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**On the Use of Past Participle Forms in *Ozon-ozaĭ bala saĭ*
 (“Quite a Long Childhood”) by Mostay Kärim**

Abstract

The present paper considers the novel *Ozon-ozaĭ bala saĭ* (“Quite a Long Childhood” or “A Long, Long Childhood”) by Mostay / Mostaj Kärim or Mustay Karim, if transliterated from Russian (1919–2005), a prominent Bashkir writer, poet, publicist and playwright, whose contribution to the Bashkir literature has been honoured with the title of the People’s Poet of the Republic of Bashkortostan. Apart from the fact that the work under consideration is within the scope of the author’s current research, the reason for choosing exactly this piece of M. Karim’s literary work is that it is perhaps the first and best known example of an autobiographic novel written in Bashkir. This fact in turn implies that this novel is a valuable object of linguistic and cultural research.

Keywords: Bashkir literature, Bashkir grammar, Past Participle, syntax, predicative forms, possessive forms, case forms

Introduction

It is a well-known fact that every language uses grammatical, lexical and syntactical means to convey a wide range of different meanings and ideas. Moreover, neither of these means can and ought to be used in a chaotic way, i.e. without considering its relations to other *means and concepts* in a sentence and/or a text. Different kinds of restrictions placed on the use of certain grammatical, lexical and syntactical means, as well as on their correlations in a text, are popularly known as ‘grammar rules’ (and/or ‘style rules’). This paper considers the correlation between a number of the Bashkir verb forms, their functions in the sentence, and the general meanings they convey. The novel *Ozon-ozaĭ*

bala sak (“A Very Long Childhood”, see clarifications below)¹ by Mostay Kärım will be the object of this research. Prior to dwelling upon the topic per se, it would be appropriate to highlight several facts from Mostay Kärım’s biography² as well as to give a short general description of the text under consideration.

Mostay / Mostaj Kärım (Russian form: Mustáj Karım), full name Mustafa Safa uly Kärımov (Russian: Mustafá Sáfič Karımov), is a prominent Bashkir poet, writer, publicist and playwright. He was born in 1919 in the village of Keläš (Russian: Klâševo), Bashkir ASSR, and died in 2005 in Ufa, Bashkortostan, Russia. He got a number of awards for his creative works, including the honourable titles of People’s Poet of Bashkortostan (1963), Hero of the Socialist Labour (1979), Meritorious Worker of Arts of Russian SFSR (1982), and a number of orders and medals. He was an active member of the Writers’ Union of the Bashkir ASSR since 1939, and its head in the years 1951–1961. Later on, until 1989, he served as the Secretary of the Writers’ Union of the Russian SFSR. The first book of his poems, *Ázgy tauyštar* (“Spring Voices”) was published in 1941,³ whereas the text dwelt upon in this paper was published in the late 1970s.

The novel *Ozon-ožak bala sak* (of which no English translation has been published as of 2018; the title has previously been translated into English as “Quite a Long Childhood”,⁴ “A Very Long Childhood”, or, more literally, as “A Long, Long Childhood”)⁵ is autobiographic in its essence. It vividly depicts the life of the author’s native village, the relations between people and families, and, to some extent, can be considered a valuable source of the Bashkir worldview of the time. Moreover, the genre of autobiographic novel, which “Quite a Long Childhood” belongs to, is rather rare in the Turkic literatures of the region. According to *The Bashkir Encyclopedia*:

up until the second half of the nineteenth century, the Volga-Uralic Turkic literature has predominantly been handwritten and anonymous. An author may have been unwilling to disclose his name; besides, it could have been lost during the process of copying, thus rendering the literary work public [i.e. belonging to the people as a whole].⁶

¹ Note: Due to the fact that it is technically difficult for the author of this paper to use the Bashkir Cyrillic script, and in order to minimize the usage of non-Roman fonts in the body of the article, the author deemed it appropriate to transliterate any and all Bashkir and/or Russian text that may appear in this paper. The ISO 9 transliteration systems will be used for Bashkir and Russian, respectively.

² The data are predominantly based on Hôsäjėnov 1994.

³ A number of his poems have been published in a poem collection *Otrád kuzgaldy* (co-authored with V. Nafikov) in 1938.

⁴ Izhbayeva 2014.

⁵ Samsitova & Izhbayeva 2014.

⁶ Cf. Hôsäjėnov & Bajymov 2016. The words and expressions that do not form a part of the original text and are only provided for clarification purposes will henceforth be written in square brackets.

To the best of the present author's knowledge, the scope of syntactical functions of verb forms in a text has not been researched in the Bashkir linguistics. This justifies the choice of the research topic, as well as of the text dwelt upon.

