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**NOTES TO SECOND PERSON IMPERATIVE FORMS IN  
MODERN TURKIC LANGUAGES\***

*ÇAĞDAŞ TÜRK LEHÇELERİNDE İKİNCİ KİŞİ EMİR KİPİNE DAİR NOTLAR*

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***Abstract***

Imperative mode in the Turkic languages is one of the oldest finit forms which has been used since Old Turkic period and is used today. We study in our article 2. person imperative forms being used in modern Turkic languages and we only mention those forms documented in the historical Turkic languages.

We try to bring all the imperative forms of second person singular and plural together and to investigate them morphologically, semantically and etymologically, wheras we exclude those of the other persons from the study because, we think, it would exceeds the borders of this article.

Imperative forms of the second person express direct orders or prohibitions directed to addressee. The bare verb stems, namely those

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without any morphems added, form second person imperative singular in all the historical and modern Turkic languages. In order to emphasize an order/a prohibition directed to the second person singular, morphems such as in -*GIl*, -*GIn* -*ČI*, -*SAnA*, are used widely, whereas morphems like -*TAK*, -*tađı*, -*U*, *Tı*, -*GUr* etc. are used rather limitedly.

The morphems such as in-(*I*)N, -(*I*)Nıız, -(*I*)NLAr, -(*I*)NIZLAR, -sINıız are used widely, to build second person plural, whereas forms like *dı:z*, -(*I*)ş, -*zAGAr*, -*silA*, -*A:rIn* etc. are used more limitedly.

**Key Words:** Imperative, morphology, modern Turkic languages, conjugation, mood.

### Öz

Emir kipi, Türk dilinin şekil ve zaman ekleri içinde en eski olanlarından birisidir ve Eski Türkçe döneminden beri kullanılmış ve bugün de kullanılmaya devam etmektedir. Biz bu araştırmamızda esasen çağdaş Türk lehçelerinde kullanıldığını tespit edebildiğimiz teklik ve çokluk ikinci kişi emir eklerini bir araya getirip bunların işlevleri ve bazılarının kökenlerini de ele alarak bu biçimbirimlerin tarihi Türk yazı dillerindeki durumlarına da kısaca değindik. Teklik ve çokluk 1. ve 3. kişi emir ekleri ise çalışmamızın boyutlarını çok büyüteceğinden çalışmamızın dışında tutulmuştur.

Teklik ve çokluk 2. kişi emir kipi, dinleyen ya da dinleyenlere, eylemin yapılması ya da yapılmaması hususunda doğrudan emir veya yasak ifade eder. Yalın biçimdeki fiil kök ya da gövdeleri, yani bunların ek almamış hâlleri, bütün tarihi ve çağdaş Türk lehçelerinde teklik 2. kişi emir ifadesi için kullanılmaktadır. Ancak tarihi ve çağdaş Türk lehçelerinde emir kipinin kuvvetlendirilmesi, nazik , daha yumuşak vb. biçimlerde ifade edilmesi için ihtiyari olarak -*GIL*, -*GIN*, -*ČI*, -*SANA* gibi yaygın biçimbirimlerin yanında daha sınırlı olarak -*TAK*, -*tađı*, -*U*, *Tı*, -*GUr* gibi biçimbirimlerin de kullanıldığı görülmektedir.

Çokluk 2. kişi emir kipinin, tarihi ve çağdaş Türk yazı dillerinde-(*I*)N, -(*I*)Nıız, -(*I*)NLAr, -(*I*)NIZLAR, -sINıız gibi yaygın biçimbirimlerin yanında -*dı:z*, -(*I*)ş, -*zAGAr*, -*silA*, -*A:rIn* gibi daha sınırlı biçimbirimlerin yardımıyla da kurulduğu görülmektedir.

