Mutual influences in negative patterns between Finno-Ugric and Turkic languages in the Volga-Kama area[1]

Gianguido Manzelli

More than a millenium of contact between Finno-Ugric (Mordvin, Mari and Permic) and Turkic languages (Bulgar-Chuvash and Volga Kipchak) in the Volga-Kama area have produced conditions of multilingualism and mutual linguistic influence. Lexical borrowings have been well studied and offer a starting point for exploring less treated aspects such as phonological and

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syntactic features. The present paper scrutinizes four possible cases of linguistic interference between Finno-Ugric and Turkic languages in the Volga basin in standard negation and prohibitives.

1. Introduction: Finno-Ugric and Turkic linguistic contacts

The linguistic contacts between Uralic and Turkic languages have long been studied. Lexical loans provide good evidence of the mutual influence between members of these two linguistic families, Róna-Tas (1988) perhaps being the most important reference point in this respect. Aside from loanwords, other linguistic aspects such as phonological and syntactic features are logical candidates as contact-induced phenomena. A geographical region where members of Finno-Ugric and Turkic language families have been in contact for a long time, possibly more than 12-14 centuries, is the Volga-Kama area.

1.1. Defining a linguistic area

The geographical area under scrutiny is situated between the great Volga Bend and the Ural Mountains where Finno-Ugric and Turkic languages live together, so to speak, side by side, surrounded by or intertwined with

Russian speaking communities. For many centuries, three not so closely related Finno-Ugric groups, i.e. Permic (with three literary languages, Komi-Zyrian, Komi-Permyak and Udmurt), Mari (with two literary languages, Meadow or Eastern Mari[2] and Hill or Western Mari) and Mordvin (with two clearly distinct languages, Erzya in the east and Moksha in the west) have been in contact with two Turkic groups, namely, the Chuvash or Volga Bulgar (Bolgar or Bulghar, with only one extant member of the group) and Kipchak or North-West Turkic (with Tatar and Bashkir [Bashkort]).

1.2. Historical background

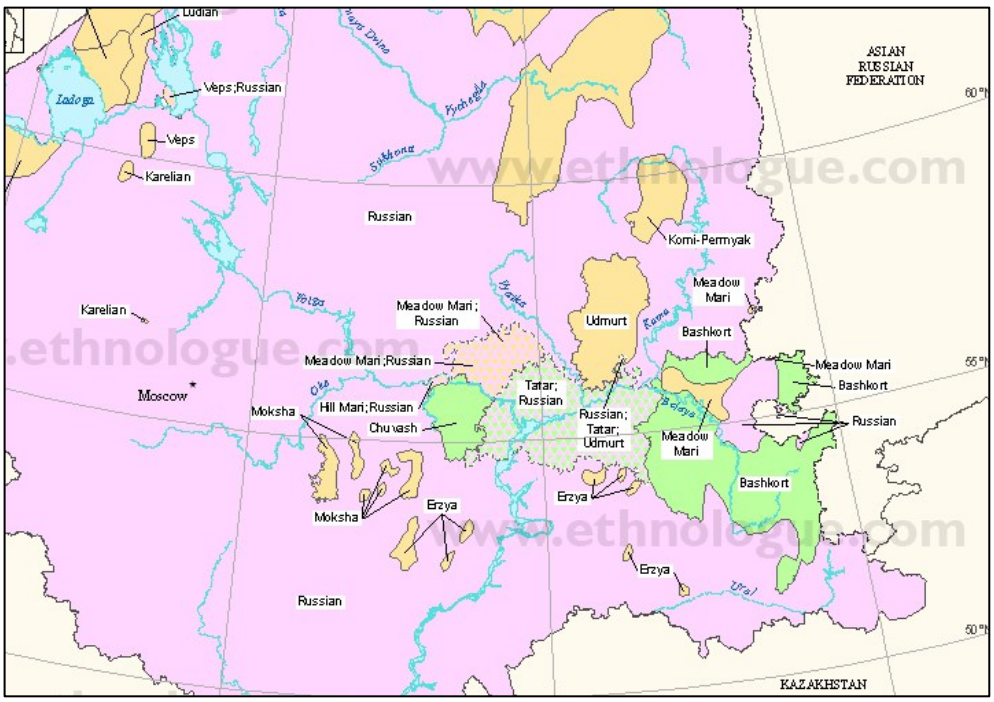
Historically, the present situation has its origins in the latter part of the first millenium. Volga Bulgaria (7th-13th century), which was probably under Khazarian rule up to the turn of the millenium, converted to Islam in the 10th century, but Volga Bulgar groups had already reached the Kama at the end of the 9th century (Róna-Tas 1988: 761). After the Mongol conquest (1241 AD) a new larger state, later called The Golden Horde, arose. It was soon practically dominated by Kipchak Turks, who were renamed Tatars after a

[2] Eastern Mari dialects spoken especially near Ufa, the capital of Bashkortostan, are clearly connected with Meadow Mari (Eastern Literary Mari).

