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## Kontakt/Contact

Digizeitschriften e.V.  
SUB Göttingen  
Platz der Göttinger Sieben 1  
37073 Göttingen

✉ [info@digizeitschriften.de](mailto:info@digizeitschriften.de)

# **The acquisition of Turkish as a native language. A research review**

**Aylin Küntay & Dan I. Slobin**

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The following research review summarizes materials that deal with linguistically relevant observations of first-language acquisition of Turkish by monolingual children. It is organized under the main headings morphology, grammar and discourse, and phonology.

*Aylin Küntay, Department of Psychology, Koç University, Çayır cad., İstinye 80860, İstanbul, Turkey.*

*Dan I. Slobin, Department of Psychology, 3210 Tolman #1650, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720-1650, U.S.A.*

## **Introduction**

The study of Turkish child language acquisition is relatively recent. The first review and theoretical discussion of this area was that of Aksu-Koç & Slobin (1985), summarizing and evaluating all material available at that time. Apart from several parental diary studies of the seventies, the review was based on experimental studies carried out by Slobin and his students, supplemented by tape-recorded naturalistic data, covering the range of 2 to 5 years of age.<sup>1</sup> Verhoeven (1991) provided a more recent

<sup>1</sup> The following studies were cited in Aksu-Koç & Slobin (1985); we include them here for the sake of completeness: Aksu (1973, 1978a, 1978b), Ammon & Slobin (1979), Clancy & Jacobsen & Silva (1976), Ekmekçi (1979, 1986a), Johnston & Slobin (1979), Özbaydar (1970), Savaşır (1982, 1983), Slobin (1977, 1981, 1982, 1985, 1986), Slobin & Aksu (1982), Slobin & Bever (1982), Slobin & Talay (1986). The data gathered in Istanbul by Slobin in 1972-1973 are now

review of selected research. In the current review, we carry on through the end of 1998, summarizing all material known to us that deals with (a) linguistically relevant observations of first-language acquisition of Turkish by (b) monolingual children. For this purpose, we set aside the large literature on the language development of bilingual Turkish children in Europe (especially France, Germany, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Sweden) and Australia. We also do not review the small number of studies on development of Turkish reading and writing skills in school-age children. Our focus is thus on preschool acquisition of spoken Turkish in Turkey, from a linguistic point of view.<sup>2</sup>

The majority of the studies discussed here are based on the language development of urban children growing up in professional and educated families. A Dutch research team headed by Ludo Verhoeven (Aarssen 1996; Akıncı 1999; Akıncı & Jisa (forthcoming); Boeschoten 1987, 1990; Boeschoten & Verhoeven 1986; Verhoeven 1987, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1993) has carried out comparable research with children of working-class families in small cities and rural areas (mainly in the Adana region) as well as village children in Central Anatolia (Polatlı region). The language development of these children does not differ in any significant ways from that of the several urban samples in this age range. The review is organized under the headings: Morphology, grammar and discourse, and phonology.

### **Morphology**

As already noted by Aksu-Koç and Slobin, the morphological system of Turkish is acquired with remarkable ease and rapidity by children before their second birthday. The authors made the following observation in comparison with acquisition of grammatical morphology in other languages (Aksu-Koç & Slobin 1985: 847):

available to public access in the CHILDES archive (<http://childes/psy/cmu/edu>). There are 54 corpora of child speech in the age range 2;0-4;8.

- <sup>2</sup> Much of the research in developmental psycholinguistics poses questions that do not concern the linguistic structure of the language being acquired, such as memory and cognitive capacities, speech perception, narrative skills, interpersonal interaction, and biological maturation. We have decided that such issues lie outside of the range of interests of readers of this journal.

“The discussion of typical morphological errors is briefer than comparable chapter sections on the development of other languages, since the remarkable regularity and transparency of Turkish morphology precludes a high rate of error in the early phases of development. Where errors typically occur is in later phases, when the Turkish-speaking child encounter problems of complex syntax, as discussed in relation to nominalization errors and errors in deverbal and denominal derivation, and late acquisition of relative clauses.”

This summary holds up in the light of recent research.

Aksu-Koç and Slobin had reported full mastery of the nominal inflection system, and much of the verbal paradigm, by the age of 24 months or earlier, noting productivity as early as 15 months (Ekmekçi's 1979 report of her child's production of *bebeki* for *bebeğin* baby+GEN). This finding has now been confirmed by large-scale studies of early language conducted at Anadolu University in Eskişehir (Özcan 1996, Topbaş & Maviş & Başal 1997). These investigators have made longitudinal observations of more than 100 children between the ages of 15 and 72 months, confirming that all forms of nominal casemarking are present by 23 months, and that multiple suffixes appear on nouns as early as 15 months: possessive + dative, possessive + accusative, possessive + locative. Several precocious examples follow:

(1) Age 16 months:

*Ellerime* (bak).  
hand:PL:POSS.1SG:DAT<sup>3</sup> look  
'(Look) at my hands.'

<sup>3</sup> The following abbreviations are used in glosses: ABL [= ablative]; ACC [= accusative]; AGENT [= agentive]; AOR [= aorist]; CAUS [= causative]; DAT [= dative]; DIM [= diminutive]; EREK [= converb *erek*]; ERKEN [= converb *erken*]; EVID [= evidential]; FUT [= future]; GEN [= genitive]; INCE [= converb *ince*]; IP [= converb *ip*]; INST [= instrumental]; LOC [= locative]; MOD [= modality]; NEG [= negative]; NOM [= nominalizer]; OPT [= optative]; PA [= direct past]; PAST.NOM [= past nominalizer]; PL [= plural]; POSS [= possessive]; PRO [= pronoun]; PROG [= present progressive]; PV [= passive]; REL [= relativizer]; TOP [= topical marker *da*]; YN [= yes-no question marker]; 1SG [= first-person singular]; 2SG [= second-person singular]; 3PL [= third-person plural].



## (2) Age 18 months:

*Ayağına koy bebeği.*  
 foot:POSS.2SG:DAT put baby:ACC  
 'Put the doll on your legs.'

*Kazağımı attım.*  
 sweater:POSS.1SG:ACC throw.away:PA.1SG  
 'I threw away my sweater.'

## (3) Age 23 months:

*Senin arkanda değilim.*  
 PRO.2SG:GEN back:POSS.2SG:LOC NEG:1SG  
 'I'm not in back of you.'

*Sucukların arasına zeytin koy.*  
 Sausage:PL:GEN between:DAT olive put  
 'Put (some) olives between the sausages.'

Productions such as *emzikimi* ([= *emziğimi*] 'my pacifier') at 19 months, like the earlier reported *bebeki* ([= *bebeğin*] 'baby's') at 15 months, are clear indications of productive control rather than rote imitation. Overregularizations are rampant in the acquisition of all Indo-European languages; in the case of *ğ* → *k* overregularization (i.e., ignoring the obligatory elision of intervocalic *k*) we have a rare example of a parallel phenomenon in child Turkish. The Eskişehir researchers also present data on multiple affixing to verbs, such as:

## (4) Age 23 months:

*Götürsünler beni.*  
 take:OPT:3PL PRO.1SG:ACC  
 'Let them take me (there).'

Several studies by Özden Ekmekçi (1987), of Çukurova University in Adana, give ample evidence of the early creative use of grammatical morphology. The observations come from diary studies and recordings of at least 25 children, covering the age range of 15 months to 7 years. We reproduce here only a small number of the imaginative and competent linguistic formations of these young children. All of them demonstrate the productivity and flexibility of Turkish morphology. The data

show at least two types of verb derivation from adjectives and from nouns. (Ages are given in the format {years;months}.)

Adjective → verb:

- (5) *Saçımı* **güzelt.** (wanting mother to tidy her hair) [age 3;7]  
 hair:POSS.1SG:ACC make.nice  
 'Make-nice my hair.'
- (6) *Ben şimdi gerçekleşmişim.* (after pretending to be drunk) [age 4;0].  
 I now come.to.self:EVID:1SG  
 'Now I've come to myself.'
- (7) *Siz de teyzem gibi emeklendiniz.* [age 5;3].  
 you also aunt:POSS.1SG like retire:PV:PA:2PL  
 'You also became retired like my aunt.'

Noun → verb:

- (8) *Dondurma dilliyorum.* (licking ice-cream) [age 3;6].  
 ice.cream tongue:PROG:1SG  
 'I'm tongue-ing ice-cream.'
- (9) *Anneciğim, seni öpücükleyebilirmiyim?* [age 4;9]  
 mommy:DIM:POSS.1SG you:ACC kiss:MOD:YN:1SG  
 'Mommy, can I kiss you?'

There are also examples of noun derivations, chiefly with the agentive suffix:

Noun → noun:

- (10) *bakkalcı, berberci* [age 3;2]  
 grocer:AGENT barber:AGENT

And there are complex derivations using two or more grammatical elements, such as:

Verb → noun:

- (11) *Buradaki herkes küstürücü.* [age 5;3].  
 here everybody offend:CAUS:AGENT  
 'Everybody here is (an) offender / causing offense.'

The degree of morphological productivity exhibited by Turkish preschoolers goes far beyond what has been reported for child speech in Indo-European languages, even those with the morphological complexity of the Slavic languages. Most of these forms cannot be labeled as "errors"; rather, they reveal the Turkish child's subtle grasp of the word-formational opportunities inherent in the language.

Parental speech to preschool children presents the child with rich opportunities for segmenting and combining grammatical morphemes and learning their meanings. Küntay & Slobin (1995, 1996) studied the speech of one Turkish mother to a child during the age period of 1;8 to 2;3. Consider, for example, two high-frequency words—the verb *koy-* 'put' and the noun *el* 'hand'. The lists in 12 and 13 present the forms of these two words in the mother's speech, in order of descending frequency of occurrence.

- (12) 18 forms of *koy*:  
*koy, koyma, koyalım, koyacağım, koyacağız, koyacaksın, koyucan, koymanı, koymak, koymadan, koydum, koydun, koyduk, koyarmısın, koyuyoruz, koymuşlar, koyayım, koyalım.*
- (13) 17 forms of *el*:  
*ellerini, elini, elinle, elleri, elin, ellerin, ellerinle, eline, elinde, elimizi, ellerimi, eller, elinin, elindeyken, elindekini, elimden, el.*

The child is thus presented with rich data for acquisition of the inflectional systems. Küntay and Slobin note that overall, verbs present the learner with a greater degree of complexity than nouns: Verbs tend to have more suffixes than nouns, and the suffixes occur in a greater number of combinations. On average, verbs directed to the child have 2.18 morphemes while nouns have 1.96 morphemes. Furthermore, the average verb occurs with 16.95 different combinations of suffixes, while the average noun occurs with 7.65 combinations. Essentially, this pattern is due to the fact that many different types of notions are marked on verbs,

while nouns are only marked for number, case, and possession. The relative difference between verb and noun complexity is reflected in pre-school speech. A study of 39 children between the ages of 2;0 and 4;8 (Slobin 1982) found mean morpheme lengths of 2.60 for verbs versus 1.67 for nouns. More extensive studies of the distribution of forms in corpora of parental and child speech would be valuable. To our knowledge, such frequency data are not yet available for Turkish.

Küntay and Slobin discuss the changing forms that a lexical item can undergo in successive adult utterances to a child. They propose the term *variation set* to characterize a sequence of utterances with a constant intention but varying form. Variation sets are characterized by three types of phenomena: (1) Lexical substitution and rephrasing, (2) addition and deletion of specific reference, and (3) reordering. Consider, for example, the following series of adult remarks, uttered while removing pits from fruit; note the changing positions and forms of the verb *çıkart-* 'remove':

- |                                                           |                                                  |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| (14) <i>Çıkarttım benimkinin çekirdeğini.</i>             | 'I.removed the pit from mine.'                   |
| <i>Sen de mi çıkartıcan?</i> [child nods]                 | 'Will.you.remove too?'                           |
| <i>Çıkart bakım.</i>                                      | 'Remove (it), let's see.'                        |
| <i>İmmh! Aferin yavrum! Sen de çekirdeğini çıkarttın.</i> | 'Mm-hm. Good for you! You.removed your pit too.' |
| <i>İkimiz de çekirdeğini çıkarttık.</i>                   | 'Both of us we.removed the pit.'                 |

Küntay & Slobin point out the potential importance of variation sets for the learner (1996: 276):

"Several important features can be noted in this variation set. If you listen to it, even without knowing Turkish, the verb stands out as an acoustic unit. It is a sort of acoustic gestalt which achieves saliency as it stands out against a shifting background. The root, too, begins to stand out, against an array of different suffixes. This seems to be a figure-ground phenomenon in auditory speech perception."

It is possible that discourse and perceptual factors such as these have served to maintain the morphological and word-order patterns of the Turkic languages over millennia.

### **Grammar and discourse**

Most early research on Turkish child language development was devoted to the learning of features that are prominent from an Indo-European point of view. Recourse to a discourse-level of analysis was not seen as immediately crucial for the study of the acquisition of agglutinative morphology, nominalized subordinate clauses, or evidential modality. The scarcity of acquisition research in the discourse area led Aksu-Koç and Slobin to call for future studies exploring "relations between grammar and discourse in various genres" (1985: 876). Much recent research in Turkish child language has undertaken the study of grammatical processes in discourse. Studies are based on two major types of data (occasionally supplemented by laboratory experiments): Spontaneous and prompted conversation between adults and children, and narratives elicited by picture storybooks. Data are available from the earliest productions of two-word utterances through to late childhood (about age 12), often with comparable adult samples. We review research on grammar and discourse under six headings: (1) Information structure: Word order and reference, (2) voice and valence, (3) tense, aspect, modality, (4) relative clauses, (5) converbs and conjunctions, (6) verbs of motion.

### **Word order and reference**

Research reported in Aksu-Koç & Slobin (1985: 856-858) demonstrated that Turkish children by the age of 2;0 appropriately use a wide variety of pragmatic word orders in their spontaneous speech, and comprehend all six orders of subject-object-verb in controlled psycholinguistic experiments (Slobin & Bever 1982). More recent research confirms these findings for preschool-age speech and extends them to narrative discourse in preschool and school-age children (Aksu-Koç 1994). Aksu-Koç analyzed stories produced in response to a picture-book that tells a story without words (the "frog story" studied by Berman and Slobin 1994).<sup>4</sup> She found that young children commanded the principles of pragmatic word order presented by Erguvanlı (1984): Sentence-initial position for topic, immediate preverbal position for focus, and postpre-

<sup>4</sup> The frog-story texts are available to public access, in several computer formats, in the CHILDES archive (<http://childes/psy/cmu/edu>). There are ten narratives from each of the following age groups: 3, 5, 9, adult.

dicate position for background information. She found, however, a much higher percentage of verb-final orders in narrative (about 90%) than in conversation (about 50% for both preschoolers and parents, as reported in Slobin 1982). The two genres do not differ with regard to verb-medial orders, leading Aksu-Koç to suggest that (1994: 366):

“... both in conversational and in narrative discourse the nonstandard orders preferred for perspective shifting are the same, though the frequencies of their use are different. This difference probably has to do with the different demands of dialogic versus monologic discourse for organizing information in terms of emphasis, focus, and topic maintenance.”

Both genres have a high proportion of subjectless constructions, especially verb and object-verb sentences, with a lower rate of verb-object sentences. Thus preschool children deal adequately both with argument ellipsis and postposing of subject or object.<sup>5</sup>

It is important to consider the role of the adult model in established word-order patterns for the child's acquisition. Early research (Slobin 1975, 1982; Aksu-Koç & Slobin 1985) had already characterized the child-directed discourse of adults by variable word order, pragmatically employed to facilitate comprehension and compliance on the part of a child. In their case study of Turkish child-directed speech, Küntay & Slobin (1996) systematically studied patterns of reordering of nouns and verbs. They found that 25% of the variation sets that maintain the same set of lexical items feature a change in word order. For sets that preserve an explicit verb across successive utterances, the verb changes position from one utterance to the next 37% of the time. The following variation set is typical:

- (15) **Ver** *ellerini*.  
 give hand:PL.POSS.2SG:ACC  
 ‘Give (me) your hands.’

<sup>5</sup> We are aware of a study of the acquisition of word order in the framework of Chomsky's Principles and Parameters approach (Ekmekçi & Cam, forthcoming), but we have not had the opportunity to access this report. There is also a paper on acquisition of negation in the GB framework (Koskinen forthcoming) that we have not obtained for this review.

*Ellerini*                      **verirmisin?**  
 hand:PL:POS:ACC   give:AOR:YN:2SG  
 'Will you give (me) your hands?'

*Ellerini*                      **ver.**  
 hand:PL:POSS.2SG:ACC   give  
 'Give (me) your hands.'

Studying the behavior of lexical items in successive rephrasals in discourse demonstrated that verbs are more prone to repositioning and morphological form alternations than nouns in Turkish child-directed speech. Küntay & Slobin pointed out that the Turkish language learner needs to pay attention to variation across utterances in discourse in order to learn to differentiate lexical categories: "In Turkish, the child must learn to track lexical items across varying utterance positions, with different associated collections of agglutinated morphemes, moving in and out of patterns of ellipsis" (1996: 284).

The ways Turkish children mark information structure (Lambrecht 1994) in their own discourse have recently been the subject of several studies. In her analysis of conversational data, Ekmekçi (1986b) had illustrated early use of word order in encoding discourse status (givenness vs. newness) of nominal elements. The Turkish child studied by Ekmekçi (age 1;7-2;4) always placed indefinite noun phrases in the immediately preverbal focus position, reserving the postverbal position for backgrounded constituents. Several recent studies have systematically investigated how Turkish children of different ages manage referential continuity in extended discourse, especially in comparison to speakers of languages with an obligatory article system. The definiteness interpretation of a referent in Turkish is determined by a conglomeration of devices: Case, word order, optional article-like elements, and contextual cues. Accordingly, the system for expressing the discourse status of nominals is more diffuse than in languages with articles like English or French. Dasinger & Küntay (1998; also Küntay 1995) analyzed the nominal devices used for introducing referents into picture-book narratives elicited from Turkish and Finnish speakers of different ages. The comparative study aimed to contribute to the emerging area of interest regarding relations of language typology and the development of grammatical markers (Slobin 1997b). The analyses indicated that in both Turkish and Finnish, the rate of use of indefinite forms for introducing

characters into discourse increases with age. However, the Turkish children were observed to rely on the numeral *bir* 'one' as an indefinite marker from earlier ages compared to the Finnish children, who have access to a similar indefinite article-like element, *yks(i)* 'one'. Dasinger & Küntay speculated about a "higher degree of grammaticization of the numeral one as an indefinite article" (1998: 272) in Turkish. They concluded with a caution for typological studies built upon simple a priori dualisms (1998: 273):

"Global typological distinctions between article and non-article-bearing languages are inadequate to account for the differences between Turkish and Finnish. Although both languages are considered article-less languages, [other] language-specific pressures favor certain devices over others for expressing definiteness."

Özcan (1997) focused on a different subpart of the nominal system—third-person pronouns—in her analyses of referential continuity in children's connected discourse. In a study of video-elicited narratives of children of ages 3, 5, and 7, she laid out the factors that govern third-person pronominalization (*o, onlar* 'he / she / it, they') and null subjects (third-person marking on the verb). She reported that the rate of usage of overt pronominal subjects is rare in the narratives of children of all age groups. As in the speech of adults, explicit pronouns were used in only 5% of the clauses, with clear preference given to null subjects for continued reference to discourse entities. In addition, Özcan noted that, from early ages on, pragmatically motivated use of pronouns for contrast and switch-reference mirrors the usage of adults. In similar fashion, Küntay (1995), studying picture-elicited narratives, found that 3-year-old children appropriately use null subjects for maintaining reference to characters, making only infrequent use of overt pronouns. Children do not appear to have any difficulty in applying the unmarked strategy for continuing reference to narrative participants in Turkish through an unambiguous person marking on the verb. Despite early usage of anaphoric null forms, both Özcan (1993, forthcoming) and Küntay (1995) observed gradual development with respect to adult-like usage of referential introductory devices. In both studies, prefacing of nominal expressions with an indefinite form did not appear frequently in the speech of narrators younger than 7, and developed further thereafter.



Küntay (1997), in a dissertation study, further explored strategies employed by Turkish preschool children to introduce referents into different types of extended discourse. The guiding question was how children deploy their first-mention strategies in different kinds of discourse contexts, i.e., different kinds of picture-based storytelling, conversational narratives, and conversational lists. In addition to eliciting two types of picture-based narratives, she conducted naturalistic studies of various organized and free-time activities at two preschools in Istanbul. About 90 hours of extended discourse from 3- to 5-year-olds were collected over a course of three months. In the picture-elicited data, Küntay found an effect of the selected construction type for framing character-introductory referential expressions: For both of the picture-series tasks used, use of the *var* 'exists' construction included character references with *bir* 'one' plus a referential term. In general, static predicates such as presentatives tended to co-occur with indefinite forms in first-mention devices. However, in corroboration of many other studies of preschool children's referential strategies in picture-prompted connected discourse, Küntay's picturebook data showed that explicit indefinite noun phrases were not frequently used for first mentions.

Different strategies for introducing referents emerged in analyses of conversational lists and narratives collected from the same set of children. In producing lists, children focused on successive character introductions with simple predication frames, prefaced by indefinite forms. It is plausible that the predictable structure of lists, which allows ellipsis of non-nominal information, has a facilitative effect on children's abilities to incorporate many new entities while moving through extended discourse. In personal narratives, as well as in lists, children commonly used presentational constructions for referring to characters for the first time. In introducing third-person participants, they used a special presentational construction featuring the existential predicate *var* 'exists' together with possessive pronouns, linguistically establishing the relation of the referent to themselves (e.g., *Benim bir kameram vardı* 'I had a camera'). Such constructions allow children to postpone further description or elaboration about the referents until the following utterance(s). Küntay also found that some children used unexplained proper names in some of their stories, while providing detailed description accompanying the mention of proper names in other stories. It is clear that preschool children have fragile referential skills for the use of proper names; but

further studies are needed to tease apart the factors that lead to “appropriate” or “felicitous” use of proper nouns.

Another line of research that pertains to pragmatic issues of information structure has focused on the conversational pragmatics of subject pronouns. Slobin & Talay (1986) examined hour-long speech transcripts from nine children aged 2;4-8, analyzing all utterances containing subjects expressed by first-person pronoun or verb inflection alone. They found that young children overuse pronouns in comparison to adults, mainly in postposed positions to express assertive statements or to counter an adult’s stance; for example:

(16) Adult:

*Sen hiç masal bilmiyormusun? Bir tane anlat bize.*

‘Don’t you know any story? Tell us one.’

Child:

*Anlatmıyorum ben masal.* [age 2;0]

tell:NEG:PROG:1SG I story

‘I won’t tell (a) story.’

Topbaş & Özcan (1997) also set out to determine the pragmatic force of pronominals in Turkish child conversation, but mainly in discourse organizing rather than in interactional functions. Their data included naturalistic speech from 66 children, aged 15-72 months, recorded in different settings, such as conversations and elicited storytelling. They reported that even 15-month-old children have full control of null subjects for continued reference and full noun phrases for switched reference in third-person. Mastery of the functions of overt pronouns is also observed as early as 15 months of age. Below are some early examples provided by Topbaş & Özcan for different pragmatic functions of the first-person pronoun:

(17) Establishing a new topic:

*Ben toppla oynuyom.* [age 1;3].

I ball:INST play:PROG:1SG

‘I’ll play with (the) ball.’

Expressing contrast between referents:

*Ben sayıcam. Sen söyleme.* [age 1;3].

I count:FUT:1SG you say:NEG

'I'll count. You don't say.'

Switching referents:

*Bak bu salıncak. Ben oturucam.* [age 1;3].

look this swing I sit:FUT:1SG

'Look this (is a) swing. I'll sit.'

Emphasizing referent:

*Bak bu:da ben söylüyorum.* [age 1;6]

look this I tell:PROG:1SG

'Look I'm saying this.'

Another example from Topbaş & Özcan, given below, is similar in function and form to example 16 above from Slobin & Talay:

(18) Adult:

*Hadi pamuk prensesi anlat.*

'OK, tell "Snow White".'

Child:

*Anlatmıycam ben pamuk prensesi.* [age 2;4]

tell:NEG:FUT:1SG I "Snow White"

'I won't tell "Snow White".'

### Voice and valence

The narrative studies (Aksu-Koç 1994; Berman & Slobin 1994: 515-538; Slobin 1994, 1995) show uses of causative, passive, and reflexive at age 3, with the addition of reciprocal at age 5. Whereas causative morphology serves to mark clauses of high transitivity, the latter three valence modifications have the effect of reducing transitivity. These forms increase in relative frequency with age, indicating narrative abilities for backgrounding, perspective shifting, and topic maintenance. The morphological patterns of all four forms, however, pose no problems for acquisition. Slobin (1994) reports early use of agentless passives (ages 2;0-2;6) in spontaneous speech, used to express two types of non-agentive perspective: (1) Resultant states in the past tense (e.g., *kırıldı*

break:PV:PAST '(it) got broken', *yırtılmış* tear:PV:EVID '(it) must have gotten torn') and (2) potential state changes in the present (e.g., *takılmıyor* attach:PV:NEG:PROG '(it) doesn't get attached') and aorist (e.g., *açılır* open:PV:AOR '(it) opens'). He suggests "that these types of non-agentive perspective are cognitively available to children before they are used in narrative" (1994: 357). Ketrez (forthcoming) characterizes such constructions as "middle structures" (e.g., *açıldı* open:PV:PAST '(it) opened') and "passive verbs" that have non-specific agents (e.g., *yenmeyecek* eat:NEG:FUT '(it) won't be eaten'). Using longitudinal data from three children between the ages of 1;3 and 3;3, she reports early acquisition of such structures. However, the children have difficulty with passives that include specific agents, resulting in errors such as:

- (19a) *Onu ellenmiyecem.* [age 1;11]  
 that:ACC touch:PV:FUT:1SG  
 'I won't be-touch it.' [=I won't touch it.]

- (19b) *Ben kapandım.* [age 1;11]  
 I close:PV:PAST:1SG  
 'I was.closed.' [=I closed (it).]

Ketrez suggests that the acquisition of passive morphology precedes the acquisition of its syntactic requirements. (She cites a report of similar findings by van der Heijden (1997), but we have not had access to that paper.)

### **Tense, aspect, modality**

The acquisition of the tense-aspect-modality system in Turkish has been researched in detail in various studies by Aksu-Koç (1978a, 1998, forthcoming). She used three sets of data in her various analyses: (1) A longitudinal corpus of three children beginning at age 1;9, (2) an experimental study of 60 children from ages 3 to 6, and (3) longitudinally recorded mother-child conversations of four children, all between 1;1 and 3;3. In her studies of tense-aspect marking, Aksu-Koç focused on four verbal inflections: *-DI*, *-Iyor*, *-Ir*, and *-mİş*. The longitudinal observations allowed her to determine the developmental sequence of the use of these verbal suffixes in children's speech and in maternal input. The aggregated results indicate that the first inflection to emerge is the direct past (*-DI*), observed at 1;5 (forthcoming). Aksu-Koç & Slobin (1985)

had noted, reviewing tense-aspect markers in a less comprehensive dataset, that initial uses of the *-DI* suffix, “encoded punctual changes of state resulting in immediately observable end states at the time of speech” and only later “evolved into a general past tense, as the child became cognizant of the fact that a current state is the result of a past process” (p. 863). In a more recent study, Aksu-Koç (1998) examined the inherent aspect (Aktionsart) of verbs inflected for tense-aspect in both children’s and mothers’ speech in mother-child interaction data. During the initial period of use, all of the child utterances with *-DI* involved achievement verbs, such as *bul-* ‘find’, *aç-* ‘open’, *tak-* ‘insert, attach’, and *otur-* ‘sit.down’. Early divergences from this exclusive cooccurrence of direct past marking with achievement verbs were rather limited—primarily restricted to accomplishment verbs such as *boya-* ‘paint’, *kaka yap-* ‘defecate’, *bitir-* ‘finish (transitive)’. Aksu-Koç reports that although the mother’s past utterances refer to routine activities of non-present people and past activities, early child past utterances are used as a marker of actions completed in the immediate context.

The second tense-aspect marker to emerge is *-Iyor* at age 1;7, at first restricted to state and activity verbs. Two weeks later, achievement and accomplishment verbs appear with *-Iyor* as well. Using these data, Aksu-Koç (1998) makes a persuasive case against the innateness of the state-process distinction proposed by Bickerton (1981). The children, she suggests, follow the pattern presented by the input language in using the *-Iyor* marker for both processes and states.

The acquisitional precedence of *-DI*, the marker of direct past, to *-Iyor*, the present / imperfective, raises a question, since the latter is more frequent in child-directed speech. Aksu-Koç provides a plausible explanation for the observed frequency mismatch between the speech of mothers and children. She notes that *-Iyor* exhibits multifunctional uses in the mothers’ speech.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Aksu-Koç notes the following functions: Reference to ongoing activity (*Bana mı el sallıyorsun?* ‘Are you waving at me?’), questioning of intentions and desires regarding subsequent activity (*Nasıl istiyorsun?* ‘How do you want (it)?’), reference to norms of behavior (*Onlar elleniyor mu?* ‘Are they to be touched?’), habitual activity *Nasıl çağırıyorsun kediyi?* ‘How do you call for the cat?’), and existing states (*Burada ne yazıyor?* ‘What is (he) writing here?’). By contrast, *-DI* is used mainly in reference to actions carried out and completed in the immediate

The third tense-aspect-modality inflection, *-Ir*, is first used for marking deontic modality, indicating positive or negative intention for action. Early examples cited by Aksu-Koç (1998) are:

- (20) Deontic modal uses of *-Ir*:

*Bir daha yapmam.*  
again do:NEG:AOR.1SG  
'I won't do (it) again.'

*Yok ellemem yok.*  
no touch:NEG:AOR.1SG no  
'No, I won't touch (it), no.'

*Yerim.*  
eat:AOR.1SG  
'I'll eat (it).'

At this first stage, the only types of verbs marked with *-Ir* are activity and state verbs in child speech, although the inflection is used most frequently with activity and achievement verbs in child-directed speech. From the second stage on, the most frequent category marked by *-Ir* in child speech consists of achievement verbs, such as *sıkış-* 'get.stuck', *vur-* 'hit', and *ver-* 'give'. Also, in this second period of acquisition, there is a differentiation within the modal function: 41% of the utterances with *-Ir* express epistemic modality, that is, possible consequences of action independently of the self. Some examples are given below:

- (21) Epistemic modal uses of *-Ir*:

*Elin dıgıdıy [= sıkışır].*  
hand:POSS get.stuck:AOR  
'Your hand will get stuck.'

context. Given the multiple functions of *-Iyor* in child-directed speech, Aksu-Koç suggests that the abstraction of a core meaning for *-Iyor* may not be as simple a process as it is for *-DI*.

Gavani                      vuyasin [= *kafanı vurursun*].  
 head:POSS.2SG:ACC   hit:AOR.2SG  
 'You'll hit your head.'

In the final period observed, *-Ir* is used to refer to norms of action relevant to both epistemic modality and habitual aspect, such as:

- (22) Epistemic / habitual uses of *-Ir*:  
*Bebek geyekiyi [= gerekirmi]?*  
 baby    required:AOR:YN  
 'Is a doll required?'  
*O    olmaz.*  
 that   be:NEG:AOR  
 'That won't work. / That can't be.'

The perfect / inferential *-mİş* is first observed in the child's speech at 1;7, used at first only with nonverbal, inherently stative predicates (e.g., *burdaymış* 'it is (evidently) here'). In the next stage the usage extends to all kinds of verbs, but is only observed in the context of picture descriptions and story-telling.<sup>7</sup> In all other contexts the use of *-mİş* is limited to stative verbs and achievement verbs that comment on existing or newly achieved states. As we know from previous psycholinguistic research (Slobin & Aksu 1982; Aksu-Koç & Slobin 1986), *-mİş* is also a marker of nonwitnessed modality in adult speech. Furthermore, it is "a defining feature of baby talk, used by adults to direct the child's attention to what is worth noticing in the world and to what constitutes reliable evidence" (Aksu-Koç 1998: 275).

Interpreting the above findings, Aksu-Koç emphasizes the role of input in the emergence of tense-aspect morphology. She finds evidence for a "distributional bias hypothesis" in child-directed speech (Shirai & Andersen 1995), observing a tendency to use certain inflections with certain types of verbs. This bias is also reflected in the child's own speech, showing a strong correspondence to the distribution in the mother's speech. Aksu-Koç suggests that "input, by displaying the specific linguistic structures and the distributional properties of the language, plays

<sup>7</sup> Aksu-Koç speculates that such use in the narrative genre leads to the discovery of the reportative function, which is a much later development.

a significant role in determining the course of language" (1998: 276). The data have also shown, however, that in the early period of acquisition the child has stronger preferences for using inflections with certain types of verbs than suggested by the input patterns. As established in her earlier studies of tense-aspect morphology (1978a, 1988), Aksu-Koç (1998) reports an early limitation of *-DI* to achievement verbs and *-Iyor* to activities and statives. Like Behrens (1993, 1996, in press), who found similar patterns in acquisition of tense-aspect marking in German, Aksu-Koç suggests that such a "predisposition involves cognitive-processing strategies which, guided by the dominant patterns of the input, become functional in delineating the semantics of tense-aspect marking" (1998: 277).

Aksu-Koç (forthcoming) also studied the modal system that is subsumed under tense-aspect distinctions in Turkish. With respect to acquisition of epistemic modality in Turkish, Aksu-Koç has focused on two verbal suffixes: *-mİş* and *-DIr*. In addition to indicating perfect and imperfect aspect respectively, *-mİş* and *-DIr* are used in evidential modal functions to indicate a speaker's level of commitment to the factivity or the certainty of the asserted statement: *-mİş*, an evidential marker, allows speakers to modify their commitment to the factivity of what is being stated in terms of available evidence, while *-DIr* provides information on the degree of confidence in the asserted proposition, thus serving as a judgment marker. The Aksu-Koç & Slobin (1985) review covers the acquisition of *-mİş* in its aspectual and modal functions. The initial uses of *-mİş* do not carry any inferential connotations; only later does the form evolve into a past tense marker of indirect experience. The hearsay function of *-mİş* is the latest to emerge, indicating that marking information for its source is a cognitively complex function.

In her most recent work on epistemic modality, Aksu-Koç (forthcoming) focuses on *-DIr*, the development of which starts later and takes longer than *-mİş*. As suggested by Aksu-Koç, *-DIr* is used in adult language to make certain, categorical assertions (e.g., *Uçan ve yumurtlayan bu hayvan bir kuştur* 'A bird is an animal that lays eggs and flies', and to make uncertain, hypothetical statements (e.g., *Bayatlamıştır onlar, yeme* 'They're spoiled, don't eat (them)'). That is, *-DIr* imparts two opposite meanings to the predicate, that of factivity and nonfactivity. In naturalistic studies of mother-child discourse, Aksu-Koç observed that the first uses of *-DIr* were nonfactive, mainly for questioning in search for knowledge (e.g., *Bunlar nedir anne?* 'What are these, mother?') or in



contexts where there is no available evidence for the proposition (e.g., in response to mother asking location of a toy, *Yatağındadır* '(It's) in bed.'). In experimental production studies prompting for uncertainty indications from children of ages 4, 5, and 6, she found that 4- and 5-year-old children used adverbs (such as *belki* 'maybe', *galiba* 'probably', or *bence* 'according to me') or negations in order to convey their degree of uncertainty. Even the oldest age group, 6-year-olds, used the *-Dir* marker sparingly, instead preferring adverbial strategies. These data suggest that the acquisition of the full range of functions of *-Dir* spans a longer period than examined by Aksu-Koç. Further studies with older children and in different kinds of settings are needed.

### Relative clauses

Relative clauses are a late acquisition in Turkish, in comparison with Indo-European languages; they are also less frequently used in conversation and narrative (Slobin 1986). This is no doubt due to factors of morphological complexity and non-transparency (nonfinite verbs in nominalized or participial forms), along with word order (prenominal position). By contrast, Indo-European relative clauses retain most of the morphology of finite clauses; are marked by relative pronouns of various sorts; and are postnominal.

Dasinger & Toupin (1994) carried out a detailed analysis of relative clauses in the frog-story, comparing Turkish with English, German, Spanish, and Hebrew. Here we will briefly present their findings with regard to Turkish. As shown in Slobin's (1986) earlier studies of spontaneous speech, an early and frequent form is the locative form with *-ki*, as in:

- (23) *Elindekini*                      *atıyor*. [age 3;6]  
       hand:LOC.REL:ACC throw:PROG  
       'He throws the one that's in his hand.'

By contrast, relative clauses with the participial forms *-An* and *-Dik* are a later development, serving a more restricted range of functions than functionally comparable constructions in Indo-European and Semitic languages. For example, the prenominal position of relative clauses makes it unlikely that they will be used for the purpose of character introduction, such as the English, "Once upon a time there was a boy *who*...". Relative clauses are also not available for narrative continuation,

such as, “The bees start chasing the dog, *who ran away*” (that is, narrative flow does not allow for Turkish relative clause order, such as ‘The bees *the running-away dog* start to chase’). It is not until age 9 that Turkish children occasionally begin to use relative clauses for adult-like narrative functions, such as:

- (24) *Baktıkları her yerden çeşitli hayvanlar çıkıyor.* [age 9]  
 ‘Various animals emerge from every place that they look.’

The late development of relative clauses in the frog-story texts is apparently due to narrative functions, rather than the grammatical morphology of deverbal forms. For example, a check of the original data (CHILDES archive) shows that *-Dik* is readily available to preschoolers for its temporal function (25a, 25b), its complement function (26), and its subordinate clause function (27).

- (25a) *Çocuk uyandığında kurbağa yok.* [age 5;4]  
 ‘When the boy woke up there was no frog.’
- (25b) *Kurbağayı orada göremedikleri zaman her yere bakıyorlar.* [age 5;3]  
 ‘When they couldn’t see the frog there they looked everywhere.’
- (26) *Annesinin yanına gittiğini anlıyorlar.* [age 5;0]  
 ‘They understood that (he) had gone to his mother’s side.’
- (27) *Onlar da gülüyorlar, bakamadıkları için.* [age 5;0]  
 ‘They’re smiling, because they couldn’t look.’

Özcan (1997, forthcoming) has replicated and extended experimental research on relative clause comprehension and production, reported earlier by Slobin (1982, 1986). In comprehension tests, children (ages 5, 7, 9) are asked to act out complex sentences using toy animals; in production tasks they are asked to describe pictures. At issue is the “parallel function hypothesis” advanced by Sheldon (1974), which proposes that it is easier to process relative clauses in which the embedded and matrix nounphrase have the same grammatical function (subject or object). Slobin (1982) had found that children younger than 5 could not perform such tasks. Özcan did not find strong support for the parallel function hypothesis in older children who could perform the tasks. However, the

sentences involved in such research are not typical of either spoken or written discourse, thereby posing problems for generalized interpretation of the findings.<sup>8</sup>

### Converbs and conjunctions

Aksu-Koç & Slobin (1985: 862) had noted the use of converbs in spontaneous speech in the third year of life. Narrative research on the frog-story has enriched the developmental story, covering ages 3 to 9 (Aksu-Koç 1994; Aksu-Koç & von Stutterheim 1994; Berman & Slobin 1994: 538-554; Slobin 1988, 1995). The preferred type of clause linking at all ages is the use of converbs, with rare and late use of the non-Turkic conjunction *ve* 'and'. The uninflected nonfinite forms provided by converbs are morphologically transparent and syntactically non-complex. However, they differ in terms of the conceptual integration of events into sequences of linked clauses. Converbs marking simultaneity (*-ken*) and temporal overlap (*-Ince*) are regularly used by 3-year-olds and are highly frequent by age 5, as in the following examples:

(28) Verb-*ken*:

*Burda köpek düşmüş aşağıya camdan bakarken.*  
 Here dog fall:EVID down window:ABL look:ERKEN  
 'Here the dog fell down while looking out of the window.'

(29) Verb-*Ince*:

*Köpek de şaşırmuş onu görünce.* [age 5;0] .  
 dog TOP surprised:EVID PRO.ACC see:INCE  
 'And the dog was surprised upon seeing him'

<sup>8</sup> The following are examples of the four sentence types employed in this sort of research (to be acted out with sets of three toy animals): subject embedded, matrix subject: *Ineği düşüren kuş zebraı okşasın* 'The bird that knocks down the cow should kiss the zebra'; subject embedded, matrix object: *Lamanın ellediği kaz kediye ısırısın* 'The goose that the llama touches should bite the cat'; object embedded, matrix object: *Eşek devenin sevdiği koyunu itsin* 'The donkey should push the sheep that the camel pats'; object embedded, matrix subject: *Lama zürafayı iten kurdu ısırısın* 'The llama should bite the cow that pushes the giraffe'.

Sequenced clauses with *-Ip* develop slightly later, probably due to demands of narrative continuity and coherence; for example:

- (30) Verb-*Ip*:  
*Yavruyu alıp ona bakıyorlar.* [age 6;0]  
 baby:ACC take:IP PRO:DAT look:PROG:3PL  
 'Taking the baby (frog), they looked at it.'

By the end of the preschool period there are even chains of clauses with several converbs:

- (31) *Sonra camdan bakarken, bir kavanozu*  
 then window:ABL look:ERKEN a jar:ACC  
  
*alıp da köpek başına geçirmiş.* [age 5;2]  
 take:IP TOP dog head:POSS:DAT put.on:EVID  
 'Then while looking out of the window, and having taken a jar,  
 the dog put it over his head.'

The last example also contains the particle *DA*, which is used from a very early age to join clauses with contrasting reference or topics, such as:

- (32) *Çocuk uyuyor, köpek de uyuyor.* [age 4;0]  
 child sleep:PROG dog TOP sleep:PROG  
 'The boy is sleeping, the dog is sleeping too.'

By contrast to *-ken*, *-IncE*, and *-Ip*, the converb *-ErEk* is a late development, not appearing until age 7-9 in the frog-story data, and late to emerge in spontaneous speech as well. Slobin (Berman & Slobin 1994: 547-551; Slobin 1988, 1995) attributes this delay to the conceptual complexity involved, because this converb functions to treat two situations as constituent parts of a single superordinate event. He likens *-ErEk* linking to serial-verb constructions, following Li and Thompson's analysis of Mandarin. In both instances, the related elements "refer to events or states of affairs which are understood to be related as PARTS of ONE overall event or state of affairs" (Li & Thompson 1981: 594). Slobin proposes four types of event packaging with *-ErEk*. The only type to emerge before age 7 is used to describe the manner of movement

presented in the main clause. These uses are frequent in adult speech to preschoolers (Küntay & Slobin 1996: 228) and are found occasionally in the speech of 3-year-olds. An example from the frog-story is given below:

- (33) *Yüzerek geri gittiler.* [age 7]  
 swim:EREK back go:PA.3PL  
 'They went back swimming.'

The other uses of *-ErEk* occur only occasionally in the 7-9 age range. A very general use of the converb might be called circumstance, presenting component elements of an event as a kind of amalgam, such as:

- (34) *Çocuk bir kütüğe yaslanarak köpeğe "sus" diyor.* [age 9]  
 child a log:DAT lean:EREK dog:DAT "shh" say:PROG  
 'The boy, leaning on a log, says "shh" to the dog.'

In purpose uses, an act is defined in the *-ErEk* clause with a goal following in the main clause:

- (35) *Kurbağa kavanozundan çıkarak kaçtı.* [age 9]  
 frog jar:POSS:ABL leave:EREK escape:PA  
 'The frog, leaving the jar, escaped.'

Consecutive linking presents a retrospective view of a preliminary event phase that enables the subsequent phase. The preliminary phase can be a preparatory act or movement (36a), a cause (36b), or a motivating state (36c):

- (36a) *Hemen gözlerini kapayarak uyudu.* [age 9]  
 immediately eye:PL:POSS:ACC close:EREK sleep:PA  
 'Immediately closing his eyes, he slept.'
- (36b) *Baykuş çocuğu kovalayarak onu korkuttu.* [age 9]  
 owl child:ACC chase:EREK PRO:ACC scare:CAUS:PA  
 'The owl, chasing the boy, scared him.'

- (36c) *Geyik ayağa kalktı ve çok sinirlenerek*  
 deer stand.up:PAST and very get-irritated:EREK

*şiddetle koşmağa başladı.* [age 9]  
 force:INST run:NOM:DAT start:PA  
 'The deer stood up and, getting very irritated,  
 started to run with force.'

The last example (36c) is a rare instance of the use of *ve* 'and' in children's narratives. Note that it is not used to simply join two clauses, as English *and*; rather, it is part of a package that links several clauses in an event complex. Berman & Slobin note that *ve* is a rare and mature form, primarily used by adults "to build a special sort of event complex in which converbs are used to set up preparatory phases which are then linked to a consequence by means of *ve*" (1994: 552-553). They give the following example, containing *ve* along with two converbs, *-Ip* and *-ErKen*:

- (37) *Camın açık bırakıldığını farkedip*  
 window:GEN open leave:PV:PAST.NOM:ACC notice:IP

*camdan bakarlarken köpek aşağıya düşüyor,*  
 window:ABL look:PL:ERKEN dog down fall:PROG

*kavanoz başında ve kavanoz kırılıyor.* [age adult]  
 jar head:POSS.3SG:LOC and jar break:PV:PROG

'Noticing that the window had been left open, the dog—while they were looking out of the window—fell down, with the jar on his head, and the jar got broken.'

Aksu-Koç (1994: 433) suggests that children's control of *-ErEk* at about age 9 leads to a re-allocation of converb functions. She proposes that *-ErEk* takes on functions of conveying simultaneity of events, thereby restricting *-Ip* to the indication of sequence of events. Her comparison of 5-year-old and 9-year-old narrations of the same situation clearly shows this change in pattern:

(38a) *Onlara güle güle deyip uzaklaşmış.* [age 5]  
 PRO.3PL:DAT goodbye say:IP leave:EVID  
 '(They) said goodbye to them and went away.'

(38b) *El sallayarak gidiyor.* [age 9]  
 hand wave:EREK go:PROG  
 'Waving his hand, (he) goes.'

The patterns of development of clause combining in narrative are also found in non-narrative speech. Özcan and Topbaş, at Anadolu University in Eskişehir, have been gathering spontaneous speech samples from 40 monolingual children in the age range from 2;6 to 5;6. As in the narrative samples, *-ken*, *-IncE*, and *-Ip* are present early on, whereas *-ErEk* is infrequent, cited only at age 4;0 (and missing in samples at 4;6, 5;0, and 5;6). As in the narrative data, *ve* is absent at all ages. The following connectives are used from 2;6 onwards: *-DIğI zaman*, *-mEdEn önce*, *için*, *-DIğI için*, *-mEk için*, *sonra*, *çünkü*, *ama*, *ki*. Verhoeven (1989), in a sample of village children, finds the same patterns with regard to clause combining, with the same three converbs present in his 5-year-old sample, and the addition of *-ErEk* in his 7-year-old-sample.

Özyürek (1996) examined children's use of temporal and evaluative connectors in a study of how children (ages 5, 9, 13) talk about a conversation that they have witnessed. She found that the connective *DA* 'in turn' was favored by 9- and 13-year-olds more than by 5-year-olds. Özyürek suggests that, with age, children assume a narrator role and tend to organize their reports as pairings of utterances for their listeners.

### Verbs of motion

Slobin (1997a, in press; Berman & Slobin 1994: 620-639; Özçalışkan & Slobin, in press) has explored implications of lexicalization patterns for discourse organization, with particular attention to the domain of motion events. The work is crosslinguistic in plan, including Turkish among others. He makes use of a typological distinction proposed by Talmy (1985, 1991, in press) with regard to the preferred locus of expression for the path component of motion events. Compare the set of path verbs in Turkish (*girmek* 'enter', *çıkma* 'exit / ascend', *geçmek* 'cross / pass', etc.) with the set of path particles in English (*in*, *out*, *up*, *across*, *past*, etc.). The English pattern leaves the main verb slot open for either a general verb of motion (*go*, *move*, etc.) or a verb of manner of motion (e.g.,

*run, crawl, stroll*, etc.). This lexicalization pattern allows for compact expression of path and manner in a single verb-particle construction (*run in, crawl out*, etc.). In Turkish, by contrast, when the main verb slot is occupied by a path verb, manner can only be expressed by an associated nonfinite verb (e.g., *koşarak girmek* 'runningly enter': cf. English *run in*) or phrase (e.g., *ayaklarının ucunda inmek* 'on foot-tips descend': cf. English *tiptoe down*). The Turkish preference for expressing path in the main verb is shared by the other Turkic languages, along with the Romance, Semitic, and Dravidian languages, Japanese, Korean, and others. The English preference for expressing path in an element associated with the main verb is shared by the other Germanic languages, Slavic, Finno-Ugric, Chinese, and others.<sup>9</sup>

There are two major consequences of these lexicalization patterns for child language: (1) Size and diversity of the lexicon of verbs expressing manner of motion, and (2) narrative attention to the locations of physical landmarks.

### **Lexical diversity**

Slobin finds that languages like Turkish, that rely on path verbs, tend to have a limited collection of manner verbs, in comparison with languages of the opposite type, such as English. This is apparently due to the free availability of the main verb slot for the encoding of manner in the latter type, facilitating attention to this dimension of motion. Slobin (in press) has documented the frequency and diversity of manner verbs in a number of languages of both types, across a number of genres (spontaneous and elicited narratives, novels, conversations, newspaper reports). The first group of languages includes Turkish, Spanish, French, and Hebrew; the second group includes English, German, Russian, and Mandarin Chinese. In all cases, languages of the second group have greater diversity (number of types) of manner verbs, and make more frequent use of such verbs (number of tokens). These patterns have been documented

<sup>9</sup> Talmy refers to the Turkish type as "verb-framed", because it is the verb that "frames" the core element of a motion event; the English type is referred to as "satellite-framed", because this function is carried out by an associated element. Talmy's typology embraces not only motion, but also the encoding of a range of temporal and causal relations. Slobin & Hoiting (1994) suggest some revisions and extensions of the typology.



in narratives elicited from children by means of a picture storybook, the frog story (Aksu-Koç 1994; Berman & Slobin 1994; Özçalışkan & Slobin 1999). At all ages tested (3, 4, 5, 7, 9, adult), English narratives have higher type and token frequencies of manner verbs than Turkish. For example, in describing a picture in which an owl suddenly emerges from a hole in a tree, 100% of Turkish narrators—at all ages—simply use the verb *çıkma* ‘exit’, whereas English speakers at all ages prefer manner expressions such as *fly out* and *pop out*. Berman & Slobin (1994) suggest that language plays a role in directing the child’s attention to particular dimensions of experience, with the consequence that the domain of manner of motion becomes more elaborated for speakers of particular languages.<sup>10</sup>

### **Narrative attention to physical landmarks**

Languages like English, that use path particles, allow for the compact expression of several components of a trajectory using a single verb. For example, in the “frog story”, the protagonist, a small boy, is caught in a deer’s antlers and thrown down by the deer. The following are typical patterns of “event conflation”, describing the actions of the deer:

(39a) *He threw him over a cliff into a pond.* [age 5]

(39b) *He tips him off over a cliff into the water.* [age 9]

It can be inferred from the English constructions that there is a cliff located above a body of water. In a language like Turkish, narrators often provide such information explicitly, as in the following examples:

<sup>10</sup> Slobin (1996) and Berman & Slobin (1994: 611-641) broaden this proposal to embrace a range of notions of space, time, and causality, discussing the cognitive consequences of becoming a native speaker of a particular language. With regard to Turkish acquisition, they also note possible consequences of learning evidentials and converbs for conceptions of evidence and event structure.

- (40a) *Ancak önlerinde bir uçurum vardı. Altıda göldü. Çocuk hız yaptığı için, geyiğin başından köpeğiyle birlikte düştü.* [age 9]  
 'Just in front of them there was a cliff. Below there was a lake.  
 Because the boy was making speed, he fell from the deer's head together with his dog.'
- (40b) *Geyik tam uçurumun kenarına geliyor. Orada da bir göl var. Onları oraya atıyor.* [age 9]  
 'The deer comes right to the edge of the cliff.  
 And there is a lake there. He throws them to there.'

Berman & Slobin (1994: 623) report that this sort of extended locative description is typical of 9-year-old narrations in Turkish, as well as Spanish and Hebrew. In all three of these languages, 42% of 9-year-olds provide such descriptions of landmarks, such as the cliff and the water in the above examples. By contrast, English and German 9-year-olds rarely provide this sort of detail, preferring to package path information in a series of directional verb particles. Berman and Slobin propose that differences in lexicalization patterns demonstrate "an impact of grammatical typology on rhetorical style".

In concluding this section on studies of grammar and discourse, we underline the tight interrelations between lexicalization patterns, syntactic constructions, and discourse functions—in acquisition as well as in mature language use. The few studies of Turkish child language that have been conducted from this point of view are consistent with findings in other languages, and point to a number of issues for future research. Finally, we turn to a brief review of research on the acquisition of Turkish phonology.

### Phonology

The 1985 overview of Turkish child language research (Aksu-Koç & Slobin 1985) does not include any phonologically relevant work. Although many (morpho)phonological properties of Turkish lie in the forefront of linguistics research, work on acquisition in this area is still quite sparse.

Topbaş (1996) studied the speech of 20 children between the ages of 1 and 3 from a phonological perspective. In addition, she observed the acquisition process of two children in the same age range in a longitudinal design. All the children were recorded during natural interaction with

their caretakers, such as mealtime and play with toys. Topbaş groups the phonological processes she observes in the children's speech into two categories: Syntagmatic simplification and paradigmatic simplification. The first category includes: Syllable elision (e.g., [pə] /para/), syllable reduplication (e.g., [dədə] /doktor/), consonant elision (e.g., [ku] /kuş/), vowel lengthening (e.g., [bə:mək] /parmak/), consonant cluster simplification, (e.g., [tək] /türk/), consonant assimilation (e.g., [kəmək] /parmak/). Among the paradigmatic phonological processes, Topbaş lists fronting, palatalization, plosivization, gliding, and voicing / devoicing. In her conclusions, Topbaş suggests that the speech of Turkish children is phonologically transparent and comprehensible at early ages. She speculates that Turkish phonotactic processes and syllable templates are perceptually and productively simple, facilitating phonological acquisition.

In another paper, Topbaş (1989) finds reliable correlations between the frequencies of the phonemes /k/, /t/, and /ç/ in adult speech to children and those in the speech of the children themselves. She finds that /k/ is the most frequent phoneme in the children's inventory, as in child directed speech. She points out that "fronting", which has been proposed as a universal in child phonology, is not observed in Turkish. Velar consonants are acquired from early on and, if anything, front consonants tend to be substituted by back ones.

Phonological acquisition of Turkish is an obvious area calling for further investigation. Some possible research directions could involve study of the acquisition of vowel harmony and disharmonic exceptions, vowel and consonant length, epenthesis, final consonant voicing and its exceptions—areas that have proven particularly interesting to theoretical phonologists working on Turkish (Sharon Inkelas, personal communication, 1999).

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# On some proverbs of the Western and Eastern Yugur languages\*

Marti Roos & Hans Nugteren & Zhōng Jīnwén

Roos, Marti & Nugteren, Hans & Zhōng Jīnwén 1999. On some proverbs of the Western and Eastern Yugur languages. *Turkic Languages* 3, 189-214.

The Yugur are a people living in Gānsù Province in northwest China. The ethnic and linguistic diversity of this area is reflected in the Yugur proverbs.

Marti Roos & Hans Nugteren, Leiden University, Department of Comparative Linguistics, P.O. Box 9515, 2300 RA Leiden, The Netherlands.

Zhōng Jīnwén, Institute of Literature and Arts, Central University for Nationalities, 27 Báishíqiáo Road, 100081, Beijing, P.R. China.

The Yugur (“Yellow Uyghur”) are one of China’s 56 officially recognized nationalities, consisting of 12,297 persons according to the 1990 census. The Yugur live primarily in Sùnán Yugur Autonomous County, and in Huángníbǎo Township of Jiǔquán City, both in Gānsù Province. The total population of Sùnán Yugur Autonomous County numbers 35,500 people, about half of whom are Chinese; the Yugur people number 8,820, and the Tibetans 8,390; a small number of Mongols, Monguor and Hui reside in this area as well.<sup>1</sup>

The Yugur themselves consist in fact of four linguistically different groups. The largest of these are the Turkic-speaking Western Yugur (Xībù Yùgù), comprising roughly 4,600 persons; they mainly live in the western part of the county, in the Dàhé and Mínghuā districts. The

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Yáng (1993: 103).

Mongolic-speaking Eastern Yugur (Dōngbù Yùgù) number about 2,800; they mainly live in the county's eastern part, in the districts of Kānglè and Huángchéng.<sup>2</sup> The Western Yugur call themselves “*sarīy yōyīr*” (*sarīy* ‘yellow’, *yōyīr* ‘Yugur’), the Eastern Yugur “*šéra yōbōr*” (*šéra* ‘yellow’, *yōbōr* ‘Yugur’). A limited number of the Yugur living in Dàhé and Huángchéng are bilingual in Western and Eastern Yugur. A very small number of the Yugur living in Huángchéng District reportedly speak Tibetan. The remaining Yugur of the Autonomous County and the Yugur of Huángnǐbǎo Township speak Chinese. Chinese is the language of contact between the different linguistic groups, and functions as the written medium. Both Western and Eastern Yugur are non-written languages.

The collection of Western Yugur proverbs presented below consists of 32 items which were recorded in August 1994 and August 1995 with Zhōng Jīnwén and in September 1995 with Xuělián, and of the materials occurring in Malov (1967) and Léi (1992).<sup>3</sup> It appears that the collection of proverbs excerpted from the dictionary by Léi is largely convergent with the one in Malov. The Eastern Yugur proverbs presented here all derive from Bolčuluu and Ĵalcan (1988).<sup>4</sup> Beside the proverbs, eight proverbial expressions dealing with folk wisdom, which were recorded by Zhōng Jīnwén in 1992 in the Yugur area, are included.

<sup>2</sup> Figures from Chén & Léi (1985: 1); Ĵuunast (1981: 1) however estimates that the number of Turkic-, Mongolic- and Chinese-speaking Yugur is more or less equal.

<sup>3</sup> Of these older materials, nos. 2, 4, 15, 17, 19, 30, 31, 32, 43 and 51 were known to Zhōng Jīnwén and Xuělián. Mr. Zhōng (*çəŋil yak<sup>h</sup>ir*), aged 32, and Miss Xuělián (*k<sup>h</sup>uncis*), aged 18, are both native speakers of the Western Yugur language. Proverbs without source citation are known to both.

<sup>4</sup> Nos. 2, 5, 6, 8, 11, 16, 18, 22, 25, 29, 31 and 33 were recorded from Sū Jiànguó (Eastern Yugur surname *sultés*), a middle-aged man; all other proverbs were recorded from Ān Yúnxíá (Eastern Yugur surname *ančar*), a woman in the prime of life.

The resulting samples of 61 Western Yugur and 35 Eastern Yugur proverbs are arranged in alphabetical order, using an IPA-based transcription system.<sup>5</sup>

Parallels in other Turkic and Mongolic languages, as well as Chinese and Tibetan have been indicated incidentally. A number of Yugur proverbs are already attested in Maḥmūd al-Kāšyarī's eleventh century dictionary *Dīwān Luyāt at-Turk*. Apart from proverbs in their own language, Western Yugur speakers also use proverbs in the Chinese language, which are not translated.

The Western Yugur use the vernacular term *k<sup>h</sup>ip śōz* (*k<sup>h</sup>ip* 'custom, tradition', *śōz* 'word') to designate the proverb, next to the Chinese term *xiēhòuyǔ*, a two-part proverb, of which the first part consists of a metaphor, while the second part cites the application. There are also many Western and Eastern Yugur metaphorical proverbs that cite the application first, and then the metaphor. Occasionally, the application may be dropped. The Eastern Yugur use the term *k<sup>h</sup>ep* to denote the proverb.<sup>6</sup>

Western Yugur proverbs do not feature the syllabic verse, i.e. the traditional Turkic verse structure which most commonly consists of seven syllables (4+3) or an augmentation of this number to eleven (4+4+3). Many of the two-part proverbs, though, have lines with an equal number of syllables. Some proverbs feature 4-syllable lines, a form which often occurs in Chinese idioms (*chéngyǔ*).

In Eastern Yugur proverbs, vertical alliteration, i.e. rhyme of the initial consonant and vowel of the first words of the two propositions, is frequent. This vertical alliteration is typical of Mongolic, and not original to Turkic.<sup>7</sup> It only occurs in those Turkic languages which are or have been in contact with Mongolic languages, but is less frequently used by the more western Turkic peoples or by the modern Uygurs. Horizontal alliteration, i.e. rhyme of the initial consonant and vowel of words within a verse, occurs only incidentally in the Western and Eastern Yugur proverbs. Parallel grammatical structures are frequent for mne-

<sup>5</sup> The single graphemes ʒ, ǯ, ʒ̇, ʒ̈, c, č, ɕ, ɕ̌ used here represent IPA double graphemes [dz, dǯ, dż, dz̈, ts, tʃ̌, tʃ̇, tʃ̈]; ǯ, ʒ̇, ʒ̈ represent IPA [ʒ, ʃ̌, ʃ̇], and é, é̌, ó, ó̌, ú, ú̌ represent IPA [ə, ɜ̌, ɐ, ɔ̌, u, ǔ].

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Bolčuluu (1984: 67).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Doerfer (1964: 867) and Hangin (1985 : 13).

monic reasons, thus giving rise to end rhyme, especially in Eastern Yugur.

### Western Yugur proverbs

- 1 *a<sup>h</sup>qa yǐrlayantan sən yaγī tekkīš*  
*aq tənñi(γ) yǐrlayantan sən amīr pólγīš* (L 251a)  
*axqa yǐrlawandan sən yaγī tékkeš,*  
*aq tənñi(γ) yǐrlawandan sən amīr pólγīš*  
 (M 169:4: Sanyškap, December 1910)  
 ‘Monks quarrel after singing, laymen are peaceful after singing.’
- 2 *a<sup>h</sup>qalarta č<sup>h</sup>ūwek yɔq,*  
*paqalarta quzurɔq yɔq* (L 50a)  
*axqalarda č<sup>h</sup>ūwek yɔq,*  
*paqalarda quzurɔq yɔq* (M 170:12)  
*a<sup>h</sup>kalarta č<sup>h</sup>ūk yɔq,*  
*paqalarta quzīrīq yɔq*  
 ‘Monks do not have braids, frogs do not have tails.’
- 3 *a<sup>h</sup>t nayo surnīksi-ma, qaylasa čiyintin ɔytī*  
 ‘Even if a horse stumbles, if it runs, it is faster than a donkey.’
- 4 *awananiḡ paγī qǐz-ɔγīlta,*  
*qǐz-ɔγīlniḡ kǝḡil q<sup>h</sup>arli γ t<sup>h</sup>ayta* (L 50b)  
 ‘The liver of the parents is on the children,  
 the heart of the children is on the snowy mountain.’
- 4a *ananiḡ kǝḡil qǐz-ɔγīlniḡ pɔzta par,*  
*qǐz-ɔγīlniḡ kǝḡil ta<sup>h</sup>sta par*  
 ‘A mother’s heart is on her children’s body, the children’s heart is on the stone.’  
 • Parents feel concerned about their children, but children are concerned with themselves.

A variant form featuring *awa* ‘father’ exists as well. This proverb occurs widely (cf. Bläsing 74: 233). See also Eastern Yugur no. 9.

- Mgr *a:xa a:mané skél k<sup>h</sup>u: ścün tère i:, k<sup>h</sup>u: ścüné skél t<sup>h</sup>aş tère i:* (Čeng 552: 82)  
 ‘The heart of father and mother is on the son and daughter, the heart of the son and daughter is on the rock.’ (The heart of man is directed towards the younger generations.)
- Dgx *ana awəini ɕuʁə k<sup>h</sup>əwoŋ oɕ<sup>h</sup>in ɕiərə, k<sup>h</sup>əwoŋ oɕ<sup>h</sup>inni ɕuʁə t<sup>h</sup>aşl ɕiərə wo* (B 315:4)  
 ‘The heart of father and mother is on the son and daughter, the heart of the son and daughter is on the stone.’
- Ord *e:ʒi a:wūi: sana: a<sup>h</sup>ɕ<sup>h</sup>-uredu; a<sup>h</sup>ɕ<sup>h</sup>-uri: sana: ɕaɖaŋdu* (Mos 1937 504: 88)  
 ‘The concern of the parents is on their children, the concern of the children is on the rocks.’ (Mos 1947 531: 88)
- Tib *ma sñiñ bu dañ bu sñiñ rdo* (Gergan 221:542)  
 ‘A mother’s heart on her child; a child’s heart on a stone’ (of a child who is incapable of expressing his feelings).
- Tuva *ava kiži tölüm deer, aži-tölü şölüm deer* (X S40)  
 ‘A mother says “my child”, the child says “my steppe”.’
- 5 *ɕar pɔɣan yɔqq<sup>h</sup>aɣan ɕ<sup>h</sup>i a<sup>h</sup>ttan pezik*  
 ‘A camel, having become meagre and died, is [still] bigger than a horse.’
- Ch *yǔsǐde luòtuobǐ mǎ dà* (Chén 56)  
 ‘A camel having died of hunger and disease is [still] bigger than a horse.’
- 6 *ciyinintaqiñ ta<sup>h</sup>sǐ kǐltiñ*  
 ‘The outside of donkey dung is shiny.’
- NM *lǔ<sup>24</sup> fəŋ<sup>44</sup> tǎ<sup>44</sup> tǎ<sup>21</sup> piɔ<sup>52</sup> miǎ<sup>44</sup> kuǔ<sup>21</sup>, pu<sup>21</sup> tsɿ<sup>21</sup> lǐ<sup>52</sup> t’əu<sup>24</sup> sa<sup>44</sup> tɕ’iŋ<sup>24</sup> k’uǔ<sup>44</sup> (lǔ fèn dàndànr biǎomiàn guāng, bù zhī lītou shà qíngkuàng)* (Liú 224: 4)  
 ‘The exterior of a donkey’s dropping is shiny, but you do not know what is inside.’
- Tib *boñ-bu’i oñ-ril* (Gāo 354)  
 ‘A donkey dropping.’ (Shiny on the outside, worthless on the inside.)
- 7 *ɕ<sup>h</sup>iniñ miɔn niɕɔr uzin pusa-ma, t<sup>h</sup>aɣniñ neraqiñtaqi ɕ<sup>h</sup>tti yio yatayaq* (Zhōng Jīnwén, August 1994)  
*ɕ<sup>h</sup>iniñ mɔyni ninñ uzin pusa-ma, t<sup>h</sup>aɣniñ neraqiñtaqi ɕ<sup>h</sup>tti yio yataş* (Xuělián, September 1995)



‘However long the camel’s neck, it cannot eat the grass on the other side of the mountain.’

- The power of man has its limits.

Mgr *tʰème:né kuçéné ştura, ula kelaçe vesé ite atam* (Čeng 538: 21)

‘However long the camel’s neck, it cannot eat the grass on the other side of the mountain.’

Tib *rñā-moñ ske-riñ – la-kha rgyab-kyi rcwa mi-rag* (Gāo 354)

‘However long the neck of the camel, it cannot touch the grass behind the mountain.’

8 *enik yer lilasa, sītīk kšʰp,*  
*aryaçī kīsī is tuʰtsa, sōz kšʰp*

‘If a cow ploughs the earth—much urine,  
if a lazy person takes up work—much talking.’

- A cow is not apt for ploughing since it has no strength, and urinates a lot when doing heavy labour; bulls and oxen are used for ploughing.

NM *læ<sup>52</sup> lü<sup>24</sup> ʃō<sup>44</sup> mē<sup>44</sup> sɿ<sup>52</sup> nio<sup>44</sup> tuē<sup>21</sup>* (*lǎn lú shàng mò shǐ niào duō*) (Liú 224: 2)

‘A lazy donkey going to the mill excretes and urinates a lot.’

9 *eren (~ erī) marya uş,*  
*ezer kšʰkī tiort* (L 30a, L 80b)

‘A man’s competition three, the corners of the saddle four.’

- The meaning of this proverb is obscure.

Kāš *er sōzi bir, eđer kški üč* (Brock 68: 213, DK II: 104)

‘A man’s word one, the saddle’s straps three.’ (It is appropriate to do as one says.)

10 *eʰsenken işt taʰrtɔ trɔ* (L 96a)  
*isenyen işt tartu-drɔ* (M 169: 5)

‘The dog bites the one who trusts.’

- Rather: ‘A trustworthy dog bites.’

11 *ey eyta ɔyurçitan fannayɔ,*  
*yil yilta sutan qɔʰrqɔɔ* (L 34b)  
*ey eyta ɔurçitan fannaɔ,*  
*yil yilta sutan qɔpɔɔ (~ qɔrqɔɔ)* (M 169: 6)

- ‘Each month one must beware of thieves, each year one must fear the water (i.e. from the mountain rivers).’
- NM *yè yè fáng zéi bù shī huò, yuè yuè fáng hàn, bù rěn è, nián nián fáng hàn, bù shī gé* (Oost 334: 955)  
 ‘By guarding every night against thieves, one does not lose one’s goods, by guarding every month against drought, one does not endure starvation, by guarding every year against drought, one does not lose one’s style.’
- 12 *ištitiŋ i<sup>h</sup>ci<sup>s</sup>ti aq yaŋ salıwalmas*  
 ‘One should not place white butter in a dog’s intestines.’
- Kir *it içine sarı may jakpayt* (Šam 163)  
 ‘One does not keep yellow (i.e. melted) butter in a dog’s intestines.’
- Kzk *iyttiŋ işine sarımay žaqpas* (Kirchner 32: 143)  
 ‘Butter does not befit a dog’s stomach.’ (An evil person cannot appreciate a good thing.)
- Ord *нәхә: ғеңдүсүңдү шара дусу жәкәкәіроғ-уғһі: (Mos 1937 605: 518)*  
 ‘Butter does not fit in a dog’s stomach.’ (You have no luck.)  
 (Mos 1947 594: 518)
- 13 *ištitiŋ i<sup>s</sup>msi y<sup>i</sup>sti yaŋan tis unmis*  
 ‘An elephant’s tooth does not come out in a dog’s mouth.’
- Ch *gǒuzuili zhāngbuchū xiàngyá* (HZ 65)  
 ‘A dog cannot emit ivory from its mouth.’ (A filthy mouth cannot utter decent language.)
- NM *gǒuzuili tǔbuchū xiàngyá lái* (Oost 96: 281)  
 ‘Elephant’s teeth do not protrude in a dog’s mouth.’
- 14 *kīsī ɕ<sup>h</sup>qesa, lar unik kiŋik,*  
*ĩst ɕ<sup>h</sup>qesa, a<sup>h</sup>rq unik kiŋik*  
 ‘If man sits down, words come out, if a dog sits down, shit comes out.’
- 15 *kīsī larlaso tanısqo,*  
*mal ɕ<sup>h</sup>qaso tanısqo* (Zhōng Jīnwén, August 1995)
- 15a *kīsī lir larlaso tanısqo,*  
*mallir ɕ<sup>h</sup>qaso tanısqo* (Xuělián, September 1995)

- ‘People learn to know each other by talking to each other, livestock learn to know each other by sniffing at each other.’  
 • This proverb is widely distributed (cf. Bläsing 642: 4308).
- Kāš *kīši sōzlešö, yīlkī yīōlašö* (Brock 65: 194, DKII:199)  
 ‘Men talking to each other, livestock smelling each other.’
- Sag *mal kisteze tanıscaŋ, kizi čooqtaza tanıscaŋ*  
 (R III: 828, RP II: 64: 704)  
 ‘If horses neigh, they learn to know each other, if people talk, they learn to know each other.’
- Alt *at kištešse tanıžar, kiži ermektešse tanıžar* (RPI:2:23)  
 ‘If horses neigh to each other they learn to know each other, if people talk to each other, they learn to know each other.’
- Tuva *mal kištežip tanıžar, kiži čugaalažip tanıžar* (XS132)  
 ‘Horses learn to know each other by neighing to each other, people learn to know each other by talking to each other.’
- Nuyg *at kišnišip tepišar, adām sōzlišip tonušar* (SK76:905)  
 ‘Horses find each other by neighing to each other, people learn to know each other by talking to each other.’
- 16 *k<sup>h</sup>īsī pīr wučin,*  
*mal ke<sup>h</sup>p wučin* (L 313b)  
*kīse per wučīn,*  
*mal kep (~kōp) wučīn* (M 170: 10: Sanyškap, 14 February 1911)  
 ‘Man with one (i.e. woman), livestock with many (i.e. females).’
- 17 *k<sup>h</sup>īsī q<sup>h</sup>arīsa, kōŋlī q<sup>h</sup>arīyīmes,*  
*terek q<sup>h</sup>arīsa, yeltīs, q<sup>h</sup>arīyīmes* (L 209b; Zhōng 227)  
*kīse qarāsa, kōŋel qar(i)wīmes,*  
*terik qarāsa, yiltīs qarwīmes* (M 170:8: Tonja Serin, March 1910)  
*kīsī q<sup>h</sup>arīsa, kōŋlī q<sup>h</sup>aryīmis,*  
*terik q<sup>h</sup>arīsa, kīn q<sup>h</sup>aryīmis* (Xuělián, September 1995)  
 ‘Man grows old but not his heart, the tree grows old but not its root.’
- Nuyg *adām qerisa, kōŋli qerimaydu* (SK132:1626), *sōgāt qerisa, yiltizi qerimas* (SK132:1625)  
 ‘Man grows old but not his heart; the willow grows old but not its root.’  
*ādēm qēri bōlyan bīlen, kōŋlī qērimas; derax qēri bōlyan bīlen,*  
*yiltizi qurūmas* (Le Coq 40: 272)

- ‘Man grows old but not his heart, the tree grows old but its root does not wither.’
- Mgr *k<sup>h</sup>un šdo:liʒa šǧir i: šdo:lim, ɓaɓ šdo:liʒa šʒu:r i: šdo:lim* (S/M 338)  
 ‘When man grows old, his heart does not age, when the tree grows old, its root does not age.’
- Ch *rén lǎo xīn bù lǎo* (HZ 174)  
 ‘Man grows old, his heart does not grow old.’
- 18 *kīsī yūzki tīrlip par,*  
*terik tīpki tīrlip par* (Zhōng Jīnwén, August 1994)  
 ‘Man lives by “face” (i.e. self-respect), a tree lives by the root.’  
 • See also Eastern Yugur no. 10.
- Ch *rén yào liǎn, shù yào pí* (HZ 180)  
 ‘Man needs “face”, a tree needs bark.’
- NM *rén huó liǎn, shù huó pí, qiángtóu huóde yī tuán ní* (Oost 70: 204)  
 ‘Man lives by his face, the tree lives by its bark, and the top of the wall lives by its lump (i.e. the quantity which fits onto a spade) of mud.’
- 19 *k<sup>h</sup>īsī ye menek yɔq pɔlsa, taltaqīnī sutayaq trɔ,*  
*semenke tuz yɔq pɔlsa, sunī sutayaq trɔ (~ ustey trɔ)*  
 (L 93a, L 116a, L 44a)  
*kiseye minik yɔq pɔsa, taltaqīnī ustaɣaq-trɔ,*  
*seminye tuz yɔq pɔsa, sunī ustaɣaq-trɔ* (M 169:1)  
*kīsī yi mek yɔq pusa, taltaqīnī ʾistayaq (~ ʾistidī),*  
*semenki tuz yɔq pusa, sunī ʾistayaq (~ ʾistidī)* (Xuělián, September 1995)  
 ‘If man has no money, he is like the ghost (of a dead man), if food has no salt, it is like water.’
- 19a *ç<sup>h</sup>aya tuz yɔq pusa, sunī ʾistayaq,*  
*kīsī yi menek yɔq pusa, uzittī ʾistayaq* (Zhōng Jīnwén, August 1995)  
 ‘If tea has no salt, it is like water, if man has no money, he is like a devil.’
- NM *chá wú yè (~ yán) bù rú shuǐ, rén wú qián bù rú guǐ* (Oost 239: 687)  
 ‘Tea without leaves (~ salt) is inferior to water, a man without money is inferior to a devil.’

Mgr *ç<sup>h</sup>a:té tapsé kuisa scu t<sup>h</sup>éki, k<sup>h</sup>unté tau kuisa mo:té t<sup>h</sup>éki:*  
(Čeng 553: 87)

‘If tea is without salt, it is like water, if a person is without a voice, he is like a wooden stick.’

20 *kīsīnīŋ alyan i lǐ y qīsqa,*  
*kīsīnīŋ yiyintīmsī y imsaq* (Zhōng Jīnwén, August 1995)

‘The hand of somebody [you] took something from is short, the mouth of somebody [you] ate something from is soft.’

- One feels obliged to a person one has benefited from.

21 *kīsīnīŋ kizkī,*  
*a<sup>h</sup>tīŋezer*

‘Man’s clothes, a horse’s saddle.’

- Man is dressed up by his clothes, a horse is dressed up by its saddle.

22 *kīsīnīŋ u<sup>h</sup>tīrta timin koyɔq,*  
*kīsīnīŋ artīnta permin koyɔq* (Zhōng Jīnwén, September 1994)

‘It is not done not to speak in front of a person, it is not done not to give at a person’s back.’

- The meaning of this proverb is obscure.

23 *kus kustī suzmisi, ya<sup>h</sup>ç kus emis*

‘If a cow does not butt a cow, it is not a good cow.’

- It is good to work hard.

24 *k<sup>h</sup>emzī ç<sup>h</sup>saqqa tɔzmas*

‘One does not eat one’s fill by bread crumbs.’

- See also no. 38.

25 *malnīŋ pɔzta a<sup>h</sup>ltīm a<sup>h</sup>qīp par,*  
*kīsīnīŋ pɔzta t<sup>h</sup>er a<sup>h</sup>qīp par* (Zhōng Jīnwén, August 1994)

‘On the body of livestock flows gold, on the body of people flows sweat.’

- Man works hard and earns his living by working and using livestock. A variant using *kumīs* ‘silver’ exists as well.

- 26 *marçan niçor ya<sup>h</sup>ş pusa-ma, ulaya qarasa, am ya<sup>h</sup>ş köztiyik* (Zhōng Jīnwén, August 1995)  
 ‘However good coral may be, if one looks at it when it is strung, it seems even better.’
- 27 *ni kīsī yi ni mal par* (Xuělián, September 1995)  
 ‘As man, so his livestock.’
- 28 *ni yəq pusa-ma, menik yəq puma,  
 ni parusa-ma, kim paruma*  
 ‘Whatever you may not have, do not have no money, whatever you may have, do not have disease.’
- 29 *əşqa q<sup>h</sup>arisa, mula əyinçiq* (L 37a, L 209b)  
*qu<sup>h</sup>rtqa q<sup>h</sup>arisa, qiz əyinçiq* (L 201a)  
*əşqa qarāsa (~ qarisa), mla əy(i)nčiq,  
 qurtqa qarāsa, qiz əynčiq*  
 (M 169: 7: Kutučin-axka, 15th April 1910)  
 ‘If an old man grows old—boy’s toy, if an old woman grows old—girl’s toy.’
- Nuyg *qeri adām – kičik bala* (SK 132: 1628)  
 ‘An old man — a small child.’
- 30 *pašta teñir pezik pe trə,  
 yerniŋ a<sup>h</sup>ltiriŋta taqa pezik pe trə* (L 94a)  
*pašta teñir pezik pi-trə,  
 yerniŋ altiriŋda taqa pezik pi-trə,  
 eyenni yulurse pəñiş mi-drə*  
 (M 169: 3: Asyrma-wanda, December 1910)  
 ‘Over the head, Heaven is big, under the earth, the maternal uncle is big; if one kills a nephew, it is possible.’
- 30a *pašta teñir pezik trə,  
 yerte taqa pezik trə* (Zhōng 227)  
 ‘Over the head, Heaven is big, on the earth, the maternal uncle is big.’  
 • A reference to the important position of the maternal uncle within Yugur society. Formerly, a Yugur marriage could consist of a “Heavenly marriage”, in which a girl was married to Heaven, after

which she could have relationships with men. The children born to her were taken care of by her brother. The last sentence in Malov, for which he in turn refers to Katanov 1907: 281-2, is enigmatic.

- 31 *pay k<sup>h</sup>i sī wučin uruγ-tari γ pəl,*  
*pat<sup>h</sup>ir k<sup>h</sup>i sī wučin t<sup>h</sup>anqaraq pəl* (L 119b)  
*pey kise wučin uruγ-tariγ bəl,*  
*patir kīse wučin tanqaraq pəl* (M 169: 2)  
*pay k<sup>h</sup>i sī ucin uruγ-tari γ pəl,*  
*pat<sup>h</sup>ir k<sup>h</sup>i sī ucin t<sup>h</sup>anqaraq pəl* (Zhōng 227)
- 31a *pat<sup>h</sup>ir kī sī ucin t<sup>h</sup>anqaraq pəl* (Xuělián, September 1995)  
 ‘Be a relative to a rich person, be a sworn brother to a brave person.’
- 32 *pezik tasqa pezik q<sup>h</sup>ar tusγɔ,*  
*k<sup>h</sup>ic<sup>h</sup>iγ tasqa k<sup>h</sup>ic<sup>h</sup>iγ q<sup>h</sup>ar tusγɔ* (L 116a)  
*pezik tasqa pezik qar tuskɔ,*  
*kičik tasqa kičik qar tuskɔ* (M 171: 15; Sanyškap, 1913)  
*pezik tasqa pezik q<sup>h</sup>ar tusko,*  
*ki<sup>h</sup>ciγ tasqa ki<sup>h</sup>ciγ q<sup>h</sup>ar tusko* (Xuělián, September 1995)  
 ‘On a big stone falls much snow, on a small stone falls little snow.’
- 33 *pīti galtaŋ,*  
*asī martam* (L 299a)  
 ‘His legs without trousers, his mouth boastful.’
- 34 *q<sup>h</sup>i tiya yaγ kə<sup>h</sup>kī tmi,*  
*yoγi rya sey kə<sup>h</sup>kī tmi* (Zhōng Jinwén, August 1995)  
 ‘Do not show butter to a Chinese, do not show vegetables to a Yugur.’
- 34a *q<sup>h</sup>i ti kī sī yi yaγ salma,*  
*yoγi r kī sī yi cay salma* (Xuělián, September 1995)  
 ‘Do not put butter in front of a Chinese, do not put vegetables in front of a Yugur.’  
 • The Chinese are not accustomed to drinking butter tea, and instead of stirring the butter into the tea, they will swallow the lump of butter at

once. Yugur people are not accustomed to a choice of vegetable dishes with their rice, and will eat the vegetables at once instead of eating them together with the rice.

- 35 *qız wučin tisme,*  
*q<sup>h</sup>ıraq pučin t<sup>h</sup>eγısme* (L 124b, L 66b)  
*qız wučin tısme,*  
*qıraq wučin tekısme* (M 170: 9: Sanyškap, December 1910)  
 ‘Do not argue with a girl, do not race with a young mare.’
- Kāš *qız birle kürešme, qıraq birle yarıšma* (Brock 60:118, DK I: 353)  
 ‘Do not wrestle with a virgin, do not race with a young mare.’
- 36 *qoy car pusa,*  
*paş car pumas* (Zhōng Jīnwén, August 1994)  
 ‘If a sheep grows thin, its head does not grow thin.’  
 • If a rich person becomes poor, his ambitions still remain.
- Mgr *ima: skala:sa ta su:l pōsçi:* (Čeng 546: 55)  
 ‘Even if a goat grows thin, its tail remains stuck up.’ (If a man becomes poor, he does not lose his ambitions.)
- 37 *qoy q<sup>h</sup>ıraq tiki ciyin intaqpezik köztiyik*  
 ‘Donkey dung in a sheep’s pen seems big.’  
 • Donkey dung is not very big, but may seem so if compared to sheep dung.
- 38 *saqaltaqi semenki tōzmas*  
 ‘One does not eat one’s fill by the food in one’s beard.’  
 • See also no. 24.
- Nuyg *burttiqī ašta qōrsāq tōymaydō* (Le Coq 30: 181)  
 ‘The stomach does not become full from the food in the beard.’ (Said of useless activities.)
- NM *húzū shàng de fàn chībubǎo* (Oost 34: 93)  
 ‘One cannot eat one’s fill from the food in one’s beard.’
- 39 *sōyilyini<sup>h</sup>ttatıγ,*  
*saqıyan kīsī ya<sup>h</sup>ş* (Zhōng Jīnwén, August 1995)  
 ‘Roasted meat is tasty, a person waited for is good.’



- 40 *sīmīk yɔq pusa, i<sup>h</sup>t qaytan kiŋ-i,*  
*k<sup>h</sup>ur i<sup>h</sup>t yɔq pusa, yaɣ qaytan kiŋ-i* (Zhōng Jīnwén, August 1995)  
*sīmīk yɔq pusa, i<sup>h</sup>t qantan kiŋ-i,*  
*k<sup>h</sup>ur i<sup>h</sup>t yɔq pusa, yaɣ qantan kiŋ-i* (Xuělián, September 1995)  
 ‘If there is no bone, where would the meat come from? If there is no fat  
 meat, where would the grease come from?’
- 41 *surnīkmis a<sup>h</sup>t yɔq,*  
*emis yɔq kīsī yɔq* (Zhōng Jīnwén, August 1995)  
 ‘There is no horse that does not stumble, there is no man without fault.’
- 41a *surnīkmiyin a<sup>h</sup>t yɔq,*  
*emis etmiyin kīsī yɔq* (Xuělián, September 1995)  
 ‘There is no horse that does not stumble, there is no man who  
 does not err.’  
 • Said of people who pretend not to make mistakes.
- 42 *tas niyɔr pezik pusa-ma, sunī ayītī walmas*  
 (Zhōng Jīnwén, August 1995)  
 ‘However big the stone, it cannot block up the water.’
- 43 *tas pezik pɔlsa, wannɔ maŋqī ʃ trɔ*  
*k<sup>h</sup>īsī yus pɔlsa, qīzī ɣlaw maŋqī ʃ trɔ* (L 196a, L 311a)  
*tas pezik wɔsa, waŋlɔ maŋqīš tīr,*  
*kse yus wɔsa, qīzīɤlaw maŋqīš-trɔ* (M 171:16: Sanyškap, 1913)  
*tas pezik pusa, wannaya maŋqī ʃtī*  
*kīsī yūs pusa, qīzī ɣlo maŋqī ʃtī* (Xuělián, September 1995)  
 ‘If a stone is big, one must walk past it, if a person is bad, one should  
 walk around him.’
- 44 *tastī ʃartu<sup>h</sup>tsa-ma, ta<sup>h</sup>qī-la qa<sup>h</sup>tīɣ*  
 ‘Even if one breaks the stone into pieces, it is still hard.’
- 45 *tīl ačīɣ, kəŋīl tatīɣ* (Zhōng Jīnwén, August 1995)  
 ‘The tongue is bitter [but] the heart is sweet.’  
 • See also no. 46.
- 46 *tīmsīɣyüstī,*  
*kəŋīl ya<sup>h</sup>ʃtī* (Xuělián, September 1995)

‘The mouth is bad [but] the heart is good.’

- See also no. 45.

- 47 *uŝ (y)e<sup>h</sup>lčī yumutsa, ɕ<sup>h</sup>uɕaɣa pīz uryantay*  
(L 27b, L 45b, L 56a, L 298b)  
*uŝ a<sup>h</sup>qa yumutsa, t<sup>h</sup>ulumɣa yaɣ salɣantay* (L 132a)  
*üč (~ uš) elčī yumutsa, čučaka pīz urɣandar,*  
*üč axqa yumutsa, tulumka (~ marxqeq) yaɣ salɣandar* (M 170: 13, November 1913)  
‘If three shamans come together, it is as if they stab the bag with an awl (i.e. disagreement), if three monks come together, it is as if they put butter in the sheepskin bag (i.e. agreement).’  
• Malov recorded this anti-shamanist proverb from the shaman Smalaškap, in the village of Dōnghǎizi (i.e. Míngǎi).

- 48 *ye<sup>h</sup>lčīnīŋ tīmsīɣ lianɣī yɔq k<sup>h</sup>ur* (L 99a, L 142b)  
‘The mouth of a shaman is a bracket without a crossbeam.’

- 49 *yilannīŋ ala ta<sup>h</sup>sīnta par,*  
*kīsīnīŋ ala i<sup>h</sup>činti par*  
‘The multi-colouredness of a snake is on its outside, the multi-colouredness of man on his inside.’  
• A variant of this proverb featuring ‘livestock’ is already recorded by Kāšyarī, and widely distributed. Western Yugur seems to represent the Mongolic form of the proverb featuring ‘snake’.
- Mon *kūn-i eriyen dotura, moyai-yin eriyen ɣadana* (Aalto 4: 3)  
‘Man is mottled on the inside, a serpent is mottled on the outside.’
- Ord *k<sup>h</sup>ūni erē: ɖɔ<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>ɔrɔni, mɔɖɔ:n erē: ɕaɖanani* (Mos 1937 551: 310)  
‘Man’s multi-colouredness is on his inside, a snake’s multi-colouredness is on its outside.’ (Mos 1947 561: 310)
- Kāš *kiši alasi ičdīn yīlqī alasi tašdīn* (Brock 65: 193, DK 125)  
‘The multi-colouredness of man is on the inside, the multi-colouredness of cattle is on the outside.’<sup>8</sup>
- Nuyg *hayvanniŋ alisi tešida, adāmniŋ alisi ičide* (SK 51: 584)

<sup>8</sup> Kāšyarī translates *ala* as ‘leprous’.

- ‘The multi-colouredness of an animal is on its outside, the multi-colouredness (i.e. disguise) of man on his inside.’
- Kir *adam alast – içinde, mal alast – tışında* (Şam13)  
 ‘Man’s multi-colouredness is on his inside, cattle’s multi-colouredness is on the outside.’
- Tib *stag-gi ri-mo phyi-nas, mi’i ri-mo nañ-nas* (Gergan 192: 299)  
 ‘The pattern of the tiger is on the outside, and that of a man on the inside.’  
*gčan-gzan ri-mo rgyab-la yod, mi-yi ri-mo khog-tu yod* (Gāo 156); cf. Duncan 177: 107 [no Tibetan text]  
 ‘The stripes of wild beast are on the outside, the stripes of man are on the inside.’
- 50 *yol maṇṣa suannama* (L 332a)  
*yol maṇṣa sṇanlama* (M 171: 14: Sanyškap, 1913)  
 ‘Do not count (i.e. the days) when travelling.’
- 51 *yol ya<sup>h</sup>qin sīqasqo*,  
*k<sup>h</sup>isī ya<sup>h</sup>qin qa<sup>h</sup>qisqo* (L 186b, L 322b)  
*yol yaqin – s(i)qasqo*,  
*kīsī yaqin – qáqisqo* (M 170: 11: Tonja Serin)  
*yol ya<sup>h</sup>qin pusa, sīqasqo*,  
*kīsī ya<sup>h</sup>qin pusa, qa<sup>h</sup>qisqo*  
 ‘If the paths are [too] near, they will squeeze one another, if people are [too] near, they will collide with each other.’  
 • One should keep distance when driving herds along the road, otherwise the herds will become mixed up.
- 52 *yoc kīsī par*,  
*yoc t<sup>h</sup>ala yoc* (Zhōng Jīnwén, August 1995)  
 ‘There are people who have nothing, there are no fields that have nothing.’  
 • One does not need to be poor, one only has to work for one’s living.
- NM *rén qióng, dì xiān qióng* (Oost 73: 211)  
 ‘[If] man is poor, [it is because] the earth is poor first.’
- 53 *yüwas a<sup>h</sup>ttī k<sup>h</sup>im-ma mīnin saqinqaq*  
*amīr kīsīnī k<sup>h</sup>im-ma imsin saqinqaq*

‘Anyone likes to mount a calm horse, anyone likes to use a quiet man.’

NM *rén shàn shòu rén qī, mǎ shàn shòu rén qí* (Oost 67: 194)

‘A friendly man allows himself to be bullied, a friendly horse allows itself to be mounted.’

Tib *rta-čhuñ bžon bde, mi-čhuñ bkol bde* (Gāo 216)

‘A small horse is a joy to ride, a small man is a joy to command.’

### Western Yugur folk wisdom

1 *ker yeryi q<sup>h</sup>alsa, qara tuskış*

‘If a cup falls on the floor, bad luck will occur.’ (To be prevented by drawing a cross on the floor.)

2 *kīsīnīñ kōzti malnī sanama*

‘Do not count livestock under the eye of a[nother] person.’  
(Your livestock might decrease.)

3 *k<sup>h</sup>uayzīnī tīwīnti tu<sup>h</sup>tsa, ya<sup>h</sup>qīnqa perīş, pa<sup>h</sup>çīnta tu<sup>h</sup>tsa, uzaqqa perīş*

‘If [a woman] holds the chopsticks at the lower end, [her parents] will marry her off nearby, if she holds them at the top, [they] will marry her off far away.’

4 *k<sup>h</sup>empiş yī<sup>h</sup>ptī haptamas: mīla tōqqanta k<sup>h</sup>īntik mōynta hōraq q<sup>h</sup>aş*

‘A woman should not step on a rope: [for] when her child is born, the umbilical cord will coil around [his] neck.’

5 *mīla aynī çōrsa, q<sup>h</sup>ulaq q<sup>h</sup>alxanīş*

‘If a child points to the moon, [his] ears will fall off.’

6 *mīla tīl yimis, yisi sōz kō<sup>h</sup>p*

‘A child should not eat tongue, if he eats [it], [his] words [will be] many.’

7 *mīş yūz yūsa, k<sup>h</sup>ec<sup>h</sup>īn kiş*

*mīş yuzun yusa mō la, yučīn k<sup>h</sup>elyektrō*

(M 23: 32: Sanyşkap, 5th Decmber 1910)

‘If a cat washes its face, a guest will come.’

NM *māor xī liǎn jīntiān yǒu kèrén dào* (Oost 155: 457)

‘If a cat washes its face, a guest will come today.’

- 8 *yüş yeryi q<sup>h</sup>alsa, k<sup>h</sup>ec<sup>h</sup>in kiş*  
 ‘If a towel falls on the floor, a guest will come.’

### Eastern Yugur proverbs

- 1 *a:rtaq k<sup>h</sup>ü:n nere q<sup>h</sup>et<sup>h</sup>a:nan,*  
*a:rtaq mɔ:rɛ k<sup>h</sup>ülesɛn q<sup>h</sup>et<sup>h</sup>a:nan* (BJ 271: 9)  
 ‘The pampered son makes people lose face, the pampered horse wastes sweat.’
- 2 *čarq<sup>h</sup>i:n sein né k<sup>h</sup>ürɣen,*  
*čalaw:i:n sein né xara mutɛn ne* (BJ 276: 8)  
 ‘The best to order about is a son-in-law, the best to repair and maintain is black wood.’
- 3 *čéké: ma:n sa:lɣat<sup>h</sup>i,*  
*čémčék k<sup>h</sup>ü:n ku:šét<sup>h</sup>i* (BJ 270: 4)  
 ‘A goat with a spotted face gives much milk, a person with affected [manners] uses many tricks.’
- 4 *ču:n otor tök<sup>h</sup>ör neyɛtor k<sup>h</sup>erek* (BJ 273: 18)  
 ‘Plan for a hundred days! One day [it] is necessary.’
- 5 *č<sup>h</sup>aq č<sup>h</sup>awar su:taq pu:?*  
*časɛn č<sup>h</sup>awar su:taq pu:?* (BJ 275: 1)  
 ‘Does time always remain time, does snow always remain white?’
- 6 *č<sup>h</sup>émékč<sup>h</sup>é nɔɣq<sup>h</sup>ɔi šɛŋšéwa: qačar βɔlɣonté yaβnɛi* (BJ 276: 6)  
 ‘A stealing dog smells and runs everywhere.’
- 7 *ečenɛ piyté t<sup>h</sup>art<sup>h</sup>é, temet<sup>h</sup>é yaβsanté lɛ metene,*  
*k<sup>h</sup>ü:nɛ piyté pü:sɛn yaβsa metene* (BJ 273: 19)  
 ‘If one walks with bags and camels on one’s own body, one does not notice, but if a louse is walking on a[nother] person’s body, one notices.’
- 8 *βesɛne čü:r č<sup>h</sup>üsɛn,*  
*qatɛsɛnɛ hru:r t<sup>h</sup>u:sɛn* (BJ 277: 10)  
 ‘The tip of grass is blood, the root of a stake is oil.’

- 9 *hk<sup>h</sup>e č<sup>h</sup>yi:n set<sup>h</sup>kəl k<sup>h</sup>ün hk<sup>h</sup>onté,*  
*k<sup>h</sup>ü:n hk<sup>h</sup>oné set<sup>h</sup>kəl u:la qataté* (BJ 272: 17)  
 ‘The heart of father and mother is on the son and daughter, the heart of  
 the son and daughter is on the mountain and rock.’  
 • See also Western Yugur no. 4.
- 10 *k<sup>h</sup>ü:né nü:rt<sup>h</sup>é č<sup>h</sup>üsén k<sup>h</sup>erek,*  
*t<sup>h</sup>u:raqt<sup>h</sup>é qatar k<sup>h</sup>erek* (BJ 272: 16)  
 ‘Man’s face needs blood, a tree needs bark.’  
 • See also Western Yugur no. 18.
- 11 *k<sup>h</sup>ü:n pēyan pōlsɔ ta pēyan pa:n kēčēt<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>é poto!*  
*k<sup>h</sup>ü:n šalt<sup>h</sup>an pōlsɔ ta šalt<sup>h</sup>an pa:n kēčēt<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>é poto!* (BJ 275: 2)  
 ‘Even if a person is rich, do not call him rich, even if a person is poor,  
 do not call him poor.’  
 • A rich person may become poor, a poor person may become rich.
- 12 *lu:sa, elčiyené č<sup>h</sup>enesenté ač<sup>h</sup>a:n ač<sup>h</sup>é yitaβa* (BJ 269: 2)  
 ‘Compared to the donkey, the mule cannot carry a burden.’
- 13 *mēla hteisa, nɔɣq<sup>h</sup>ɔi luŋsasa* (BJ 270: 7)  
 ‘A child from youth, a dog from [untranslated].’
- 14 *mɔɣq<sup>h</sup>ɔr q<sup>h</sup>ut<sup>h</sup>aka qa:rē tain,*  
*mu: p<sup>h</sup>üsəyüi čalu:n tain* (BJ 271: 10)  
 ‘A blunt knife is an enemy to the hand,  
 a bad woman is an enemy to the man.’
- 15 *mu: pe:rété aman ölöne,*  
*xara qulért<sup>h</sup>é q<sup>h</sup>usun šik<sup>h</sup>e βamna:* (BJ 271: 11)  
 ‘In [the presence of] a bad daughter-in-law the mouth wears out,  
 black flour absorbs a lot of water.’
- 16 *mu: p<sup>h</sup>üsəyüi t<sup>h</sup>uklasa neye ywe: xai βai,*  
*t<sup>h</sup>ara:lan mu: βolsɔ neye čəl βai* (BJ 277: 11)  
 ‘If one meets a bad woman, it is a misfortune for one generation,  
 if the year’s harvest is not good, one meets disaster for only one year.’

NM *qūbuduì lǎopo yī bèizi qióng, dǎbuduì huǒjì dàng nián qióng*  
(Oost 312: 890)

‘If one enters into bad marriage, one is poor for a life time, if one forms a bad partnership, one is poor for [just] that year.’

17 *mu:n q<sup>h</sup>aβša<sup>q</sup> xara,*  
*mɔɔɔin čüsən t<sup>h</sup>eŋkert<sup>h</sup>è* (BĴ 274: 23)

‘An evil person’s idea is bad, the snake’s blood is in Heaven.’

• The meaning of this proverb is obscure.

18 *narané taɣasa nūr xalu:n,*  
*niyɔné taɣasa ketsén č<sup>h</sup>atnan* (BĴ 277: 9)

‘If one follows the sun, the face is warm, if one follows a high official, one eats one’s fill.’

• See also no. 19.

Mon *nara dayabal dayaraqū ügei, noyon dayabal ölüskü ügei* (Aalto 6: 30)

‘Whoever travels with the sun does not freeze, whoever travels with a prince does not starve.’

Mgr [no Monguor text] (Xi 52)

‘Follow the sun [you] won’t suffer cold, follow the Party [you] won’t be depressed.’

19 *narané taɣasa piy tula:n,*  
*niyɔné taɣasa q<sup>h</sup>aβša<sup>q</sup> xara* (BĴ 273: 20)

‘If one follows the sun—warmth on the body, if one follows a high official—bad idea.’

• See also no. 18.

20 *olot<sup>h</sup>è t<sup>h</sup>eŋkert<sup>h</sup>è pɔɔɔ:mküi,*  
*tu:č<sup>h</sup>è hk<sup>h</sup>onté xɔrémküi* (BĴ 270: 5)

‘In a rumbling sky, there is no rain, for a girl who loves to sing, there is no wedding.’

Mon [No Mongolian text.] (Han 171)

‘A rumbling sky does not rain; a much-praised girl does not marry.’

[No Mongolian text.] (Krue 71)

‘A rumbling sky, no rain; a girl with a bad reputation, no wedding.’

Ord *ɔu:h<sup>h</sup>u t<sup>h</sup>eŋgerindü ɔɔɔ:m ügüi, č<sup>h</sup>u:h<sup>h</sup>u k<sup>h</sup>ü:xkxendü xɔrim ügüi*  
(Mos 1937 563: 368)

- ‘For the rumbling sky there is no rain; for a girl with a bad reputation there is no wedding celebration.’ (Mos 1947 568: 368)
- Tib [no Tibetan text] (Duncan 235: 637)
- ‘The clouds that have many dragon-sounds (i.e. thunder) are without rain; the maiden who talks too much will have no wedding feast.’
- 21 *ɔɔq t<sup>h</sup>arawê xɔli:né sein,*  
*t<sup>h</sup>ele:n q<sup>h</sup>usuné ɔiri:né sein* (BĴ 272: 13)
- ‘It is good when family and relatives are far, it is good when firewood and water are near.’
- Ord *urukt<sup>h</sup>ɔrɔlĩ ɣɔɔw sɛ:n; usu t<sup>h</sup>ule:n ɔ:ɔw sɛ:n* (Mos 1937 501: 73)
- ‘It is good when relatives related by marriage are far, it is good when water and firewood are near.’ (Mos1947 529:73)
- Tib *gñen dañ ñi-ma rgyañ-nas sro, me dañ ma }gram-du bsten* (Gāo 199)
- ‘Relatives and sun make warm from afar, keep fire and mother nearby.’
- 22 *péyan péyanta:n p<sup>h</sup>út<sup>h</sup>ê pök!*  
*ùγüi ùγüite:n p<sup>h</sup>út<sup>h</sup>ê qɔmɔta!* (BĴ 275: 3)
- ‘Rich man, do not be arrogant because of your wealth, poor man, do not be sad because of your poverty.’
- Tuva *bay men deeš bardamnava, yadu men deeš muɣarava* (XS 28)
- ‘Do not be arrogant because of your wealth, do not be sad because of your poverty.’
- 23 *p<sup>h</sup>üséγüi k<sup>h</sup>ün č<sup>h</sup>ei t<sup>h</sup>ɔɔɔn,*  
*hɔanar k<sup>h</sup>ün ail t<sup>h</sup>ɔɔɔn* (BĴ 273: 21)
- ‘Woman circles around the seat of honour, man centers around the premises.’
- NM *hàoshìde nǚrén zhuān guōtái, xiā shìde nánrén zǒu zhōu fǔ, hǎoshìde kè mǎ bù shàng zhēng* (Oost 34: 93)
- ‘An officious woman [may] circle [only] around the kitchen range, [while even] a foolish man [may] walk through the prefectures; a convenient mare cannot go to war.’
- 24 *sa:γq<sup>h</sup>éγüi mailamt<sup>h</sup>aqai,*  
*sanayüi ɲi:mt<sup>h</sup>ki:* (BĴ 270: 6)
- ‘The one that will not be milked tends to bleat, the naive one tends to smile.’



- 25 *sein ačérwɪ:n úyúr ɔlotnéi,*  
*mu: ačérwa βolsɔ úyúr paraq(è) βai* (BĴ 276: 7)  
 ‘The herd of a good stallion will increase; if the stallion is bad,  
 the herd will come to an end.’
- 26 *seinla yaβsa salβér,*  
*mu:la yaβsa maŋqás* (BĴ 271: 12)  
 ‘Going with the good ones, a bird of prey,  
 going with the evil ones, a ghost.’
- 27 *sein neret<sup>h</sup>è čun, seiralakč<sup>h</sup>è na:mér* (BĴ 272: 14)  
 ‘Summer is the one with the good name,  
 autumn is the one that brings good [things].’
- 28 *sein sanat<sup>h</sup>è ü:lul<sup>h</sup>ala*  
*mu: sanat<sup>h</sup>è ni:lyet<sup>h</sup>ele* (BĴ 270: 8)  
 ‘A person with good intentions makes [people] cry,  
 a person with evil intentions makes [people] laugh.’
- Nuyg *ɖɔs yǐ yǐttur, düšmen küldüür* (Le Coq 14: 55)  
 ‘A friend makes one cry (i.e. by well-meant admonitions),  
 an enemy makes one laugh (i.e. by flattery).’
- 29 *šérwalaq parès u:la, nak t<sup>h</sup>ɔrɔwɔ: su:néi,*  
*aménan altaɬa ta u:layam altaq<sup>h</sup>š βai* (BĴ 276: 5)  
 ‘The yellow tiger roams about the mountains and woods,  
 he would rather lose his life than his mountain.’
- 30 *šik<sup>h</sup>e k<sup>h</sup>ü:n k<sup>h</sup>elesen qačart<sup>h</sup>è,*  
*šik<sup>h</sup>e šu:n qailsan qačart<sup>h</sup>è* (BĴ 269: 3)  
 ‘A great man has room to talk, a big bird has room to fly.’
- 31 *u:lwa βolwɔnè seiné u:!*  
*t<sup>h</sup>amak<sup>h</sup>i:n seiné p<sup>h</sup>üt<sup>h</sup>è sɔrɔ* (BĴ 277: 12)  
 ‘Eat the best of every meal, do not smoke the best of tobacco.’
- 32 *üyüi, péyan né üye: lé tü:laβa,*  
*mɔrt<sup>h</sup>è, yaβwan né mör lé tü:laβa,*

*qasaq, č<sup>h</sup>ejwe ej lè tü:laβa,*  
*t<sup>h</sup>ɔɔɔɔ, maŋlək k<sup>h</sup>ör lè tü:laβa* (BJ 269: 1)

‘The words of the poor and the rich do not match; the paths of the man on horseback and the man on foot do not match; the widths of the coarse woollen cloth and the fine woollen fabric do not match; the patterns of the silk and the satin do not match.’

- 33 *xara hk<sup>h</sup>ö kuku:k sein pɔlsɔ ta ya:qé šu:n pai,*  
*xara k<sup>h</sup>érèi mu: pɔlsɔ ta su:q<sup>h</sup>é šu:n pai* (BJ 275: 4)  
 ‘Although the deep blue cuckoo is beautiful, it is a bird that flies off; although the black crow is ugly, it is a resident bird.’

- 34 *xara piy hk<sup>h</sup>üye:, la:n aman p<sup>h</sup>üt<sup>h</sup>eye:* (BJ 272: 15)  
 ‘The black body is dead, the red mouth is closed.’

- 35 *xwa:rt<sup>h</sup>é qarsan č<sup>h</sup>éq<sup>h</sup>ense a:rsa qarsan eβer ta:βa*  
 (BJ 274: 22)  
 ‘The horn that grows out later passes the ear that came out earlier’  
 (the pupil surpasses the master).  
 • A widely distributed proverb (Bläsing 298: 1758).

- Tuva *baštay üngen kulaktı soǵnay üngen mıyıs erter* (XS 36)  
 ‘The horn that came out last passes the ear that came out first.’

- Tel *ozo çıqqan qulaqtan soñ çıqqan müüs ozındı* (R I: 1147)  
 ‘The horn that came out later passed the ear that came out earlier.’

- Kzk *burin šiqqan qulaqtan keyin šiqqan müyüz ozar* (Kirchner 8: 35)  
 ‘The horn that came out last passes the ear that came out first.’ (The next generation takes over from the former.)

- Kir *murnun çıkkan kulaktan, kiyinki çıkkan müyüz ozgun* (Šam 233)  
 ‘The horn that came out last passed the ear that came out first.’ (The next generation takes over from the former.)

- Tib *sña-skyes ma-lčog-las phyi-skyes rwa-čo riñ* (Gāo 151)  
 ‘The horn that appeared later is longer than the ear that appeared earlier.’

**List of abbreviations<sup>9</sup>**

|       |                   |      |                         |
|-------|-------------------|------|-------------------------|
| Alt   | Altay             | Mgr  | Monguor                 |
| B     | Bökh              | Mon  | Mongolian               |
| BĴ    | Bolčuluu & Ĵalcan | Mos  | Mostaert                |
| Brock | Brockelmann       | NM   | Northwest Mandarin      |
| Čeng  | Čenggeltai        | Nuyg | New Uyghur              |
| Ch    | Chinese           | Ord  | Ordos                   |
| Dgx   | Dongxiang         | R    | Radloff 1893-1911       |
| DK    | Dankoff & Kelly   | RP   | Radloff 1868            |
| Han   | Hangin            | Sag  | Sagay dialect of Khakas |
| HZ    | Heng & Zhang      | Šam  | Šambaev                 |
| Kāš   | Kāšyārī           | SK   | Sadvakasov & Kibirov    |
| Kir   | Kirgiz            | S/M  | de Smedt & Mostaert     |
| Kzk   | Kazak             | Tel  | Teleut                  |
| L     | Léi               | Tib  | Tibetan                 |
| M     | Malov             | XS   | Xadaxane & Sagan-ool    |

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# Sur certains termes d'un hymne turk du Codex Cumanicus

Mefküre Mollova

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Among the Latin Catholic texts translated into Turkic in the Codex Comanicus, there is one hymn, "Ave Porta Paradisi", which contains certain difficult Turkic passages, terms and expressions that have been retranslated into Latin. These supplementary interlinear Latin translations are very valuable, but need thorough explanations in several cases, as they to some extent represent misunderstandings of the Turkic text. In singular cases, amendments of the Turkic text should be made. Alongside details in the existing interlinear translations and the possible interpretations of several strophes, the existing translations of the hymn are discussed.

*Mefküre Mollova, 3 rue du Beau Site, 94500 Champigny sur Marne, France.*

Dans cet article, nous traiterons l'hymne "Ave Porta Paradisi", traduit du latin en turk oriental littéraire qui est la langue turke du Codex Cumanicus. Cet hymne, d'une valeur poétique, religieuse et spirituelle considérable, consiste en 77 quatrains de vers octosyllabiques.

Kuun (1880: 186-206), le premier, les a translittérés, arrangés métriquement et soigneusement annotés. Chez lui, la dernière strophe étant associée à l'hymne suivant, c'est Bang qui l'a restituée, en partant de l'original latin qui aurait servi de source à la traduction turke. De même, c'est à Bang que revient le grand mérite de la détermination de cette source latine qui, à son tour, contribue à une traduction exacte de la version turke en une langue européenne ou autre (Bang 1914: 241-276).

Bang a transcrit et traduit les strophes 3, 4, 7, 13, 18, 22, 28, 39, 40, 59, 74 et 76. (Par la suite ces strophes ont été soumises à des notes de critique textuelle de la part de Andreas 1914, Zalemann 1910, Munkácsi 1915, Németh 1916, Asim 1916, Çağatay 1944, von Gabain 1954, Kenesbaev & Kuryžanov 1964, des lexicographes Grønbech 1942,

Quryšžanov et alii 1978 et Kowalski 1928, la strophe 5.) Seuls Radloff (1887) (chez qui on trouve 76 strophes, car il a travaillé sur l'édition de Kuun) et Drimba (1973) (chez qui le nombre des strophes remonte à 77) ont transcrit et traduit l'hymne entièrement.

Les spécialistes en traduction de textes religieux savent bien combien leur tâche est difficile, car une lourde responsabilité pèse sur leurs épaules. Autant plus qu'ils appartiennent souvent à tel ou tel milieu social et religieux. Tel serait le cas des traducteurs turks des textes chrétiens du Codex Cumanicus. Nous sommes portés à croire que ces traducteurs furent des intellectuels coumans, khazars, ouigours, versés en langue turke écrite de l'époque. Ils ne pouvaient pas ne pas se servir d'un bagage terminologique religieux très développé, mais tout autre, dont ils disposeraient. Ainsi, les termes chrétiens latins furent traduits en turk par des termes chamaniques, bouddhiques, manichéens, nestoriens et islamiques très divers quasi-correspondants.

Les termes les plus difficiles furent dotés de traductions latines interlinéaires supplémentaires, écrites sur le Codex Cumanicus conservé. Ces traductions interlinéaires sont très précieuses, mais insuffisantes; elles nécessitent des commentaires, des explications plus détaillées et même des études spéciales. Prises telles quelles, elles risquent de nous détourner du vrai sens des termes. Les turkologues-traducteurs qui ont accordé trop de confiance à ces traductions interlinéaires, en faisant abstraction des données turkes, sont tombés dans l'erreur (v. par exemple les strophes 27, 35, 69, 71 analysées ici).

Aujourd'hui le lecteur de ces textes se heurte à une double difficulté: D'une part les termes turks sont devenus archaïques et lui-même, appartenant à un autre milieu, à une autre croyance, n'arrive pas à les comprendre et d'autre part, les traducteurs modernes de ces textes turks en une langue européenne, en se basant uniquement sur les traductions latines interlinéaires, ont contribué à la complication de leur signification textuelle.

Voilà pourquoi ici nous voudrions attirer l'attention sur le fait, qu'à côté (1) de la source latine et (2) des traductions latines interlinéaires complémentaires des termes turks, il faut (3) considérer ces traductions d'une manière critique (comme une sorte de signal d'alerte – "Attention, signification difficile!") et les rattacher aux termes turks, en tirer les significations désirées et (4) expliciter les termes et expressions turks archaïques qui ne furent pas traduits en latin.

Pour notre part, nous allons essayer de chercher, et de discuter ces problèmes dans 25 strophes (les strophes 7, 12, 13, 14, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 26, 27, 28, 35, 41, 42, 53, 55, 59, 60, 65, 68, 69, 71, 76, 77), transcrites et traduites en français avec des commentaires et comparées et, si nécessaire, à celles de Radloff et de Drimba, en ajoutant quelques corrections linguistiques, basées sur les données graphiques.<sup>1</sup>

Ainsi, “Ave Porta Paradisi”:

7 *Awe Mariya! ičríχñ*  
*Teñrí tínttí äsä ham boyñ*  
*barčalardan artuq are*  
*sení tabubtur ham sílí.*

‘Ave, Marie! après que Dieu a scruté ton intérieur (= ton âme) et ton corps, il t’a trouvée supérieure à toutes (les femmes), sainte et chaste.’

Traduction de Radloff (1887: 92):

“Ave Maria, dein Inneres  
 Hat Gott aufgesucht, und dein Körper  
 Ist heiliger als Uebrige.  
 Dich hat der Fürst rein erfunden.”

Celle de Drimba (1973: 276):

“Je te salue, Marie! après que Dieu a scruté ton intérieur (= ton âme) et ton corps, il t’a trouvée plus sainte et plus chaste que toutes (les autres femmes).”

Pour nous, *artuq* signifie ‘supérieur’, *are* ‘saint’, *sílí* ‘chaste’. Dans la traduction de Drimba *artuq* reste non traduit. “Plus sainte et plus chaste que toutes (les autres femmes)” nous donne à penser que toutes les femmes sont aussi saintes et chastes.

12 *Awe qíz, kímñíñ tuyaní*  
*ičkózímísníñ yaríyí*

<sup>1</sup> La flèche (→) indiquera que le mot qui le précède a été corrigé sur le manuscrit du Codex et remplacé par un autre mot ou un graphème par un autre, où tous les deux sont justes et méritent d’être respectés.



*erîp azamî qutqardî,*

*ôlîmîndâ uyutmadi.*

‘Ave, Vierge, dont le proche parent (c.-à-d. Jésus envers sa mère), étant la lumière de notre œil interne, a sauvé les hommes et ne les a pas laissé dormir dans leur mort (éternelle).’

*Iĉkôzîmîsnîñ yarîyî* furent traduits en latin par *genitus interioris oculis nostri ens*. L’œil intérieur c’est ‘oudjat’ – terme égyptien désignant une faculté attribuée à Horus, fils de dieu: celle de voir avec l’œil de l’esprit, dessiné dans les représentations artistiques sur la poitrine, et qui voit dans l’obscurité de la nuit; on a pour modèle le soleil nocturne, qui – dit-on – est vu par des sages porteurs de flammes spirituelles.

*/azâni ... ôlîndâ ujutmadi/*: La traduction latine interlinéaire de cette expression est: *In morte sua non permisit obdormire*. Selon la croyance chrétienne, l’Homme depuis la chute du couple primordial – Adam et Eve – jusqu’à l’arrivée du Jésus, était condamné à une obscurité éternelle et c’est Jésus qui l’a sauvé.

Mais on peut tout aussi bien l’interpréter comme la très ancienne représentation de l’homme androgynal, qui dans la mythologie grecque se présente comme la fable d’Ouranus (le Ciel, le Père) et Gaïa (la Terre, la Mère). Leurs enfants restaient enfermés dans le ventre de la terre et étaient donc condamnés à la mort (“dormir dans leur mort”) et à une nuit sans jour ils ont pu être sauvés par leur plus petit frère Cronos, qui, sur le conseil de leur mère Gaïa, a mutilé leur père et a ainsi permis à tous d’atteindre la vie et le jour.

13 *Awe Mariya kîm bîzgâ*

*urux tuûwrup-sen asîya;*

*barĉamîs d(a) andan başqa*

*teyîşlî edîk tas bolmaya (→ bolmaqya)*

‘Ave, Marie! Tu nous as accouché d’un rejeton; sans lui nous serions tous condamnés à la pétification (→ perdition).’

Notes: *tas* (variante de *taş*) *bolmaya* est traduit supplémentamment en latin par *omnes nos quidem astricti ad perdicionem*. Cette traduction fut acceptée par Radloff (1887: 94): “Alle haetten wir ohne ihn / Ausgeschlossen vom Heile sein muessen.” et Drimba (1973: 266, 277): “sans lui nous serions tous destinés à la perdition”. *Tas bolmaya* se rapporte à

une étape de l'histoire de l'humanité, où l'accouchement difficile pouvait aboutir à la pétrification de l'homme dans le ventre maternel.

14 *Awe kímniñ termäsindä*  
*yalyz qonuptur Mišixa,*  
*aypsız anda kímni qıldı,*  
*meñi tauwya ayındırdı.*

“Ave, (celle,) dans le sanctuaire (= ventre maternel) de qui seul le Messie a habité (et se trouvant là,) a rendu immaculée celle-ci et l’a élevée sur la montagne éternelle.”

Notes: Nous nous arrêtons sur cette strophe pour indiquer que les anciens termes *termä* et *meñi tauw* et l’expression *meñi tauwya ayındır-* se sont adaptés aux exigences de la nouvelle religion.

Entre *meñi tauw* chamanique et la montagne sacrée chrétienne il y a une différence. La montagne sacrée chrétienne est mythique, et aucun mortel ne peut y aller. Tandis que *meñi tauw* chamanique est réelle. Elle est vénérée comme le royaume des esprits et des ancêtres. C’est là que les chamanistes font leurs cérémonies religieuses et cultuelles. Mais cette montagne sacrée est interdite aux femmes. Et si l’on constate qu’une femme a transgressé cette interdiction, on change de mont. Mais ici la Vierge Marie, femme exceptionnelle, selon la croyance chrétienne, a le droit de monter sur la montagne éternelle. On voit que la strophe est le produit des deux traditions – chamanique et chrétienne. C’est ainsi qu’entendrait le traducteur turk et se ferait entendre à ses proches claniques.

Ainsi, *termä* primitivement une cabane chamanique et un habitat hémisphérique, sur le modèle du ciel, et en Inde *Mandapa* ‘tente’, initialement, simple abri, deviennent: *termä* le nom du sanctuaire et *Mandapa* un élément du temple hindou.

18 *Awe qız, kímniñ kertegı*  
*kündey yarıxtır ham isı;*  
*Kristus küyöwnı qondurdıñ ~ qondırdıñ,*  
*barčalarnı sówındurdıñ ~ sówındırdıñ.*

Nous y cherchons deux variantes: *küyöw* correspond une fois au latin *tabernaculum* ‘sanctuaire’ et une autre fois le même terme fut retraduit en latin par *sponsus* ‘marié’. Ainsi, variante 1 – notre traduction:

‘Ave, Vierge, dont le *kertek* (lit nuptial au baldaquin primitif) est clair comme le jour et chaud; tu y as hébergé Christ – lieu (*ou* maison) d’adoration et (par là) tu (nous) as tous réjouis.’

Pour *kertek* v. Mollova (1987: 31, no. 20).

La strophe 18 de l’original latin:

*Ave de cuius intimo  
Christus processit thalamo,  
in sole tabernaculum  
fixit, qui regit saeculum.*

Symboliquement on se trouve encore devant le ventre maternel, clair comme le jour et chaud, et Jésus est comparé au sanctuaire-lieu d’adoration ou de passion qui régit les générations.

En partant du lat. *in sole tabernaculum fixit* ‘il a fixé le tabernacle dans le soleil’ nous estimons qu’il faut chercher dans *küyöüw* deux mots: *küy* et *öüw* ‘maison’. Que signifie *küy*? ‘\*adoration’ ou ‘\*passion’: *küyöüw* ‘lieu d’adoration (*ou* de passion), sanctuaire’(?); tatar de Kazan *küyäv bülmäsi* ‘chambre nuptiale [litt. chambre / coin séparé pour le marié (dans la yourte de la mariée)]’. La chambre nuptiale, lumineuse et chaude, c’est le ventre maternel de Marie. Marie a hébergé dans ce ventre Jésus qui est de Lui-même un lieu d’adoration. Cf. (kirg.) *küy* ‘1) komfort’, *zažitočnost* – Komfort, Wohlhabenheit; 2) *blagoprijatnyj slučaj* – eine günstige Gelegenheit; *küy-* (v) (Alt. Tel. Leb. Kir. Kkir.), qui à côté de ‘goret’ *sgoret* – brennen, verbrennen’, signifie encore ‘*vozgoret*’ *ljubov’ju* – in Liebe entbrennen; *mal küydü* (Kir.) ‘skot’ *xorošo udalsja* – das Vieh ist gut gerathen’ (Radloff 1911: 2, 1418).

Variante 2: Cela étant ainsi, une deuxième main a ajouté au dessus de *küyöüwní qondurdíñ* leur traduction latine *sponsum hospitata es* ‘tu as hébergé le jeune marié’. Avec cela on obtient une nouvelle interprétation de la strophe turke qui devient, selon Drimba (1973: 278):

“Je te salue, Vierge, dont la chambre nuptiale est lumineuse et chaude comme le soleil: tu (y) as hébergé le fiancé Christ et (par là) tu (nous) as tous réjouis.”

Nous y cherchons une comparaison analytique; notre traduction:

‘Ave, Vierge, dont le *kertek* (lit nuptial au baldaquin primitif) est clair comme le jour et chaud; tu y as hébergé Christ tout comme un marié et tu (nous) as tous réjouis.’

La même image, avec les mêmes termes (*kertek* et *kuyouw*), se retrouve dans un autre hymne du CC, appelé *A solis ortus cardine* (strophe 12):

*Kertek ačmey ešikini*  
*kuyouw čiktı – sönäli!*  
*Bıs barčalarnı ündetti*  
*toyğa yurup urγ(u) uralı!*

‘Le marié est sorti (= Jésus est né) sans ouvrir *kertek* (baldaquin du lit nuptial), ni (même) la porte (de la chambre nuptiale) – réjouissons-nous en! Il nous a fait crier tous (de joie) – allons au festin! battons les gros tambours de guerres!’

L’Homme venu de l’Orient, aurait du mal à comprendre la conception de Jésus par une simple Parole du Dieu (v. strophes 59, 60). Ici il chercherait à l’expliquer en partant du modèle de l’autocréation du soleil.

Selon une très ancienne croyance, le soleil est né sans être mis au monde par une mère et un père. On dit qu’il s’autocrée tous les matins et s’autodétruit tous les soirs. Et selon une variante de cette croyance, non seulement le soleil, mais aussi la lune sont nées sans être mis au monde par une mère.

Puisque Jésus est mis au monde par une mère, l’auteur de la traduction latine interlinéaire en question aurait cherché une troisième manière d’autocréation; une autocréation dans le ventre maternel!

La croyance en la naissance du soleil d’une mère serait connue des anciens Turks également. De l’expression turke *anasınıñ kōrū / kōrū* “homme très rusé (litt. l’aveugle de sa mère)” il suivrait de comprendre que le soleil du soir, devenu amoureux de sa propre beauté, et puni par l’aveuglement, tombe dans le ventre de sa mère qui est aussi un symbole de l’océan primordial. Donc seul un soleil aveugle (ou borgne) est capable d’engendrer sa mère par son esprit qu’il porte en soi.

Avec le temps, cette expression cosmologique, fut rapportée à la vie humaine et devenue vite tabou. Rappelons-nous la tragédie *Œdipe roi* de Sophocle!

Ainsi, pour le traducteur de l’hymne *kuyouw* est un ‘lieu de passion; sanctuaire’ et pour un lecteur de cet hymne le même terme signifiant le

jeune homme au lendemain de son mariage, comparé à un soleil, celui-ci a traduit *küyöüwní qondurdñ* par lat. *sponsum hospitata es*. De sorte que les deux variantes de notre hymne peuvent être expliquées et la strophe 12 de l'autre hymne devient claire.

/ur gurali/, translittéré bien par Kuun (1880: 217) qui y cherche *ur*, variante de *ir*, il le traduit par 'cantus' et *gurali*, transcrit, *guruli* 'canamus'; cf. kaz. *küylämäk* 'canere', *külmäk* etc. (ibid., note 1), fut corrigé par Radloff (1887:110) comme *yürçayalı*: *toyça yürüp yürçayalı* "zur Hochzeit wollen wir gehen und zechen."; Drimba (1973: 323, 325): *toyça yürüp yügüräli* "(car) il nous a tous mandés de courir au festin"; nous (Mollova 1987: 27, 29, 32 (no. 22)): *toyça yürüp ürçurali!* – "courons au festin et gagnons la grâce de Dieu (litt. faisons-nous bénir par Dieu)!"; Grønbech (1942: 266) "urgur-" – non transcrit; il renvoie à *jügür*- "laufen" Quryšžanov et alii (1978: 135) *urçur*- 'courir'. Maintenant nous y cherchons *urçu ur*- 'battre gros tambour', de *urçu* 'orudie, kotorym b'jut (arme – tambour)' (DTS – Maḥmūd al-Kāšyarī) et *ur*- 'battre'.

19 *Awe kímñíñ qurbaníní*  
*yauwlı kórup yarılıyadı*  
*teñu közkórdı öpkäsín*  
*qoyup beriptir alıñsın.*  
 'Ave, (celle,) à qui (Dieu), trouvant le sacrifice très cher,  
 a eu pitié d'elle; (et) quittant sa colère très ouvertement visible,  
 a donné sa bénédiction (?).'

Les deux derniers vers de cette strophe sont discutables. Ils furent traduits différemment par les spécialistes.

Radloff (1887: 95):  
*tññ kös köñü öpkäsín*  
*quyup, bāriptur alıñsın.*  
 "Seine ganz gerechten Zorn  
 Aufgebend, giebt er seinen Segen."

Drimba (1973: 278):  
 "Quittant sa colère entièrement justifiée, il nous a donné sa bénédiction."

Dans un autre article (Mollova 1992: 100) nous avons interprété la graphie que nous avons lu /teŋu-kózkórdɑ/ comme *teñu-kózkór(r)dä* et nous l'avons traduite par 'très visiblement; très ouvertement'; cf. tat. balk. *kóz kórırde* id. Mais maintenant nous la lisons *teñu-kózkórdı* ou, comme les autres, *teñu-kózkónu* au sens de 'très ouvertement et équitablement', de *teñu* 'très' + *kóz* 'œil; yeux' + *kónu* 'juste, équitable': *teñu kózkórdı* 'très ouvertement visible'(?).

Ce que nous ne comprenons pas ici c'est la colère soi-disant très visible et équitable de Jésus (Dieu)!

Dans la strophe latine (19) correspondante il n'est pas question de colère:

*Ave, cuius holocaustum  
pingue fuit atque castum  
soli Deo quae cantasti  
et in corde iubilasti.*

Alors il en suit de supposer que l'expression discutable fut ajoutée par le traducteur turk qui aurait du mal à comprendre la conception spirituelle de Jésus, qui étant tombé au commencement en colère, par la suite a acquiescé et a béni sa mère.

20 *Awe Mariya anamıs!*  
*Senı súp cın xanıms*  
*barčadan uşun (→ ıstun → ısun) kóturdı,*  
*xanlık dačını keydirdı.*  
'Ave, Marie, notre mère! En t'aimant, notre vrai Roi t'a élevée au-dessus  
de tous et t'a posé sa couronne royale.'

Ce qui est à remarquer ici c'est la correction de /vsun/ en /vʃtun/ et en exponctuant le *t* une troisième main a restitué le /vʃun/. *ısun* d'*ıstun* est connu, mais *uşun* pour nous est nouveau, probablement un régionalisme; cf. (Schor.) *üştü* 'plečo – Schulter' (Radloff 1911: 1907).

21 *Awe qız kımđän atasıs*  
*qurtley tuwıp beymıs Jesus*  
*burulıpturyan ılannı*  
*basıp sančtı (dayı öltirdı →) erksıs kıldı.*

‘Ave, Vierge! C’est d’elle qui est né sans père, comme un ver notre  
Seigneur Jésus qui a écrasé de ses pieds et a piqué le serpent tortillé (et  
l’a tué →) et l’a rendu impuissant.’

Notes: La première lettre de *sančtí* est détériorée. Kuun (1880: 275) y cherche un *j*: *jančtí* ‘contrivit’; Radloff (1887:95): *jancti* le laisse non traduit et ne l’introduit pas dans son *Versuch* (1911); Drimba (1973: 279): *yančtí*: *basip yančtí* ‘a écrasé de ses pieds (litt. en foulant)’; nous: *sančtí* ‘a piqué’.

La conception spirituelle de Jésus y est illustrée par deux cas d’auto-création: Celui du ver et celui du serpent. La position de l’auteur envers le premier est neutre, alors qu’envers le deuxième cas elle est ouvertement négative. Son modèle latin (strophe 21) dit:

*Ave, de cuius germine  
sine virili semine  
sicut vermis concipitur  
per quem serpens conteritur.*

22 *Awe Yessenin čibuyí!*  
*Tayaq bizgä sendän bítí.*  
*Egrímísní ol kóndurír ~ kóndírír,*  
*kučsísímísní koturír ~ kotírír.*  
‘Ave, ramille de Jésus! C’est de toi qu’a poussé un bâton pour nous. Il  
redresse les improbables parmi nous et soulève les impuissants parmi nous.’

Dans la traduction des deux derniers vers nous suivons Radloff (1887: 95) qui dit: “Der die Krummen unter uns grade macht, Der die Schwachen unter uns erhebt.” Alors que la traduction de Drimba (1973: 279) est basée sur la traduction latine interlinéaire: “Il redresse ce qui est de travers en nous et appuie ce qui est faible en nous.” = lat.: *curvum nostrum rectificat(,) infirmus nostrum sustentat*. Par bâton nous entendons l’axe universel vertical.

26 *Awe, kím atínä kôrä*  
*bu jähannín teńízínä*  
*batmaz yulduzní tuurdín,*  
*kónülík yolín kôrguzdín.*

‘Ave, (toi) qui, étant digne de ton nom, as donné naissance à l’étoile qui ne submerge pas dans la mer de ce monde, et (qui nous) as montré la voie de la justice.’

Note: “L’étoile qui ne submerge pas dans la mer de ce monde” nécessite une petite explication: Selon l’ancienne croyance, les étoiles en se couchant, tombent dans les flots de la mer qui encercle la Terre. De même, le soleil, en se couchant, se transforme en une étoile, mais cette étoile ne tombe pas comme les autres, dans la mer. Donc on a en vue le Soleil qui est considéré immortel et on veut dire par cette comparaison que Jésus est immortel aussi, tout comme le Soleil.

27 *Awe qíz, kímniñ qoatí*  
*erdí arí tñ mihirí;*  
*boyñ anda čičeklenmíš*  
*Teñrí sendän qačan tuūwmíš.*

‘Ave, Vierge, dont la force a été le Saint-Esprit – son gage (*mihir* – terme islamique, litt. “garantie en pièces d’or qu’on enrégistre dans le contrat de mariage que le mari s’oblige à payer à sa femme en cas de divorce”); ton corps a fleuri lorsque Dieu est né de toi.’

Cf. turc *anasının nikâhını iste-* ‘demander des prix excessifs’.

Les deux premiers vers furent traduits autrement par Radloff (1887: 96):

“Ave Jungfrau, deren Kraft  
 Der Wunsch des heiligen Geistes war,”

Et par Drimba (1973: 280):

“Je te salue, Vierge, dont la force a été l’affection du Saint-Esprit;”

Note: Le vers *erdí arí tñ mihirí* fut muni d’une traduction interlinéaire latine: *vigor erat spiritus sancti desiderium vel effectus* (Kuun 1880: 192). C’est cette interprétation que traduisent Radloff et Drimba.

28 *Awe, úníñ oryananí,*  
*kòrkíñ yeníptír Libanní,*



*kím bízím účun óltürüldí*  
*buzouwley anîñ anasí.*

‘Ave, toi, dont la voix a surpassé l’orgue et la beauté du Liban, tu es la mère de celui qui a été mis à mort comme un veau pour nous.’

Note: Ici on a une seule phrase complexe. Radloff et Drimba l’ont partagée en trois propositions indépendantes. La traduction de Radloff (1887: 96):

“Ave, deine Stimme hat ihn geschlagen,  
 Deine Schönheit hat übertroffen den Libanon;  
 Der unseretwegen getödtet wurde  
 Wie ein Kalb, dessen Mutter bist du.”

Dans la Bible (Ezéchiel 31: 2-3, 8-10) nous lisons: “Le Pharaon est comparé à un cèdre du Liban ... Parmi les nuages émerge sa cime ... aucun arbre au jardin de Dieu ne s’égalait en beauté ... Mais parce qu’il s’est enorgueilli de sa hauteur, je l’ai livré aux mains du prince des nations, pour qu’il le traite selon sa méchanceté; je l’ai détruit.” C’est de ce cèdre cosmique qu’il serait question dans le passage: “la voix a surpassé la beauté du Liban.”, c.-à-d. “la voix qui monte plus haut que le cèdre du Liban et qui le surpasse par sa beauté”.

35 *Awe qíz! elbeklígíndän*

*kím tílesä alír rayyan*

*susun janní, kím esírtír*

*ham aš tinní, kím tóydírír.*

‘Ave, Vierge! celui qui demande reçoit gratuitement de ta miséricorde (ou de ton abondance) de la boisson qui enivre l’esprit (litt. l’âme) et de la nourriture qui rassasie l’âme (litt. l’esprit).’

Notes: *Elbeklígíndän*. *Elbeklík* signifie ‘bonté; miséricorde’ (cf. kirg. *elpeklik* ‘vivacité, agilité, serviabilité, bienveillance’). Mais ce terme fut traduit en latin par: *de tua abundantia*. Dans l’original latin on a de même: *Ave domus ubertatis* (Drimba 1973: 292). Ainsi, ici *elbeklík* signifie ‘source d’abondance (de la boisson et de la nourriture)’. v. *sarxít* dans la strophe 69.

Interprétation de Radloff (1887: 97):

*Ave qız, ölbäkligiñdän*

*kim tiläsä alir raiyan,*

*susuz cannı kim äzirtir*

*häm ac tinnı kim toidırır.*

“Ave Jungfrau, von deinen Ueberflusse

Kann jeder Wunsch umsonst empfangen,

(Denn sie ist es) die die durstende Seele trinkt

Und die hungrige Seele sättigt.”

Traduction de Drimba (1973: 281) :

“Je te salue, Vierge! celui qui veut, reçoit gratuitement de ton abondance de la boisson qui enivre l’âme et de la nourriture qui rassasie l’esprit.”

Vásáry interprète les deux derniers vers à sa manière (1977: 53):

“A drink which intoxicates the soul, and satisfies the hungry soul.”

Ainsi, Radloff corrige *susun* en *susuz* ‘assoifé’, *aş* en *ac* ‘affamé’; Vášáry accepte *susun* pour ‘boisson’, mais corrige *aş* en *ač* ‘affamé’; il traduit *ǰannı* et *tinnı* par ‘soul’. Pour lui, *susun* est un substantif et *ač* un adjectif; le pronom relatif *kım* s’associe une fois à *susun* et une autre fois il ne joue aucun rôle; ainsi *susun* devient le sujet commun des deux propositions coordonnées. Tout cela est fortuit, traduit à la hâte.

Notes: 1) Pourquoi *kım* est placé après *ǰannı* et *tinnı*? Probablement pour des raisons de la césure: 4/4 syllabes, quoique dans l’hymne la place de la césure est respectée seulement lorsque les unités lexicales le permettent. C’est cette place de *kım* sans doute qui a donné raison à Radloff de prendre *susun* pour *susuz* et *aş* pour *ac* ‘affamé’. 2) Au point de vue de l’astrologie-théologie *ǰannı* et *tinnı* ont échangé leur place. On aurait attendu:

*susun, kım tinnı esirtir,*

*ham aş, kım ǰannı tıydırır.*

‘de la boisson qui enivre l’esprit et de la nourriture qui rassasie l’âme.’

C’est la traduction que nous proposons.

Dans la traduction des textes religieux du CC les traducteurs font bien distinction entre *tın* ‘esprit’ et *ǰan* ‘âme’. Les dieux, les esprits s’alimentent du “breuvage d’immortalité”, qui est le *soma* pour les divinités

de l'Inde et *nektar* pour Jupiter, le lait etc. Tandis que la nourriture s'offre aux âmes des mortels. Les Turcs, en mangeant un mets spécial, exquis, disent: *Ölmüşlerimizin janına deysin!* et, en adressant leurs prières aux esprits, disent: *Ölmüşlerimizin ruhuna fatiha!*

41 *Awe Mariya, kım Teñrîñ*  
*köruwsap sen susadın,*  
*muradına endi teydin,*  
*yüzün körä oltrup-turđın.*

'Ave, Marie, qui, désirant voir ton Dieu, as été assoiffée (de lui): maintenant tu as obtenu ce que tu désirais et voyant son visage, tu l'as contemplé longuement.'

Notes: Cette strophe est construite sur deux types différents. Les deux premiers vers – sur le type: 7 syllabes, avec la césure entre la quatrième et la troisième syllabes (type 7: 4/3) et les deux derniers vers – sur le type 8: 4/4.

Dans le Codex l'apostrophe est employée comme signe d'abréviation pour: *r, ar, er, ír, ur, úr, ru, rü, rí, re, ra*. Ici elle est pour un *r* (et pour un *ur*). Pour un *r*, exigé par l'isosyllabisme. Radloff (1887: 99) a fait de /olt'upt'din/ *olturduñ: yüzün körä olturduñ* "sein Antlitz schauend sitzt du da"; Drimba (1973: 270, 282) a pris l'apostrophe pour un *ur*, ce qui déforme le vers: 9: 4/5. Chez lui: *yüzün körä olturup-turđın* "voyant sa face, tu t'es assise".

42 *Awe yarıñnıñ anası,*  
*kım tuurur ata Teñrî;*  
*yollarıñnı ol bawladı → başladı,*  
*meñuluk tauwya yetkirdi.*

'Ave, mère de la lumière qu'engendre Dieu le père; (les liens de ton âme-destinée étant rompus) c'est Lui qui les a reliés (au ciel et t'as sauvée de la mort éternelle) → c'est Lui qui a mené tes destinées et t'a fait parvenir à la montagne éternelle.'

Notes: Radloff (1887: 99): *yollarıñnı ol bawladı* "Deine Wege hat er gebunden"; Drimba (1973: 282): *yollarıñnı ol başladı* "il a préparé tes voies". Mais là il y a deux verbes qui reflètent deux croyances différentes. Selon la croyance chamanique, chaque personne a trois âmes essentielles: Une âme-ombre, une âme corporelle et une troisième, l'âme-

destinée. La première se trouve à l'intérieur de la personne vivante. Elle peut quitter le corps de celle-ci et errer là où elle désire. Par cette séparation de l'âme du corps s'explique le fait que l'homme se voit dans le songe, voyage dans les pays inconnus et qu'il converse avec des gens qu'il n'a jamais connus.

L'âme corporelle ne quitte jamais le corps tant que l'homme est vivant.

L'âme-destinée se trouve hors du corps de l'homme. Des liens invisibles la lient à la divinité des Cieux et la destinée de l'homme se trouve dans les mains de cette divinité. Si la divinité rompt le lien-destinée, alors l'homme meurt. Parfois le chaman, avec la permission de cette divinité, peut lier le lien rompu et sauver ainsi l'homme de la mort. Anisimov (1958: 61-63) rapporte ces informations en parlant des Evenques. Elles seraient également valables pour les anciens Turks.

C'est cette croyance que nous cherchons dans l'expression *yollarıñnı ol bawladı*. Dans le chamanisme c'est le chaman-messager qui lie les liens rompus, dans le texte chrétien du Codex c'est Jésus qui accomplit ce rôle. Et en plus c'est Jésus qui y apparaît comme la divinité même des liens. Car le verbe *bawladı* fut traduit en latin supplémentairement par *disposuit* 'il dispose de'. Cette divinité, selon la croyance des Turks, serait ce qu'ils appelaient *Yol Teñrı* 'dieu de la route' ou 'Dieu de la chance'; *yol* 'route; chance'.

Mais, voilà qu'une main a corrigé *bawladı* en *başladı*, de *başla-* 'mener; conduire': *yollarıñnı ol başladı* 'c'est Lui (Jésus) qui a mené tes destinées'; cf. turk oriental *but degen insa:nnı xuda:dın ajrıp ebedi ottın qutulmajdurıan jollæ başlap baræ durıan ba:til bir neme dur ...* "That (thing) which is called *but* (idol) is a wrong thing which has separated man from God and leads him onto a road from which he will not be saved from the eternal fire." (Jarring 1991: 11, 15).

53 *Awe, kım enç kōñülindän*

*Teñrıgä kōtürdın qurban*

*öz bauwursaqın Jesusnı,*

*bıznı tırgızmekgä öldı.*

'Ave, (toi,) qui de bon gré as offert à Dieu en sacrifice ton fils chéri (litt. tes propres entrailles), Jésus, (qui) est mort pour nous rendre vivants (litt. pour nous ressusciter).'

Notes: Il nous semble qu'après *Yesusní* il devait avoir un pronom relatif (*kím* 'qui') ou un pronom personnel (*ol* 'il') qui serait omis pour des raisons métriques. *Bízní tǵǵzmeġǵä* est muni d'une traduction latine interlinéaire: *nos ad vivificandos*. C'est cette traduction latine que traduisent Radloff 1887: 101 ("um uns lebendig zu machen") et Drimba 1973: 284 ("pour nous rendre vivants"). Mais le traducteur turk se serait servi d'une expression basée sur l'idée de la réincarnation, reconnue surtout en Inde.

55 *Awe kónülük auwālǵ!*

*Kónü egeč oyluñ öldi.*

*Sóuñǵaysen soñǵu kundä*

*oylıñ → oyluñ öcín qačan alsä.*

'Ave, toi, principe de la justice! bien qu'étant juste, ton fils est mort;  
(mais) te réjouirais-tu au dernier jour (de jugement) si ton fils tirait vengeance (de sa mort)?'

Notes: Le premier vers est composé sur le type: 7: 4/3, les autres sur le type: 8: 4/4; cf. strophe 41.

Nous traduisons *sóuñǵaysen* et *alsä* par des verbes au conditionnel: Le poète aurait souhaité que Jésus se venge du mal que les autres Lui ont causé, mais il n'en est pas sûr.

Radloff (1887: 101) traduit les deux derniers vers par:

"Erfreuen wirst du dich in späteren Tagen,  
Wenn dein Sohn seine Rache nehmen wird."

Drimba (1973: 285):

"(mais) tu te réjouiras au dernier jour, quand ton fils tirera vengeance (de sa mort)."

59 *Awe, kím bolmıšsen aar*

*ana, kím Teñǵıdän tuwar*

*sözley: alay bızǵä teydı*

*ten keyínip Teñrı sözı.*

'Ave, (toi,) qui es devenue mère de celui qui est né (engendré) de Dieu par le verbe: ainsi le Verbe de Dieu en s'incarnant (litt. en se revêtant de corps) nous a été donné comme présent.'

Traduction de Radloff (1887:102):

“Ave, die du ihm eine Mutter  
Gewesen, von der Gott geboren,  
In der Rede ist so zu uns gekommen  
Gottes Wort, indem es sich in einen Körper kleidete.”

Traduction de Drimba (1973: 285):

“Je te salue, (toi,) qui es devenue mère de (litt. à) celui qui est engendré  
par Dieu comme un mot: ainsi est arrivé à nous, en s’incarnant (litt. en  
se revêtant de corps), le Verbe de Dieu.”

Note: L’expression *Teñrí sôzí ten keyín-* ‘le verbe de Dieu se revêtir du corps’ est peut-être forgée par le traducteur; v. Mollova 1993: 137, où nous disons: “Avec ce terme (*et’öz/etez*) on exprime l’unité de deux corps, matériel et spirituel, où l’âme et la matière sont prises pour des substances identiques.” V. encore la strophe 60.

M. E. Tryjarski, qui a eu l’amabilité de lire le manuscrit de cet article, nous écrit: “‘le verbe de Dieu se revêtir de corps’ – c’est une expression incompréhensible et bizarre. Plutôt: ‘se revêtir de corps (en parlant du Verbe de Dieu, c.- à-d. de la deuxième personne de la Sainte-Trinité)’. Cette expression est sûrement “forgée par le traducteur”, comme vous le dites, mais il l’a fait très bien!”

60 *Awe saa, kím Teñrígä*

*janín ham tenín hämäšä → hämäzä*

*susapturup içíptírsen,*

*etezgä síñríptírsen.*

‘Ave, toi, qui as bu (l’amour) de Dieu, dont ton âme et ton corps ont toujours été assoiffés, et l’as absorbé dans le corps.’

Traduction de Drimba (1973: 286):

“Salut à toi, car ton âme et ton corps ayant toujours été assoiffés de Dieu, tu l’as absorbé dans le (= ton) corps.”

Note: L’expression *etezgä síñír-* ‘absorber dans le corps’ serait, peut-être de nouveau, forgé par le traducteur, qui connaîtrait bien *etez* – terme bouddhique, brahmanique, manichéen, composé de: *et* ‘1) chair; 2) corps; 3) essence, substance, nature’; anc. tk. *äd* ‘Materie, Wert, Güter’

+ öz ‘selbst, eigen, Körper, Leben, Person, das Selbst’ (von Gabain 1950: 323, 353).

65 *Awe sen! tauw̄larnĩn tauw̄í!*

*sendän kışĩ kesmeyn → kesmey sındĩ.*

*Tauw̄ya taş → Taş tauw̄ya, kım bítíp östí*

*kók yerní barča tolturdí → toltírdí.*

‘Ave, toi qui es la montagne des montagnes! (Le rameau) s’est brisé de toi sans que l’Homme l’aie taillé. La pierre, qui a surgi de la montagne et a grandi, a complètement rempli le ciel et la terre.’

Note: *Tauw̄ya taş* fut corrigé en *taş tauw̄ya*. Radloff (1887: 103): *tauya taş* “die Steine, die zum Berge”; Drimba (1973: 273, 287): *tawya taş ~ (taş tawya) kım bitip östi* “la pierre qui a surgi et a grandi sur la montagne”.

Pourquoi cette correction? C’est parce que le correcteur reconnaît la priorité à la pierre. Car selon la très ancienne tradition, lors de la création Dieu jeta de son Trône une pierre précieuse dans l’abîme; un bout s’enfonça dans l’abîme, l’autre émergea du chaos. Ce bout forma un point, qui commença à s’étendre, créant ainsi l’étendue, et le monde fut établi dessus; ce fut la pierre fondamentale (de Champeaux 1976: 202). Selon une croyance attestée chez les Grecs, après le déluge les hommes naqurent de pierres semées par un Dieu. l’Homme naissant de la pierre se trouve dans les traditions sémites et certaines légendes chrétiennes en font même naître le Christ (Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1990: Pierre). D’après cette strophe la première variante exprime une étape plus avancée de la création, car dans les premiers vers de la strophe Marie est comparée à la montagne des montagnes. La version corrigée s’allie surtout au dernier vers de la strophe analysée ici: Jésus est la pierre fondamentale; c’est de lui qu’ont pris naissance le ciel et la terre.

68 *Awe, kimgä yaş yaşındän*

*us ouwretmíš Teñrí tuuwr̄yan → tuuwr̄yan*

*sóz, kım aníñ kóp tañlarín*

*ayte bíllipsen, barčasín.*

‘Ave, (toi,) à qui le Verbe géniteur de Dieu a enseigné, depuis son âge tendre, la sagesse, de sorte que tu as pu annoncer beaucoup de ses miracles, (même) tous.’

Note: Par une exponctuation *tuuŭryan* fut corrigé en *tuuŭyan* (v. Drimba 1973: 274). Cette correction peut être expliquée de deux manières: 1) On a ici un phénomène phonétique – chute de *r* devant une consonne – trait caractéristique au turk du CC (Mollova 1990: 157); 2) on peut y chercher un phénomène lexico-sémantique: Le verbe *tuw-* signifiant à la fois ‘naître’ et ‘mettre au monde’; cf. *tuymas* ‘sterile Frau’ (Menges 1973: 12).

Radloff (1973: 103): *tāñri tūryan söz* “das von Gott erzeugte Wort”; Drimba (1973: 274, 287): *teñri tuŭyan söz* “le Verbe géniteur de Dieu”.

69 *Awe kimgä yamŭrleyin*  
*soyurŭal yawdī Teñridin*  
*anča čaqlī, kīm bu jahan*  
*toldī barča sarχītīndān.*

‘Ave, (toi,) sur laquelle la grâce est tombée en abondance comme une pluie, à tel point que ce monde s’est rempli entièrement de ta surabondance (ou de tes *sarχīt* “nourriture et boisson restées d’une cérémonie organisée avec des morceaux de viande qui se jettent aux feux rituels et de la boisson qui se verse sur ces feux”).’

*Sarχīt* fut traduit supplémentairement en latin par *residuum* ‘reste’, ce qui est aussi juste. *Sarχīt* ‘abondance, surabondance’ et ‘reste(s), relief(s)’. Originellement *sarχīt* est le repas (boisson et nourriture) offert aux esprits, dieux, par le moyen du feu, dont la fumée sert de véhicule et le transporte aux destinataires célestes. Le reste de *sarχīt* est consommé par les mortels. Etant considéré comme béni des esprits, ce repas (ce reste) devient le symbole d’abondance. V. encore la strophe 35.

Ligeti (1973: 154, 161), en étudiant mong. *bilegür*, tibétain *Ihag-ma* “l’exédent, les restes de la viande de sacrifice”, cite ouïg. *qalınču*, mong. *sarqud* ‘les restes de la boisson de sacrifice’; chez Pelliot ce dernier mot signifie ‘boisson de sacrifice’. Ligeti cite encore tk. *sarχīt* du CC, *sarqūt*, *sarqut* ‘restes de boisson (et de nourriture) des repas offerts à des invités distingués’ et déclare: “Le mot turc devait appartenir à la terminologie de sacrifice” (v. encore Mollova 1993: 126-129).

Chez les anciens Alévîs, même l’eau de l’ablution d’un saint ne se jette pas. Dans l’histoire de Hacı Bektaş Veli, Kadıncık ana – la bonne femme –, qui a hébergé ce chef alévî, ne jette pas cette eau et la boit. Le nez du Saint pendant l’ablution ayant saigné et cette femme ayant de



nouveau bu cette eau, elle tombe enceinte. Dans cette fable on peut chercher la croyance en la conception par le sang viril.<sup>2</sup>

Traduction de Radloff (1887: 104):

“Ave dir, zu der wie ein Regen  
Freude von Gott herabfloss,  
So lange bis diese Welt  
Erfüllt war von deinem Ueberflusse.”

Celle de Drimba (1973: 287):

“Je te salue, (toi,) sur laquelle la grâce est descendue (litt. a plu) de Dieu, comme une pluie, jusqu’à ce que ce monde se soit entièrement rempli de tes restes.”

71 *Ave, saa, kôknîñ kôrkî*

*dunyaññ sen tîrekî,*

*ôktemññ müzín sîndîrîyan,*

*mizkin(n)î → miskin(n)î baɣɣa teyîrîyan.*

“Ave, toi, beauté du ciel, colonne du monde, qui as brisé les cornes de l’orgueilleux et qui as fait toucher les misérables à la félicité (éternelle).”  
(traduction de Drimba; chez lui: la corne).

<sup>2</sup> En voilà la fable:

“Hacı Bektaş Veli – Kadıncık ana.

Kadıncık’ın âdetiydi, Hunkâr, abdest alsa, yemekten sonra ellerini yıkasa o suyu, hemen içerdi. