

Paired Verbs in the *Dāftār-i Ĵingiz-nāmā**

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Dāftār-i Ĵingiz-nāmā is one of the most significant written sources for the history of the Turkic peoples inhabiting the Volga region (Ivanics–Usmanov 2002). Its six chapters capture important events in the history of the Eurasian steppe in the 13th–17th centuries. The stories are written at different times and in various genres. The language is Turkī, the Eastern Turkic literary language of Central Asia used by the Volga Turkic peoples. The texts were probably compiled as one book in the 1680s by an unknown, lesser qualified person. Preparing for the critical edition of the sources, the author of these lines could always turn for advice to her colleague, Éva Kincses-Nagy. We both noticed that the texts contained a great number, circa 120, paired words and agreed these deserve interest. The majority of the paired words occurring in the texts are nominal compounds, while one quarter are verb compounds. The latter is significant, because we cannot find them in this quantity in other sources. In the description of the materials the first step was made by Éva Kincses-Nagy in 2004. In an article on the hendiadyoins of the Chaghatay language, she examined the hendiadyoins in *Babur-name*, *Shejere-i Terākime* and also cited 14 paired nouns and six paired verbs found in *Ĵingiz-nāmā* (Kincses-Nagy 2004).¹ In this paper, dedicated to her birthday, I would like to follow up her work.²

Terminology

According to Johanson’s definition, “paired nouns, also called ‘binomes’ or ‘twin nouns’ (Turkish *ikilemeler*), constitute a specific asyndetic type of noun phrases. Two nouns with meanings pertaining to the same semantic field are juxtaposed, without intervening elements, to form a phrase that is treated morphosyntactically as a single lexeme, with modifiers preceding the first component and suffixes following the

* I am grateful to Professors Éva Ágnes Csató and Lars Johanson for their thoughtful grammatical comments on this paper.

1 The paired verbs cited by her are: *ösdi ulğaydı, ötti ketdi, sürediler tartdılar, çurlanıb çimīrganıb, töş töl bol-, zulm küç et-*.

2 Examples are given according to their transcription used in Ivanics–Usmanov 2002. The references to their occurrences in the texts follow also the notations applied in this edition.

second component. There may be synonym compounds, near-synonym compounds, antonym compounds and hyponyms compounds.” (Johanson 2021: 802–804).

Paired nominals in *Dāftār-i Ĵingiz-nāmā* may consist from the duplication of the same words *köp köp qurallar* ‘many weapon’ (34v13) *qawm qawm quş čüni* ‘many handfuls of bird feathers’ (15v10); they can come to be rough synonym compounds, that is “sequences of two lexemes of similar but by no means necessarily identical meaning used together to denote one content” (Erdal 1991: 36), e.g. *eş yoldaş* ‘fellow, comrade’ (18r12); *öksüz yetim* ‘orphan’ (30v3), *sansiz saqışsiz* ‘innumerable’ (34v14). For the antonym compounds, there is only one example *yahşî yaman iş* ‘good and bad thing, that is ‘all, all things’ (34v3). In few cases, also hyponyms compounds occur in *Dāftār-i Ĵingiz-nāmā*. They express a superordinative notion, with each noun denoting a subcategory, according to additive patterns. For example, the hyponym *quş qurt* ‘bird, worm’ means ‘wild beast’ (15r1)³ or the compound *tobun mālın quralın azuğın* (*top* ‘canon’ *māl* ‘many’, *qural* ‘weapon’, *azuğ* ‘provision’ with the accusative form of the possessive suffix) is the phrase for the ‘military equipment’ (46v16).

Since all paired nouns in *Dāftār-i Ĵingiz-nāmā* cannot be dealt with in one article, only examples of paired verbs will be dealt with. However, I have made an exception for paired nouns, when they form a verb together with an auxiliary verb. In Turkic linguistic literature, paired nouns (Turkish *ikileme*) are more often studied than paired verbs (Turkish *bileşik fiil*),⁴ although Johanson’s definition can be applied to both of them. Biverbs in *Dāftār-i Ĵingiz-nāmā* occur in large numbers and in varied grammatical forms, thus these texts are especially suitable for describing the typology of paired verbs.