For this particular research the data coming from the *Machine Fund of the Bashkir Language* (Bashkir: *Baškort teleneŋ mašina fondy*, Russian: *Mašinnyj fond baškírskogo ázyká*)⁷ has been used. This database contains a Bashkir prose corpus with substantial data on morphology (but not syntax);⁸ in some respects, the data on morphology seem rather incomplete.⁹ As far as the theoretical framework of this research is concerned, the main source is based upon the *Grammar of the Modern Bashkir Literary Language* (published in Russian in 1981, ed. A. Ūldašev).¹⁰ Due to its being 'a current normative source',¹¹ this book contains the norms of the Bashkir verb grammar. However, the approach to the Bashkir verb structure outlined in the *Grammar* slightly differs from the one that will be described in this paper. For instance, the *Grammar* differentiates between the 'proper' Past Participle forms and the 'Past Indefinite tense' (Bashkir: *šahithyž útkán zaman*, literally 'non-witnessed Past Tense'), the latter being formed from the Past Participle with the predicative affixes. The same approach is shared by most Bashkir linguists, including the authors of Bashkir manuals for non-natives,¹² even those written by (and for) people who are not native speakers of Russian.¹³ The author of this paper considers this approach to be purely semantics-driven; indeed, it allows for the differentiation between e.g. *áŷġan keše* (write-PART.PAST person) 'the man who wrote/writes' and *keše áŷġan* (person write-PART.PAST [.3SG]) 'the man wrote/has written'.

A slightly different viewpoint on the matter seems to be expressed in the first academic Bashkir grammar by prof. Nikolay Dmitriev – although he uses the same 'traditional' terms, i.e. differentiates between the 'participle' forms and the 'tense' forms, he calls the latter 'participial derivatives' (Russian: *vremená, voshodášie k pričástiâm*).¹⁴ A similar stance towards the discussed matter can be found in the *Bashkir Manual* by N. Poppe – he uses the term 'secondary tenses' to denote the predicative forms of participles,¹⁵ as opposed to the tenses *sensu stricto*, i.e. the forms that do not convey any nominal meaning. The same approach is, to some extent, shared by the author of this article. Indeed, it would be completely inappropriate to ignore the fact that from the semantic point of view the predicative forms of participles do convey a tense meaning. Nevertheless, in terms of morphology and syntax, these forms in no way lose their primary (i.e. nominal) character.

⁷ NB: The main page of this database is available at the following URL: <http://mfbl2.ru>.

⁸ It is worth noting that the corpus contains five novels by Mostay Kärím, of which the largest is the subject of this article.

⁹ This may be explained by lacks or inconsistencies in verb form description in the 1981 grammar.

¹⁰ Unless otherwise noted, the word *Grammar* (capitalized and italicized) will hereinafter denote the book mentioned above. The same book is also meant by "the 1981 Grammar".

¹¹ Ūldašev 1981, p. 3.

¹² E.g. Usmanova 2006; Zäjnnullin 2005; Hisamitdinova, Šaripova, & Hažin 1991.

¹³ Biner 2014, p. 106.

¹⁴ Dmitriev 1948, p. 148.

¹⁵ Poppe 1964.

For the sake of comparison, it needs to be said that the predicative forms of most other *nomina* (e.g. nouns, adjectives or numerals) are never considered ‘verbs’ despite their purely predicative function in the sentence.¹⁶

In the margin it is worth mentioning that the Bashkir prose corpus mentioned above does not differentiate¹⁷ between ‘the third person of the Past Indefinite’ and the Past Participle without any affixes (cf. the above examples). In view of the above, the author will avoid using the terms ‘Past Indefinite’ to denote the predicative forms of Past Participles within this paper. That coincides with the ‘structural’ approach outlined in the Classical Mongolian grammar by Prof. Stanisław Kałużyński,¹⁸ thus in no way being a new development in the Altaic linguistics.

To complete the introductory part of this article, it would be worth mentioning that Prof. Minsylu Usmanova (Bashkir: *Minhylyu Usmanova*), a prominent Bashkir linguist and author of a number of Bashkir manuals for non-natives, describes the terms ‘Past Participle’ and ‘Past Indefinite Tense’ as ‘dubious’ and ‘obsolete’.¹⁹ In order to back up her claim, she provides the readers with a number of contexts where this form either does not denote indefiniteness, or does not explicitly convey a past meaning. In order to prove Prof. Usmanova’s hypothesis to be correct or incorrect, the author will have to analyze the semantics of the Past Participles used in the novel in question.

In the next two sections of this paper the author is going to dwell upon the morphological structure of the Bashkir Past Participle and its grammatical categories, as well as its syntactical and semantic role in various sentences within the text under consideration.

The Bashkir Past Participle

The Past Participle (Bashkir: *ùtkän zaman sifät ḳylymy*) is one of the participial forms²⁰ peculiar to the modern Bashkir language. *The Bashkir Encyclopedia* characterizes this type of non-finite verb forms²¹ as having “a set of specifically verbal traits (such as transitivity, tense, mood, [analytical] negation²² and modality) as well as a number of grammatical categories peculiar to adjectives (e.g. case, number, possessive and predicative forms)”.²³ It is worth noting that the “adjectival” categories mentioned above are not

¹⁶ Cf. Zäjnullin 2005, pp. 19–26; Usmanova 2006, pp. 22–23; Usmanova & Abdullina 2013, p. 30.