tribe name of their Mongol lords. During the 15th century, The Golden Horde broke up into six minor states (khanates) and the khanate of Kazan (now still the capital of Tatarstan) emerged in 1438. The khanate of Kazan covered the territory of the former Volga Bulgaria, i.e. contemporary Tatarstan, Mari El, Chuvashia, Mordovia and parts of Udmurtia and Bashkortostan. Thus, the peoples dominated by the khanate of Kazan were Chuvash, Bashkir, Mari, Udmurt and Mordvin (Xamidullin 2002: 164-178, 182-192, 204-232). It should not be forgotten that some of the Bashkir population are of Hungarian origin (about the Ugric component of the Bashkirs see Antonov 2012: 115-130). In 1552, Ivan the Terrible included the khanates of Kazan, Astrakhan and Siberia in the new Tsardom of Russia (Russian Empire from 1721).

1.3. The linguistic and ethnic picture

This section will describe the contemporary linguistic situation in detail. Map 1 serves to illustrate the discussion.



Map 1. The contemporary linguistic situation in the Volga-Kama area (Lewis et al. 2013)

Going from west to east, Moksha Mordvin and Erzya Mordvin are spoken in Mordovia (where there are Russians, Tatars and Chuvash), Chuvashia, Tatarstan, Bashkortostan and Russian regions (Zaicz 1998: 184). Hill Mari and Meadow Mari are spoken in Mari El (where there are Russians, Tatars and Chuvash) and Bashkortostan (Kangasmaa-Minn 1998: 219). Udmurt is spoken in Udmurtia (where there are Russians and Tatars), Bashkortostan, Tatarstan and in two Russian regions: 90% of the 324,338 Udmurt speakers[3]

[3] 324,338 Udmurt speakers out of an ethnic population of 552,299 according to the Census of the Russian Federation of 2010, see Table 5 (native

are bilingual or trilingual, with L2 Russian and L3 Tatar (Csúcs 1998: 276; Winkler 2001: 5). Southern Udmurtia was under the direct rule of Volga Bulgaria while Russian migration to northern Udmurtia dated back to the 13th century when Russia was still under the dominion of The Golden Horde (Vladykin & Xristoljubova 1997: 16, 35).

The Chuvash speak a language descending from Volga Bulgar (Clark 1998: 434), a very peculiar Turkic language clearly distinct from all the other members of the linguistic family. Nearly all we know about Old Bulgar derives from the study of Bulgar Turkic loanwords in Hungarian (see Róna-Tas & Berta 2011). Middle Bulgar is known directly through scanty funerary inscriptions from the 13th-14th century (Xakimzjanov 1987; Erdal 1993). Chuvash is spoken in Chuvashia, Tatarstan, Bashkortostan and three

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speakers) and Table 1 (members a of an ethnic population) in *Itogi Vserossijskoj perepisi naselenija 2010 goda* [Results of the Pan-Russian Census of the population of 2010] http://www.gks.ru/free_doc/new_site/perepis2010/perepis_itogi1612.htm.

As for the other ethnic groups here involved, the data are as follows (number of speakers, in brackets number of members of the ethnic population): Mordvin (Moksha and Erzya not distinguished) 392,941 (744,237), Mari (Hill Mari and Meadow-Eastern Mari not distinguished) 365,127 (547,605), Chuvash 1,042,989 (1,435,872), Tatar 4,280,718 (5,310,649), Bashkir 1,152,404 (1,584,554).

Russian regions (Andreev 1997: 480). Modern Chuvash has two dialects, the Upper (*virjal*) or northern dialect and the Lower (*anatri*) or southern dialect, the latter being the basis of the literary language and the only dialect also spoken outside of the Chuvash republic (Andreev 1997: 490; Clark 1998: 451-452;). Tatar is spoken in Tatarstan Udmurtia, Mordovia, Mari El, Chuvashia, the Komi republic and in 22 regions and 3 territories of Russia (Zakiev 1997: 367-358). Literary Tatar is based on Kazan Tatar (or Middle Tatar) phonetics and on Western or Mishar morphology (Zakiev 1997: 370-371; Berta 1998: 283). Kazan Tatars are descendants of Muslim Volga Bulgars while Western (Mishar) Tatars are an offspring of Steppe Tatars (Kipchak Turks) as are the Bashkirs. Bashkir is spoken in Bashkortostan and in five Russian regions and it is based on the so-called Mountain dialect (Juldašev 1997: 206; Berta 1998: 283).

