

DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES IN CHINESE TATAR*

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Abstract

Tatars are one of the nine Turkish societies spoken in the People's Republic of China. It is thought that Tatars came to China in the beginning of 19th century. Some of Tatars migrated from Russian after the WWII. Today, the most of Tatars live in Xinjiang Autonomous Region, especially in Gulca (Yining), Çöçek (Tacheng) ve Ürumçi (Wulumuqi). Besides, some part of them live in Beijing which is the capital of People's Republic of China. It is known that Tatars who are Sunni Muslims have good relations with Kazakhs and Uighurs. They have some close relationship in terms of language, too. In this paper, the subject is derivational suffixes (derivational suffixes from noun to noun, derivational suffixes from noun to verb, derivational suffixes from verb to noun, derivational suffixes from verb to verb) in Chinese Tatar which is spoken in Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region. In this article, it is benefited from the texts which are compiled from a few Chinese Tatars named Mahfuze Abbas, Rekip Abbas, Marfuğa Safin, Ğabdulla Abbas, Ali Ekber Erkin and works named as *Tujue Bijiao Yuyan-xue* "A Comparative Study of the Turkic Languages prepared by Cheng Shiliang and *Tataeryu Bianyi Xianxiang Tanxi* (Some Research on the changes in Chinese Tatar) prepared by Zhou Jian Hua.

Keywords: Turkish dialects in Chinese, Chinese Tatars, Chinese Tatar, derivational suffixes, derivation.

ÇİN TATARCAŖI'NDA YAPIM EKLERİ

Özet

Tatarlar, Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti'nde yaŖayan dokuz Türk halkından biridir. Tatarların Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti'ne 19. yüzyılın başlarında Rusya'dan geldikleri düşünölmektedir. Tatarların bir kısmı ise İkinci Dünya SavaŖı'ndan sonra Rusya'dan Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti'ne göç etmiştir. Bugün Tatarların büyük çoğunluđu Ŗinjiang Uygur Özerk Bölgesi'nde ve yoğun olarak da Gulca, Çöçek ve Urumçi'de

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yaşamaktadır. Bunun dışında bir kısmı da Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti'nin başkenti Pekin'de ikamet etmektedir. Sünnî Müslüman olan Tatarların Uygur ve Kazaklarla iyi ilişkiler içinde oldukları, Çin Kazak ve Uygur Lehçeleri'nden etkilendikleri bilinmektedir. Bunun yanında, Tatar, Kazak ve Uygur toplulukları dil bakımından da güçlü ilişkiler içindedirler. Bu makalede ele alacağımız konu Sincan Uygur Özerk Bölgesinde yaşayan Tatarların konuştuğu Çin Tatarcası'ndaki yapım ekleridir (isimden isim yapım ekleri, isimden fiil yapım ekleri, fiilden isim yapım ekleri ve fiilden fiil yapım ekleri). Bu çalışmada Mahfuze Abbas, Rekip Abbas, Marfuğa Safin, Ğabdulla Abbas, Ali Ekber Erkin adlı Çin Tatarları'ndan derlenen metinlerden ve *Tujue Bijiao Yuyan-xue* "A Comparative Study of the Turkic Languages (Türk Dillerinin Karşılaştırmalı Araştırılması)" ve Zhou Jian Hua'nın "Tataeryu Bianyi Xianxiang Tanxi (Tatar Dilindeki Değişmeler Üzerine Araştırmalar)" adlı çalışmalardan faydalanılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Çin'deki Türk lehçeleri, Çin Tatarları, Çin Tatarcası, yapım ekleri, türetme.

1. Introduction

Tatars continue their existence not only in Russian Federation but also in many various countries including Ukraine, Poland, Moldova, Lithuania, Byelorussia, Kazakhstan, Romania, Uzbekistan, Turkey and People's Republic of China which is the largest country of Asia where Tatars live together with other Turkish communities. The other communities existing in People's Republic of China are Uyghur, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Uzbek, Salır, Tuva, Yellow Uyghur and Fu-yü Kyrgyz. The Tatars are known as 塔塔尔族 *tātā'ěr zú* in People's Republic of China and most of them live in Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region and the towns of Gulca (Yining), Çöçek (Tacheng) ve Ürümçi (Wulumuqi) with a population of 5.400 according to the most recent calculations. Besides, some part of them live in Beijing, the capital. It is estimated that a large number of Tatars migrated from Russia to People's Republic of China at the beginning of the 19th century and some others migrated after the World War II. Tatars in People's Republic of China most of whom settle in towns and cities are well educated and more than half of them have PhD and the ones who live in villages work with livestock. The Tatars in China are Muslims of the Sunni sect. The main subject in this article is derivational suffixes in Chinese Tatar about which there is no much information. In the article, noun to noun, noun to verb, verb to noun and verb to verb derivational suffixes are analysed benefiting from the compiled texts in the project 'Turkish Languages in China' and each suffix is analysed in terms of the

morphological structure and function in Chinese Tatar and their usage in foreign words.

2. Derivational Suffixes

2.1. Derivational Suffixes from Noun to Noun

2.1.1. +ça / +çe, +şa / +şe

+ça / +çe, which is also seen in the form +şa / +şe in Chinese Tatar, is one of the most used noun to noun derivational suffixes in historical and contemporary Turkish dialects and it is usually used in Chinese Tatar to derive language and dialect names. +çe, the equality suffix, is originally an inflexional suffix which turned into a derivational suffix in time. It is seen in the form +ça / +çe in Old and Middle Turkish whereas it is in the form +ca / +ce in Old Anatolian Turkish. The suffix sometimes doesn't have vowel harmony and it is seen also in the front vowel form in the words that end in back vowels.