¹⁷ NB: as of the time accessed by the author of this paper.

¹⁸ Kałużyński 1998, p. 92.

¹⁹ Usmanova 2012; Usmanova 2016.

²⁰ Bashkir term: *sifät ḳylym*, lit. ‘quality verb’ or ‘adjective-verb’.

²¹ Bashkir term: *ḳylym tōrkōmsäläre*, lit. ‘verb subgroups’.

²² The analytical negation, i.e. the one formed with an affix, is peculiar to verbs (e.g. *ešlāmānek*, work-NEG-PAST-1PL) rather than *nomina*. The latter require a postpositive negative particle *tügel* to convey that meaning (e.g. *nasar tügel* – ‘not bad’, *dürtäü tügel, ikäü* – ‘not four, [but] two’).

²³ Cf. Zäjnullin 2016.

only peculiar to adjectives, as the article suggests, but rather to all *nomina*, including e.g. nouns and numerals.

In Bashkir, the Past Participle is formed with the affix -GAN. This formula (used *inter alia* in N. Poppe's *Bashkir Manual*)²⁴ stands for four phonetic variants of this affix: -*gan*, -*gän*, -*kan*, -*kän*. Their use depends on the phonetic peculiarities of the verbal stem, i.e. the sound it ends in and the type of vowel (front/back) it contains.

Given that the affix in question contains a broad vowel (*a*, *ä*), the subsequent affixes cannot contain a labial vowel (*o*, *ö*).²⁵ This reduces the number of possible vowels beginning the possessive affix to two: *y* or *e*. The table below features possessive forms of the Bashkir Past Participles with different phonetic variants of the affixes:²⁶

Table 1. Possessive forms of the Past Participle

Person	Back-vowel variants	Front-vowel variants
1SG	<i>algänym</i> “the fact that I took”, “my having taken” <i>uķyganym</i> “my having read”	<i>äjtkänem</i> “the thing that I told” <i>jörögänem</i> “my having walked”
2SG	<i>barğanyñ</i> “the fact that you went” <i>hajlaganyñ</i> “the thing that you chose”	<i>jetkäneneñ</i> “your having reached” <i>küskäneneñ</i> “the fact that you’ve moved”
3SG/PL	<i>ķajtkany</i> “his having returned” <i>hatmağany</i> “the thing she has not sold”	<i>äjlängäne</i> “the fact that it is turning around” <i>kejgäne</i> “the thing she has put on”
1PL	<i>ķalganybyz</i> “the fact that we’ve stayed” <i>halmağanybyz</i> “the thing we haven’t put”	<i>kilmägänebez</i> “the fact that we’ve not come” <i>hōyläškänebez</i> “our having talked to each other”
2PL	<i>haklaganyğyz</i> “the thing that you’ve saved” <i>şyltyratkanyğyz</i> “the fact that you’ve called”	<i>yebärgänegez</i> “the thing that you’ve sent” <i>kōlgänegez</i> “the fact that you’ve laughed”

The table illustrates that the possessive forms of the Bashkir Past Participles cannot be translated into English (nor e.g. Polish or Russian) in one consistent way. Generally speaking, the forms under consideration can be translated with clauses (“the fact that someone did something”, “the thing someone did”) or Perfect Gerund with a possessive

²⁴ Poppe 1964.

²⁵ Cf. Usmanova 2006, p. 9.

²⁶ This information may seem trivial, given that the participles accept the same possessive affixes as other *nomina*. However, no Bashkir grammar books (for native or non-native speakers) contain detailed information on how the possessive forms of the Past Participles are formed, or how they can be translated. Besides, this information is essential for further discussion of the Past Participle forms used in M. Kärım’s works.

pronoun (“someone’s having done something”). However, in a number of contexts (especially those involving case forms) general terms like ‘thing’ or ‘fact’ are not used, e.g. *Kilgäneñä šatmyn* “I’m glad you came” (come-PART.PAST-POSS.2SG-DAT glad-1SG).

The Past Participle, just like any other *nomen*, can be declined. This concerns both the ‘basic’, impersonal form and the possessive forms thereof. Apart from the case forms usually described in the works on Bashkir grammar, the Past Participle is often used in the *terminative* and *essive* forms.

Terminative (Bashkir: *sik kileše*) and essive (Bashkir: *okšatyu-sağyštyryu kileše*) are considered separate cases in a number of sources.²⁷ Prof. Ğäli Säjetbattalov mentions them (as ‘terminative form’, ‘-ğasa/-ğäsä form’ and ‘comparative form’, ‘-daj/-däj form’, respectively) in his description of the Bashkir syntax.²⁸ This is also the way this form is mentioned in the *Machine Fund of the Bashkir Language*. The 1981 Grammar does not list these forms as separate cases; besides, the use of terminative forms featuring possession (e.g. *kilgänebezğäsä* “until we came”, come-PART.PAST-POSS.1PL-TERM) is extremely rare.