1.4. Some previous studies

Several publications by Bereczki (e.g., 1983, 1997) discussed contact-induced features shared by Finno-Ugric and Turkic languages in the Volga region. As for negative verbal forms, Bereczki (2005) is especially important, see 3.2. Johanson (2000) has explored the Volga area applying his Code-Copying Model whereby he distinguishes *adoption* from *imposition*. In adoption speakers of a language take over copies

(traditionally borrowings or calques) from another language, while in imposition (or retention) speakers of a language shift to another one but the abandoned language (substrate language) exerts an influence on the new one. Johanson (2000: 168) takes into account the Tatar influence on Udmurt and also on Mordvin (especially Erzya) as regards vocabulary and syntax. On the one hand, Mari has also been influenced by Tatar (in the case of Meadow Mari) or, more generally, by Volga Kipchak (in the case of Eastern Mari). On the other hand, Johanson points out a considerable impact of Chuvash on Western Mari. The Chuvash impact can be observed in the syntactic patterns of Western Mari. However, the influence worked both ways, since Chuvash received substantial lexical influence from Mari. Summarizing, Johanson (2000: 169) claims that "[t]he Kipchak dominance is strongest in Udmurt, Meadow Mari, and Erzya varieties spoken in the immediate Tatar neighborhood" (about the Middle Volga region see also Heine & Kuteva 2006: 21). Helimski (2003: 159-160), in defining different linguistic areas, took into consideration the Volga-Kama *Sprachbund* in which the major role is played by Mari, Chuvash, Udmurt, Tatar and Bashkir, with the Mordvin languages and Komi as peripheral members. Among the common features characterizing the languages of the area, he mentioned phonetic developments, the reduction of short high vowels, mobile stress and isomorphic temporal systems (see also Wintschalek 1993 and other references in Helimski 2003). Hesselbäck (2005) has devoted a

monograph to the Tatar and Chuvash influence on Mari following Johanson's methodology. Likewise, Turunen (2010: 54), in dealing with non-verbal predication in Erzya, takes into consideration Tatar, while van Pareren (2011) treats some non-lexical Turkic influences in Mordvin.

2. Standard Negation: Uralic and Turkic in contrast

The difference between Uralic and Turkic languages is clear in clausal or standard negation (for the definition of standard negation or the ways for negating declarative verbal main clauses, see Payne 1985: 198, 206-207, and especially Miestamo 2005: 1, 42, as well as the introduction to this volume).

2.1. Standard negation in Uralic

It is well-known that the majority of Uralic languages express negation by a special negative auxiliary verb: "The most striking feature […] perhaps […] of the Uralic languages" (Collinder 1965: 57). The negative verb is absent in Ugric and Selkup, which use negative particles (cf. Hungarian *nem* 'not'), but as far as the other Uralic languages are concerned their situation is very

complex (alternation of negative verbs and negative particles),[4] see, for instance, Tauli (1966: 108-109, 172-178), Honti (1997a, b, c), Puskás (2006: 221-227), and Wagner-Nagy (2011, this volume). The regularity of the preverbal position of the negator in Uralic clausal negation is optionally violated by some Finnic languages, especially by Võro (South Estonian), but also by other Finnic and Saami dialects (Honti 1997b: 167-168; Vilkuna 1998: 211-212; Laakso 2001: 193).

The Uralic (U) negative verb has been reconstructed as **e-* (e.g., Hajdú 1981: 169; Raun 1988: 564), cf. Finno-Ugric (FU) **a-* (Majtinskaja 1974: 326) and Proto-Samoyedic **i-* (Janhunen 1998: 475), whereas the Uralic etymological dictionary (UEW) has U "**e²* ~ *ä* (? FU) ~ *a* (? FU) (Verneinungspartikel [negation particle] →) Verneinungsverb [negation verb]" (Rédei 1988: I, 68-70).[5]

[4] The negation system of the Mordvin languages is particularly complex among the Uralic languages (see Hamari 2007; Turunen 2010; Turunen 2011; Hamari and Aasmäe, this volume).

[5] Décsy (1990: 82) denies the existence of a negative verb in Proto-Uralic: for him **e* must be considered a negative particle (cf. Honti 1997b: 170). According to Honti (1997b: 164), the doubts expressed in the etymological dictionaries of Uralic and Hungarian were produced by a misunderstanding.

2.2. Standard negation in Turkic

In Turkic languages, clausal negation is expressed by a negative suffix after the verbal stem, cf. Proto-Turkic *-*mä*, in Ramstedt (1924: 210-213), *-*ma-/-mä-* in Menges (1995: 144), *-*ma* etc. in Ščerbak (1981: 97-98), -*ma* from -*ba* in Gadžieva (1997: 31), -*mA* in Róna-Tas (1998: 75).[6] Tatar and Bashkir present much in common with Turkish (except the -*Iyor*- form, a tense-aspect marker, which is an Oghuz or South-West Turkic feature). Payne (1985: 227) considers Turkish -*me*- with its variants "[a]n extreme example of internal negative" among the morphological negatives. Bernini & Ramat (1996: 45) mention Turkish as a language where standard negation is expressed by means of a bound morpheme, whereas Dahl (2010: 14) states that "Turkish is a stock example" as regards morphological or affixal negation with its standard negator -*m*V-.[7]

[6] Other forms of (postverbal!) negation in Turkic depending on tense-aspect-mood and also person variation in verb and in non-verbal predication, such as Chuvash *mar* and *śuk*, Turkish *değil* and *yok*, Tatar *tügel* and *juk*, Bashkir *tügel* and *juq*, Yakut *suox* (see Menges 1995: 145; Ščerbak 1981: 96; Kormušin 1988: 397; Musaev 1988: 508; Johanson 1998: 41, 44, 58), are not taken into account here.