The functions of +ça / +çe, +şa / +şe in Chinese Tatar:

1.To derive language and dialect names: *Angilizçe* “English”, *Hanzuça* “Chinese”, *Caponça* “Japanese”, *Kazakça* “Kazakh”, *Oyğırçe* “Uyghur”, *Rustça* “Russian” etc.

2.To derive words with different meanings: *ayırımşa* “special”, *kızılça* “beet”, *kiyikşa* “piece”, *koşunşa* “army, military unit”, *tetirinşe* “back, opposite”, *urlukşa* “seed”, *yeşilşe* “vegetable” etc.

2.1.2. +cı / +ci, +çı / +çi, +şu / +şi

+cı / +ci, +çı / +çi, used to indicate having a job and to be busy with something is one of the most used noun to noun derivational suffixes. It usually turns the words borrowed from Turkish and other foreign languages into job names and serves the function of -an / -en or -acak / -ecek, the verbal suffixes (Hacıeminoğlu 1997: 13). It is also seen in the form +şu / +şi in Chinese Tatar and sometimes doesn't have consonant harmony.

The functions of +cı / +ci, +çı / +çi, +şu / +şi in Chinese Tatar:

1.To derive job names: *ağaçşu* “carpenter”, *awçı* “hunter”, *cawşu* “envoy”, *ceymeşi* “sales assistant”, *citekşi* “leader, manager”, *elşi* “envoy”, *etikçi* “shoemaker”, *işci* “worker”, *koşçı* “birdman”, *okçi* “archer”, *okuwçı* ~ *okuwşı* “student”, *okutuwçı* ~ *okutuwşı* “teacher”, *sakşı* “guardian, policeman”, *tigüwşi* “tailor”, *yulşı* “passenger” etc.

2.To derive names that indicates one's personality: *cedelçi* "combative", *yalançı* "liar", *yardımcı* "helper" etc.

3.It is also used with *-lık / -lik, -luk / -lük*: *basmaçılık* "invasion, raid", *küpçilik* "community" etc.

2.1.3. +şak / +şek

+şak / +şek is not a widely used noun to noun derivational suffixes in Chinese Tatar. This suffix is thought to be derived most probably from the +çak / +çek, the diminutive suffix that is come accross in Cagatay Turkish texts. There are various views about the origin of this suffix. Ramstedt assumes that it derives from ç+ak, the diminutive suffix (Ramstedt 1952: 217). Siemieniec claims that +çAk can be added to both noun and verb roots (Siemieniec-Gołas 1989: 116). Marcel Erdal, on the other hand indicates that +çAk and +(X)çUk forms are the advanced form of +(X)ç. Besides, Erdal implies that it may be borrowed from +īçak, the diminutive suffix in Middle Persian and Sogdian (Erdal 1991: 46). In Chinese Tatar dialect, the suffix is seen not in the form +çak / +çek but in +şak / +şek.

The suffix derives many adjectives with various meanings apart from its function in the historical period: *kurkınsak* "coward", *şuwalşak* "undisciplined, messy", *tartınsak* "shy" etc.

2.1.4. +çık / +çik, +şık / +şik

It is a suffix which serves the function as both a diminutive suffix and an adverb of place. The suffix which is also seen in the forms +şık / +şik in Chinese Tatar is probably the compound form of +cı / +ci, +çi / +çi, the suffix that derives job names and +k, the diminutive suffix. In Chinese Tatar, it is only seen in the narrow vowel form although it is in both narrow and rounded vowel form during Old and Middle Turkish periods. Beside serving the function of diminutive suffix, it also derives words having different meanings such as *erimçik* "cheese", *kapçık* ~ *kapşık* "little plate, nylon bag" etc.

2.1.5. +daş / +deş

+daş / +deş, seen since Old Turkish period, refers to the person that is associated with the situation that noun root and stem indicates. In short, it indicates companionship and fellowship. Willy Bang claims that the suffix is formed by combining -da, the locative case of the suffix and +iş, noun to noun suffix (Bang 1925-1934: 925). A. von Gabain, Carl Brockelmann, Martti Räsänen, on the other hand assume that the suffix is formed by combining of -da, the locative suffix and +ş which has the co-operative function (Gabain 1941

[2000³]: 68; Brockelmann 1954: 97; Räsänen 1957: 96). According to John Deny, it is derived from the word, *adaş* “namesake” (Deny 1941: 347-348).

Gerhard Doerfer thinks that /ş/ which is at the end of +*dAş*, is the same with /ş/ that is seen in -*Xş*- which indicates reciprocity and association and which serves the co-operative function. Doerfer also claims that the suffix is +*daş* in origin and it doesn't have vowel harmony. According to him, *daş*, the Persian word for “companion, follower” is cited from Turkish (Doerfer 1967 [TMEN III]: 1173).

+*daş* / +*deş*, one of the mostly used derivational suffixes in Chinese Tatar, gives the meaning of association, fairness, kinship and unity to the words that it is added to such as *boydaş* “peer”, *ibdeş* ~ *ipteş* “companion”, *kerdeş* “fellow”, *sırdaş* “confidant” *yandaş* “follower”, *yörekdeş* “sympathetic”, *yuldaş* “seatmate” etc.

2.1.6. +*dız*

+*dız* is an suffix that is seen in only a word in Chinese Tatar: *köndız* “daytime”. This suffix, whose solely narrow-vowel forms are seen in Chinese Tatar.