On the other hand, the use of ‘indefinite cases’ (mentioned e.g. in the “Introduction into the Uralic-Altaic linguistics” by Žälil Kejebajev)²⁹ with Past Participles has not been analyzed before.

The predicative forms of the Past Participle are considered in virtually all Bashkir grammars and teaching materials to form a separate tense (Past Indefinite, *šahithyž ütkän zaman* in Bashkir), a ‘secondary’ one according to N. Poppe. As in the case of other predicative forms, the 3PL form can optionally be marked with a plural affix (e.g. *sykkandar*, *bejegändür*). This form is used to emphasize plurality if the sentence does not include an explicit grammatical subject. It can also be used in nominal collocations and subordinate clauses, e.g. *Altajğa kitkändär ber ajzan kajta* “those who went to Altai will come back in a month”, cf. *Altajğa kitkän studenttar ber ajzan kajta* “the students that went to Altai will come back in a month”.

Usage of Past Participle forms in M. Kärim’s novel

It is worth noting that the use of a predicative affix with a Past Participle effectively excludes the use of a possessive formant in the same form. Indeed, the predicative forms featuring possessive affixes can be constructed and are even used in certain contexts, the most evident example being *hōygänemheñ* (love-PART.PAST-POSS.1SG-2SG) “you are my beloved”. However, the use of such forms is rather restricted³⁰ and none of them is

²⁷ Cf. Bilalova 2016, pp. 58–59; Beješ 1999, pp. 58–60.

²⁸ Säjetbattalov 1961.

²⁹ Cf. Kiekbaev 1972, p. 80.

³⁰ *Inter alia*, it is technically impossible to construct a form featuring 3SG/PL possession and 3SG/PL predicative affix simultaneously (“he/she is PART.PAST of his/hers”). Thus, it is impossible to say in Bashkir “She is his beloved” without adding a possessive pronoun.

used in M. Kärım's *Ozon-ozak bala sak*. Considering this, it was deemed appropriate to classify the forms occurring in the text under consideration in the following way:

1. Past Participle forms containing no predicative affix,
2. Past Participle forms containing 1SG and 1PL predicative affixes,
3. Past Participle forms containing 2SG and 2PL predicative affixes.

It is evident that the first group needs to be divided further, given that the lack of a predicative affix enables the form to contain a possessive formant and/or a number affix (*-dar/där*). Statistics also show that this group of the Past Participle forms is the most "numerous", i.e. the most widely used in the text (cf. the table below):

Table 2. Use of Past Participles in *Ozon-ozak bala sak*: corpus data on predicative affixes

Predicative affix	Number of the forms in the text
None	2139 forms in 1757 sentences
1SG	31 forms in 28 sentences
2SG	19 forms in 18 sentences
1PL	7 forms in 7 sentences
2PL	9 forms in 9 sentences

Predicative forms

It is evident that the forms containing predicative affixes can only function in the respective sentences as predicates. All the Bashkir grammar materials state that an action denoted by such a predicate is known to the speaker "only from hearsay". Still, a more detailed analysis of the contexts they are used in reveals a slightly greater variety in its semantics. For instance, the Past Participle forms containing the 1SG predicative affix (i.e. *-ğanmyn, -gänmen*) can denote the following concepts and/or be used in the following contexts:

1. Events and occurrences that the speaker neither is nor could have been aware of, e.g. *Min tōngä kārşy, byna ošo mäldäräk tyuğanmyn*. "I was born when the night was falling, at the time like right now"; *Min irtänsäk, karanğyly-äktyla tyuğanmyn*. "I was born at dawn's first light, when it wasn't too dark nor too bright"; *Bezzekelär hōzūmgä kūsän, min ätyp kalğanmyn*. "Our division (Lit. 'our ones', *bezzekelär*, we-POSS.ADJ-PL) started attacking, and I was still lying" (= "went on sleeping").
2. Probable reasons for the events and facts that take place in present or recent past: *Küräheñ, min uny gäzätensä başymdağy furažka esenä füšergänmen dä onotkanmyn*. "I must have put it in the cap on my head, the way I usually do, and have totally forgotten about it [and that's why it suddenly fell down when I took the cap off]".

3. Events and occurrences that the speaker was not aware of at the time they took place, but came to be aware of later on: *Ber ujlahañ, min dä uğa tôş birgänmender*. “Come to think of it, I also must have made him blush”;³¹ *Tege tondô min, timäk, bütän ir menän bütän katyndy kurgänmen bulyp syğa*. “So, it appears I’ve seen a different man and a different woman that night”.
4. Emphasis on the fact that a long-lasting action is already over (or is to finish up soon). *Aşyn aşağanmyn, jäšen jäšägänmen*. “I’ve already lived long enough”.³²
5. Emphasis on the unawareness of the time an action had lasted: *Küpme ultyrganmyndyr, belmäjem*. “I’m not sure for how long I’d been sitting [like that]”.
6. Emphasis on the fact that an event took place a while before the moment of speaking: *Fatihandy min keşelärgä tänem işän [...] sakta uk birgänmen*. “I’ve already given my blessings to people when I was still healthy” (Lit. “at the time my body was still healthy/alive”, *tänem işän sakta*, body-POSS.1SG alive period-LOC); *Min üz bisämde jaryşhyz za ällä kasan jeñgänmen*. “I’ve won over my wife long ago without any competitions and stuff”.
7. Emphasis on the unawareness of the reason for an action to have taken place: *Niñä şulay üjtkänmender, belmäjem*. “I don’t know why I have said that”.