[7] About Turkish negation see also Miestamo (2005: 16, 58, 163, 353).

3. Mutual influences between Finno-Ugric and Turkic languages in standard negation and prohibitive

3.1. Is Moksha negative conditional due to Turkic influence?

Tauli (1966: 109, 127, 175) claims that in the Moksha present conditional *palaft´ɛŕan* 'if I do not kiss' (*pala-* 'to kiss'), the N[egative] V[erb] has agglutinated with the P[rincipal] V[erb]. According to Tauli this could be due to Turkic influence. In Moksha the present conditional has an optional alternative with the negative particle *af* + positive present conditional (e.g., Keresztes 1990: 187). Tauli's source is Pall (1957: 221), but Pall had doubts about the Turkic influence on the origin of the Moksha negative conditional (Honti 1997c: 247). The suffix of Moksha conditional is *-ńďäŕä-* (Keresztes 1990: 43), i.e. *-ndjarja-* in my trasliteration (from -ндяря-).[8] The negative form *-ft´äŕä-* (= *-ftjarja-* = -фтяря-) seems to have absorbed the negative particle *af* 'not' in some way. If we compare Moksha *palaftjarjan* 'if I do

[8] Cf. Erzya conditional *-in^{j}d^{j}er^{j}a-* (in Zaicz's transcription) i.e. *-in^{j}-* probably from *-*ne* (conditional-potential) + pre-Erzya **t^{j}er^{j}a-* verb stem 'tries, attempts' (Zaicz 1998: 200).

not kiss' with Tatar *üb**mä**säm* 'if I do not kiss' (see Poppe 1963: 61-62), the structural similarity is remarkable, see (1)-(2)

(1) Moksha	*pala-*	***-f-***	***-****tjarja-*	*-n*
(2) Tatar	*üb-*	***-mä-***	*-sä-*	*-m*
	kiss	NEG	COND	1SG
	'if I do not kiss'			

The same holds in a comparison between Moksha and Chuvash, cf. Moksha *soda**f**tjarjan* 'if I do not know' (Keresztes 1990: 187) and Chuvash *pěl**mě**ttěm* 'if I do not know' (Benzing 1959: 747; cf. Emel'janova 2002: 45-46), see (3)-(4).

(3) Moksha	*soda-*	***-f-***	*-tjarja-*	*-n*
(4) Chuvash	*pěl-*	***-mě-***	*-ttě-*	*-m*
	know	NEG	COND	1SG
	'if I do not know'			

Thus I suspect that the Moksha negative conditional has actually been patterned on Turkic even though Honti (1997c: 249) considers that the Moksha form arose spontaneously.

3.2. Is the negative second past in Hill Mari and Udmurt due to Turkic influence?

The Finno-Ugric languages of the Volga-Kama region have a special past, which is referred to as the second past, the second preterite or the perfect. The languages considered here are Hill Mari and Udmurt. The Mordvin second preterite and Komi (Komi-Zyrian, Komi-Permyak) are excluded from consideration, because these languages have a regular negative form (NEG + finite verb) as does Meadow Mari. Hill Mari and Udmurt (southern dialect and literary language) have a synthetic negative form of the second past.

Honti (1997c: 247-248) describes the negative second past of Hill Mari as the fusion of a negative converb (negative instructive gerund in Alhoniemi 1993: 112, 113, 136) < *tol**de** ylam*, literally: 'not-coming am-I', cf. Bereczki (1990: 12, 55), Savatkova (2002: 201-202, 237-238) and Saarinen (this volume).

Bereczki (2005) discusses the origin of the second past in different Mari dialects in detail. He distinguishes four different paradigms and hypothesizes that they must originate from two different past tenses (Bereczki 2005: 187, 189). What is relevant here is the connection proposed by Bereczki (2005: 189) as regards the synthetic Hill Mari negative second past *tol**δe**lam* 'I didn't come'. Bereczki compares (structurally) Hill Mari

tolδelam from a caritive suffix *-te*/*-δe* with the negative suffix *-ma*/*-mä* in Chuvash verbs (he quotes Ašmarin 1898: 388). Hill Mari *-lam* is a reduced form of the present tense of 'to be', as already shown by Vassikova (1959: 288). According to Honti (1997c: 248-249) these forms could be considered similar to constructions with finite verb + non-finite verb with an abessive suffix that can be found in other Uralic languages such as Finnish, Old Hungarian and Kamass, but in his examples there are two lexical verbs (for instance, Finnish *hän istuu lukematta* [3SG sit.3SG read.NMLZ.ABE] 'he sits without reading').

It should be added that in Mari and Permic the second past entails unwitnessed evidentiality (see Leinonen 2000: 423 for Komi and Winkler 2001: 50 for Udmurt). In Aikhenvald's (2004: 28) terminology this kind of unwitnessed resultative perfect is described as non-firsthand past, see Siegl (2004) for the second past in the Permic languages. Siegl (2004: 23) describes the two different strategies used by Udmurt to express the negative second past, i.e. the analytic strategy (cf. Komi) and the synthetic strategy with a caritive suffix, cf. Udmurt ***övöl*** *todma-s'k-em* [NEG know-PRS-PTCP.PRF] (analytic) vs. *todma-s'ky-**mtė*** [know-PRS-CAR] (synthetic) or *todma-s'ky-**mtė**-e* [know-PRS-CAR-1SG] 'it turns out that I knew', cf. Kel'makov & Hännikäinen (1999: 181). The analytic negative second past is typical of the northern and middle Udmurt dialects, while the synthetic one is characteristic of the southern dialects (Kel'makov 1998: 152):

standard written Udmurt accepts the two different variants (Csúcs 1990: 53, 1998: 291; Siegl 2004: 24, 58-59), as does the Beserman dialect (Tepljašina 1970: 230-231). Csúcs (2005: 262, 272), in considering the (resultative, indirective) perfect tense in Udmurt, derives it from a perfect participle (*-*em*) and takes into account Bereczki's hypothesis that it was formed on a Turkic pattern but does not fully discuss the Udmurt negative synthetic second past.

As for the Turkic languages of the Volga area Tatar has a resultative unwitnessed past in -*gan*/-*gän*, -*kan*/-*kän* (Zakiev et al. 1993: II, 110), cf. *al**ma**gan* 'he didn't take' (Zakiev et al. 1993: II, 102). Similarly Bashkir has an indefinite past (unwitnessed) in -*γan* and its allomorphs (Juldašev 1981: 273-274), e.g., *kilgän* 'as it turns out he arrived', to be negated as *kil**mä**gän* 'as it turns out he didn't arrive'. Kormušin (1988: 413, 420-421) defines the form in -*γan* as a perfective past based partly on a participle in some cases and on an action noun in others plus person markers.

Chuvash has a different morphological form. In Chuvash there is a past participle (nomen perfecti) in -*nă*/-*nĕ*, which is described by Krueger (1961: 153-155) as a "non eye-witness form", used predicatively, *ėpĕ pĕlnĕ* [1SG know.PTCP.PST] 'I was a knower; I am one who knew; I knew'. The past participle has a negative counterpart, formed by means of the morpheme -*mAn*, which replaces the affirmative participial suffix -*nă*/-*nĕ*. Degtjarëv (2010: 56-57) treats it as an unwitnessed past tense without

person markers: *ėpĕ (ėsĕ, văl) juratnă* [1SG (2SG, 3SG) love.PTCP.PST] 'I (you, s/he) loved', negated as in *ėpĕ (ėsĕ, văl) pĕl**men*** [1SG (2SG, 3SG) know.PTCP.PST.NEG] 'I (you, s/he) didn't know'.

Bereczki (2005: 190) considered the Hill Mari synthetic (negative) second past the result of Chuvash influence. After the Mongol invasion (13th c.), the Volga Bulgar people moved westwards, colonizing Mari south-west territories. Mari-Chuvash bilingualism developed in that region. However, in principle, I should not exclude the possibility of a Tatar influence, either, because of the functional similarity between the Chuvash unwitnessed past (actually not mentioned by Bereczki) and the Tatar one. On the contrary, it seems to me that the structural resemblance is due to Tatar, cf. (5)-(7).

(5) Hill Mari	*tol-*	***-de-***	*-la-*	*-m*	(Bereczki 2005: 189)
	come	NEG.GER	be	1SG	
(6) Tatar	*kil-*	***-mä-***	*-gän-*	*-men*	(Poppe 1964: 59)
	come	NEG	PTCP.PST	1SG	
(7) Chuvash	*kil-*	***-men***			(Benzing 1959: 742)
	come	NEG.PST			
	'I didn't come'				

In these cases Honti (1997c: 249) thinks that there is no serious reason to presume a Turkic influence on the development of Mari and Udmurt

negative verbal forms. In my opinion the fact that these languages share an unwitnessed resultative past unknown in other Finno-Ugric languages (on evidentiality in the Uralic languages see Abondolo 1998: 28) and common to practically all the Turkic languages is in favour of a Turkic linguistic influence in the Volga-Kama basin. The corresponding negative verbal forms though far from being structurally identical are nevertheless remarkably similar, and I think that mainly Tatar rather than Chuvash has played an important role in giving rise to the Finno-Ugric negative second past in the Volga area.

3.3. Negation conditioned stress in Udmurt: Is it due to Tatar?

Differences in stress type are quite remarkable across Permic languages. Komi-Zyrian has free, non-phonological stress (except in recent Russian loanwords), Komi-Permyak has fixed stress, lexicalized, quite frequently but not always on the first syllable (some derivational and inflectional suffixes are always unstressed), Udmurt has phonological stress. In Udmurt the stress generally falls on the last syllable but in certain verb forms it can move to the first syllable, i.e. in imperative and negativized forms, cf. *verá* 's/he speaks' vs. *véra* 'speak!' and *todïs'kó* 'I know' vs. ***ug*** *tódïs'ky* 'I don't know' (Csúcs 1998: 280-281; Keľmakov & Hännikäinen 1999: 17-18). According to Csúcs (2005: 159), Udmurt originally had stress on the first

syllable, whereas the stress on the last syllable found in modern Udmurt seems to be the result of Tatar influence.

Stress has a phonological value in Tatar (Zakiev et al. 1995: I, 96-102; Berta 1998: 284), cf. a minimal pair such as Tatar *almá* ‘apple’ vs. *ál**ma*** ‘don’t take!’. The same holds for Bashkir (Juldašev 1981: 68). As for stress on the last syllable, cf. (8)-(10).

(8) Udmurt	*korká*	*korka-ós*	*korka-os-ýn*
	house	house-PL	house-PL-INE
(9) Tatar	*öj*	*öj-lə́r*	*öj-lär-də́*
	house	house-PL	house-PL-LOC
(10) Bashkir	*öj*	*öj-δə́r*	*öj-δär-də́*
	house	house-PL	house-PL-LOC
	‘house’	‘houses’	‘in the houses’

Stress retraction in imperative second person singular is shared by Udmurt and Tatar with Bashkir (in the latter optionally), cf. (11)-(14).

(11) Udmurt *lýdžy* (Keľmakov & Hännikäinen 1999: 17)

(12) Tatar *úky* (Safiullina 1991: 26)

(13) Bashkir *úqy* (Poppe 1964: 19)

(14) Bashkir *uqý* (Dmitriev 2008: 55)

'read!'

Obviously, standard negation is different in Udmurt, which has a negative auxiliary, and Tatar, with its negative suffix after the verbal stem. The fact that in both languages stress undergoes a shift (in Udmurt it falls on the first syllable of the lexical verb, namely, the verbal stem; in Tatar, it falls before the negative suffix, namely, on the first syllable of the verb, the verbal stem) is in my opinion no coincidence, cf. (15)-(16).

(15) Udmurt ***ug*** *mýnïs'ky* (Keľmakov & Hännikäinen 1999: 17)

(16) Tatar *bár**my**jm* (Safiullina 1991: 114)

'I don't go'

The Tatar accent shift is inherited from Proto-Turkic (see Arakin 1984: 403-421) as demonstrated, for instance, by the fact that in Turkish, a related but quite distant Turkic language, stress has practically the same behaviour as it has in Tatar (see Kornfilt 1997: 503-505; Lewis 2000: 19-23).

3.4. Is the Chuvash prohibitive an Udmurt borrowing?

Modern Chuvash has a preverbal prohibitive particle that can been explained by Permic influence. The mutual linguistic influence between Mari and Chuvash is well known. As Clark (1998: 434) puts it: "Although Chuvash has retained most of the common Turkic morphosyntax and lexicon, these changes and especially those associated with the assimilation of Mari (Cheremis) tend to obscure its Turkic character" and "[t]here are more than a hundred Mari loanwords, especially in the Sundyr and other dialects, that reflect the assimilation by the Chuvash of a local Mari population" (Clark 1998: 451), cf. also Agyagási (2000) for more details. There is no doubt that Chuvash and Mari have had a particular relationship (see Fedotov 1990), but Chuvash and Permic have also been in contact as revealed by Permic influences in parts of the Chuvash lexicon. While all the other Turkic languages have negative imperatives formed by means of the negative suffix *-mA*, Chuvash differs in having a prohibitive particle preposed to the imperative form of the verb (= verbal stem): "With second- and third-person imperatives, Chuvash uses the preposed negative particle *an*, e.g., ***An*** *pïr* 'Do not go!', whereas other Turkic languages use *-mA*, e.g., *Bar**ma**!* 'Do not go!'" (Clark 1998: 434), cf. also Chuvash ***An*** *kay* 'Do not leave!' (Clark 1998: 450). The difference between Chuvash and the other

Turkic languages and the resemblance between Chuvash and the Permic languages can be shown as in (17)-(22).

(17) Yakut	*suruj*	*suruj**ma***	(Xaritonov 1987: 15, 26)
(18) Turkish	*yaz*	*yaz**ma***	(Kenessey & Öztürk 1985: 205)
(19) Tatar	*jaz*	*jaz**ma***	(Safiullina 1991: 26)
(20) Chuvash	*śyr*	***an** śyr*	(Krueger 1961: 159)
(21) Udmurt	*gož”ja*	***ėn** gož”ja*	(Tixonova 2009: 8)
(22) Komi	*gіž*	***ėn** gіž*	(Avril 2006: 71)
	‘write!’	‘do not write!’	

Benzing (1959: 745) has Chuvash “*an* (< **än*?)” supposed to be of Finno-Ugric origin but without a precise source. In 1960, Baskakov identified that source to be in the Udmurt language (see Baskakov 2008: 114) and Egorov (1964: 26-27, s.v. *an* IV) accepted his hypothesis. Menges (1995: 154) left open the issue, not excluding an Altaic origin from **e-ŋ*, **e-n* or *e-ne* (Altaic **e-* is the negative verb, cf. Uralic **e-*). Levitskaja (1976: 78) did not declare her opinion about the origin of the Chuvash negative particle, either. In my opinion, Chuvash *an* ‘don’t!’ can easily be derived from **än*, cf. “Co[mmon] Tu[rkic] **ä* corresponds to Chuvash *a* in all positions.” (Krueger 1961: 61), e.g., Chuvash *avlan-* ‘to marry’ (lit. ‘to make a house for oneself’) from **äv-län-* < **äv* ‘house’ (cf. Turkish *evlen-* ‘to get

married': *ev* 'house'), and Udmurt *ė-* in initial position is frequently pronounced [ɛ], thus Chuvash *a* < **ä* < Udmurt [ɛ] can easily be conceived (cf. Rédei & Róna-Tas 1980: 126). The prohibitive verb in the Permic languages is reconstructed **en* by Csúcs (2005: 270), even though some details are not clear. Udmurt imperative is dealt with in Csúcs (1990: 54, 1998: 292) and Kel'makov & Hännikäinen (1999: 195-196). Stress in Udmurt can fall either on the prohibitive verb or on the lexical verb, cf. ***ém*** *iz'* ~ ***ėn*** *íz'* 'don't sleep!' (Keľmakov & Hännikäinen 1999: 17-18), an alternation similar to the one observed in Bashkir positive imperative, see (13) and (14). Strangely enough Fedotov (1996: I, 43-45, s.v. *an* IV) claims that it was Udmurt (and Komi!) that most probably borrowed from Chuvash. Fedotov, following Ramstedt (1957: 82), preferred to see the origin of Chuvash *an* in an Altaic framework, comparing Proto-Chuvash **i̯ėn* with Mongolic *e-se* 'not' and Tungusic *emi* and *esin* 'not' from **i̯ė*. A more accurate account is found in the Old Turkic grammar by Kononov (1980: 171) where he relates Chuvash *an* to Manchu-Tungusic *ä-* ~ *a-* 'not to be', Mongolic *äsä* (~*äs*), Oghuz *aŋ* 'yok [non-existent]' and 'değil [not]' and Turkish *anna* 'hayır [no]', inspired by an article by Ramstedt (1924).[9] Despite the prestige of the above mentioned scholars I think that evidence in favour of an Altaic source is very weak. Rédei & Róna-Tas (1980: 125) already pointed out the fact that there is no trace of **e-* in any Turkic

[9] Ramstedt (1952: II, 83) has Chuvash *an* from **eŋ* < negative verb **e-*.

language. I can add that Oghuz (the ancestor of Ottoman and Modern Turkish) *aŋ* is attested only in the *Dīwān al-luġāt at-Turk* (Compendium of the languages of the Turks) written in Arabic in 1072-1074 by Maḥmūd al-Kāšġarī: in a recent edition of this extraordinary book of the 11th century *aŋ* appears written in Arabic-Persian script as <'ank> and it is translated into Russian with 'нет [no]' (Maḥmūd al-Kāšġarī 2005: 79, n° 57). As for Turkish, *anna* 'no' is recorded in the Turkish dialect dictionary known as *Derleme Sözlüğü*. The expression was heard in the town of Çal (province of Denizli, South-West Anatolia) in a piece of conversation: – *Oğlum bu gün pazara git. –* ***Anna*** *git****me****m* (Vardarlı & Dilçin 1993: I, 275), i.e. "– My son, today go to the market. – No, I don't go". I think that Turkish *anna* could be connected with Turkic **ana* 'there (it is)', though not mentioned by Sevortjan (1974: 147-149), cf. also Räsänen (1969: 360b, s.v. *o*, *ol* (*~an*)) and, especially, *ana* (*ene*, *anav*) 'here, here you are' and 'merely, simply' in Clauson (1972: 170, s.v. *ona*). According to Johanson (2002: 79), the Chuvash negative particle derives from a Finno-Ugric verb of negation, and ***an*** *śïr!* 'don't write' is a mixed copy (combinational copy plus global copy). Therefore I agree with Menz (2011: 168): "Negation is regular […] except in Chuvash, where the negated imperative is formed by a prepositive element *an*, which is most probably of Finno-Ugric origin: *śïr* 'write!', ***an*** *śïr* 'don't write!'." Moreover, I think that the major objection to a Turkic origin of Chuvash *an* 'do not!' is of a typological nature: the preverbal

position of *an* (in the second but also third person singular and plural)[10] is an absolutely anti-Turkic feature and is in striking contrast even in Chuvash prohibitive paradigm: in the third person imperative (-optative) the Chuvash negative particle *mar* is regularly inserted after the verb.