2.1.7. +*ğı* / +*gi*, +*kı* / +*ki*

Various opinions have been asserted about this suffix which is one of the much frequented ones to have been used since ancient times. One of these opinions belongs to G. J. Ramstedt. Ramstedt explained the suffix in the form of *k* (?) + article = 3. person suffix (Ramstedt 1952: 234-235). However Johannes Benzing designed the suffix in the form of approaching case ending *ka* + 3. person suffix *i* (Benzing ZDMG 94: 264-265 [Räsänen 1957: 102]).

The suffix, which is appeared in the forms of +*ğı* / +*gi*, +*kı* / +*ki* in Chinese Tatar, derives adjectives expressing place and time in general. We can enumerate the functions of the suffix in Chinese Tatar as:

1. It derives adjectives expressing place and time: *aldınğı* “previous”, *értegi* “the morning's”, *küzgi* “the one in the autumn”, *ilikki* “prior”, *ötkengi* “the one in the past”, *yakınğı* “the one close”, *yoğarğı* “the one above” etc.

2. It sometimes expresses possession by coming following genitive suffix: *alarki* “theirs”, *miñiñki* “mine”, *siñiñki* “yours”, *sızıñki* “yours” etc.

3. It may also come following inflectional suffixes unlike other derivational suffixes: *ğedetdegi* “usually”, *memleketimizdegi* “the one in our hometown”, *sızıñki* “yours” etc.

2.1.8. +kına / +kine

This suffix, which has existed since Old Turkic, is generally used to constitute words which express diminution by being added to nouns and adjectives. A. von Gabain enumerated the forms of the suffix mentioned in texts after expressing that this is an suffix which is used to constitute enrichment, diminution, and affection words in his study called *Altürkischer Grammatike*: +kinya (on inscriptions), +kına (n dialect), +kiya, +kia (y dialect), and frontal vowel forms +kinyä, +kinä, +kiyä, and +kiä (Gabain 1941 [2000³]: 105).

The suffix is also used to constitute words expressing diminution usually by being added to nouns and adjectives in Chinese Tatar: *kıçkına* “very small”, *kuşkına* “small bird” etc.

2.1.8. +lak

This suffix, which we encounter in historical and contemporary Turkish dialects starting from Qaraqhanid Turkic, is an suffix which derives animal nouns or nouns in various meanings by being frequently added to noun bases and stems. It is appeared that the suffix is used with this function in Chinese Tatar, too: *kuzğalak* “chicory”, *taylak* “corner” etc. Beside this, it has also been appeared that it sometimes derives adjectives in different meanings: *yabalak* “flat, smooth” etc.

2.1.9. +lı / +li

This is one of the most extensive suffixes which has been appeared since Old Turkic. It is often confused with the suffix *-luk / -lik / -luk / -lük*. It essentially constitutes adjectives which express existing, possession, and relation. Some opinions about the development of the suffix have been asserted. One of them belongs to Willy Bang. Bang puts forward that the suffix is formed through combination of *il-* “to add” + the suffix *-g* which changes verb into noun (Bang 1925-1934: 1240). However A. von Gabain expresses that the suffix *+l^og*, *+l^og* indicates to be equipped with something and it usually constitutes adjectives, and he draws attention that the form *+lik* in Mongolian means “an item which is equipped with something” (Gabain 1941 [2000³]: 44).

The consonant *g* at the end of this suffix, which we frequently encounter also in Chinese Tatar, is dropped. Like in Turkey Turkish, today the suffix is appeared in the form of *+lı / +li* in Chinese Tatar. Only round forms of the suffix are in use: *karalı* “black-colored”, *karaşlı* “belonging, dependent, companion”, *küçli* “powerful”, *salmaklı* “chary”, *temli* “cute”, *tatlı ~ tetli*

“sweet”, *tiyişli* “deserving of, equal”, *törlü* “various”, *yaramlı* “useful”, *yağımlı* “pretty”, *yiterli* “enough”, *yullı* “striped; sensible” etc.

Moreover, this suffix is also appeared to give the meaning of being a companion to the nouns it is added: *Aşğabatlı* “from Aşkabat”, *Ürümçili* “from Ürimçi”, *Gulcalı* “from Gulca”, *Çöçekli* “from Çöçek” etc.

2.1.10. +lık / +lik, +luk / +lük

The suffix, which is seen in the forms *+lık / +lik*, *+luk / +lük*, is one of the derivational suffixes to be used quite frequently starting from Old Turkic up to contemporary Turkish dialects. Although having been used as a derivational suffix for a long time period, any change in its function has not emerged. A. von Gabain, who investigated the development of the suffix, expressed that the suffixes *+l^ok*, *+l^ok* derived abstract and concrete nouns and adjectives and the case was the same in Mongolian, too (Gabain 1941 [2000³]: 44). And Willy Bang asserted the affix was composed of *il-* and the affix *g-* which changes verb into noun (see Räsänen 1957: 105).

The suffix is seen in various functions in Chinese Tatar:

1. It derives abstract nouns expressing quality. Some of them are used as permanent nouns, too: *barlık* “entity”, *cihangerlik* “the state of being conqueror”, *kayşılık* “contradiction”, *kemçilik* “fault, absence”, *kızağarlık* “interesting, strange”, *kiyinlik* “difficulty”, *ömlik* “togetherness”, *selemelik* “health”, *yahşılık* “beauty”, *yamanlık* “badness”, *yeşlik* “youth” etc.

2. It derives nouns showing place where items exist altogether: *urmanlık* “woodland”, *tawlık* “mountainous”, *yazıklık* “plain” etc.