Generally speaking, all these concepts can also be expressed by the 1PL predicative form of the Past Participle. However, their use in the text under consideration is much more restricted. They are mainly used in complex or compound sentences, five of which feature the personal pronoun *bez* “we” as a subject: *Bez ôsäw küpme ultyrganbyzzyr, belmäjem*. “I’m not sure for how long the three of us have been sitting [there]”.

The 2SG predicative form, apart from the meanings above, can be used in an ironic context, e.g. *Tapkanhyn hönär!* (literally: “You’ve found a profession!”).³³ The speaker cannot believe that the person he addresses to actually suggests that. Thus, it can be translated into English as “What sort of profession is that?”, or “And you call that profession?”. Moreover, the second person predicative forms are used in *Ozon-ozaķ bala sak* to denote the fact that the action has not taken place before (often the verb in such contexts is negative): *Išetmügänhegezzer äle, moğajyn...* “You might not have heard that yet...”; *Bireşmügänheñ, maladis, Kendek!* “You’ve not given up, Bellybutton,³⁴ that’s awesome!”.

³¹ Lit. “I must have given him colour”. The affix *-der* (<*dir), unlike in the Oghuz languages, conveys a *dubitative* meaning.

³² Lit. “I’ve [already] eaten its [= this world’s] food and lived its life”.

³³ *Found* is emphasized due to the word order in the Bashkir sentence.

³⁴ *Kendek* “Bellybutton” is the protagonist’s nickname widely used in the novel under consideration. Given that the novel is autobiographic, the author himself, Mostaj Käräm, is the bearer of this nickname.

Non-predicative forms without possessive and case affixes

It was mentioned above that the Corpus does not actually differentiate between the Past Participle in its “strictly participial” meaning not having any affixes and the “3SG form of the Past Indefinite” (i.e. the same Past Participle in its 3SG predicative form, which also happens to have no additional affixes). However, it is clear that both these forms can occur in the text.

Whenever a Past Participle form without any affixes takes the final position in the sentence,³⁵ it functions as a *predicate*:

Table 3. Non-predicative forms of the Past Participle: no further affixes, final position in the sentence

Example	Syntactical function	Comments
<i>Timäk, inde koäs ta ĵalkĵkan.</i> “That means the sun has already risen”	Predicate	Conclusion based on previous observations
<i>Šul kùkkä [...] baĵyr koäs ĵäbešĵän.</i> “To this sky, the copper sun is glued”	Predicate	A present result of an action in the recent past

A non-predicative form of the Past Participle can also form a part of a predicate. This happens when the form in question takes the pre-final position in the sentence, and the last position is taken by an auxiliary verb (e.g. *i-*).

In such case that a form precedes a noun,³⁶ the Past Participle usually functions as an attribute:

Table 4. Non-predicative forms of the Past Participle: no further affixes, attributive function

Example	Syntactical function	Comments
<i>Äjtäjek, iņ äratĵkan kešeņ.</i> “Say, a person you love the most”*	Attribute	The meaning of this Past Participle is not limited to the past: the person <i>still is</i> one’s beloved.
<i>Mine yšyĵyna alĵan imän äle išänderme-üqtyrmy, belmäjem.</i> “I don’t even know if the oak that used to hide me away is still alive”	Attribute	The meaning is clearly <i>past</i> , since the oak does not hide him away anymore.

* Lit. “Let’s say” (*äjtäjek* say-IMP.1PL).

³⁵ In which case it is treated as “3SG Past Indefinite” according to the *Grammar*.

³⁶ E.g. in case the Past Participle takes the pre-final position in the sentence, and the last position is taken by a noun.

Besides, if preceded by a noun in nominative,³⁷ the same form in a similar position can function as a predicate of the attributive subordinate clause:

Table 5. Non-predicative forms of the Past Participle: no further affixes, predicative function

Example	Syntactical function	Comments
<i>İnäjemdär hōjlägän byl hüzärzeñ här berehen ajyrym-ajyrym añlajym [...].</i> “I do understand each of the words that my mothers* are saying”	Subordinate clause predicate	From the speaker’s (protagonist’s) perspective, the meaning of this Past Participle is not past, but present, hence the Present Progressive in the English translation.
<i>Häzer miñä byğa tiklem äzäm kùze kùrmägän, äzäm kōlagy išetmägän ser asylassak.</i> “A secret that no man has ever seen or heard will be revealed to me right now”	Subordinate clause predicate	In this sentence both Past Participles convey a <i>past</i> meaning. It is emphasized by the adverbial modifier <i>byğa tiklem</i> “before that” (= “[n]ever before”).