Types of paired verbs

I. Paired finite verbs

Paired past forms in -DI

ösdi ulğaydı (13r5)

<i>Ĵingiz ös-di</i>	<i>ulğay-dī</i>	<i>halq-ğa</i>
Ĵ. grow up- DI.PST3	grow up - DI.PST3	people-DAT
<i>‘ādil-dād qıl-ub</i>	<i>fāyda-liğ</i>	<i>bol-di.</i>
just	make-b. conv	benefit
		be-di.pst3

‘Chingis grew up and matured he was just with his people and worked for their benefit.’

3 In the paired noun *quş qurt*, the second element *qurt* cannot mean ‘wolf’, since the Kipchak word, *bōri* is used for it in the source. In the present-day Tatar language *quş qurt* simply means ‘wild’.

4 For the investigation of *ikileme* in standard Turkish see the classical monography of Hatipoğlu (1981), the newest dictionary of Akyalçın (2007) and the literature given there.

ötti ketdi (8r12–13)

Bu söz-ni halāyiq-ğa waşıyyät qıl-ğan-din
 DET word-ACC people-DAT testament make-VN-ABL
şong Duyin Bayan dünyā-din öt-ti ket-di
 after D.B. wordl-ABL pass-DI.PST3 go.away-DI.PST3
 ‘After he left his last will to his people with these words, Duyin Bayan departed from this world.’⁵

sürädilär tartdilar (19r17)

Čingiz Hān arba-ğa otur-dī bu bar-ğan
 Č. Khan cart-DAT mount-DI.PST3 this come-VN
beg-lār öz-lār-i arba (sic!) sürā-di-lār tart-dī-lar.
 chieftain-PL self-PL-POSS3 cart drive-DI.PST3-PL pull-DI.PST3-PL
 ‘Then, Činggis Khan mounted the cart, while the beys, who had come for him, pulled the cart themselves.’

qaratdī aqtartdī (29r7–8)

Fāl-qār-lar-ni bağucī-lar-ni čiy-dur-dī
 astrologer-PL-ACC soothsayer-PL-ACC summon-CAUS-DI.PST3
īālī -in qara-t-dī aqtar-t-dī
 destiny-POSS3-ACC watch-CAUS-DI.PST3 turn over-CAUS-DI.PST3
 ‘He summoned the astrologers and soothsayers, he had them survey and explore his destiny.’

čüyildilar qoşuldilar (32v2–4)

az-ğan toz-ğan ata-din ana-din bāz-ğan oğlan-lar
 go astray-VN flee-VN father-ABL mother-ABL bore-VN boy-PL
bay-din qač-qan qul-lar an-gar čüyil-dī-lar
 master-ABL escap-VN servant-PL that-DAT gathered-DI.PST3-PL
qoşul-dī-lar.
 join-DI.PST3-PL
 ‘The boys, wandering hither and thither, bored of the homes of their births, and servants escaped from masters, [all] gathered there and joined them.’

5 In this case the second element *ket-di* can be interpreted as a grammaticalized auxiliary verb. The construction itself is however ambiguous between a sequential reading ‘passed and left’ and a grammaticalized meaning ‘passed away (definitively)’. This second reading is of semantic reasons in this context obvious. See Danka (2020).

örtändi küydi (32v17–18)

Bu habār yänä jaday Hān-ğa ešit-ül-di
 this news again j. Khan-DAT hear-PASS-DI.PST3
örtän-di küy-di.
 flame up-DI.PST3 burn-DI.PST3
 ‘When this news reached Chagatai Khan’s ears, he grew furious.’

aldı baqturđı (36r3)

Hājjī Tarhān-ni hām al-di baq-tur-di.
 H T.-ACC also take-DI.PST3 watch-CAUS-DI.PST3
 ‘He also captured Hājjī Tarhān and made it submit.’

tutdı qamsadı toqtatdı (40v2)

Aqsaq Temir-ning läškär-i yet-ti hān-ni
 A. T.-GEN army-POSS3 reach-DI.PST3 Khan-ACC
halq-ni tut-di qamsa-di toqta-t-di.
 people-ACC capture-DI.PST3 surrounded-DI.PST3 stopp-CAUS-DI.PST3
 ‘That is when the army of Aqsaq Temir caught up with them. He captured and surrounded the khan and his people and had them stopped.’