3. It derives tool names: *közlik* “embers place”, *terlik* “slippers”, *tünlük* “dormer window”, *yawlık* “napkin” etc.

4. It also derives concrete words in various meanings: *hezirlik* “preparation”, *kéñlik* “width”, *kızillık* “redness”, *kurğakşılık* “drought”, *kündelik* “daily”, *ozunlık* “length”, *sawlık* “milch sheep”, *teyarlık* “preparation”, *yeşillik* “greenery, green grass” etc.

2.1.11. +ncı / +nci

The essential function of this suffix, which has been seen since Old Turkic, is to make number names out of them expressing turns and degrees by being added to number names. This function of the suffix is much frequented: *birinci* “first”, *ékinici* “second”, *öçüncü* “third”, *törtüncü* “fourth”, *béşinci* “fifth”,

altıncı “sixth”, *cétinci* “seventh”, *ségizinci* “eighth”, *toğızıncı* “ninth”, *unıncı* “tenth” etc.

2.1.12 +sız / +sız

This suffix, whose solely narrow-vowel forms are seen in Chinese Tatar, is one of the suffixes which has been used since Old Turkic. The suffix derives various words showing non-existence and absence by being added to words in Chinese Tatar. It is one of the suffixes which is used in a much frequented way in Chinese Tatar: *anasız* “motherless”, *başsız* “headless”, *cumartsız* “stingy”, *hewefsız* “safe”, *mukimsız* “indefinite”, *üzlüksız* “incessant”, *yemsız* “ugly” etc.

2.2. Derivational Suffixes from Noun to Verb

2.2.1. +a- / +e-

This suffix, which has had an extensive usage since Old Turkic, derives transitive and intransitive verbs from nouns bearing a meaning being and making. Ramstedt expressed that the suffix developed as ? < *ga (Ramstedt 1952: 201). Marcel Erdal points out in his study called *Old Turkic Word Formation* this suffix is added to only one or two-syllabic nouns ending in consonant in Ancient Turkish. According to him, why this instance is exception is that the suffix +A- is usually added to nouns in whose two syllables narrow vowels exist and it causes consonant drop. And exceptionally all the vowels are wide ones (Erdal 1991: 428).

In Chinese Tatar -a- / -e-, which is one of the most frequented suffixes changing nouns into verbs, derives verbs stating being or making by being added to nouns: *aşa-* “to eat”, *ata-* “to be called”, *boşa-* “to divorce, to relax”, *buta-* “to prune”, *orna-* “to settle”, *ota-* “to mow, to pluck grass”, *uyna-* “to play”, *yaşa-* ~ *yeşe-* “to live” etc.

Vowel in middle syllable drops when this suffix is added to some words which have more than one syllable and whose second syllable have narrow vowels in Chinese Tatar: *orna-* “to settle”, *uyna-* “to play” etc.

2.2.2. +al- / +el-

It derives intransitive verbs from the nouns and adjectives it is added in historical and contemporary Turkish dialects starting from Old Turkic. The suffix, which is not much frequented in also Chinese Tatar, derives intransitive verbs from nouns and adjectives: *çukal-* “to increase”, *daral-* “to narrow”, *kéñel-* “to widen”, *muñal-* “to be grieved, to worry”, *yokal-* “to vanish” etc.

2.2.3. +ar- / +er-

One of the derivational suffixes from noun to verb which is used in historical and contemporary Turkish dialects is +ar- / +er-. This suffix, which usually derives intransitive verbs, derives intransitive verbs expressing the meaning “being” out of color names by occasionally being added to them. And from time to time it derives verbs bearing the meaning “being” and “making” out of other names. It is one of the suffixes which is not much frequented in Chinese Tatar. By frequently coming to color names, it derives intransitive verbs out of them: *akar-* “to whiten, to grow white”, *bozar-* “to take on a gray color”, *küker-* “to turn blue, turn purple”, *suwar-* “to water, to give water” etc.

2.2.4. +da- / +de-

It is an suffix which derives transitive and intransitive verbs from reflection words and nouns since Old Turkic. A. von Gabain states this suffix is the same also in Mongolian and expresses it turns base name into means (Gabain 1941 [2000³]: 50). However Marcel Erdal expresses this suffix always comes to one-syllabic bases except the verb *üze+te-* > *üste-*. Furthermore, Erdal also states this suffix has similarities as the suffix +da- in Mongolian and the suffix +dA- comes to word bases ending in /l/, /n/, /z/ in Old Turkic (Erdal 1991: 458).

In Chinese Tatar, this suffix derives verbs expressing the action related to reflection words by being added to them: *gürülde-* “to splash”, *şakırda-* “to clatter”, *warıl-da-* “to buzz”, *wicilda-* “to hum” etc. It is occasionally seen to derive verbs by coming to words which are not reflection ones, too: *alda-* “to deceive”, *başda-* “to begin” etc.

2.2.5. +la- / +le-

This suffix, which is one of the much frequented suffixes making verb out of noun, expresses activity, being, action, or turning the objects into a certain form based on the meaning the noun bears. In Chinese Tatar there are many verbs having derived by this suffix. We can enumerate the functions of the suffix as:

1. It derives both transitive and intransitive verbs from nouns: *akla-* “to clean, to sort; to plaster”, *astarla-* “to line”, *awla-* “to hunt”, *başla-* “to begin”, *botala-* “to breed (camel)”, *boyla-* “to grow at full length”, *butakla-* “to branch out”, *cayla-* “to graze”, *cazala-* “to punish”, *cıltrıla-* “to sand”, *citekle-* “to guide”, *izle-* “to watch”, *kabatla-* “to stress”, *kadakla-* “to nail”, *kayşıla-* “to cut”, *kaytala-* “to repeat”, *koşla-* “to unleash the hunting eagle during hunt”,

kulupla- ~ *kulupla-* “to lock”, *kuşakla-* “to embrace”, *nikla-* “to fix, to consolidate, to compact”, *oñla-* “to arrange, to mend”, *oşla-* “to claw”, *taşla-* “to stone” etc.