**Anahtar kelimeler:** emir kipi, morfoloji, çağdaş Türk lehçeleri, fiil çekimi, kip ekleri.

## Introduction

Imperative forms, which are a part of Turkic finite forms investigated in verb morphology, express both mood and person by one and the same suffix expressing meanings such as order, wish, warning, stimulus, advice etc.

We investigate in this article morphologically and morphophonetically only second person imperative forms being used in modern Turkic languages, thereby mentioning forms used in the older Turkic languages. We exclude imperative forms of the other persons from the study because, we think, it would exceed the borders of this article.

The second person imperative forms express direct orders or prohibitions directed by the speaker to the listener(s).

The bare verb stems form second person imperative singular in all the old and modern Turkic languages. In order to emphasize orders/prohibitions directed to the second person singular, Common Turkic uses optionally suffixed elements such as *-GIl*, *-GIIn*, *-ÇI*, *-SAnA*, Chuvash *-sAm(čĀ.)*<sup>1</sup>.

In the following, we give firstly forms, which are used in a large areas and then those used more limitedly.

### I. Second person singular imperative forms

#### 1. Zero form (Ø)

All the Turkic languages, both old and modern, use zero form (Ø), namely the verb stem without any suffix attached, to express the second person imperative singular, e.g. Old Turkic *bu süg elt tidi*<sup>2</sup> “lead this army! he ordered”, Karakhanid *bas* “press”, Harezmi *kil* “come”, Old Kipchak *bašba* “begin”, *sözle*<sup>3</sup> “speak”, Turkish, Az., *bašla* “begin” etc.

In Yellow Uygur and Salar, the imperative mood is formed differently from other Turkic languages, in that they place the personal pronoun for the second person singular *sen* before the bare verb stem, e.g. Yellow Uygur *sen pašta* “begin”, *sen kel*<sup>4</sup> “come”, Salar *sen kel* “come”, *sen var*<sup>5</sup> “go”.

#### 2. Form in *-GI*

Old Turkic, Karakhanid, Harezmi, Cuman-Kipchak, Chagatay and Old Anatolian Turkic use, like all the modern Turkic languages, along with the zero form that of in *-GI* for expressing the second person imperative singular, e.g. *esidgil* “hear”, Karakhanid *ayyil* “speak”, *bergil* “give”, Harezmi *baryyil* “go”, *tilegil*<sup>6</sup> “wish”, Chagatay *körgil*<sup>7</sup> “see”, Old Ottoman *ešitgil* “hear”, *qılmaçil*<sup>8</sup> “don’t do”.

<sup>1</sup> Transcription signs used in this paper are those of FundamentalI from 1959.

<sup>2</sup> Tekin 1968:187.

<sup>3</sup> Karamanhoğlu 1994: 117.

<sup>4</sup> Tenišev 1976: 97

<sup>5</sup> Tenišev 1976: 158

<sup>6</sup> Hacıeminoğlu 1997:154

<sup>7</sup> Eckmann 1966: 153

<sup>8</sup> Timurtaş 2005: 148

Of the modern Turkic languages, New Uigur, Qrm-Tat., Tat., Člm., and Khalaj use the zero form or *-GIl*, too, e.g. New Uigur *bolgil*<sup>9</sup> “be”, Qrm-Tat. *añlayıl* (dial.)<sup>10</sup> “understand”, Chulym. *alyıl* “take”, *pergil*<sup>11</sup> “give”, Xalaj *vurııl* “hit”, *tezigil*<sup>12</sup> “run”.

Concerning the origin of *-GIl*, Radloff and Brockelmann claim, that the form *-GIl* came from the verb *qıl-* “do. Shcherbak refuses this idea, because the verb *qıl-* “do” is not used as a descriptive verb in the Turkic languages. According to Baskakov, *-GIl* has to do with the verb form in *-yalı ~-yılı*. Baskakov says, also that the form *-GIl* could be connected in *-GILA*, used in Altay and Kirgiz<sup>13</sup>.

### 3. Form in *-GIn*

The form in *-GIn* (*-qın ~kin~yın ~gin*) used for the second person singular of the imperative mood is only and not widespread as much as *-GIl*.

Harezmi, Kipchak and Chagatay Turkic use the form in *-GIn* for this function mentioned, e.g. Harezmi *qilyın* “do”, *bilgin*<sup>14</sup> “known”, Old Kipchak *kelgin* “come”, *yatqın*<sup>15</sup> “lie”, Chagatay *körgin* “see”, *qilyın*<sup>16</sup> “do”,

Tkm., Uzb., New Uyg., Karaim, Qmk, Kirgiz, Qlp. and Alt. use the form in *-GIn* to express the second person singular of the imperative mood, e.g. Tkm., Qmk., Krg. *alyın* “take”, *bilgin* “known”, Uzb. *başlagın* “begin”, *külgin* “laught”, New Uyg. *qoşkin* “run”, *işlugin*, “work”, Alt. *iştegin* “work”, *ötkin*<sup>17</sup> “pass”.

There is a form in *-gınan ~-gunan ~-gunın ~-gunıñ* used in some Azeri dialects to form the second person singular of the imperative mood. Shiraliev claims that this form is composed of the *-GIn* with the ablative form in *-DAn*, whereby refusing the idea of Caferoğlu that this form could consist of *-GIn + An* “an epenthetic element”.<sup>18</sup>

### 4. Form in *-ČI*

Chagatay is the first language which uses the particle *-čī, -či*, which is common in several modern Turkic languages, sometimes attached to the singular 2nd person to give an overtone of politeness to the order: *içmegen bolsañ, Şibani, bar-čī ol mayhanaia*<sup>19</sup> “if you were one who did not (yet) drink, Şibani, please go to that tavern.”

Of the modern Turkic languages, Uzb., Kar.Balk., Qmk, Tat., Kirgiz, use the form in *-ČI* to emphasize an order. Qzk., Qlk. and Nogay (*-š*, too) have the same form as *-šI* and Bashkir has it in the form of *-sI /-sU*, e.g. Qzk. *sen barşı*<sup>20</sup> “please go”. Kirgiz uses this particle in *-čI* after the bare stem and all imperative-optative form, e.g., *kel-čī* “please come”,

<sup>9</sup> Öztürk 1994: 90

<sup>10</sup> Doerfer 1959:387

<sup>11</sup> Birjukowicz 1981: 69

<sup>12</sup> Şçerbak 1997:474

<sup>13</sup> Şçerbak 1981:47

<sup>14</sup> Ata 2002:80.

<sup>15</sup> Karamanlioğlu 1994 :119.

<sup>16</sup> Eckmann 1966: 153, 155.

<sup>17</sup> Ercilasun 2006: 703.

<sup>18</sup> Şiraliev 1973: 46-47.

<sup>19</sup> Eckmann 1966: 154.

<sup>20</sup> Doğan, Koç 2004: 278-279.

*keliñiz-çi* “please come (pl)”, Nogay *bar-ši* “please go”, *ber-ši* “please give”, *-kara-š* “please look”, *söylö-š* “please speak” etc.

### 5. Form in –sANA

This form in –SANA (*-sana*, *-sene*, *-saŋa*, *-seŋe*) which consists probably of the second person conditional form and a vocative form in –A, is used in modern Oghuz Turkic languages (Ttū., Azeri and Gagauz –*sana*, *-sene*), and neighboring languages like Qmk, Nog. (*-sana*, *-sene*) and Qrč.Blq. (*-saŋa*, *-seŋe*). It is interesting that the form in –sAnA, which is documented firstly in Old Kipchak to express an order emphatically, e.g. *kelsen e*<sup>21</sup> “do come”. Other examples from the modern languages mentioned above are: TTü. *gelsene* “please come”, Azeri *başlasana* “please begin”, Nogay *barsana* “please go”, *bersene*<sup>22</sup> “please give” etc.

### 6. Form in –SAŋ

This form in –SAŋ (*-saŋ*, *-sen*, *-zaŋ*, *-zeŋ*) which is actually the conditional form of common Turkic, is used in Altai Turkic (*-saŋ*, *-seŋ*) and in Shor Turkic (*-zaŋ*, *-zeŋ*, *-saŋ*, *-seŋ*), and Qmk. (*-san*, *-sen*), New Uigur (*-saŋ*, *-seŋ*) to express the second person singular of the imperative mood, e.g. *Altay boš bolsoŋ, kelseŋ*<sup>23</sup> “if you are free, come”, Shor *ayt perzeŋ* “speak”, *sarın uqsaŋ* “listen to the song”, *körzeŋ*<sup>24</sup> “see”. Uzbek uses the form in –*sang-çi* which composed of the second person singular of the conditional mood and the partikel –*çi*, in order to express a command very mildly, eg. *gapirsang-çi*<sup>25</sup> “please speak”

### 7. Form in –TAK

The form in –TAK (*-tax*, *-tek*, *-dax*, *-dek*) is used in Xakas only to express the second person singular of the imperative mood, eg. *pirdek* “please give”, *tariŋmayardax*<sup>26</sup> “don’t be sorry”.

### 8. Form in –tayi

The form in –*tayi* is used in Nogay only to express milder order directed to the listener , eg.

*bar-tayi* “please go”, *ber-tayi*<sup>27</sup> “please give”.

### 9. Form in –U

The verb form in –U (*-u*, *-ü*) which we find in Chagatay as a form expressing the imperative second person singular after verbs ending in –*ar/-er*, is used rarely, e.g. *baru* “go”, *yiberü*<sup>28</sup> “send”.

<sup>21</sup> Karamanlioğlu 1994:117

<sup>22</sup> Baskakov (1973):244-246

<sup>23</sup> Pritsak 1959:591

<sup>24</sup> Dırankova, N.P. (1940): 168-169

<sup>25</sup> Kononov 1960:207

<sup>26</sup> Baskakov (1975):189-191.

<sup>27</sup> Baskakov 1973:244-246.

<sup>28</sup> Eckmann 1966: 154.

### 10. Form in *-Tī*

The form in *-Tī* (*-tī*, *-nī*) is preserved in the Xalič dialect of Karaim rudimentary, to express an order politely, e.g. *bagin-tī* “please look”, *k’el-nī*<sup>29</sup> “come”.

### 11. Form in *-GUr*

The form in *-GUr* is used in Uzbek to express a wish and a curse (*-γir*, *-gir*, *γur*-, *-gur* - *qir*-, *kir*, *qur*-, *-kur*), whereas it expresses a curse only in Qmk. and Nogai (*-γir*, *-gir*, *-γur*, *-gür*), eg. Nog. *qirilgin* “be perished”, *nalet bolgur taw*<sup>30</sup> “a mountain that should be damned”, Uzbek *boj bo’lgir*<sup>31</sup> “I wish you be rich”.

### 12. Form in *-sam*

The form in *-sam*, which is probably the plural form in Chuvash, is used in the same language to express an order directed to the second person singular softly, e.g. *pyrsa un sine alluna hursam*<sup>32</sup> “you should come and lie your hand on her”.

### 13. Form in *-ArIy*

The form in *-ArIy* (*-ariy*, *-eriy*) which is a loan element from Mongol (< *-aray* <\* *-γaray*) forms the future second person imperative mood in Jakut, e.g. *käläriy*<sup>33</sup> “come later”.

### 14. Form in *-ka:zıη*

The form in *-ka:zıη* is used in Chulym Turkic to express an order which will be done later, eg. *tamna tutka:zıη qara-quzuruq* “catch sable tomorrow”, *tamna barsaη paliqtap, qoiay tutqa:zıη* “If you go fishing tomorrow, catch pike”. According to Burjukowich, the origin of *-ka:z*, a component of the form *ka:zıη*, is the causative morphem found in the Orchon inscription<sup>34</sup>.

### 15. Form in *-GinA*

The form in *-GinA* (*-iina*, *-gine*, *-qina*, *-kine*) is used in literary New Uigur, to express an order directed to the second person singular, softly, e.g. *bu yerge kelgine*<sup>35</sup> “come please to this place”.

## II. Second person plural imperative forms

### 1. Form in *-(I)η*

Second person plural of the imperative mood is formed in Old Turkic, Karakhanid, Harezmi, Cuman-Kipchak, Chagatay and Old Anatolian Turkic with forms such as *-(I)η*, which is common in modern Turkic languages, too, e.g. Old Turkic *bar-iη* “go (pl.)”, *olur-uη*<sup>36</sup> “stay (pl.)”, Karakhanid *al-iη* “take”, *ber-iη*<sup>37</sup> “give”, Harezmi *başla-η* “begin”, *kör-üη*<sup>38</sup> “see”

<sup>29</sup> Pritsak 1959:336.

<sup>30</sup> Pritsak 1959:336.

<sup>31</sup> Kononov 1960:206.

<sup>32</sup> Benzing 1959:745

<sup>33</sup> Poppe 1959: 682

<sup>34</sup> Burjukowich 1981:72

<sup>35</sup> Pritsak 1959:556

<sup>36</sup> Tekin 1968:188

<sup>37</sup> Hacıeminoğlu 1996:153

<sup>38</sup> Ata 2002: 80.

Old Kipçak *al-iη* “take”, *ber-iη*<sup>39</sup> “give”, Chagatay *eyle-η* “do”, *kör-üη* “see”, Old Ottoman *diηläη* “hear”, *eydüη*<sup>40</sup> “speak”.

## 2. Form in *-(I)ηIz*

The form in *-(I)ηIz*, which composed of *-(I)η* and *-Iz*, a old plural suffix, as preserved in the second person plural possessive suffix in Xarezm, Cuman-Kipçak, Chagatay and Old Anatolian Turkic *-ηIz* and the second person plural preterite in *-DIηIz*, expresses the second person plural imperative in languages excluding Old Turkic and Karakhanid e.g. Chagatay *salīηiz* “throw”, *туруηuz*<sup>41</sup> “stand”, Harezm *oquηiz* “read”, *kiriηiz*<sup>42</sup> “come in”. Cuman-Kipçak, Old Anatolian Turkic, Codex Cumanicus, Qrč.blq., Qmq., Tat. and Bšk. have the fricative forms like *-iηiz*, *-igiz*, *-uyuz*, *-ügiz* and Karaim has the forms *-iηiz*, *-iyiz*, *-uyuz*, *-üyiz* in its Troki dialect to express and the second person plural imperative mood, e.g. Tatar *qarayiz* “look”, *kitēgēz*<sup>43</sup> “go”, Karaim (Troki) *külmäyiz* “dont laugh”, *gäliyiz*<sup>44</sup> “come”.

Yellow Uigur lost, like Salar, the imperative morpheme of the second person plural *-ηiz*, used in other turkic languages but Chuvash (Tenišev 1976:97).

Salar lost, like Yellow Uigur, as mentioned above, the imperative morpheme of the second person plural *-ηiz*, used in other Turkic languages excluding Chuvash. From the XV. Century on begins it to decline in use and gradually it goes out of use. (Tenišev 1976:158-160)

## 3. Form in *-(I)ηLAR*

The form in *-(I)ηLAR* which consist of *-(I)η* and *-LAR*, the plural suffix in Common Turkic, is used widely in languages like Old Turkic, Karakhanid, Xarezm, Cuman, Chagatay, Uzb., New Uigur, Qazak, Qlp and Xakas (*-nar*, *-ner*, *-iηar*, *-iηer*), to express an order directed to the second person plural, e.g. Xakas *sadiηar* “sell”, *sineηer*<sup>45</sup> “measure”, Uzbek *o'tiraberinglar*<sup>46</sup> “plase sit down”.

## 4. Form in *-(I)ηIzLAR*

The form in *-(I)ηIzLAR* which consist of *-(I)η + Iz* “a old plural suffix” + *-LAR*, the plural suffix in Common Turkic, is used in Chagatay, Uzbek, Kirgiz and Qazaq, to express an order mildly, eg. Chagatay *salīηizlar* “throw”, *soriηizlar*<sup>47</sup> “ask aquestion”, Kirgiz *baştaηizdar* “begin”, *aliηizdar* “take”, *keliηizder*<sup>48</sup> “come”, Qazaq *qaraηizdar* “look”, *keliηizder*<sup>49</sup> “come”, Uzbek *xormangizlar*<sup>50</sup> “dont be tired”.

<sup>39</sup> Karamanlioğlu 1994: 119.

<sup>40</sup> Timurtaş 2005: 148.

<sup>41</sup> Eckmann 1966:153.

<sup>42</sup> Ata 2002: 81.

<sup>43</sup> Poppe 1968: 64.

<sup>44</sup> Musaeu 1964:268.

<sup>45</sup> Baskakov 1975:189-191

<sup>46</sup> Kononov 1960:206

<sup>47</sup> Eckmann 1966:153-155

<sup>48</sup> Kasapoğlu Çengel 2005: 234-238

<sup>49</sup> Doğan, Koç 2004:278-279

<sup>50</sup> Kononov 1960: 206

### 5. Form in *-sAnIzA*

The form in *-sAnIzA* which composed of the conjugated form of the second person plural conditional and of an vocative element in *-A*, is used mainly in the Oghuz languages excluding Turkmen, to express an order directed to the second person plural, e.g., Turkish, Azeri and Gagauz *alsanıza* “take”, *gelsenize* “come”.

### 6. Form in *-sIηIz*

The form in *-sIηIz* (*-sīηiz*, *-siηiz*, *-suηuz*, *-sūηüz*) which is originally the possessive morpheme of the second person plural, is mentioned by Pritsak as a second person plural imperative form in Balqar, where he gives any examples<sup>51</sup>.

### 7. Form in *-dī:z*

Of the modern Turkic languages Xalaj uses the form in *-dīz* to express an order directed to the second person plural, eg. *aldī:z*<sup>52</sup> “take”.

### 8. Form in *-(I)š*

The form in *-(I)š* whose origin is the reciprocal voice in Turkic languages, is used in Chulym Turkic to express the second person plural imperative mood, eg. *ališ* “take”, *beriš* “give”, *perbeš*<sup>53</sup> “do not give”.

### 9. Forms in *-zAGAr*, *-(I)GAr*, *-GIAGAr* and *-lAr*

The forms in *-(I)GAr* (*-γar*, *-γär*, *-iyar*, *-iyär*), *zAGAr* (*zayar*, *-zäyär*), *-GIAGAr* (*-yīlayar*, *-qīlayar*) and *-lAr* (*-lar*, *-ler*) are used in Altai Turkic to express the second person plural imperative mood, e.g. *ponī yi-ler*, *men kelbe:nçe parbalar*<sup>54</sup> “eat this, and do not go untill I’ll come back”.

### 10. Form in *-silA*

The Uigur literary language use the form in *-silA* (*-sila*, *-sile*), as mentioned by Pritsak<sup>55</sup> in his article on it where there is any exemplar.

### 11. Form in *-A:rIη*

Jakut Turkic uses the form in *-A:rIη* (*-a:riη*, *-e:riη*) to form the future second person imperative mood, e.g. *kälä:riη*<sup>56</sup> “come later”.

### 12. Form in *-Ār(sam)*

The form in *-Ār(sam)* (*-arsam*, *-ersem*) is used in Chuvash to express the second person plural imperative form, e.g. *jar-ār-sam*<sup>57</sup> “send”.

### Negative Forms of the Second Person Singular and Plural Imperatives

Negative form of the second person singular and plural imperatives is formed regularly in Common Turkic by placing the negative morpheme *-MA* after the verb stem, e.g. Turkish

<sup>51</sup> Pritsak 1959:363

<sup>52</sup> Şçerbak 1997: 474

<sup>53</sup> Bitjukowich 1981:69

<sup>54</sup> Pritsak 1959:591

<sup>55</sup> Pritsak 1959:556

<sup>56</sup> Poppe 1959:582

<sup>57</sup> Benzing 1959:746

*gelme, gelmeyin* “don't come”, *gelmesenize* “do not come (pl.)”, *alma, almasana* “don't take”, *almayınız, almasanıza* “do not take (pl.)”, Chulyim *alba, albayıl* “don't take”, *perbeş, perbeşkil*<sup>58</sup> “don't give”, whereas Chuvash uses for this function the particle “*an*” placed before the verb stem (suffixed the imperative morpheme), e.g. *an kala* “don't speak”, *an kalăr*<sup>59</sup> “do not speak (pl.)”.

### Conclusion

After investigating the second person imperative forms in modern Turkic languages we conclude:

1. The zero form ( $\emptyset$ ), namely the verb stem without any suffix attached, is used in all the Turkic languages, both old and modern, to express the second person imperative singular.

2. In order to express an order mildly or emphatically, the Turkic languages use for second person imperative singular the following forms: 1) *-Gİl*, 2) *-Gİn*, 3) *-GİnA*, 4) *-čİl*, 5) *-sAnA*, 6) *-sAη*, 7) *-Arİy*, 8) *-gİr*, 9) *-TAK*, 10) *-tayı*, 11) *-U*, 12) *-Tİ*, 13) *-sam* and 14) *-Arİy*.

3. The second person imperative plural is expressed generally by the form *-(I)η* and by forms which consist of *-(I)η + -Iz* or *-(I)η + -LAr* or *-(I)η + -Iz + -LAr*, namely, by *-(I)ηIz*, *-(I)ηLAr* and *-(I)ηIzLAr*. Some of these forms are used to express a mild order directed to a listener.

4. The second person imperative plural is expressed in those Turkic languages which do not use *-(I)η(Iz/LAr)*, by the following forms, too: 1) *-sANİzA*, 2) *-(I)GAr*, *-zAGAr*, *-GİlAGAR*, *-(l)Ar*, 3) *-(I)š*, 4) *-silA*, 5) *-arsam*, 6) *-diz*, 7) *-sIηIz*, 8) *-Arİη*, 9) *-Ār(sam)*.

5. Salar and Yellow Uigur do not use the imperative forms which are common to other Turkic languages, for this function they display a structure consisting of a personal pronoun + bare verb stem.

6. Jakut and Chulyim Turkic have two imperative forms, namely one for present imperative and one for the future, a special feature displayed in neighboring languages, too.

7. The negative forms of the imperative are formed in Common Turkic by *-MA*, whereas Chuvash uses for this function the particle “*an*” placed before the verb stem.

### Abbreviations of Turkish Languages

Bšk.	:Bashkir
Člm.	:Chulyim
Krg.	:Kirgiz
Nog.	:Nogai
Qlk.	:Qaraqalpaq
Qmk.	:Qumuk
Qrč.Blq.	:Qaračay-Balqar

<sup>58</sup> Birjukowich 1981:69

<sup>59</sup> Benzing 1959:745

Qrm-Tat.:Krim Tatar

Qzk. :Qazaq

Tat. :Tatar

Tkm. :Turkmen

Ttü. :Turkish

Uzb. :Uzbek

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