Kazakh hypocorisms
in a comparative perspective

Irina Nevskaya & Saule Tazhibayeva

The article deals first and foremost with Kazakh hypocorisms. This category is intertwined with the categories of the Diminutive and the Vocative, as well as with the category of subjective evaluation of reality, in particular in the formation of endearment and honorific terms. Diminutive markers may build hypocorisms and vocative forms (along with building new lexemes), and hypocorisms, together with endearment and honorific formations of nouns expressing interpersonal relations, may act as vocatives. Each language has its own system for expressing these categories, comprising both grammatical and lexical devices.

Hypocorisms are built in very different ways in Turkic languages, employing affixation (e.g. diminutive, endearment and honorific affixes) and other means (syncopation, ellipsis, etc.). Kazakh hypocorisms are formed with specialized affixes that are used exclusively to build endearment (affectionate) and honorific hypocorisms from reduced person noun stems, mostly not used as separate lexemes. Diminutive affixes on common nouns do not build hypocorisms. In contrast, Tuvan practically does not use any diminutive, endearment or honorific affixes to build hypocorisms, as the respective morphemes have been incorporated into Tuvan full names; instead various types of ellipsis and syncopation of full names serve this end. Most South Siberian languages (Shor, Altai, Khakas) use "general" diminutive markers, also applied to common nouns as well to express "objective" evaluation of the size of their referents. Used with person names and nouns expressing interpersonal relations, such diminutive affixes fulfill the function of subjective evaluation of reality, being expressive language means.

Keywords: hypocorisms, diminutive, vocative, endearment and honorific affixes, kinship terms, subjective evaluation, expressive language means

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1. Introductory remarks

This article deals with Kazakh person names and nouns denoting interpersonal social relations (e.g. kinship terms) and their categories: hypocorisms, diminutives,

forms of endearment, honorifics and vocatives that are intertwined with each other in a very complex way.[1]

Diminutive formations have a complex semantic structure and participate in various semantic oppositions. They express smallness in size, which is their prototypical function. The opposite of the diminutive is the augmentative, a morphological form of a word which expresses greater magnitude, often of size but also of other attributes. Thus, the category of the diminutive is connected with the category of quantity and participates in the semantic opposition of "lesser-greater" quantity together with the category of the augmentative. The assessment of whether an entity or quality is smaller than a certain "norm" is a type of subjective evaluation of reality (Plungjan 2011: 149–150).

Diminutive formations are also used to render affect, e.g. an attitude or emotion that a speaker brings to an utterance. In particular, they can form terms of endearment (including nicknames and hypocorisms) expressing sympathy, pity, or a loving and caring attitude, especially when addressing children, but also other loved and cherished persons (e.g. family members, but not only). In certain contexts, they can express other emotions (disrespect, contempt, disgust, etc.), and may be used to humiliate the referent of the term. In these usages, they serve the end of expressing emotions and belong to the category of expressive language means. The latter embraces numerous additional linguistic elements, e.g. interjections, such as the Russian *ax* 'ah!', conveying surprise, delight, or fright, and *ox* 'oh!', conveying sadness or pain; the verbs *axat'* 'to say *ax*; to gasp', *oxat'* 'to say *ox*; to moan', derived from these interjections, etc.

Reduced forms of personal names (*hypocorisms*) practically always have expressive functions, unlike diminutive formations. Quite often, hypocorisms do not carry any diminutive morpheme, but are formed in other ways (e.g. stem syncopation). Nevertheless, they may contain a diminutive suffix. Diminutive formations from person names always have evaluative and expressive functions, unlike those from other noun classes that can only express "smallness", i.e. the prototypical semantics of all diminutives..

In terms of social deixis, hypocorisms (with or without diminutive affixes) express informal, close personal relations. In some cultures, they even may be used when addressing people with lower social standing. In this respect, they are the opposite of honorific language means. As we will show in this article, some *hypocorisms* in Kazakh express exactly the opposite semantics, acting as honorific means.

Hypocorisms are often used as vocative forms, similar to other diminutive formations from bases denoting certain classes of persons: gender and age terms, kinship terms, terms denoting various types of social interaction (e.g. teacher, friend),

etc. Consequently, vocatives, being a special category in Turkic languages (Juldašev 1956), also deserve our attention in this article.

In Turkic studies, diminutives have received more attention that the categories of hypocorisms and vocatives, see 2.1. Nevertheless, they remain a category that has not yet been studied sufficiently. As for research on Turkic hypocorisms, we can mention an article by Dorug-ool A. Monguš devoted to hypocorisms in Tuvan (1973, reprinted in 2009). Scattered comments on hypocorisms can be encountered in derivational morphology descriptions. It is usually stated that diminutive affixes also build diminutive forms of proper names. Concerning Turkic vocatives, we can refer to an article by A. A. Juldašev (1956) on Turkic forms of address.

Different diminutive name forms in Kazakh and other Turkic languages illustrate cultural norms and the ways of addressing each other in formal and informal situations. This article gives a general description of Kazakh hypocorisms and their functions including vocative ones in a cross-Turkic comparative perspective, with a special emphasis on a series of South Siberian Turkic languages belonging to North-East Turkic (e.g. Tuvan, Shor, Altai). Our paper will also look at further means of address used by other Turkic languages.

2. Diminutives

2.1. Turkic diminutives as an object of linguistic research

Diminutives have been a frequent topic of scientific discussion in general and typological linguistics. In particular, much research is devoted to the use of diminutives in connection with children's speech in Russian (Voeikova 1998), Hebrew (Ravid 1998), Finnish (Laalo 1998), Italian (De Marco 1998), and Lithuanian (Savickiene 1998). The formation of diminutive names in Hungarian has been the subject of special research from a phonological perspective (Weijer 1989). There are also recent descriptions of diminutives in lesser studied languages of Eurasia (e.g. see Dolozova 2007 about Itelmen diminutives).

In most Turkic languages, diminutives have not been a topic of special monographic research, a recent study of Khakas being a rare exception (Tarakanova 2011). There are a number of articles describing diminutive formations in Turkmen (Muradov 1975), Kazakh (Mamanova 1983), Shor (Esipova 1998), etc.

Diminutives are usually not mentioned in grammar books (see *Sovremennyj kazaxskij jazyk* 1962). This can be explained by their word-building status; diminutives are considered to belong to lexicon, not grammar. They are mostly described in chapters on word formation alongside other affixes building nouns from nominals. However, we will not find diminutive formations in dictionaries. Thus, they seem to be overlooked by both grammar and lexicon studies of Turkic languages.

2.2. Diminutives' functions

Grammatical and derivational functions of diminutive formations are often distinguished by some authors (e.g. Esipova 1998).

Diminutive affixes can fulfill purely derivational functions forming new words referring to different entities than their bases do: cf. Altai *tülkü-ček* [fox-DIM] 'fox cub' and '(my) dear fox' from *tülkü* 'fox' formed by the diminutive affix *-čAk*. The usage of diminutive suffixes to build names for juvenile animals is a classic example of their derivational functions. In (1), *tülküček* is a diminutive formation that does not denote fully grown foxes that are small in size, but fox cubs. In order to express the smallness of the fox cub, the adjective *kičinek* 'small' is used.

Altai

(1) *Kičinek tülküček ene-zi-niŋ kuyruǵ-ï la kire.*
   small fox.cub mother- POS3-GEN tail-POS3 PTCL till
   'A small fox cub is as long as its mother's tail.'

Along with their derivational use, diminutive formations can express subjective evaluation of an entity. Esipova (1998: 90) distinguishes emotional and non-emotional subjective evaluation expressed by diminutives.[2] In case of non-emotional evaluation of entities, their size is evaluated as comparatively smaller than a certain "norm": e.g. *üy* 'house' and *üy-ček* [house-DIM] 'a small house'. It is an "objectivized", non-emotional evaluation.

In the case of emotional evaluation, a caring and loving attitude, or in certain contexts, disrespect or irony can be expressed by diminutive formations: e.g. neutral *üy* 'house' and *üy-čegeš* [house-DIM] '(my) dear small house', or 'a tiny (old) house'. In this case, the size of the house does not really matter; one can use *üy-čegeš* when speaking about a relatively big house, which probably became very old. In certain contexts, *üy-čegeš* can be used ironically, referring to a big villa as if it were a modest small house. Thus, expressive discourse does not have anything to do with the truth value of propositions expressed by it. Esipova (1998) stresses that Shor diminutives are very often used in emotional expressive speech. Because smallness of living beings is often connected with warm feelings towards them (e.g. attitude toward children), it is not always possible to distinguish these two types of subjective evaluation from each other. Diminutives can express both semantic components simultaneously: the smallness of an object and the speaker's loving attitude toward it.

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2 Compare the position of Marcel Erdal (2004) who also distinguishes two types of evaluative semantics expressed by diminutives: pragmatic evaluation and expressive evaluation.

2.3. The status of diminutive formations

Diminutive formations are mostly treated as separate lexical entities. However, they are quite systematic formations with predictable semantic results (if we leave aside the rather limited lexicalized entities), especially those with evaluative semantics. How should we define diminutive affixes that express the category of subjective evaluation—as grammatical or as derivational ones?

Of course, this is an open question for general and Turkic linguistics. Normally, we would define something as a lexeme and not as a word form if it is stored in the lexicon as a whole and is not composed "on demand" according to certain rules. The opposite is true for grammatical forms of the same word. A lexeme preserves its lexical meaning in all its grammatical forms that are marked by grammar affixes. Derivational affixes form new words with their own paradigms.

Thus, where do evaluative diminutive formations belong—grammar or the lexicon?

In order to answer this question, we also need to take into consideration the following aspects of diminutive formations.

Firstly, diminutive affixes are present in a series of already petrified entities undoubtedly belonging to the lexicon. In this case, their derivational status is clear.

Secondly, there is a variety of diminutive suffixes in each Turkic language; their choice is mostly determined by the morphological context. Thus, in Altai (Čumakaev 2017), the diminutive suffix *-AK* is added to two-syllable stems ending in *n* and *š*: *ḳoyon-oḳ* 'a dear little hare / a leveret, a young hare' (*ḳoyon* 'hare'),[3] *čïčḳan-aḳ* 'a dear little mouse / a young mouse' (*čïčḳan* 'mouse'), *töŋöž-ök* 'a dear small stump' (*töŋöš* 'stump'). The suffix *-Aš* is added to two-syllable stems ending in *k, ḳ* and *ŋ*: *ayaġ-aš* 'a dear little cup' (*ayaḳ* 'cup'), *teertpeeg-eš* 'a dear little flatbread' (*teertpeek* 'flatbread'), *torboġ-oš* 'a dear little bull / a young bull' (*torboḳ* 'bull, ox'), *ḳayïŋ-aš* 'a dear little birch' (*ḳayïŋ* 'birch'); its variant *-š* is added to three-syllable words ending in *o*: *oboġoš* 'a dear little haystack' (*oboġo* 'haystack'). The suffix *-(I)čAk* is added to disyllabic stems ending in a vowel or to one-syllable words ending in a consonant (other than *k, ḳ* and *ŋ*): *tura-čaḳ* 'a dear little house' (*tura* 'house'), *taž-ïčaḳ* 'a dear little stone' (*taš* 'stone').

Thirdly, diminutive affixes can be combined with each other building complex diminutive markers: Altai *suu-čaġ-aš* [river-DIM-DIM] 'dear little river' (*suu* 'river').

Fourthly, various diminutive forms of the same substantive can exist; cf. Shor *üy-ček* 'a little house', *üy-čeg-eš* 'a dear little house'.

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3   With animal names, it is especially difficult to distinguish between the derivational and evaluative functions of diminutives. Diminutives seem to be the most frequent way to form names of young animals. In addition, juvenile animals can be denoted by special lexemes, e.g. Altai *ḳulun* 'foal, colt', and by lexicalized possessive phrases with the head word *bala* 'child', e.g. Altai *čïčḳan* 'mouse'—*čïčḳan-nïŋ bala-zï* [mouse-GEN child-POS3] 'a young mouse, lit.: mouse's child'.

These features of diminutive formations bring them closer to the lexicon than to grammar. It is typical that they are considered to be a part of the word building system of a language and, consequently, that diminutive formants are evaluated as word building ones (Erdal 2004). See, however for example Esipova (1998) who has an opposing point of view on the status of diminutives in Turkic languages, considering them to be representatives of a grammatical category of subjective evaluation of reality (when they serve evaluative and expressive functions).

3. Hypocorisms

Hypocorisms are built in very different ways in Turkic languages, employing affixation (e.g. diminutive, endearment and honorific affixes) and other means (syncopation, ellipsis, etc.).

3.1. Kazakh hypocorisms

Some Kazakh hypocorisms are built by syncopating their parts, which are distinct morphemes (-*bek*, -*bay*, etc.), e.g. *Žamal* from *Žamalbek*. However, they are typically formed by specialized affixes. The Kazakh language has a number of affixes that form hypocorisms, which are primarily used in direct address, but not only. More than one hypocorism can be formed from the same stem. Due to long-term close contacts with the Russian language, Russian diminutive suffixes are sometimes used in such formations.

We distinguish two classes of such formations: hypocorisms expressing affection and endearment, and those expressing respect, which are used as honorific language means.

3.1.1. Kazakh affectionate diminutive names related to children and close relatives

There are a number of patterns of forming hypocorisms that are used to address children and close relatives.

3.1.1.1. Pattern I. Hypocorisms formed by the affix *-(V)š ~ -koš*

The suffix is added to anthroponomical stems ending in a vowel. These hypocorisms express personal closeness and informality.

Official name	Hypocorism
	(PN stem -š)
Madịna (f)	*Madịna-š* 'dearest Madina' (compare *Madịn-očka,* with the Russian suffix *-očka*)
Amịna (f)	*Amịna-š* 'dear Amina' (compare *Amịn-očka*)

If the name ends in a consonant, the stem should be shortened to one syllable; if it ends in a consonant, a variant of the suffix -*š* with a preceding vowel is added; after a reduced stem on a vowel or a sonant, the variant -*koš* is used.