büldük joğalduq (37v8–9)

Biz-ni Aqsaq Temir bül-dür-di an-ing šūmluğ-in-din
 we-ACC A. T. ruin-CAUS-DI.PST3 he-GEN wickedness-POSS3-ABL
bül-dü-k joğal-duq.
 ruin.oneself-DI.PST-1PL perish-DI.PST-1PL
 ‘Aqsaq Temir slew us, we perished, and we were annihilated due to his wickedness.’

sävindilär šād boldılar (11r16–11v1)

Alaŋgo-din bu söz-ni ešit-ib halq oğl-i
 A.-ABL this word-ACC hear-B.CONV people son-POSS3
säwin-di-lär šād bol-di-lar.
 rejoice-DI.PST-3PL glad become-DI.PST-3PL
 ‘When the people heard these words from Alaŋgo, they rejoiced and became glad.’

berdi soyurgadı 22v15

Čingiz Hān öz-ni istä-y bar-ğan beg-lär-ğä [...]
 Č. Khan himself-ACC ask-A.CONV go-VN chieftain-PL-DAT
el kün ber-di soyurğa-di.
 people give-DI.PST3 deign-DI.PST3
 ‘Činggis Khan deigned and gave people to the beys who had gone to ask him [to be khan].’

II. Non-finite + finite paired verbs

Paired verbs construed of a converb in -B and a past form in -DI

istätib tabturdi (29v1)

Ĵaday Ĥān fāl baġučī-lar-din bu söz-ni ešit-ib
 ĵ. Khan soothsayer-PL-ABL this word-ACC hear-B.CONV
ol Almalıq avl-in-da-ġi Tarāġay-ni
 that A. village-POSS3-LOC-REL T.-ACC
istä-t-ib tab-tur-di.
 sought-CAUS-B.CONV discover-CAUS-DI.PST3

‘When Chagatai Khan heard these words from the soothsayers, he had Taragai, who lived in the village of Almalik, sought and discovered.’

tašlab urdi (31r16–17)

Ol nārsä-ni Aqsaq Temir bōrk-i birlä
 that object-ACC A. T. fur.cap-POSS3 with
tašla-b ur-di.
 hit- b.CONV beat-DI.PST3

‘Aqsaq Temir hurled his fur cap at the object [placed there] and hit it, thus beating him.’

qarab kördi (35v6–7)

Šāh Sulṭān qara-b kör-di šāyäd hilä-dür
 Š. Sultan watch- B.CONV see-DI.PST3 as if ruse-COP
yalġan-dur de-b išan-ma-di.
 lie-COP say-B.CONV believe-NEG-DI.PST3

‘Šāh Sulṭān took it and looked at it. ‘[It is] as if it were a ruse, as if it were a lie,’ he said and did not believe it.’

III. Paired non-finite verb forms

Paired converb forms in -B

yġlašib kürüldäšib (12r5–7)

[...] ħalq oġl-ī yġlaš-ib kürüldäš-ib
 people son-POSS3 weep.together-B.CONV murmur.together-B.CONV
ay-di-lar:
 say-di.PST-3PL

‘Weeping and murmuring, the people replied.’

säwüb ögüb (13r7)

Halq oğl-i mu-ni säw-üb ög-üb Čingiz-ğa
 people son-POSS3 this-ACC love-B.CONV prise-B.CONV Č.-DAT
iyär-ä başla-dī-lar.
 follow-A.CONV begin-DI.PST-3PL
 ‘The people loved him, praised him and began to follow him.’

čurlanīb čimīrganīb (15r9–10)

[...] *istā-dī-lār tab-ma-dī-lar čurlan-īb čimīrgan-īb*
 search-DI.PST-3PL find-neg-DI.PST-3PL weep-B.CONV grouse-B.CONV
ilaš-dī-lar.
 cry.together-DI.PST-3PL
 ‘They searched for him but did not find him, they cried murmuring and grouching.’

