ dákô

I 1-AUX-PERF 1-follow-PERF woman

'I followed the woman' (Noonan 1992: 211)

According to Heine (1993), doubled inflection reflects an earlier stage in the grammaticalization chain from full lexical verb > serial verb > auxiliary verb > affix that typifies developments of auxiliary verb systems. The Old Turkic to modern Turkic developments of the subject version auxiliary verb construction lend support to this idea. From an original pre-Proto-Turkic serialized lexical verb construction, both originally bearing inflection, the second (last) verbal element semantically became bleached but syntactically was elevated to sole head, the lexical verb ultimately getting fixed in a particular converb form. Later this developed into verbal affixes in a number of the modern Turkic languages, e.g. Uyyur, Xalaĵ, or certain Xakas or Qumandĭ varieties.

2 Object Version or Benefactive Voice

The other version or voice category expressed in Tofa through an auxiliary verb construction is object version or benefactive voice. This is expressed by a construction in *-p ber*. This contrasts with the other common, aspectual or *Aktionsart* (perfective/inchoative) uses of *ber-*, which rather requires the lexical verb to be in the *-A/I/y* converb form, not the *-p* converb form. As its name implies, this is used in constructions placing emphasis on the fact that the action was performed to the benefit of, or otherwise significantly affecting, a non-subject.

(23) i. Tofa

men ögle-p ber-dı-m

I make.house-CV **OBJ.VERS-REC.PST-1**

'I made him a house'

(Rassadin 1978: 154)

ii. Tofa

ıtık bıh'-ip ber

boot cut-CV **OBJ.VERS**

'cut me some boots'

(Rassadin 1978: 154)

iii. Tofa

bos-tar boriika-ni haramza-af, tüg-ün uz-ip ber-gen

wild.duck-PL wood-grouse-ACC feel.sorry-SS feather-3.ACC pull.out-CV **OBJ.VERS-PST**

'the wild ducks felt sorry for the wood-grouse, so they pulled out their feathers'

(ASLEP Field Notes, Sponsored by the Volkswagen Stiftung)

iv. Tofa

ıti ınja dæ-æn--şınnap, men se-ŋe ooda ür diŋna-an men, ooda ür seŋe aŋna-an men,
dog-3 thus speak-PST truly I you-DAT very long.time listen-PST 1,

čaraŋaŋ se-ŋe ıp-kan men, diiŋ se-ŋe

very.long.time you-DAT hunt-PST 1, sable you-DAT find-PST 1, squirrel you-DAT

eer-gen men, köpey aŋ se-ŋe turuz-up ber-gen men

turn-PST 1, many animal you-DAT stop-CV **OBJ.VERS-PST 1**

'the dog thus spoke "truly I listened to you for a very long time, I hunted for you a very long time, found sable for you, rounded up squirrel for you, I stopped many an animal for you'

(Rassadin 1994: 201-202)

Other Altai-Sayan languages likewise make use of the benefactive construction. As in Tofa, in Tıva dıl *ber-* has two common functions as an auxiliary verb, differentiated by the form that the accompanying lexical verb takes; in the case of the aspectual construction, the form is *-A/-y ber*, while the benefactive or object version construction takes the shape *-p ber*.

(24) i. Tıva dıl

biži berdim

read-CV INCH-PAST.II-1

'I began to write'

(Anderson & Harrison 1999: 68)

ii. Tıva dıl

vs. *bižip berdim*

write-CV OBJ.VERS-PAST.II-1

'I wrote (it) for someone else'

(Anderson & Harrison 1999: 68)

iii. Tıva dıl

septe-p tur-up ber-gen

repair-CV AUX-CV OBJ.VERS-PAST.I

'was doing/used to do repairs'

(Samina 1995: 27)

iv. Tıva dıl

xlep-ten kezip ber

bread-ABL cut-CV OBJ.VERS

'cut up some bread'

(Kunaa 1970: 33)

In Xakas, the object version auxiliary verb construction also takes the shape (*-p*) *pir*. However, with consonant-final lexical verb stems, as with all Xakas AVCs where the auxiliary verb element begins with an initial consonant, this takes a zero allomorph of the converb, the *-p* only appears after vowel-final lexical verb stems. Note also that the inchoative takes the form *-A/y pir* in Xakas, similar to the construction found in Tofa and Tıva dıl