2.It derives verbs expressing action related to reflection words by being added to them: *iñle-* “to groan”, *şaldırıla-* “to clink, to rustle”, *şırıla-* “to purr”, *şibirla-* “to whisper”, *vızla-* “to buzz” etc.

3.The suffix is also used in deriving verbs by being added to borrowed words: *hezirla-* “to prepare”, *tekrarla-* “to repeat” etc.

4.This suffix can be expanded with suffixes “-l-, -ş- and -t-”: *aralaş-* “to interfere in”, *aşuwlana-* “to get angry”, *ayaklaş-* “to finish, to end”, *ciñillet-* “to lighten”, *efsuslen-* “to pity, to grieve”, *feherlen-* “to praise, to be proud of”, *ğeceplen-* “to be against revolution”, *ğemelileş-* “to fulfill, to come into force”, *ğeyretlen-* “to struggle”, *ğezeflen-* “to get angry, to get furious”, *hozurlana-* “to relax”, *ırıñlen-* “to suppurate”, *kabatlan-* “to be repeated”, *kalıplaş-* “to take shape”, *kenegetlen-* “to get by”, *kiyinlan-* “to get hard”, *muñlan-* “to be grieved, to worry”, *mukımlaş-* “to become absolute”, *parşalan-* “to break to pieces”, *sirekleş-* “to thin”, *şekillen-* “to take shape”, *tegserlen-* “to be affected”, *tınışlan-* “to become silent, to become relatively desolated”, *ümitlen-* “to become hopeful”, *yıraklaş-* ~ *yiraklaş-* “to go away from” etc.

2.3. Derivational Suffixes from Verb to Noun

2.3.1. -ak / -ek

The suffixes *-ak / -ek*, which we see in historical and contemporary Turkish dialects starting from *Orkhon Inscriptions*, generally notify minimizing and affection. Ramstedt, who handled these affixes, expressed the suffix *-ak* is a minimizing one (Ramstedt 1952: 212). Kononov, who conveyed the suffix in the form of *+ak / +ek (< gak)*, states the suffix gives a new meaning to the words it is added according to the sameness of the object’s duty or its appearance (Kononov 1968: 81-88). Yet, according to Marcel Erdal, these suffixes have a weak function of derivation in Old Turkic. When object names are derived from other names similar to them, a metaphorical meaning in usage of the suffix *+Ak* emerges (Erdal 1991: 40).

In Chinese Tatar, this suffix generally produces item and tool names: *pıçak* “knife”, *orak* “sickle”, *tegerek* “winder”, *yomak* “ball of string” etc. Beside this, it also derives other words by coming to verbs: *bölek* “part, section”, *domalak* “round, plump”, *kikirek* “belch”, *kisek* “brick”, *konak* “mansion, guest; corn”, *kurkak* “coward” etc.

2.3.2. -ğa / -ğe

It is one of the suffixes which is used little in Chinese Tatar. It derives nouns pertaining to the action which verb shows: *kısğa* “short”, *yorğa* “ambling horse” etc.

2.3.3. -ğan / -ğen, -kan / -ken

The suffix +*gAn* is a minimizing one which is generally used to derive various plant and animal names in Old Turkic. Marcel Erdal expressed the suffix +*gAn* resembles the suffix +*gAnA* in Mongolian and stated the plant called *karagan* in Turkish is the word *karağana* in Mongolian (Erdal 1991: 87).

It is an suffix making noun from verb which usually derives adjectives in Chinese Tatar: *ceyilgen* “lounged, stretched out on”, *kaynağan* “boiled”, *salınğan* “pendulous, drooping”, *toyğan* “hound”, *tuwğan* “relative” etc.

2.3.4. -ğıç / -giç, -ğış / -ğış, -kıç

It is an suffix seen in historical and contemporary Turkish dialects starting from Old Turkic. Marcel Erdal, who asserted an opinion about the development way of the suffix, asserts that the form -*gUç* is an suffix which has been constituted through combination of the suffix -*gU* and the minimizing form +(X)*ç* (Erdal 1991: 359).

It derives object names pertaining to the action the verb shows in Chinese Tatar: *açkıç* “key”, *baskıç* “step”, *çelpigiş* “fan”, *ilgiç* “crook”, *kıskıç* “tweezers”, *sılağış* “trowel”, *sızğıç* “ruler”, *sürtkiç* “swab”, *üşirgiç* “eraser” etc.

2.3.5. -ğak / -ğek, -kak / -kek

According to Ramstedt, this suffix, which has been seen since Old Turkic, was formed through combination of the factitive suffix -*ga* in Mongolian and the suffix *k* making noun from verb (see Gabain 1941 [2000³]: 52). In Gabain’s point of view, the words formed by this suffix have derived words meaning “the one that always does” in Old Turkic. Gabain also referred to the affix -*ğa-ğ* in Mongolian stating this affix does not have frequent usage (Gabain 1941 [2000³]: 52). However Eckmann expressed this affix states keenness and tendency (Eckmann 1966: 61). Marcel Erdal thinks this affix roots in -*gU* which derives the agent noun (Erdal 1991: 391). And Necmettin Hacıeminoğlu asserted it is an suffix which derives noun from verb in the meaning the participle suffix -*an* / -*en* which is present in our current written language and the derivative suffix -*cı* / -*ci* from noun to noun (Hacıeminoğlu 1996: 19).