čulašīb yīglašīb (15r17)

[...] *čulaš-īb yīglaš-īb ‘ay Alango*
 weep.together-B.CONV wail.together-B.CONV oh A.
Čingiz Hān-īmiz-nīng habār-in biz-lār-ğä äyt-gil.
 Č. Khan-POSS1PL-GEN news-POSS3.ACC we-PL-DAT say-IMP2
 ‘Thus they clamoured and wailed her.’ Oh, Alango, tell us news about our khan Činggis.’

anglašīb tirgäšīb (20r2–3)

[...] *halq oğl- i anglaš-īb tirgäš-īb*
 people son-POSS3 find.out.together-B.CONV infer.together-B.CONV
čiqar-dī-lar.
 realize-DI.PST-3PL
 ‘[...] the people still learned of it and realized.’

qorqub siskänīb (29r2–3)

Yaman tüš kör-di qorq-ub siskän-ib
 bad dream see-DI.PST3 fear-B.CONV get.scared-B.CONV
uyan-dī.
 awake-DI.PST3
 ‘He saw a bad dream. Frightened, tremblingly he awoke.’

ozub yürüb (36r2)

An-din oz-ub yür-üb Hājji Tarhān
 that-ABL march-B.CONV go-B.CONV H. T.
šahr-i-ğä käl-di.
 town-POSS3-DAT arrive-DI.PST3
 ‘Having marched on from there, he arrived in the town of Astrakhan.’

urušub soqušub (36r2–3).

Uruš-ub soquš-ub Hājjī Tarhān-ni hām al-dī
 fight-B.CONV clash-B.CONV H. T.-ACC also capture-DI.PST3
baq-tur-dī.

see-CAUS-DI.PST3

‘He fought and clashed, he also captured Hājjī Tarhān and made it submit.’

jabalanīb jamirganīb qačqarub baqurub (40r12–14)

[...] *birāw aṭ-ī-niṅ aq köbüg-in oz-ub*
 someone horse-POSS3-GEN white froth-INSTR pass-B.CONV
jabalan-īb jamirgan-īb qačqar-ub baqur-ub te-dī
 gesticulate-B.CONV cry-B.CONV din-B.CONV shout-B.CONV say-DI.PST3

‘Then, someone passed them, on his white frothing horse, nervously gesticulating and shouting he reported.’

Paired converb forms in -A**ölä yetä (18v12–13)**

Siz-ning mübāräk yüz-ingiz-ni arzula-b
 you-GEN blessed visage-POSSPL2-ACC wish-B.CONV
art-ungiz-dan öl-ä yet-ä käl-dü-k.
 back-POSSPL2-ABL die-A.CONV perish-A.CONV come-DI.PST-1PL

‘We, however, since we wished for your blessed visage, we have come after you through fire and water.’

Paired negated converb forms in -A**öltürmäy talamay (37v15)**

[...] *an-ī ruw-ī tamur-ī birlä öltür-mäy*
 that-ACC clan-POSS3 root-POSS3 with slay-NEG-A.CONV
tala-may yibär-ür er-dī.
 plunder-NEG-A.CONV send-AOR cop-DI.PST3

‘[...] he did not slay together with their clans and did not plunder, but he let them go.’

Paired verbs construed of a converb in -B and a verbal nominal**qarab baqunča (40r18–19)**

[...] *artin qara-b baq-ğunča⁶ qurtqa-niṅ börk-i*
 backwards look-B.CONV watch-CONV old.woman-GEN fur.cap-POSS3
tüš-ti

fall.off-DI.PST3

‘As the old woman looked back, her fur cap fell off.’

⁶ Fort he suffix *-gInCA* see Erdal 2004: 479.

Paired non-finite aorists in the dative***asrarğa körürgü* (30r15–16)**

<i>Aqsaq Temir-ning</i>	<i>ata-si</i>	<i>ana-si</i>	<i>öl-di</i>	<i>yätim</i>
A. T.-GEN	father-POSS3	mother-POSS3	die-DI.PST3	orphan
<i>qal-di</i>	<i>asra-r-ğa</i>	<i>kör-är-gä</i>	<i>hiç</i>	<i>läyiq</i>
stay-DI.PST3	bring.up-AOR-DAT	take.care-AOR-DAT	no	worthy
<i>kişi</i>	<i>bulmadi.</i>			
person	find-NEG-DI.PST3			

‘Aqsaq Temir’s father and mother died, [and] he was left an orphan. He did not find one worthy man who could have brought him up, who could have taken care of him.’