(25) Xakas

anaŋ Iken kijee le taŋd-ox

then I. yesterday EMPH tomorrow-EMPH

ayıl pir-em tıp čüs salkovay

bring OBJ.VERS-FUT-1 say-CV 100 ruble

al par-ba-an

take PRFV.II-NEG-PAST

ma za, xaydi tabırax tud-in

Q EMPH how quick

sal-d-ar

hold-RFLXV PRFV.I-PAST.II-2PL

tıp

COMP

sur-jaŋ-nar

ask-HAB.PAST-PL

'and then didn't Iken only yesterday, saying 'I'll return it tomorrow', take 100 rubles?', and how quickly you spent it!--they often would say' Karpov (1984: 84)

As in Tofa, Xakas, or Tıva dıl, an object version auxiliary verb construction in *-p ber* (contrasting with a inchoative-perfective in *-A ber*) is also characteristic of the speech of the North Altai Qumandı-kiži.

(26) i. Qumandı [N. Altai]

:a söög-i le čiš-ka čügür-ip-ber-gen

and bone-3-INS forest-DAT run-CV OBJ.VERS-PST

'.. he ran off to the forest with its bones'

(Baskakov 1972: 17)

vs. ii. Qumandı [N. Altai]

araa ič-e ber-diler

vodka drink-CV INCH-REC.PST-PL

'they began to drink vodka'

(Baskakov 1972: 17)

Object version constructions in *-Ip ber* are also commonly used in S. Altai.

(27) i. Altai-kiži [aka Ojrot, S. Altai]

*men-i uyguz-**ip** ber*

I-ACC wake-CV OBJ.VERS

'wake me up (early)'

(Dyrenkova 1940: 191)

ii. Altai-kiži [aka Ojrot, S. Altai]

*uulčak bis-ke d'ol ayd-**ip** ber-di*

boy we-DAT road tell-CV OBJ.VERS-REC.PST

'the boy showed us the road'

(Dyrenkova 1940: 191)

iii. Altai-kiži [aka Ojrot, S. Altai]

*ayd-**ip** ber*

say-CV OBJ.VERS

'tell (me)'

(Dyrenkova 1940: 226)

Like the subject version or self-benefactive construction addressed above, the object version or benefactive form is similarly found throughout the Turkic languages. Thus, it may be found in Uyyur on the eastern periphery of the Turkic-speaking world. Note that in Uyyur, unlike the subject version/self-benefactive construction, the object version or benefactive element does not occur in a unverbated (fused) form.

(28) i. Uyyur

*u xotun-i-ya joldiki väqi-lä-rni sözla-**p** bär-di*

he wife-3-DAT journey time-PL-ACC tell-CV BEN-PST

'he told his wife all that had happened to him during his journey'

(Nadžip 1971: 147)

ii. Uyyur

*moma-m hikayä eyt-**ip** bär-di*

grandma-1 story say-CV OBJ.VERS-PST

'grandma told a story for our benefit'

(Hahn 1991: 613)

iii. Uyğur

u čay-da ata-m yärlük bay-ya işlä-p bär-di

that time-LOC father-1 local squire-DAT work-CV **OBJ.VERS-PST**

'at that time, my father worked for the local squire'

(Hahn 1991: 613)

On the nearly opposite end of the Turkic world in western Central Asia, a cognate construction may be found in Turkmen, also in *-Ip ber*.

(29) Turkmen

ööđ yađ-an goşgu-lor-ni oko-p ber-ipdir

own write-PRTCPL poem-PL-ACC read-CV **OBJ.VERS-PERF**

'he has submitted his own poems to a reading'

(Hansar 1977: 110)

Similarly, Tatar makes use of the object version or benefactive auxiliary verb construction in *-p bir*.