* I.e. the two wives of the author’s/protagonist’s father.

A non-predicative Past Participle without any affixes can precede a postposition requiring a case other than nominative (e.g. *ôsôn* “for” or *menän* “with” requiring possessive).³⁸ According to Prof. Žälil Kejkbajev, in case a noun is followed by such a postposition, it is not used in nominative but in an “indefinite” (or “tacit”) possessive. Technically, almost any other *nomen* (e.g. a numeral, an adjective or a participle)³⁹ can also be followed by *ôsôn*, *menän* or a different postposition requiring a tacit case. Two such cases can be found in *Ozon-ozak bala sak*:

³⁷ I.e. by the subject of the subordinate clause.

³⁸ Cf. *šunyñ ôsôn* “for that; for this reason”, *šunyñ menän* “with that; besides that”, where *šunyñ* is a normal possessive form of *šul* “that”.

³⁹ Cf. *iñ keskenälär menän* “with the smallest ones”, *dürtäu ôsôn* “for the four”. Kejkbajev states that the “tacit cases” can never be used with personal pronouns, and are seldom used with proper names.

Table 6. Non-predicative forms of the Past Participle: no further affixes, tacit cases

Syntactical function	Example	Comments
Adverbial modifier of reason	<i>Izge keşegä tel tejzergän ôsôn âzyk bulmajmy ul?</i> “Would it not be a sin to talk back to such a holy man?”	The Past Participle is followed by <i>ôsôn</i> and thus used in tacit possessive. The participle does not have a clear temporal meaning (the situation is hypothetical) and can be substituted by a noun of action.
Part of a subordinate clause predicate	<i>Ķabatlap äjtäm, miñä jäš bisä kăräk bulğan ôsôn genä hüz Ķatmajym, hin künëlemä indeñ.</i> “Let me say that again: I’m talking to you because I have a feeling for you, not just for the sake of having a younger wife”	The Past Participle is followed by <i>ôsôn</i> and thus used in tacit possessive. The participle denotes a <i>lasting</i> action and does not have a clear temporal meaning.

In the last example the Past Participle *bulğan* appears as a *functional word*. It does not convey a notion of its own; rather, it is used to introduce the modal word *kăräk* “it is necessary” into a subordinate clause of reason, where it is not (and cannot be) used as a predicate on its own.

Summing up, it is clear from the examples above that Past Participle forms without any affixes (possessive or predicative) can be used in at least four syntactical functions, and do not always convey a clear *past* meaning. In the following section of this paper the Past Participle forms containing possessive and/or case affixes will be discussed.

Non-predicative forms with possessive and/or case affixes

It is evident that most of the 2139 non-predicative Past Participle forms occurring in *Ozon-ozak bala sak* do contain a possessive affix, a case affix, or both. Generally speaking, whether or not a participle form contains a possessive affix does not influence its syntactical function.

The third person possessive affix commonly functions in Bashkir as *izafet*, a marker of definiteness. Prof. Žälil Kejekbajev explains the use of this affix for POSS-3SG with the fact that the third person (unlike the first or second) is in its essence indefinite: it is not possible to determine who ‘he’, ‘she’, ‘it’ or ‘they’ are without a broader context.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Kiekbajev 1972.

If a definite or possessive Past Participle does not have a case affix, it can function as a sentence subject:

Table 7. Definite Past Participle functioning as a sentence subject

Example	Syntactical function	Comments
<i>Aŋğarmaştan ğyna ularzy mäkerle bürelär byuyp taşlamağany.</i> “Unawareness is the only reason the cunning wolves haven’t strangled them” [*]	Subject	The Past Participle of a compound verb <i>byuyp taşla-</i> ‘to strangle [completely]’ can be translated as “the fact of not having strangled”. The context suggests that the participle has a <i>past</i> meaning.
<i>Tik bynan ary bulğany mineñ namyşyma nyķ ħukty.</i> “But what happened afterwards gave me a qualm of conscience”	Subject	The Past Participle of <i>bul-</i> ‘to be, to happen’ is definite in this context, it can be translated as “the thing(s) that happened”. The context suggests that the protagonist reflects on his past actions and their effects. ^{**} Thus, in this sentence <i>bulğany</i> denotes a <i>lasting action in the past</i> .

^{*} Or, more literally: “It is due to mere *unawareness* that the cunning wolves have strangled them” (with an emphasis on *unawareness*, as per the Bashkir sentence). However, such a translation would be ambiguous, since it is unclear *who* is unaware.

^{**} Note the combination of the word *ary* “afterwards” with the Past Participle and the predicate *ħukty* (strike-PAST[.3SG]).