Official name	Hypocorism
	(shortened PN stem -*Vš* / -*koš*)
Ahmet (m)	*Ah-oš* 'dear Ahmet' (compare *Ahmet-ik*)
Aynur̦ (f)	*Ay-koš* 'dear Aynur' (compare *Aynur-očka*)
Žanar (f)	*Ža-koš* 'dear Zhanar' (compare *Žanar-očka*)

If the name consists of more than two syllables, the affix is added to a shortened form of the name consisting of the first two syllables, the last of which should be an open syllable. Distinct morphemes are normally omitted. However, some shortened stems do not form a hypocorism, probably for semantic reasons; *balta* is just 'hammer', not **Balta* '*dear Balta'; *Žuma* is 'Friday', not **Žuma* '*dear Zhuma'.

Baltabay (m)	*Balta-š* 'dear Baltabay' (compare *Baltabay-čik*)
Žum̦abi̦ke (f)	*Žuma-š* 'dear Zhumabike'

If the second syllable is closed, the final consonant is omitted.

Žamalbek (m)	*Žama-š* 'dear Zhamalbek' (compare *Žamal'-čik*)

The hypocorism with the affix -*š* of the name *Abdraxman* (m) is *Ȧb-i̦š* 'dear Abdraxman' (compare *Abdraxman-čik*); probably because the consonant clusters are difficult to pronounce, it gets reduced to one syllable.

This suffix is also added to common nouns referring to persons. In a well-known Kazakh lullaby it is added to the stem *böpe* 'baby', see (2).

(2)	*Ȧldi̦ ȧldi̦ ak̦ böpe-m*	Hushaby my sweet baby child
	Ak̦ tösekke žat böpe-m	My baby, sleep in the safe (white) bed
	Aynalayi̦n böpe-š-i̦m	My dearest sweetheart baby
	Tapti̦m bak̦i̦t özi̦n̦nen	I found happiness from you
	ʸUk̦tay γoyši̦ köke-š-i̦m	Sleep my sweetheart.
	(Kazakh folk lullaby)	

Such formations express affection and love. Affectionate names with the stem containing the suffix -*š* are used by family members to express parents' strong feeling of adoration for their children, grandparents' for grandchildren or relatives' for cousins, nephews and nieces. This is how the elders express their gentle feeling of fondness towards younger ones.

Characteristic features of this pattern are as follows:

Addressee's age:	Speaker's age:
newly born till adult	much older than the addressee

3.1.1.2. Pattern II. Hypocorisms formed by the affix *-š* + the suffix *-ka*

This is a variant of the previous pattern; it combines hypocorisms formed by the Kazakh diminutive suffix *-š* with the suffix *-ka*, apparently copied from Russian. These derivatives express a high degree of personal closeness and informality.

Official name	Hypocorism
	(shortened name stem *-(V)š* / *-koš* + *-ka*)
Bota (f)→	*Bota-š-ka* '(my) dearest Bota' (c. *Botaš-eč-ka*)
Mayra (f) →	*Mayra-š-ka* '(my) dearest Mayra' (c. *Mayra-š-eč-ka*)
Arman (m)→	*Arma-š-ka* '(my) dearest Arman' (c. *Arman-čik*)
Ahmet (m)→	*Ah-oš-ka* '(my) dearest Ahmet' (c. *Ahmet-ik*)

As we see, these suffixes (also combined together) are added to already shortened personal names in order to form their especially affectionate forms.

3.1.1.3. Pattern III. Hypocorisms formed by the morpheme *-žan*

The cliticized morpheme *-žan* (from the Persian noun meaning 'soul') is a dedicated morpheme expressing the speaker's endearment and affection. The *-žån* marker is also used in Uzbek (e.g. *Akmal-žån; Xafîz-žån)*, Turkmen (*Orað-žan*, *Göðel-žan*), and elsewhere (Žanuzakov 1971: 159).

Official Name	Hypocorism
	(PN stem-*žan*)
Aynụr (f)	*Aynụr-žan* 'dearest Aynur, sweetheart Aynur'
Aysụlụ (f)	*Aysụlụ-žan* 'dearest Aysulu, sweetheart Aysulu'
Serịk (m)	*Serịk-žan* 'dearest Serik, sweetheart Serik'
Ahmet (m)	*Ahmet-žan* 'dearest Ahmet'

In cases where the morpheme *-žan* has become part of a full name, the latter does not form a hypocorism with the same affix: *Ayžan (f), Gülžan (f), Seytžan (m), Ahmetžan (m)*, compare the hypocorism *Ahmet-žan* from the full name *Ahmet*.

Formations with *-žan* express personal closeness and informality; see (3). They are also encountered in Kazakh folklore (4) and (5), indicating that this element entered the Kazakh language a long time ago.

(3) [*Serïk*   *Astana-ɣa*   *ket-kelï*   *žat-ïr.*]
     Serik   Astana-DAT   go-INF   lie:AUX-AOR
     "*Serïk-žan,*   *žol-ïŋ*   *bol-sïn*   *de-p"* ata-sï
     PN-DIM   way-POS2SG   be- IMP3   say-CV grandfather-POS3
     bata-sïn   *ber-d-ï.*
     blessing-POS3ACC   give-PST-3
     '[Serik is going to Astana.] "Dearest Serik-dzan, let your way be (successful)
     (i.e. I wish you good luck)," his grandfather blessed him (lit.: gave his blessing).'

(4) *Aynalayïn,* *Šege-žan,*
     dear   PN-DIM
     söz-ïŋ-e   *sonda* *sen-eyïn!*
     word-POS2SG-DAT   then   believe-IMP1SG
     'Dearest , Shege, I will then rely on your word (lit.: believe your word)!'
     (Qïz Žibek 2008: 84)

(5) *Žïbek-žan* *žïgït*   *taŋda-y*   *bïl-d-ï*   *eken*!
     PN-DIM   fellow   choose-CV know-PST-3PTCL
     'It seems that dearest Žibek knew how to choose a fiancé!' (Qïz Žibek 2008: 35)

Characteristic features of formations with *-žan* are as follows:

Addressee's age:	Speaker's age:
newly born till 12	elderly people

3.1.1.4. Pattern IV: Hypocorisms with the suffix *-tay*

The marker *-tay* is added to shortened stems consisting of the first syllable of the name. Hypocorisms with this suffix express sympathy, as well as a loving and caring attitude towards a child on the part of a grown up.

Official Name	Hypocorism (PN stem-*tay*)
Batïrhan (m) →	*Ba-tay* 'dearest Batyrkhan'
Älïmžan (m) →	*Äl-tay* 'dearest Alimzhan'
Küļïmhan (f) →	*Kül-tay* 'dearest Kyulimkhan'
Ḳaldïküļ (m) →	*Ḳal-tay* 'dearest Kaldykyul'

Characteristic features of formations with *-tay* are as follows:

Addressee's age:	Speaker's age:
from 12 till 18	elderly people

The marker *-tay* can be added to Kazakh kinship terms. The resulting formations express a feeling of tenderness while addressing beloved and cherished family members, e.g.:

Kinship terminology →	Diminutive with *-tay*
apa	*apa-tay* 'beloved granny, grandmother' (equivalent to the Russian *babulja*)
ata	*ata-tay* 'beloved grandfather' (equivalent to Russian *dedulja*)
žeŋge	*žeŋge-tay* 'beloved sister-in-law'
aγa	*aγa-tay* 'beloved elder brother/uncle'

Žeŋgetay is mostly used as a vocative word; see (6). It expresses close relatives' respect and affection for their sister-in-law.

(6) *Žeŋge-tay,   šảy   ber-iŋiz-šị!*
     sister-in-law-DIM   tea   give-IMP2PL-PTCL
     'Beloved sister-in-law, be so kind and serve me tea!'

The possessive marker of the first person singular can be added to these formations to express special affection, personal closeness and respect, see (7)–(10).

(7) *Apa-tay-ịm,   awịr-ma-ŋịz-šị*!
     grandmother-DIM-POS1SG   be.ill-NEG-IMP2PL-PTCL
     'My beloved grandmother, please, don't be ill.'

(8) *Apa-tay-ịm   šarša-d-ị.*
     grandmother-DIM-POS1SG   get.tired-PST-3
     'My beloved grandmother has got tired.'

(9) *Žeŋge-tay-ịm   aḳ.köŋịl.*
     sister-in-law-DIM-POS1SG   white.heart
     'My beloved sister-in-law is a very sincere person (lit: 'white heart').'

(10) *Aγa-tay-ịm   Taraz-da.*
     grandfather-DIM-POS1SG   Taraz-LOC
     'My beloved brother is in Taraz (a city).'

3.1.1.5. Pattern V: Hypocorisms with the suffix *-KAn*

In Kazakh, hypocorisms with the marker *-KAn* are widely used to express the small size of their referents (equivalent to formations with the English suffix *-y/-ie*, e.g.: *Elizabeth → Betty*, *Lizzie*). They convey warm affectionate feelings towards the referred person. The *-KAn* markers are added to the first syllable of the name if this

syllable is closed. Its last consonant is omitted if it has a low vowel. In case the first syllable starts with *ķ-*, the suffix is added to the second syllable:

Official name →	Hypocorism
	(shortened PN stem plus -*KAn*)
Šahmụhambet, Šakarịm, Šaɣmerden →	*Šă-ken* '(my) dear Shaken'
Sadwaķas, Sărsenbek, Seyfụlla →	*Să-ken* '(my) dear Saken'
Ķožahmet, Ķožamķụl →	*Ķoža-ķan* '(my) dear Kozhakan'
Rịsgül →	*Rịs-ken* '(my) dear Rysken'

3.1.2. Hypocorisms with honorific semantics

Kazakh has special honorific hypocorisms formed from shortened stems of personal names plus a number of honorific affixes. Honorific forms of personal names convey respect, and are used when addressing or referring to a person.

3.1.2.1. Pattern I: hypocorisms with the affix *-Ake*

These are formed from shortened stems (only the first syllable of the official name) by adding the suffix *-ăke/-eke*. Their function is to express friendly, informal politeness combined with the highest respect. This suffix is used with both male and female names.

Official name	Honorific hypocorism
	(first syllable of full PN stem plus -*Ake*)
Askar (m)→	*Aseke* '(our) highly respected Askar'
Asaụ (m)	*Aseke* '(our) highly respected Asau'
Ălịbek (m) →	*Ăleke* '(our) highly respected Alibek'
Baɣlan (m)→	*Băke* '(our) highly respected Baglan'
Žabayhan (m)→	*Žăke* '(our) highly respected Zhabaykhan'
Malịka (f)→	*Măke* '(our) highly respected Malika'
Saltanat (f)	*Săke* '(our) highly respected Saltanat'
Raụšan (f)	*Răke* '(our) highly respected Raushan'
Serɣazị (m)→	*Săke* '(our) highly respected Sergazy'
Dịnmụhammed (m)	*Dịmeke* '(our) highly respected Dinmuhammed'
Kүldụbala (f)→	*Kүleke* '(our) highly respected Kyuldubala'
Gүlžaxan (f)→	*Gүleke* '(our) highly respected Gyulzhaxan'

When the first syllable is closed, its final consonant is omitted (except for *l*) while its vowel is replaced by the first vowel of the affix: *Baɣlan > Băke*. If the name begins with the vowel *a* and the first syllable is closed, the affix is placed after the final consonant: *Askar > As-eke*. However, if the names start with the vowel *a* followed

by the consonant *m*, the vowel is omitted.[4] Thus, names like *Amangeldï* (m), *Amịna* (f), *Amantay* (m, f), *Amangül* (f) etc. all have the same honorific hypocorism *Mäke*. Names consisting of more than three syllables retain two first syllables; the rules should be applied to the second syllable: *Dịnmụhammed > Dịmeke*, (with assimilation of *n* to *m* and contraction of *mm*).

All in all, the rules for building such hypocorisms are not always straightforward and regular. Connotations and how the resulting name sounds play a certain role in this, along with the morphological context and the syllabic word structure. It is not always possible to separate the word stem from the affix.

In modern Kazakh, honorific forms of personal names are widely used in everyday life and the official press, both in oral and written communication. They can be applied to people of any social standing. In cases where the status of the addressed person is higher than that of the speaker, this form expresses respect and distinction. If the status of both participants in the communication is equal, it expresses respectful politeness. A wife can use this form when addressing her husband in the presence of other people in order to show his high status in the family and the respect with which he is treated in the family.

One can even address the President of Kazakhstan, *Nursultan Nazarbaev*, with the honorific hypocorism *Nụreke*; see (11) introducing an open letter to the President of Kazakhstan.

(11)　*"Assalaụmaɣaleyķụm,　ķụrmettị　Nụreke,　men　žaŋaɣï*
　　　greeting　　　　　　　respectful　PN:HYP　I　　just
　　　öz-ịŋịz　　sịna-ɣan　　pedinstitut-tịŋ　　rektor-ị
　　　self- POS2PL criticize-PP　pedagogical.institute-GEN　rector-POS3
　　　Aldamžarov-pịn",— de-d-ịm.　　Nụreke-ŋ　　de　　ķol-ịn　　　soz-a
　　　PN-1SG　　　　say-PST-1SG　　PP:HYP-POS2SG PTCL　hand-POS3ACC stretch-CV
　　　menịŋ　　ķol-ịm-dị　　　al-ịp:　　"Men, Zäke,　sịz-dị
　　　my　　　hand-POS1SG-ACC　take-CV　　I　　PN:HYP you: PL-ACC
　　　bịl-e-m　　　　　ɣoy",—de-d-ị.
　　　know-PRS-1SG　PTCL　say-PST-3
　　　'"Assalaụmaɣaleykum, highly respected Nureke. I am Aldamžarov, the rector of the Pedagogical Institute, whom you have just criticized", I said. The highly respected Nurekeŋ greeted me stretching out his hands: "I know you, respected Zäke", he said.'

This highly productive affix is also used to form honorific hypocorisms from foreign names: *Nikolay > Näke, Lars > Läreke, Andrey > Äleke*.

It is used as a form of address, but not only. When it is used in the absence of the person referred to, it can have ironical connotations.

4　The first two sounds of such names would give a word denoting the female sex organ; this combination of sounds is therefore not considered suitable for a respectful form of address.

In Žanuzakov's opinion, this marker goes back to the marker *-aka* (Žanuzakov 1971: 162). In western Kazakhstan, this archaic marker is still used as a honorific to express the highest respect of the referent: *Seytḳalï → Seyt-aka; Šamγalï → Šam-aka* (Žanuzakov 1971: 161).

In Uzbek, *àkà* is used as a separate lexeme expressing the highest respect only of a male person, e.g. *Kamal-àkà; Dilmurat-àkà*; *Zakir-àkà*. The wife addresses her husband with the component *àkà* and using the second person plural verb forms. In Kazakh, there is no gender differentiation; the marker *-Ake* can be added to male and female name stems.

Characteristic features of formations with *-Ake* are as follows:

Addressee's age:	Speaker's age:
from 35	appr. same as the addressee' (+/-5 years)
Addressee's status:	Speaker's status:
high (administrative position, standing in the family hierarchy, or other)	same or lower

The marker *-Ake* is used with kinship terms in the speech of Kazakhs from China who migrated back to their historical motherland after the 1990s (interview with Prof. Tursunkhan Zaken, 52 years old, Astana 2016), e.g.:

Aγa—aγeke 'cherished elder brother'
Apa—apeke 'cherished mother'
Àke—àkeke 'cherished father'
Ata—ateke 'cherished grandfather'
Àže—àžeke 'cherished grandmother'

In Kazakh folklore, the marker *-Ake* is widely used with both person names and kinship terms, to express friendly, informal politeness combined with the highest respect; see (12)–(15). In (14), the honorific hypocorism is combined with the possessive marker of the 1st person singular.

(12) *Šešeke,   bïr   ḳu̠anïš-tï̠   kör-d-ïm   de-y-dï̠.*
      mother.HON one   happiness-ACC see-PST-1SG   say-PRS-3
      '"Cherished mother, I saw one happiness", he says.'
      ("Qozï Körpeš Bayan Suluu" 1959: 104)

(13) *Bayan   ḳï̠z-dï̠ŋ   ḳu̠yew-ï̠   men,   eneke.*
      PN   girl-GEN   husband-POS3   I   mother-in-law.HON
      'Respected mother-in-law, I am the husband of the girl (by name) Bayan.'
      ("Qozï Körpeš Bayan Suluu" 1959: 192)

(14) *Äkeke-m*   *tịl-ịn*   *al-ma*   *de-gen.*
      father.HON-POS1SG   tongue-POS3ACC   listen-NEG say-PF
      'My dearest father told me not to listen to him.'
      ("Qozï Körpeš Bayan Suluu" 1959: 143)

(15) *Rawšanbek-tị*   *sat-ịp al-ịp*   *Ḳaždeke-m* (<*Ḳaždembek*)
      PN-ACC   buy-CV take.AUX-CV   PN.HON-POS1SG
      kụ̈n   bat-ḳan   soŋ   saray-ịn-a   en-e-dị.
      sun   set-PP   after   palace-POS3-DAT   enter-PRS-3
      'My dear Qaždembek who has bought Raushanbek, enters the palace after sunset.'

3.1.2.2. Pattern II: honorific hypocorisms with the affix *-eken*

The marker *-eken is* added to person name stems shortened to their first syllables. When it is a closed syllable, its final consonant is omitted. If the syllable ends in two consonants, the last one is omitted: *Lars > Lareken*.

Hypocorisms with *-eken* are used with the names of officials in the press, on TV etc.; e.g. Nursultan Nazarbaev can be referred to as *Nụreken*.

This marker usually expresses warm, sincere feelings towards elder persons, respected officials, writers, composers, singers whose creations are popular, and whom people respect and love: *Yafu →Yaf-eken* (Yafu Qayyrbekov is a famous Kazakh poet); *Ḳasịmbek → Ḳas-eken* (Kasymbek Bukhmetov was a respected person, who founded a number of museums about famous Kazakhstani people); *Nụrsụltan → Nụr-eken*.

It is characteristic of all Kazakh diminutive or honorific affixes encountered in Kazakh hypocorisms that they are only used to build formations from person name stems or from stems denoting participants in various interpersonal relations (kinship terms, social bonds, etc.). These formations have evaluative and expressive semantics and express endearment, affection, love and sympathy on the one hand, or respect, distinction, politeness, on the other. They are not used for building diminutives from nouns denoting non-animate entities.

3.2. Hypocorisms in South Siberian Turkic languages

In the course of the conversion of the Turkic peoples of South Siberia to Christianity, many adopted Christian names as pronounced in Russian, with some adaptation to the rules of Turkic phonetics. This happened in the Mountainous Altai, Mountainous Shoria, Khakassia and other places. Nevertheless, with Christian names, inherited affixes are mostly used (see 4.5). The Tuvan people were not converted and have preserved the original system of personal names and their hypocorisms to a greater extent (see 3.2.1.).

Some peoples that adopted Christianity kept their original names for domestic use and gave their children an official "public" name and a secret "home" name. At present, mostly native names are given to newly born children in South Siberia. All these processes need describing and studying. Here, we use some results of the

sparse research that was available to us. Still, big differences in building hypoco-
risms in different Turkic languages are quite obvious.

3.2.1. Hypocorisms in Tuvan

Diminutive forms of personal names (*hypocorisms*) constitute a unique anthropo-
nomical system in each Turkic language. The peculiarities of the Kazakh system are
especially visible if we compare Kazakh hypocorisms to Tuvan ones. A description
of Tuvan hypocorisms was made by D. Monguš (1977, reprinted in 2009). Below,
we use his observations and examples.

It is interesting that Tuvan hypocorisms are normally formed without any di-
minutive markers.

Tuvan personal names consisting of two stems are shortened by omitting their
second part: *Anay-Xaak > Anay*, *Oynaar-ool > Oynaar*.

If the first part of the name used to be a nickname, is can be omitted: *Čoon-Šïva
> Šïva* (*čoon* 'fat').

Personal names consisting of one stem can be shortened if they have two or more
syllables. Often it is an affix which is syncopated: *Salbaķķay > Salbaķ*, *Mïldïķpan >
Mïldïķ*, *Čečekmaa > Čeček*, *Saarbay > Saar*, etc. Paradoxically, originally diminu-
tive affixes that have become a part of the full name can also be omitted (see *Sal-
baķķay > Salbaķ*).

The affixes *-ČAK ~ -ČXK*, *-KAy, -Ay, -l(D)Ay, -BAy, -BAA, -ČAp*, and *-ČX* are
most frequently omitted. The first six affixes are originally diminutives. If there are
two diminutive affixes that have become part of the full name, only the last of them
is omitted: *Ķara-š-pay > Ķaraš*, *Ool-čuķ-ķay > Oolčuķ*, *Ool-aķ-ķay > Oolaķ*.

Personal names consisting of one syllable do not get shortened.

In two- and three-syllable underived words (also if we cannot divide them into
morphemes synchronically), the following rules determine the production of hypo-
corisms.

In words with a long first vowel and an open second syllable, the last vowel is
omitted (*Šooma > Šoom*); if such a word has a closed final syllable and an open
penultimate one, the last two sounds are omitted (*Sodunam > Sodun*); when the
penultimate syllable is closed, the last syllable is omitted completely (*Čadamba >
Čadam*). The resulting hypocorisms have closed last syllables.

These rules also apply if a name has a long first vowel. There are not many Tu-
van names of this structure, but many loaned Russian names with a stressed first
syllable belong to this class, as the stressed vowel is borrowed as a long vowel into
Tuvan; consequently, they also follow these rules in building their hypocorisms:
Miša [miːʃa] *> Miš* [miːʃ].

Other types of two-syllable words do not get shortened. As for four-syllable per-
sonal names (quite rare), they lose their last two syllables, but the last syllable of the
resulting hypocorism should be closed.

The resulting hypocorisms have evaluative and expressive functions. However one should bear in mind that we can speak of a hypocorism only when the longer form exists as a full name. Since there are many full names that have diminutive (or other) affixes as parts of their full stems, hypocorisms may be homonymous with full names. Only the contrast between a diminutive and the corresponding full name determines whether or not it is a hypocorism.

One may suppose that diminutive affixes used to be evaluative at some stage of the Tuvan historical development and lost this function when becoming parts of full names. Since diminutive affixes have become parts of official names in Tuvan, they are not used for building hypocorisms here. The only exception is the suffix -*ČXq* which may either add a loving and tender attitude, or bear ironical connotations, depending on the context, the hypocorism *Ḳoynaa-žĭḳ* (from *Ḳoynaa*) may mean 'dear Koynaa' or 'despised Koynaa'. Monguš even states that the ironical connotations prevail in cases where such formations are used. However, he also states that this affix sometimes expresses a loving and caring attitude, and thinks that this trend could be fostered by contacts with the Russian language, which uses diminutives abundantly.

Thus, Tuvan has practically "lost" its use of diminutive affixes as a means of expressing the category of subjective evaluation. Hypocorisms are instead formed by syncopation of full names.

4. Vocatives

Most hypocorisms are primarily, but not exclusively, used as forms of address. However, in the traditional cultures of most Turkic peoples, certain taboos restrict the use of personal names by younger family members. Kinship terms are used instead of personal names. These receive a special morphology when used as forms of address, which often coincides with the morphemes building hypocorisms.

4.1. An overview of Turkic forms of address

In sentences containing vocative forms, the latter usually occupy the initial position. In most cases, there are no special forms of address. The vocative function is fulfilled by a specific intonation pattern, with a pause after the address word: Tatar *jĭgĭt, tur!* 'Stand up, young man!' However, some Turkic languages have special vocative morphology (see Juldašev 1956).

In Kumyk, the affix -(*A*)*w* is applied to the words denoting the addressed person, e.g. *ini* 'younger brother', *aγa* 'uncle', *egeči* 'aunt', as well as to some further words: *Iniw!* 'Younger brother!'; *Aγaw!* 'Uncle!'; *Ečiw!* 'Aunt!'; compare 4.2.1.1. In Kumyk, the same affix can be applied to hypocorisms, though in that case the resulting forms can be used in more than just the vocative function: *Zakaw* (from the personal name *Zakar'ya*), *Kaliw* (< *Kalimat*), etc. This shows that it is a regular means of building vocative word forms.

The affix *-(A)y* can also be used in this function in Kumyk and in many other Turkic languages (e.g. Tatar, Bashkir, Kirgiz, Altai, Khakas, etc.). Its usage is confined to addressing people: *ana-y* 'Mother!' (Kumyk), *ata-y* 'Father!' (Kumyk, Bashkir), *inä-y/äsä-y* 'Mother!' (Bashkir), *ḳïz-ïy* 'Girl!', *tuɣan-ay* 'Sibling!' (Tatar). In Tatar, the word *jïŋgä* 'wife of an older brother' has the vocative form *jïŋgi* (with the Tatar correspondence of *-i* to *-äy* with the vocative *-y*). Tatar personal names also have diminutive forms (hypocorisms) with the final *-y* added to their shortened stems: *Ibray* (< *Ibrahim*), *Kamay* (< *Kamaletdin*), etc.; see also 4.2.1.2. The Altai language has only a few formations with the suffix *-y*: *ada* 'father' > *ada-y*; *ene* 'mother' > *ene-y*. These can be considered vocative words and belong to the lexicon. With other stems, the possessive affix of the 1st person singular is used when addressing younger persons: Bashkir *ul-ïm* 'my son'.

In the discussed cases, the affixes *-(A)y* and *-(A)w* have grammatical functions that serve to form vocatives. However, there are also words that are not used without the vocative element (Juldašev 1956); Bashkir *äpsäy* 'Mother!' has only this form, and is used only as a form of address. Consequently, it is a vocative word, and the suffix *-y* here combines the purely derivational semantics with the grammatical function of address. Such words should be included in dictionaries.

In Old Turkic, there used to be a vocative case with the marker *-(A)y*. It is logical to suppose that such formations are remnants of this formerly much more widely used case form.

These are specialized morphemes pertaining to the category of the vocative. There are also other, non-specialized morphemes that have vocative functions in certain contexts: e.g. possessive affixes combined with a specific intonation of address may also serve the function of vocative markers.

In Khakas, when addressing close relatives and older family members, the affix of the second person singular is obligatory alongside the vocative intonation; e.g. when addressing one's grandfather it is necessary to say *aġa-ŋ* [grandfather-POS2SG] 'grandfather! (lit.: your.SG grandfather!)', when addressing one's uncle, to say *aǰa-ŋ* [uncle-POS2SG] 'uncle! (lit.: your.SG uncle!)', and when addressing one's elder sister to say *čaǰa-ŋ* (from *čaǰa* 'elder sister'). Here, the possessive affixes serve a vocative function, as the possessive semantics is not expressed here. You are addressing your own sister, not the sister of the listener; compare also the use of the second person singular possessive marker with the hypocorism *Nụreke* in (11). Also in Khakas, some formations are not used at all without the possessive suffix, and thus are vocative words: *tayïŋ*! 'Uncle (on the mother's side)!' does not exist without the possessive marker, which has become a part of the stem.

It is a regular phenomenon in Turkic languages that possessive affixes are used with kinship terms in the vocative functions. It is connected with various taboos to use personal names when addressing family members. In the Tatar language, the wife addresses her husband as *äti-sị!* [father-POS3] 'Husband! (lit.: his/her father)!'. In Turkmen, it is necessary to indicate the name of the son or the daughter while

addressing his/her father; it gets the marker of the genitive case: *Murad-ïŋ dädä-θị!* 'Husband (lit.: the father of Murad)!'.

In all Turkic languages, the possessive affix of the first person singular is used in vocative functions. However, while the above-described cases present the vocative function proper of the possessive affixes of the 2nd and 3rd person singular, the possessive suffix of the 1st person also has evaluative semantics and expresses a loving and caring attitude toward the addressed person: Uzbek *båla-m!*, Turkmen *čaġa-m!* 'My child!', Tatar *ḳịz-ịm!* 'My daughter!', etc. Some forms of address are impossible without the possessive affix of the 1st person singular, e.g. Bashkir *ḳustịm!* 'My brother!'.

Diminutive affixes can also be applied to forms of address. Juldašev distinguishes diminutive affixes proper and affixes of affection (Russian *laskatel'nye*, lit.: 'caressing' affixes) used in forms of address. The former can be used with the function of "objective evaluation" of the size of objects. The latter are applied only to living beings and fulfill only expressive functions.

Affixes of affection, in their expressive and evaluative function, are broadly used when addressing people close to the speakers in all Turkic languages: Bashkir *äsä-käy! / inä-käy!* 'Dear mother!', Kirgiz *ana-ke*! 'Dear mother!', *opa-žon! / oyi-žon! / aba-žon!* 'Dear mother!', etc. They are also added to personal names (in their full or syncopated form) to build hypocorisms: Azeri *Äkbärǰan*, *Färidäǰan*, Turkmen *Orað-žan*, *Gaðelžan*, Uzbek *Akmalžån*, *Xafizžån*, Tatar *Fazlịḳay*, etc.

Addressing a child, one can use both affixes of affection and possessive affixes of the 1st person singular: Uzbek *båla-žån-im*, Tatar *bala-ḳay-ịm / bäbị-käy-ịm* 'my dear child'; Uzbek *uγli-ginà-m*, Tatar *ụḷị-ḳay-ịm* 'my dear son', etc.

Diminutive affixes proper, when addressing living beings, serve only expressive functions of subjective evaluation. They can be used alone or in combination with possessive affixes of the 1st person: Khakas *xïz-iǰax*, *xïz-ïm* 'my dear daughter', Altai *bala-čaġ-ïm*, *bala-m* 'my dear child'.

Although the primary semantics of affixes of affection is one of subjective evaluation and expression of emotions, the frequent use of some formations with these affixes in addressing people, led in some cases to a fading out their emotional semantic components. Thus, some words with these affixes became just vocative words: Tatar *äniki!* 'Mother-in-law!' (compare *äni* 'mother'), *ätiki!* 'Father-in-law!' (compare *äti* 'father'). The presence of the affix of affection *-KAy* in their stems can be detected only with the aid of an etymological analysis. These Tatar formations are used only as vocative words for addressing family members; compare *äniki!* 'Mother-in-law!' and *ḳayïnana / biyana* 'mother-in-law'.

4.2. Kazakh vocatives

All hypocorisms can be used as vocative forms. In addition, there are other formations that serve vocative functions.

4.2.1. Formations with vocative affixes proper

4.2.1.1. Affix -*(Aw)*

The Kazakh affix -(*A*)*w* is applied only to kinship terms and builds forms expressing feelings of affection toward the addressed persons: *Aɣaw!* 'Uncle!'*, Apaw!* 'Mother!'*, Ataw!* 'Grandfather!' *Žezdew!* 'Brother-in-law!'.

4.2.1.2. Affix -*(A)y*

A characteristic feature of Kazakh etiquette is that personal names should not be used when addressing older members of the family. Within a family, younger persons address their elders using the kinship terms with the -*y* marker expressing respect and affection at the same time:

> *ata→ ata-y* 'respected grandfather'
> *àže → àže-y* 'respected grandmother'
> *àke → àke-y* 'respected father'
> *apa → apa-y* 'respected mother/elder sister'
> *aɣa → aɣa-y* 'respected elder brother / uncle'
> *žeŋge → žeŋge-y* 'respected auntie / sister-in-law'

Using some of these formations, one can address close family members, or even unknown older persons, e.g. *žeŋge-y* 'respected auntie / sister-in-law'. See (16)–(18).

(16) *Žeŋge-y   ḳanša   bala-ŋïz   bar?*
     aunt-VOC   how.many child-POS2PL   there.is
     'Auntie, how many children do you have?'

(17) *Àke-y   demalïs-ḳa   šïḳ-t-ï.*
     farther-VOC   rest-DAT   go.out-PST-3
     '(Our respected/beloved) daddy retired.'

The form *žeŋge-y* can be used with reference to a relatively young woman if the interlocutor wants to stress his/her respect for her husband, who is either older than the interlocutor, or whose social position is higher than that of the interlocutor; see (18).

(18) *Bïz-dïŋ   žeŋge-y   žaḳsï   adam.*
     we-GEN   sister-in-law-VOC   good   person
     'Our respected sister-in-law is a nice person.'

The kinship term with the vocative -*(A)y žeŋge-y* can accept another vocative marker -*(A)w*. In this case, such an address form expresses surprise and astonishment; see (19).

(19) *Žeŋge-y-aw,   sịz   ʷosịnị   da   bịl-me-y-sịz   be*?
    aunt-VOC-VOC   you:PL   that.ACC   PTCL   know-NEG-PRS-2PL Q
    'Auntie, don't you know that?'

(20) *Žeŋge-y-aw,   bul ḳalay   bol-ɣan-ị*?
    aunt-VOC-VOC   this how   happen-PP-3
    'Auntie, how has it happened?'

4.2.2 Vocative with possessive affixes

All the vocative forms can additionally take a possessive marker of the 1st person singular in order to express especially cordial and informal address, usually when addressing younger people. Hypocorisms with affixes of affection can also be used with this possessive marker; see 3. It is also used with stems without any affix of affection: *ḳịz-ịm!* 'My dear daughter!'.

4.3. Terms of endearment (affectionate nicknames) used as forms of address

Each Kazakh child has his/her own affectionate nickname, often a zoomorphic term or other term of endearment. Here, we will list only a few such forms of address, typical of Kazakh culture.
    Zoomorphic terms of endearment:

    Affectionate nicknames connected with different kinds of birds:
    ḳarɣa-m [crow-POS1SG] 'my (little baby) crow';
    suŋḳar-ịm [falcon-POS1SG] 'my (little baby) falcon'.

    Affectionate nicknames connected with different small animals:
    ḳulịn-ịm [foal-PPS1SG] 'my dearest (little) foal';
    bota-š-ịm [colt-DIM-POS1SG] 'my dearest little colt';
    ḳoz-ịm [lamb-POS1SG] 'my dearest (little) lamb'.

    Terms of endearment connected with names of planets, stars:
    ay-ịm [moon-POS1SG] 'my moon';
    kün-ịm [sun-POS1SG] 'my sun';
    žuldịz-ịm [star-POS1SG] 'my star'.

    Terms of endearment connected with kinship terminology:
    köke-š-ịm 'my dear father/uncle' < *köke* 'father/uncle';
    ȧke-š-ịm 'my dear father' < *ȧke* 'father'.

4.4. Polite terms of address in Kazakh

Kazakh hypocorisms with the honorific affixes are used as polite forms of address today.

Kazakh people use the possessive affixes of the 3rd person when addressing family members in a very polite manner. This is especially typical for the speech of elder generations, e.g. *ata-sï!* [grandfather-POS3] (lit/: his/her grandfather) 'respected grandfather!' or *apa-sï!* [grandmother-POS3] (lit/: his/her grandmother) 'respected grandmother!'.

Before the Soviet era, there used to be polite forms of address expressing respect towards the addressed person: *mïrza* 'mister', *bïkeš* 'madam' (the *-š*-form of the word *bike* 'woman'), *taḳsïr* 'lord', *ḳatïn* 'miss', etc. After Kazakhstan gained its independence in 1990, there were attempts to revive these forms of address; see (21). These forms have not, however, been adopted by modern Kazakh society and are not used in everyday life.

(21) *Batïr-ï   Eset-tey   γalïm-ï   Zulḳarnay mïrza-day,*
      warrior-POS3 PN-SIM   scientist-POS3   PN   mister-SIM
      änši-sï   Gülnäz   hanïm-day halïḳ   baḳïttï,
      singer-POS3 PN   lady-SIM   people happy
      ulï   halïḳ,—   de-d-ï   ʷol   ʷoylan-ïp   žat-pas-tan
      great people   say-PST-3   s/he   think-CV   lie.AUX-AOR.NEG-ABL
      'He answered immediately (lit.: without thinking), "The nation that has warriors like Eset, scientists like Mr. Zulqarnay, singers like Mrs. Gyulnaz is a happy great nation.'

4.5. Altai, Khakas and Shor hypocorisms and vocatives

The first description of the morphology of the Altai language (*Grammatika altajskogo jazyka* 1869) stated that special affixes are added to personal names or kinship words to express love, affection and respect: e.g. the affix *-(X)š*: *Ivan > Yïbanïš* '(my) dear Ivan'; *Nikita > Nikitiš* '(my) dear Nikita'.

In modern Altai fine literature we find further diminutive affixes used to form hypocorisms: *Miša > Miš-ek* '(my) dear Misha' (the suffix *-Ak* is added to the shortened stem of the personal name).

Personal names of Altai origin take diminutive affixes proper which are also used to build forms of common nouns, similar to the formations of Khakas and Shor hypocorisms: Khakas *Xordï-ǰax!* 'Dear Xordy!' < *Xordï* (f).

Also, formations with the vocative affix *-(A)y* are used to form both hypocorisms and vocative words from kinship terms: Khakas *u:ǰay* 'dear granny' < *u:ǰa* 'grandmother on the father's side', *xaday* 'dear wife' < *xat* 'woman, wife (not respectful)', Khakas Kyzyl dialect *aγay* 'uncle' < *aγa* 'grandfather on the father's side, uncle'. The affix is used to form hypocorisms (*Gena-y < Gena*, *Kolya-y < Kolya*), and in forms of address after the possessive affix of the 1st person singular: *ḳuday-ïm-ay!* 'my dear Kuday! (Oh, my God!)'. It can also form diminutives from common stems:

Khakas *töŋey* 'hillock, mound; knob, protuberance' < *töŋ* 'hillock' (Tarakanova 2011: 40).

However, in Shor and Khakas, the affix *-(A)s* (Khakas) / *-(A)š* (Shor) is used to build only vocatives and endearment forms from kinship terms: Khakas *aǰa-s!* 'dear older brother!' < *aǰa* 'older brother', *piǰe-s!* 'dear older sister!' < *piǰe* 'older sister', (Tarakanova 2011: 36), Shor *eneš* 'dear mother' < *ene* 'mother'. In Altai, some kinship names may get the affix *-š*, and sometimes formations with this affix have a clear semantic shift*: aba* 'father' > *aba-š* 'grandfather'.

5. Conclusion

The categories of diminutives, terms of endearment and respect, vocatives and hypocorisms have various means of expression in Turkic languages. Each language has its own system for expressing these categories, comprising both grammatical and lexical devices. All these categories are intertwined with each other in complex ways: diminutive markers may build hypocorisms, vocative forms and new lexemes; hypocorisms act as vocatives.

One should distinguish between diminutives proper, evaluative diminutives (which also may be used in both purely diminutive functions and in subjective evaluations of reality), endearment and honorific terms, and vocatives. The status of each of these categories may be different in a specific Turkic language.

The category of vocative forms was formerly built by two main specialized morphemes in all Turkic languages—the affixes *-(A)w* and *-(A)y*. This category can be assessed as a lexical one, and the corresponding formations as lexical items belonging to the lexicon on the following grounds: these formations are limited in number; and they cannot be formed synchronically from nouns used in the vocative function. The majority of such formations are stems denoting close relatives, and some of them have become opaque and can no longer be divided into morphemes, as their stems, without the vocative affix, do not exist as independent lexemes.

Although specialized vocative affixes are no longer active, a number of non-specialized affixes are used synchronically in vocative formations: primarily the possessive affixes of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular and some affixes of endearment. Alongside person names, the vocative morphology is applied to certain classes of nouns: those denoting kinship terms and terms of other interpersonal relations. The vocative formations with affixes of endearment from common nouns denoting kinship terms have become opaque in most cases. Thus, only possessive affixes are productive markers of vocatives at present (in combination with the specific intonation).

Hypocorisms are used in vocative functions, but not only. Thus, they are a separate category, one that has not yet been studied sufficiently, if at all, in many Turkic languages. Our research on Kazakh hypocorisms has shown that Kazakh has specialized affixes that are only used to build affectionate and honorific hypocorisms from

reduced person noun stems. In Kazakh, diminutive affixes used with common nouns do not build terms of endearment and respect.

In contrast, Tuvan hardly uses any diminutive, endearment or honorific affixes to build hypocorisms; various types of syncopation of full names serve this end instead.

In Kazakh, nouns referring to person names possess a grammatical evaluative category expressing the speaker's attitude to their referents. It has two main members—terms of endearment and honorific forms. These semantic types are expressed by specialized morphemes that can be applied to all person names synchronically and produce hypocorisms following certain rules.

Thus, evaluative and expressive formations from Turkic person names and names of various interpersonal relations, alongside vocatives, make up a very promising research field. It is clear that this article cannot give an exhaustive description of any of the above-mentioned categories, even for one language, but can only delineate some directions for further investigation. We hope that this article will stimulate further interest in this topic among our colleagues.

Abbreviations

ABL	ablative case	PF	perfect (TAM)
ACC	accusative case	PL	plural
AOR	aorist	PN	person name
AUX	auxiliary	POS	possessive
CV	converb	PP	perfect participle
DAT	dative case	PRS	present TAM
DIM	diminutive	NEG	negation
GEN	genitive case	PST	past TAM
HON	honorific	PTCL	particle
HYP	hypocorism	Q	question particle
IMP	imperative	SG	singular
INF	infinitive	SIM	simulative case
LOC	locative case	TAM	tense/aspect/mood

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