(30) Tatar

şu-ni tiz gëna tärğëmä it-ëp bir-ëgëz

this-ACC speed PP translate AUX.TR-CV **OBJ.VERS-PL.IMP**

'please translate this (for me) quickly'

(Schönig 1984: 91)

Although lacking the **-p* converb altogether, Yakut [Saxa] appears to have a cognate construction as well, using the functionally similar *-An* converb form that is characteristic of this Turkic language of the extreme northeastern periphery of the Turkic-speaking world.

(31) i. Yakut

d'on arill-an bier-di-ler

people pull.apart-CV **OBJ.VERS-PST-PL**

'the people made way, pulled apart'

(Korkina et al. 1982: 289)

ii. Yakut

ina y-i uu örö teb-en bier-de

cow-ACC water up throw.up-CV **OBJ.VERS-PST**

'the water tossed the cow up'

(Korkina et al. 1982: 289)

Note also the following forms in Čuvaš, which uses the etymologically identical auxiliary verb, but requires the lexical verb to be in the characteristically Čuvaš converb form in *-sA*.

(32) i. Čuvaš

kala-sa par-

tell-CV OBJ.VERS

‘tell’

(Skvorcov 1985: 270)

ii. Čuvaš

širěplet-se par-

prove-CV OBJ.VERS

‘prove (for someone)’

(Skvorcov 1985: 270)

In Old Turkic sources, one finds an auxiliary verb construction in *-I ber*. Rather than an inchoative/perfective form as it is in Tofa, Tuvan, Xakas, Qumandı, etc., its function in Old Turkic is clearly benefactive or object version in the following examples including *ay-u bir* ‘mitteilen Im Interesse eines anderen’ Old Turkic (von Gabain 1974: 131). However, variation in converb selection is found in Old Turkic sources in the object version or benefactive forms, and an AVC in *-p ber* is also found; see (34)

(33) i. Old Turkic

öñi öñi kazıyanč kılmaq ay-u ber-di-ler

various(.ways) money make describe-CV OBJ.VERS-PST-PL

‘described for him various ways of making money’

(Clauson 1972: 355)

ii. Orkhon Turkic [Kül Tegin]

Bökli qaıyan-ıa tãgi sülã-yü bir-miš

Bökli qaıyan-DAT (up)to wage.war-CV OBJ.VERS>OBJ.VERS-PST.II

‘waged war against (the) Bökli qaıyan’

(Von Gabain 1974: 274 l.17)

(34) Old Turkic

Oıuz xaıyan-ka soyurka-p ber-di

Oıuz xaıyan-DAT show.favor-CV OBJ.VERS-PST

‘he showed favor to (the) Oıuz xaıyan’ (do. (Oğ 96?) 121-2; a.o.o.)

(Clauson 1972: 355)

As is obvious from the second example in (33) above, object-affecting or malefactive object version meanings seem to have been associated with this AVC in Old Turkic.

3 Conclusions

Given the widespread distribution of subject and object version auxiliary verb constructions across the various modern subgroups of the Turkic language family (e.g. various Altai-Sayan groups, Turkmen, Uyyur, Yakut [Saxa], Xalaĵ and even Čuvaš), as well as in Old Turkic sources, it seems reasonable to posit these AVCs as features of the Proto-Turkic verbal system. The former AVC, the subject version construction, used the auxiliary verb *a/-* ‘take’ while the latter was found with *ber-* ‘give’. The lexical verb was probably originally (i.e. in Proto-Turkic) fully inflected, yielding the doubled inflectional class discussed above, reflecting its likely origin in a serial verb construction. However, over the course of numerous centuries, these constructions became further grammaticalized, and the lexical verb became fixed in one or another converb form during the development of the various modern Turkic languages. In certain languages, e.g. Uyyur, Xalaĵ, or certain varieties of Xakas or Qumandĭ, the constructions have moved further along the grammaticalization path and synchronically have become verbal inflectional affixes, fused with the preceding lexical verb. These fit with what is known about both the typology of inflection in AVCs (Anderson 1999) as well as developments and grammaticalization paths of auxiliary verb constructions cross-linguistically (cf. Heine 1993).