Paired non-finite verbal nominals in -Gan (32v2–4)***azğan tozğan***

<i>Az-ğan</i>	<i>toz-ğan</i>	<i>ata-din</i>	<i>ana-din</i>	<i>büz-gän</i>
err-VN	be worn out-VN	father-ABL	mother-ABL	bore-VN
<i>oğlan-lar</i>	<i>bay-din</i>	<i>qaç-qan</i>	<i>qul-lar</i>	<i>angar</i>
boy-PL	master-ABL	escape-VN	servant-PL	that.DAT
<i>çiyil-di-lar</i>	<i>qoşul-di-lar.</i>			
be.gathered-DI.PST-3PL	join-DI.PST-3PL			

‘The prowler-loiterer boys, bored of the homes of their births, and servants escaped from masters, [all] gathered there and joined them.’

***ozğan bargan* (32v1–2)**

<i>Oz-ğan</i>	<i>bar-ğan</i>	<i>şatuçı-lar-ni</i>	<i>aslamçı-lar-ni</i>	<i>bas-ti-lar.</i>
pass-VN	go-VN	seller-PL-ACC	peddler-PL-ACC	attacked-DI.PAST-3PL

‘They attacked the sellers and peddlers coming and going.’

IV. Paired nouns or verbal nominals construed with the auxiliary verbs *qil-*, *bol-*, *er-*, or *et***Paired nouns + auxiliary verb*****töş töl bol-* (11r13–14)⁷**

<i>“Män öl-gän-din</i>	<i>şong</i>	<i>töş töl</i>	<i>bol-ub</i>	<i>käl-ür-män.”</i>
I	die-VN-ABL	after	foetus	be-B.CONV
				come-AOR-1SG

‘I shall descend after my death in the form of a seed.’

⁷ Only the second element of the hendiadyoin *töş töl* is known in the Turkic languages in the meaning ‘seed, foetus’. May be we are faced with lambdacism, with an Ogur Turkic and a Common Turkic form of the same word?

küç ziyān qıl- (36v15–16)

Bir Baraǰ atliǰ äzdähā yılan käl-di
 a B. with.name dragon snake come-DI.PST3
ol šähär-ning halq-i-ǰa küç ziyān
 that town-GEN people-POSS3-DAT violance damage
qıl-a başla-dī.
 do-A.CONV start-DI.PST3

‘A dragon snake called Baraǰ appeared there and started to torment and plague the people of the town.’

zäwq şafā qilur er- (27r5–6)

[...] här kün oşbundaǰ zäwq şafā
 every day that pleasure enjoyment
qıl-ur er-di-lär
 do-AOR cop-DI.PST-3PL

‘They filled every day with pleasure this way.’

‘iys ‘iśrät qıl- (26v3–5)

Čingiz Hān bu beg-lär-ni tamāmi-sin
 Č. Khan this chieftain-PL-ACC complete-POSS3.ACC
köz üstün-dä qaş-i teg kör-ür er-di
 eye above-LOC eyebrow-POSS3 like see-AOR COP-DI.PST3
‘iys ‘iśrät qıl-ur er-di
 eating drinking make-AOR COP-DI.PST3

‘Just as to the eye belongs the eyebrow above it, Činggis Khan considered each of his beys as such. He ate and drank [...]’

maǰrūr mäşǰul bol- (41r7–9)

[...] fānī dūnyā-ǰa maǰrūr mäşǰul bol-ub
 fleeting world-DAT haughtily busy become-B.CONV
 ‘To devote yourself haughtily to the fleeting world, [...]’

maħrūm maǰbūn bol-

[...] haqq [...] buyruǰ-ın-dan yüz äwir-üb
 God comandement-POSS3-ABL face turn.away-B.CONV
maħrūm maǰbūn bolma-ngiz qatī ziyān-dur
 deprived deceived be-VN-POSS2PL hard transgression-COP
uluǰ ħorluq-dur.
 great shame-COP

‘[...] to become excluded and deceived by turning your face away from the commandment of [...] God is a serious transgression and a great shame.’