Besides that, in *Ozon-ozaķ bala saķ* the definite Past Participle can be followed by a postposition *menän*, i.e. it is also used in tacit possessive. This happens in one set expression, *torgany menän*, which can be translated into English as “it is as if”, “what a...”, or with intensifying adjectives and adverbs (e.g. “the mere...”, “a real...”, “really”, etc.).

Table 8. Definite Past Participle: *torgany menän*

Example	Syntactical function	Comments
<i>Torgany menän jyr jyrlaj tierheñ</i> “It is as if he (= <i>Ķara Jomağol</i>) sings a song [whenever he is talking]”	Adverbial modifier of manner	The Past Participle in this context functions as an intensifier and does not have a clear temporal meaning.

Example	Syntactical function	Comments
<i>Ā ķatynyņ torġany menän inä aryşlan.</i> “As for your wife, she’s really as strong as a lioness”	Adverbial modifier of manner	The Past Participle in this context does not have a clear temporal meaning.
<i>Torġany menän ber ħuġyš sukmary.</i> “He is as hard-tempered as a club”	Adverbial modifier of manner	The Past Participle in this context does not have a clear temporal meaning.

The whole text of the novel features only one strictly possessive form of the Past Participle in the tacit possessive case (*âzġanym ôsôn* “because I’d written”, “due to my having written”):

Table 9. A possessive form of the Past Participle in the tacit possessive case

Example	Syntactical function	Comments
<i>Unan ħuņ, bāke oso menän syjyp, partaġa «K» härefen âzġanym ôsôn ożon aġas linejka ķyry menän ķul ħyrtyma ħukty.</i> “On another day,* he (= the teacher) struck the back of my palm with a long wooden ruler, because I’d carved the letter K into a school desk with a pocket knife”	Adverbial modifier of reason	The Past Participle in this context definitely has a <i>past</i> meaning, since the predicate denotes an aftermath of what the protagonist did before.

* *Unan ħuņ* “after that, besides that”.

No other forms of Past Participles in tacit cases have been found in the text under consideration. Tacit dative, genitive or accusative, which Ž. Kijekbajev lists as peculiar to nouns, are not peculiar to Past Participles due to their semantics.

There is another set expression where a definite or possessive Past Participle can function as a sentence subject. Either *bar (ine)* “there is (was)”, *ûķ (ine)* “there is (was) no” or the verb *bul-* in PAST[.3SG] or PAST-NEG.[3SG] can function as a predicate in such a sentence. The whole structure denotes an action one has (not) done before, a previous experience or a lack thereof.

Table 10. Past Participle with a possessive affix functioning as a sentence subject

Example	Syntactical function	Comments
<i>Min uny sittän genä kùrgünem bar.</i> “I’ve only seen it from afar”	Subject	The Past Participle in this context definitely has a <i>past</i> meaning, since the whole structure denotes an action taking place before the moment of speech.
<i>Min uny ùzem ħabyt ta ħarağanym ùħ.</i> “I’ve never even tasted it myself”	Subject	The Past Participle in this context definitely has a <i>past</i> meaning, since the whole structure denotes the protagonist’s lack of previous experience.
<i>Tik älegäsä ber tapħyr zä bergä ujnağanıbyz ùħ.</i> “But we haven’t played together before, not even once”	Subject	The Past Participle in this context definitely has a <i>past</i> meaning, since the whole structure denotes the protagonists’ not having done something before.
<i>Ošo tiklem ùk [...] ħağyşly kùzzärze mineñ byğa sakly la, bynan ħuñ da kùrgünem bulmany.</i> “I haven’t seen such doleful eyes before nor afterwards”	Subject	The Past Participle in this context definitely has a <i>past</i> meaning, which is intensified by the predicate in the past.

Interestingly, the structure under consideration can occur in the sentence with either a possessive (e.g. *mineñ* ‘mine’) or a personal pronoun (*min* ‘I’).⁴¹ The subject can also be emphasized with a reflexive pronoun (e.g. *ùzem* ‘myself’).

A Past Participle in a case other than nominative can function as a predicate or a part thereof:

Table 11. Non-nominative forms of Past Participle functioning as predicates

Example	Syntactical function	Comments
<i>Byna häzer, äzäm kùrmägändä...</i> “Right now, while no one is watching...”	Predicate*	Past Participle in <i>locativus temporis</i> . The meaning is clearly present (from the perspective of the speaker), hence the Present Progressive in the English translation.

⁴¹ Only the latter is peculiar to the Kazakh language, where *bar* or *joq* in a similar structure takes the predicative affix (i.e. the possessive ones are not used).

Example	Syntactical function	Comments
<i>Olo İnäyem kôrhonep kûjgandaj itte.</i> “The Elder Mother seemed to let out a deep sigh”	Predicate part**	Past Participle in <i>essivus modalis</i> without a clear temporal meaning.
<i>Hin ilağanga...</i> “Because you’re crying”	Predicate*	Past Participle in <i>dativus causae</i> denotes a lasting action in present.
<i>Bez hağyngandy belgänderme, üz hağyşyna tüzä almağandyrmy – unyhy bezgä karanğy – [...]</i> <i>Märähim auylğa kire äjlänep kajtty.</i> “Either knowing that we miss him, or being unable to help missing us (we don’t know for sure) Märähim came back to the village”	Predicate	Past Participle in <i>accusativus objecti</i> denotes a lasting action in the <i>past</i> (from the perspective of the speaker). The main clause predicate “brings an end” to the situation expressed by the Participle.

* It would be more appropriate to describe its function in this sentence as a *subordinate clause predicate*, however, the main clause was omitted by the novel’s author.

** The whole structure *kôrhonep kûjgandaj itte* can be regarded as a predicate, since PART.PAST-ESS + *it-* is a set expression “to seem/appear to do something”.

Evidently, non-nominative Past Participles can function as other parts of sentence as well. Examples of such participles functioning as objects:

Table 12. Non-nominative forms of Past Participle functioning as objects

Example	Syntactical function	Comments
<i>Ul šaštyryp mağtagandy arata.</i> “He (= Allah) likes the one who praises Him vehemently”*	Direct object	The meaning is clearly not <i>past</i> ; what’s more, it is simultaneous with the action expressed by the notional verb, hence the present form in the translation.
<i>Aldağanga tamsy la yšanmaj ul.</i> “He (=father) doesn’t believe anyone who lies, not even in the slightest”**	Indirect object	The Past Participle in <i>dativus objecti remotioris</i> does not convey a distinct past meaning; rather, the whole sentence describes a general thought or attitude towards the action in general.

* Or “He likes being vehemently praised”.

** Or “He doesn’t/wouldn’t believe *a lie* at all” (*tamsy la* “not even a bit, not in the slightest”, lit. “not even a drop”).

Examples of Past Participles in a case other than nominative functioning as adverbial modifiers:

Table 13. Non-nominative forms of Past Participle functioning as adverbial modifiers

Example	Syntactical function	Comments
<i>Işär; beräügä ķarağanda ikäü äķşyraķ ta...</i> “Foolish you, two [kids] are even better than one”	Adverbial modifier of comparison	Past Participle in <i>locativus comparationis</i> without a clear temporal meaning.
<i>Niñä šulaj ikän – ütä rähät bulğanda keşe jä osa, jä jözä hymaķ?</i> “Why is it that whenever one feels very happy, one looks like either flying or swimming?”	Adverbial modifier of time	Past Participle in <i>locativus temporis</i> without a clear temporal meaning (the whole sentence is a general thought).
<i>Ämmä šul kôndän alyp don”ä ķujğanğa tiklem Ishaķ bilenän tege kajyš tôşmäne.</i> “But from then on, till the very day he died, Ishaķ has never taken that belt off”	Adverbial modifier of time	Past Participle in <i>locativus temporis</i> clearly denotes the <i>past</i> meaning.
<i>Šuga kùrä ul, gäfü iteüze ħorağandaj, ikmäkte kükrägenä ķyşty.</i> “That’s why he (=Šähizulla) stuck the bread to his chest, as if asking for forgiveness”	Adverbial modifier of manner	Past Participle in <i>essivus modalis</i> without a clear temporal meaning.
<i>Äsgät häl èsendä ķalğandan ħuñ, ular bôtähe lä jomšara tôštô.</i> “After Äsgät nearly passed away, all of them started treating him better”	Adverbial modifier of time	Past Participle in <i>ablativus temporis</i> clearly conveys a <i>past</i> meaning.

The Past Participle in the possessive case ought to function in the sentence either as a predicate or as an attribute. However, no instances thereof have been found in the novel text.

Conclusions

The above examples have successfully demonstrated that the Past Participle forms can have a wide range of functions in the sentence: depending on the form they are used in, they can function as subjects, predicates (or parts thereof), objects (direct or indirect), attributes, as well as various adverbial modifiers. Moreover, it has been proven that the meaning conveyed by the Past Participle form is not always explicitly *past*; indeed, this form can, in certain contexts, denote an action taking place in present. Such an action is usually, but not always, a lasting one.

In view of the above, it can be said that the aforementioned statement by Prof. Usmanova is essentially not wrong – the *Past Participle* does not always convey a *past* meaning (or a clear temporal meaning in general), nor does the “Past Indefinite” predicate always denote an action “known from hearsay”. Whether the term is obsolete or not is beyond the scope of this paper; nevertheless, the term “Past-Present Participle” (*ùtkän-häzerge zaman sifät qylymy*) suggested by M. Usmanova and Ä. Beješ⁴² is in its essence very correct. As far as the term “Past Indefinite” is concerned, the author’s stance thereon has been clarified in the beginning of this article.

It is undeniable that the range of syntactical and semantic functions of the Bashkir verb forms (especially participles) can and is to be a subject of a more profound and detailed research. This article turned out to be a successful attempt of demonstrating the wide range of meanings that a Bashkir non-finite verb form can convey in various contexts.

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⁴² Beješ 1999, pp. 78–80.

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