Abbreviations Used

ABL	Ablative	DS	Different Subject	PL	Plural
ACC	Accusative	DUR	Durative	PRES/FUT	Present/Future
ACCLTM	Acclimative	EMPH	Emphatic	PRETEND	Pretendative
AFX	Affix	EVID	Evidential	PRFV	Perfective
ALL	Allative	FUT	Future	PROB	Probabilitive
ALMST	Almost.Completed	GEN	Genitive	PROG.I	Progressive
ATT	Attemptive	GER	Gerund	PRS.PRTCPL	Present Participle
AUX	Auxiliary	IMP	Imperative	PSB	Possibilitive
AUX.N	Auxiliary Noun	IMPERF	Imperfect(ive)	PST	Past
AVC	Auxiliary Verb Construction	INCH	Inchoative	REC.PST	Recent Past
BEN	Benefactive	ITER	Iterative	RECIP	Reciprocal
CAP	Capabilitive	LOC	Locative	SUBJ.VERS	Subject Version
CAUS	Causative	LVC	Lexical Verb Construction	SS	Same Subject
CLOC	Cislocative	NARR	Narrative		
CMPLT	Completive	NEG	Negative	TERM	Terminative
COMP	Complementizer	OBJ.VERS	Object Version	TLOC	Translocative
CON	Conditional	P/E	Prosecutive/Equative	UNACMPL	Unaccomplished
CV	Converb	P/F	Present/Future	UNEXP	Unexpected
DAT	DATIVE	PASS	Passive	1	First Person
DESID	Desiderative	PAST.I	Unmarked Past	2	Second Person
DISC	Discourse	PERF	Perfect	3	Third Person

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* Support for this paper was in part provided by an IREX Individual Advanced Research Opportunities Grant, The Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research Small Funds Grant #6203 and a generous grant to the Altai-Sayan Language and Ethnography Project [ASLEP] from the Volkswagen-Stiftung. This support is gratefully acknowledged.

ⁱ Less commonly, the accompanying lexical verb is required to be in a particular tense-mood-aspect inflected (or participial) form or, in a small number of cases, an infinitive form of the verb as well. For example, in Xakas or Shor; in the latter, according to Nevskaja (2000), this development is ostensibly attributable to influence from Russian. Note that both variant forms of the intentional mood appear with their lexical verb in the infinitive form in Xakas.

(i) Xakas

a. *ya, p1s aliz-arya it-čc-b1s*
yes we get.married-INF INT-PRES-1PL
'yes, we intend to marry'
Anderson (1998: 68)

Xakas

b. *ol ily-irya čör-d1*
s/he cry-INF INT.II-PAST.II
'he intended to cry'
Anderson (1998: 68)

ⁱⁱ Note that in various non-Turkic languages, e.g. Slave (Athabaskan), Usan (Papuan), Tonkawa (extinct language of Texas), the so-called benefactive or applicative affix itself is etymologically connected with the verb meaning ‘give’ (Anderson 1995)

ⁱⁱⁱ The element *al* in Xakas appears in numerous constructions and degrees of bondedness with a preceding lexical verb element, in a number of different auxiliary verb constructions, marking subject version as well capability or even perfective action. In at least the first two functions it may appear not only as a quasi-free standing auxiliary verb element, but also as a bound, affixal auxiliary element. Of course it may also occur as a free-standing lexical verb ‘take, get’ [LVC] or in a free-standing auxiliary verb form. See examples below.

(ii) a. Xakas [capability AVC]

<i>ol</i>	<i>pu</i>	<i>nimenı</i>	<i>alıp</i>	<i>alar</i>
s/he	this	thing-ACC	take-CV	CAP.II-FUT
'she will be able to take this'			(field notes, 23 yr. old woman)	

b. Xakas [perfective AVC]

<i>min</i>	<i>anda</i>	<i>özıp-teenıp</i>	<i>alıyança</i>	<i>polıyabın</i>
I	there	grow-CV open-CV	PERF.AUX-PAST-P/E	be-PAST.I-1
'I was there until it grew and opened'				
(Anderson 1998: 79)				

c. Xakas [AFX]

<i>ol</i>	<i>anı</i>	<i>al(i)balıyan</i>
s/he	3.ACC	take-CV-CAP.II-PAST.I
'she could have taken it'		(field notes, 18 year old man)

^{iv} Or with a \emptyset converb form, if you prefer.