tang ‘aĵāib bol- (31r2–4)

[...] *mān hām himmāt birlä hān bol-ub*
 I also effort with Khan be-B.CONV
el kün šāhār-lār al-ib orda-lar qil-sa-m
 people and-PL take-B.CONV empire-PL make-HYP-1SG
hič tang ‘aĵāib bol-mas.
 no strange wonder be-NEG.AOR3

‘Even if I become a khan with effort, and would create an empire (*ordalar*) by occupying peoples (*el kün*) and lands, there would be nothing at all to wonder at.’

zulm küč et- (15r12–13)

[...] *aġa-larī Bodonĵar Qaġin-ĵar Salĵut*
 elder brother-POSS3PL B. Q. S.
ĥalq oġl-in-a zulm küč et-dī-lār.
 people son- POSS3-DAT tyranny browbeat do-DI.PST-3PL

‘[...] his [elder] brothers Bodonĵar, Qaġin-ĵar [and] Salĵut browbeat and tyrannized the people.’

Paired verbal nominals + auxiliary verb**uruš toquš qılma- (36v10–11)**

Bular šāhr-in-ing qaršu-si-ġa käl-üb or
 B. town-POSS3-GEN opposite-POSS3-DAT come-B.CONV dike
qaz-ib yat-dī-lar uruš toquš qıl-ma-dī-lar
 dug-B.CONV lie-DI.PAST-3PL fight battle make-NEG-DI.PST-3PL

‘[...] he came to the town of Bular. He dug in across from the town of Bular, he did not engage in battle.’

Paired nouns each with an auxiliary verbs z**küč qıl- zulumlıq qıl- (9r2–3)**

[...] *törä-lār-imiz küč qıl-dī zulumlıq qıl-dī*
 lord-PL-POSS1PL browbeat make-DI.PST3 tyranny make-DI.PST3
čīda-ma-duq buşduq.
 tolerate-NEG-DI.PST-1PL wander.away-DI.PST-1PL

‘Our lords were browbeating and tyrannizing us. We could no longer tolerate it, and we left.’

wirān qıl- ĥarāb qıl- (36v8–9)

Aqsaq Temir šāhr-i Bulġar-ni wirān qıl-ib ĥarāb
 A. T. town-IZAFET B.-ACC devastated make-B.CONV devastated
qıl-ġan-din ŝong Bular šāhr-i-ġä käl-di.
 make-VN-ABL after B. town-POSS3-DAT come-DI.PST3

‘After Aqsaq destroyed and devastated the town of Bulġar, he came to the town of Bular.’

Paired negated verbal nominals + auxiliary verb

könmäs čıdamas bol- (11r5–6)

Bu iş-kä halq oğl-ı kön-mäs
 this thing-DAT people son-POSS3 endure-NEG.AOR
čıda-mas bol-di-lar.
 bear-NEG.AOR become-DI.PST-3PL
 The people could not endure or bear this thing [...]

Summing up, we can confirm that the paired verbs of *Däftär-i Ĵingiz-nāmā* could be finite verbs, converbs or verbal nominals. Examining the table from a morphological point of view, it is obvious that the past tense in -DI and converb in -B dominate.

Table I. Morphology

Past forms in -DI	<i>ösdi ulğaydı; ötti ketdi; sürädilär tartdılar; berdi soyurgadı; qaratdı aqtardı; čıyıldılar qoşuldılar; örtändi küydi; aldı baqturdi; tudı qamsadı toqtadı; büldük joğalduq; säwindilär šäd boldılar</i>
Converb in -B + past in -DI	<i>istätib tabturdi; taşlab urdi; qarab kördi</i>
Converbs in -B	<i>yığlaşib kürüldäşib; säwüb ögüb; čurlanıb čimırğanib; čulaşib yığlaşib; anglaşib tirgäşib; qorqub siskänib; ozub yürüb; uruşub soquşub; jabalanib jamırğanib qačqarub baqurub</i>
Converbs in -A	<i>ölä yetä</i>
Negated converbs in -A	<i>öltürmäy talamay</i>
Converb in -B + converb in -GUNČA	<i>qarab baqğunča</i>
Aorist forms in dative	<i>asrarğa körärgä</i>
Verbal nominals in -GAN	<i>azğan tozğan ozğan barğan</i>

In the examined texts both members of the paired verbs were – as expected – mostly Turkic. However, there are five compounds of which one member is a Mongolic copy in Turkic. Four times the copied Mongolic verb is the first member of the compound (*ösdi ulğaydı*, *qaratdı aqtardı*, *qarab kördi*, *asrarğa körärgä*), while once it is the second element (*könmäs čıdamas bol-*).