It is an suffix which generally derives adjectives from verbs in Chinese Tatar: *batkak* “mud, fen”, *bezgek* “exhausted, browned off, weary”, *kurgak* “arid”, *taygak* “slippery”, *totkak* “epilepsy”, *tozgak* “a plant similar to reed which grows in morass” etc.

2.3.6. -ğur / -gür

This suffix, which is seen quite rarely in Chinese Tatar, is a suffix making adjectives from verbs. These adjectives generally express the permanent feature of items: *yañğur* “rain” etc.

2.3.7. -ı / -i

This suffix, whose merely round forms are present, does not have an extensive usage in Chinese Tatar. It derives abstract and concrete nouns related to the action the verbs show by being added to verbs: *karşı* “opposite, reverse, opponent”, *yağsı* “beautiful, nice” etc.

2.3.8. -k

This suffix, which has been much frequented since Old Turkic, is used to derive adjectives, abstract nouns, tool and object names from verbs. According to A. von Gabain, the nouns constituted by this suffix occasionally state passivity or result of a pursuit which has been done; yet it is heavily used as an adjective (Gabain 1941 [2000³]: 54).

This suffix, which is one of the suffixes used in a much frequented way, makes adjectives related to the action the verbs show by being added to them: *aksak* “defective”, *artık* “surplus”, *butak* “knag”, *buzık* “spoiled, rotten”, *emgek* “labor”, *iylek* “sieve”, *katık* “buttermilk”, *kılık* “humor, behavior”, *kırık* “broken”, *kıstak* “narrow, congested”, *korık* “wall or fenced wall”, *korşak* “doll”, *oyık* “closet”, *ölük* “corpse, dead”, *ötirik* “fake, lie”, *sınak* “exam, test”, *tarkak* “scruffy”, *tilek* “wish”, *titrek* “flickering”, *töşek* “mattress”, *yanık* “bright” etc.

2.3.9. -m

It is a much frequented suffix which occasionally derives abstract nouns besides deriving concrete nouns in Chinese Tatar: *atım* “shot”, *bölim* ~ *bölüm* “part, section”, *katım* “time, turn”, *kıyım* “massacre”, *kirim* “income”, *kiyim* “clothing”, *körüm* “appearance”, *ölüm* “death”, *örüm* “knitting (amount)”, *sézim* “intuition”, *tizim* “series, list”, *tohtam* “agreement”, *toplam* “total” etc.

2.3.10. -ma / -me

This suffix, which has been seen since Old Turkic, has derived action, tool, and meal names in general. Jean Deny expressed nouns in the meaning of agent are generally derived by this suffix (Deny 1941: 548). M. Räsänen asserts this affix developed from the suffix *-(X)m* which derives noun from verb. He states the usage of this suffix is the same as the usage of the affix *-(X)m*, but the suffix *-mA* is seen more rarely (Räsänen 1957: 123). Siemienieć-Golas defines the suffix, which he enumerates among the suffixes used frequently, as the one deriving action, tool, and meal names (Siemienieć-Golas 1989: 112). Marcel Erdal stated this suffix derives nouns by being added to simple verb stems and to verbs which derive from those verbs (Erdal 1991: 316). It has derived permanent nouns from verbs by being added to them: *kiyma* “ground meat”, *kollanma* “usage”, *orma* “harvest”, *sokma* “some kind of tool used in groundwork”, *tallanma* “analects”, *taraf lama* “partiality”, *tartma* “drawer”, *ündürme* “sprout”, *yallanma* “worker” etc.

2.3.11. -mak / -mek

It is a quite much frequented suffix making noun from verb as it can be added to any verb. In Chinese Tatar it derives action names pertaining to verbs by being added to them: *aksamak* “hitch”, *kaymak* “slip”, *tilemek* “wish”, *töşemek* “furnish”, *yanmak* “shine” etc.

From time to time, it derives permanent nouns from the verbs it is added: *kuyamak* “fried dough; egg patty”, *oymak* “sewing hoop”, *puşmak* “twisting, bending, corner”, *şakmak* “cube”, *tabışmak* “riddle, puzzle”, *takmak* “fairy tale”, *tarmak* “branch, department”, *tokmak* “beetle” etc.

2.3.12. -mur / -mür

In Chinese Tatar we do not encounter a lot the words, whose too few samples we have been able to find since Old and Middle Turkic, derived by this suffix. Ramstedt bases this suffix which is seen in the form of *-mur / -mür* on the affix *huri* in Mongolian (Räsänen 1957: 136). It has derived words with new meanings in some samples by being added to verbs in Chinese Tatar dialect: *gomur ~ gömür* “coal”, *ösmür* “child” etc.

2.3.13. -man / -men

It is an suffix used to derive abstract and concrete nouns from the words it is added. It is appeared not to be a much frequented affix. Besim Atalay asserts it as an suffix emerging through stereotyping out of the pronoun *ben* (I)

(Atalay 1941). Ramstedt and Räsänen claimed this suffix emerged through the combination of the suffix *ma+n* (Räsänen 1957: 135).

This suffix is used to derive abstract and concrete nouns from the words it is added in Chinese Tatar: *oyman* “hollow ground”, *tuman* “smoke”, *urman* “forest” etc.

2.3.14. -n

It has been a much frequented suffix since the period of Old Turkic. The nouns it derives state the product emerging when the action is complete, the one doing the action which verbs show, what comes about, and what is done. Gabain made an explanation as “It is quite rare in Ancient Turkish and makes adjectives from time to time” for this suffix (Gabain 1941 [2000³]: 54). Erdal conveyed this suffix constitutes two-syllabic nouns and *san* ‘number’ is the one-syllabic sample (Erdal 1991: 300). Gürer Gülsevin, however, defines the suffix as one deriving nouns from transitive and intransitive verbs (Gülsevin 1997: 135). Talat Tekin defines the suffix as one deriving nouns as a result of verbs (Tekin 2000: 93). Pomorska defines the suffix as one deriving action and object names (Pomorska 2004: 116).

It is an suffix deriving nouns depending on the action in Chinese Tatar: *bötün* ~ *bötün* “whole, complete, all”, *kélin* “bride”, *tötün* “tobacco” etc.

2.3.15. -ş, -ış /-iş

It makes activity names pertaining to verbs by being added to them in Chinese Tatar. The suffix is being used extensively with this function of its: *alış* “taking”, *katnaş* “transportation”, *kuruluş* “construction, building”, *oğlaş* “similar”, *süyleyiş* “way of saying”, *talaş* “discussion”, *taniş* “acquaintance”, *tayaniş* “basis”, *uhturuş* “announcement, advertisement” etc.

Another function of the suffix is that it derives permanent nouns: *uruş* “war”, *yağış* “precipitation, rain” etc.

2.3.16. -w

It usually derives nouns stating the result of verbs in Chinese Tatar: *kızuw* “impatient, impetuous”, *kuwanuw* “joyful, happy”, *otırıw* “party, amusement”, *ökünüw* “regret”, *şalışuw* “wrestling”, *şakırıw* “slogan”, *talaşuw* “discussion”, *üyrenüw* “studying, learning”, *yürüw* “set (amount)” etc.

2.4. Derivational Suffixes from Verb to Verb

2.4.1. -ar- / -er-

This suffix, which has had a prevalent usage since Old Turkic, is also called having sth done affix. It gets generally *u*, occasionally *a*, and seldom *ı* vowel. It is one of the voice suffixes which is not used very often. A. von Gabain handles the derivational suffixes *-Ar-* and *-Ur* together and explains this suffix as “having sth done suffix gives the meaning of its simple one most of the time.” (Gabain 1941 [2000³]: 60). However Marcel Erdal, unlike Gabain, handles the two suffixes separately. Erdal states all the bases getting the suffix *-Ar-* in Old Turkic exist as two-syllabic and expresses both suffixes have no differences in terms of the meaning they give. Erdal also states there is not a certain rule as to which of these suffixes will be added to which base (Erdal 1991: 740).

In Chinese Tatar, this suffix derives new verbs expressing having sth occurred and having sth done by being added to verbs: *kubar-* “pluck” etc.

2.4.2. -dır- / -dir-, -dur- / -dür-, -tır- / -tir-, -tur- / -tür-

It is one of the much frequented suffixes deriving causative verbs. It gives the meaning having sth occurred and making to the verbs it is added. A. von Gabain stated the suffix, which he defines as *-tur-*, *-tür-* and seldom as *-dur-*, *-dür-*, bears a more definite meaning of having sth done compared to *-t-*, but it is sometimes impossible to identify a having sth done meaning in it (Gabain 1941 [2000³]: 60). Marcel Erdal states this suffix is formed through the combination of the two causative suffixes *-(X)t-* and *-Ur*. According to Erdal, the suffix *-dUr-* can be added to any verb except the ones ending in /v/. It is seldom added to verbs ending in vowels. The suffix *-dUr-* is used as a causative suffix following the suffixes *-(X)l-* and *-(X)n-*, too. This usage mostly actualizes following the suffix *-(X)n-*, and it is seen less following the suffix *-(X)l-* (Erdal 1991: 831). According to Gürer Gülsevin, the suffix *-dUr-* is added to verbs which are not ending in /l/, /r/, and vowels most of the time (Gülsevin 1997: 139).

It derives new verbs expressing having sth occurred and having sth done by being added to verbs in Chinese Tatar: *aralaştır-* “to search”, *azdır-* “to exacerbate”, *cetiştir-* “to bring up”, *kéltür-* “to bring”, *sağıştır-* “to compare”, *söndir-* “to extinguish”, *tonuştır-* “to transform”, *yabıştır-* “to close” etc.

2.4.3. -kar-

It is one of the suffixes deriving causative verbs the samples of which are not encountered frequently in Chinese Tatar: *kutkar-* “to rescue” etc.

2.4.4. -r-, -ır- / -ir-, -ur- / -ür-

It is a much frequented suffix deriving verbs expressing having sth occurred and having sth done in Chinese Tatar: *batır-* “submerge”, *bitir-* “finish”, *ozar-* “lengthen”, *pişir-* “cook”, *sapır-* “winnow”, *tapşır-* “deliver, pay”, *yatır-* “put to bed” etc.

2.4.5. -l-, -ıl- / -il-

This suffix, which states reflexivity, passivity, and indefiniteness, can be used following both verbs ending in vowels and in consonants. A. von Gabain conveyed this suffix states reflexivity, or passivity and indefiniteness (Gabain 1941 [2000³]: 59). However Marcel Erdal stresses this suffix constitutes a structure as *-tXl-* by combining with the suffix *-(X)t-* and the suffix *-(X)t-* is the first element of the forms *-IXş-* and *-IXn-* (Erdal 1991: 690). Gürer Gülsevin states it is the real passivity suffix and expresses it can be used both with the vowel *U* and *I* (Gülsevin 1997: 140).