Van der Auwera & Lejeune (2005: 290-293) have proposed a four-way typology of negative imperatives (prohibitives) in the second person singular according to whether or not the marking of negation is different from the marking of negation in declaratives and whether or not the marking of the imperative differs from its marking in positive imperatives in a sample of 495 languages. In the first type the prohibitive uses the imperative combined with the negative strategy of the declarative forms: this is the case of Turkish (van der Auwera & Lejeune 2005: 290), and indeed the case of all the Turkic languages except Chuvash. Chuvash has shifted to the second type individuated by van der Auwera & Lejeune (2005: 290), i.e. it preserves the imperative form but uses a different negative strategy from that employed in declarative forms, as happens in Udmurt. Moreover, as has

[10] According to Benzing (1959: 745) also the first person singular admits *an* optionally, cf. ***an*** *śyr-am* = *śyr-am* ***mar*** (should I not write) as the third person singular, ***an*** *śyr-tăr* = *śyr-tăr* ***mar***, whereas all the plural forms need to be expressed by the prepositive *an*. Krueger (1961: 159), Andreev (1997: 72) and Emel'janova (2002: 42) have only the postpositive *mar* for the first person singular and plural.

been shown, Chuvash differs from all the other Turkic languages in having the negator preposed to the imperative form.

Quite interestingly, an entire prohibitive phrase in Chuvash has been adopted by Tatar, cf. Tatar ***an****šarla* 'shut up!' < Chuvash ***an*** *šarla* 'don't speak!' (see Räsänen 1969: 20a; Rédei & Róna-Tas 1980: 126; Fedotov 1996: II, 436, s.v. *šarla* II), cf. Chuvash *šarla* 'to speak, etc. ' (Skvorcov 1985: 605, s.v. *šarla* II). Thus, also Tatar has borrowed (via Chuvash) the prohibitive Udmurt verb, albeit in a lexicalized, opaque and unproductive form.

4. Conclusions

Standard negation is expressed in different ways in Uralic and in Turkic languages. Finno-Ugric and Samoyedic languages use syntactic negation with either a preverbal negative auxiliary or a preverbal negative particle (or both of them according to different tense-aspect-mood morphology), see 2.1. Turkic languages use mainly morphological negation by a specific affix after the verbal stem (postverbal particles of different origin are also used), see 2.2. Summarizing the results of this paper, I have examined four cases of possibile linguistic contacts as regards standard negation (3.1, 3.2, 3.3) and prohibitive (3.4) in the Volga-Kama area. To the three cases already

studied by scholars, I have added the hypothesis of a connection between Udmurt and Tatar stress shift in standard negation (3.3). Some of the cases at issue are disputable and have been interpreted in different ways in the previous literature. In my opinion, after scrutinizing various standpoints and analysing data, in all the four cases Turkic influence on the Finno-Ugric languages of the Volga-Kama area is highly probable. In three cases out of four, the Finno-Ugric languages have undergone Turkic influence (3.1, 3.2, and 3.3). In the case of the Moksha negative conditional (3.1) the structural similarity between the Moksha verbal morphology and Tatar and Chuvash verbal forms speak in favour of a possible double influence in this westernmost language of the Volga area. The hypothesis that the negative second past in Hill Mari and Udmurt is due to Turkic influence (3.2) is reinforced by the evidential (unwitnessed or non-firsthand) value of this verbal tense, a feature typical of Turkic languages. In this case, for morphological reasons, I think that Tatar rather than Chuvash could be the source of the Hill Mari and (southern) Udmurt synthetic negative past, notwithstanding Bereczki's opinion. Moreover, Udmurt has a stress shift when the verb is negativized, a feature that can be compared with stress shift in Tatar (3.3). Stress shift in negativized verbs is reconstructed for Proto-Turkic, thus in this respect Udmurt must have undergone a Tatar influence. In only one case out of four (3.4) has it been shown that a Finno-Ugric language exerted influence on a Turkic language. The Chuvash

preverbal negative particle *an* expressing prohibitive in the second and third person bears striking resemblance to the Udmurt prohibitive second person singular *ėn*. This fact cannot be denied, while the alternative, Altaic-related hypotheses are highly speculative. Moreover, the typological deviance of the Chuvash prohibitive from the general type of negation in the language (in fact common to all Turkic languages), i.e. from the constraint that it cannot admit a negator before the verbal stem elsewhere in the paradigm, confirms the likelihood of an Udmurt borrowing in Chuvash.

In a nutshell, as in the case of lexical borrowings and some phonological and syntactical aspects already recorded in the existing literature, Finno-Ugric and Turkic contact-induced features demonstrate, in the case of negation as well, that conditions of extended bilingualism or multilingualism have left their mark in the Volga-Kama area.

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