In her monograph *Mongolic Copies in Chaghatay* Éva Kincses-Nagy noticed that some Mongolic verbs “created large morphological families and could be found in many Turkic languages, while others were used only in Chaghatay. As examples, we may mention the verbs *qara-* ‘to watch’, *yasa-* ‘to arrange, make’, *čıda-* ‘to endure, stand’, or the *ös-* ‘to grow’” (Kincses-Nagy 2018: 247). The verbs cited by her also

appear in *Dāftār-i Ĵingiz-nāmā*, so they may belong to the earliest layer of copies and became conventionalized.

No less interesting are paired verbs, where one member is Kipchak or Eastern Turkic, while the other is of Oghuz Turkic origin. Such are the *ötti ketdi, sürädilär tartdılar, čiyildılar qoşuldılar, qorqub siskänib, anglašib tirgäšib, büldük joğalduq*. This refers to the coexistence of two ethnic groups, the Kipchak and Oghuz tribes in the Lower-Volga region.

Copying of nouns is much more common than that of verbs, that is why paired nouns with an auxiliary verb show a diverse picture. In our examples, they are mainly of foreign origin Arabic or Persian, but in one case also a Mongolic loan occur. The Muslim lexicon came from the Karakhanid or directly from the Arabic or Persian sources.

Table II. Nouns with auxiliary verb

Turkic + Turkic	<i>uruş toquş qılma- töş töl bol-</i>
Turkic + Arabic	<i>tang ‘aĵāib bol- küč qıl- zulumliq qıl-</i>
Turkic + Persian	<i>küč ziyān qıl-</i>
Turkic + Mongolic	<i>könmäs čidamas bol-</i>
Arabic + Arabic	<i>zāwq şafā qıl- ‘iyş ‘işrät qıl- mağrūr mäşgül bol- mağrüm mağbün bol-</i>
Arabic + Turkic	<i>zulm küč et-</i>
Persian + Arabic	<i>wirān qıl- ħarāb qıl-</i>

The paired verbs in our corpus mostly consist of two near-synonyms and are used together for expressivity. So we are faced with a stylistic device, especially in cases where both members are onomatopoeia, i.e. imitation of a sound, e.g. *čurlanib čimürğanib, čulašib yiğlašib, ĵabalanib ĵamürğanib qačqarub baqurub*. These verbs show a strong tendency to alliteration too. Some paired verbs are lexicalized (hendiadyoin) and used in fixed two-word sequences to render a single notion: *ötti ketdi* ‘he died’, *ölä yetä* ‘through fire and water’, *örtändi küydi* ‘he grew furious’ *ozğan barğan* ‘passer-by’.

How can such a large number of paired verbs in the *Dāftār-i Ĵingiz-nāmā* be explained?

Especially in Old Turkic and Uyghur sources, Sogdian or Sanskrit texts, where this practice goes back to Chinese, we find a lot of them (Erdal 2004: 534, Çağatay 1978², Kargi Ölmez 1997,1998; Mehmed Ölmez 2017). Considering the fact that the typeface of *Dāftār-i Ĵingiz-nāmā* follows the pattern of Uyghur sources, e.g. the inflections, signs and suffixes are written separately (Ivanics–Usmanov 2002), it

cannot be excluded that the use of paired verbs also goes back to the Uyghur influence, or it can even be assumed that *Dāftār-i Ğingiz-nāmā* had a sample in Uyghur.

Abbreviations

AOR	aorist
CAUS	causative
COP	copula
HYP	hypothetical
IMP	imperative
INSTR	instrumental case
NEG	negation
PASS	passive
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
REL	relational suffix
SG	singular
VN	verbal nominal

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