In Chinese Tatar it derives new verbs expressing passivity from verbs by being added to them: *açıl-* “to be opened”, *alıl-* “to be taken”, *isnel-* “to smell, to scent”, *koşıl-* “to accept”, *köteril-* “to lengthen”, *satıl-* “to be sold”, *totıl-* “to be eclipsed (for the moon and sun), to be overcast (for the weather)”, *ünderil-* “to sprout” etc.

2.4.6. -n-

It is among the derivative suffixes from verb to verb which is seen the most in historical and contemporary Turkish dialects. It derives verbs stating reflexivity or indefiniteness. A. von Gabain expresses the reflexivity of verb bases whose last sound is *I* is made by *-n-* and it bears the same meaning as its simple one in terms of meaning (Gabain 1941 [2000³]: 59). Ahmet Bican Ercilasun enumerated the functions of this suffix as:

1. It expresses reflexivity, namely influencing the activity done itself.
2. It expresses doing an activity on someone’s own, lonely.
3. It renders the function of the suffix *-l-* which makes passive and indefinite verbs following the verbs ending in vowels and the consonant *l*.

4. It is an suffix making verb from verb only without having any functions (Ercilasun 1984: 23-27).

However Marcel Erdal states this suffix is used with the suffix *+lA-* which makes verb from noun and it is seen in rather few samples following the reciprocal suffix *-(X)ş-*: *um(u)ş-un-* etc. Moreover, he states the connective vowel in the suffix *-(X)n-* turns into /U/ in most samples, yet other connective vowels are also seen (Erdal 1991: 632-633). And Gürer Gülsevin states it is the real reflexivity suffix and adds it undertakes the passivity function when it is added to verbs ending in vowels or *l* (Gülsevin 1997: 140).

It derives new verbs expressing reflexivity from verbs by being added to them in Chinese Tatar: *bezen-* “to be decorated, to be adorned”, *eylen-* “to turn, walk around”, *ötün-* “to beg, assign”, *silkin-* “to lurch”, *tartın-* “to withdraw”, *totın-* “to cling” etc.

2.4.7. *-ş-*, *-ış-* / *-iş-*

It is used to state one activity is done collectively or mutually by agents more than one. It is one of the much frequented suffixes in also Chinese Tatar as it is in many of the historical and contemporary Turkish dialects. Besides stating the act is done together or mutually, it may add the meaning of being to the verb, too. A. von Gabain states this suffix notifies reciprocity and recurrence and it always comes following the production elements mentioned in this chapter, except *-ma-* (Gabain 1941 [2000³]: 60). Ahmet Bican Ercilasun stated the actual function of this suffix is to express doing mutually and together. He also expressed the verbs derived by this suffix occasionally do not bear a new meaning, namely the suffix does not charge a new meaning to the verb (Ercilasun 1984: 31-33).

However Marcel Erdal states this suffix can be used following both vowels and consonants, and its usage with *+A-* and *+lA-* making verb from noun is seen highly. And only the suffix *-(X)ş-* can be used following the suffix *+kIr* making verb from noun. Erdal expresses Gabain’s judgment “it always comes following the production elements mentioned in this chapter, except *-ma-*” is faulty, that there are many samples proving the reverse. As a proof for this, he conveys samples such as *teşil-* and *yapşın-* (Erdal 1991: 575).

By being added to verbs in Chinese Tatar, it derives new verbs showing an activity is done mutually or together: *ipleş-* “to make peace”, *katnaş-* “to join”, *körüş-* “to talk (with)”, *urış-* “to fight each other”, *uynaş-* “to play with”, *yaraş-* “to make peace” etc.

2.4.8. -t-

This suffix, which is brought to bases and stems ending in vowels or the consonant *r*, states causativeness and having sth done. It is one of the most frequented causativeness suffixes. Marcel Erdal states the connective vowel of this suffix has turned into /U/ out of /I/ in time. According to him, the reason for that is this suffix is generally added to verbs ending in vowels and /r/. He also conveys when the suffix *-(X)t-* is added to one-syllabic verbs whose last sound is /r/, the connective vowel is mostly kept, yet it drops in some samples. As an example for this, he gives the verb *kirt-*. The suffix *-(X)t-* is in the first element position of the structures *-tXI-*, *-tUr-*, and *-tXz-* (Erdal 1991: 799). Gürer Gülsevin expresses this suffix is brought to multi-syllabic verbs ending in vowels or either *l* or *r* (Gülsevin 1997: 139).

It is not a much frequented suffix. It derives new verbs stating having sth occurred and having sth done by being added to verbs in Chinese Tatar: *akart-* “to whiten”, *aşat-* “to feed”, *ciñillet-* “to lighten”, *işlet-* “to run, use”, *körset-* “to show”, *otirt-* “to plant”, *sürt-* “to rub”, *üyret-* “to teach”, *yarat-* “to constitute, to bring about”, *yokalt-* “to eliminate” etc.

Conclusion

The aim of this study is to lay bare the derivational suffixes of Chinese Tatar. Chinese Tatars are an unrecognized Turkish community. Besides, their dialect and its features are not known enough. Owing to the fact that introducing Chinese Tatar dialect and informing about some grammatical features of Chinese Tatar dialect, this study is prepared. Primarily, some texts are compiled from a few Chinese Tatars named Mahfuze Abbas, Rekip Abbas, Marfuğa Safin, Ğabdulla Abbas, Ali Ekber Erkin. Then, a dictionary is constituted from these texts. By means of using this dictionary, derivational suffixes of Chinese Tatar are laid bare. Thanks to this study, comparison for derivational suffixes of Chinese Tatar and derivational suffixes of the other Turkish dialects is allowed. In addition to this, some information about the usage of derivational suffixes and the sound changes in derivational suffixes are given.

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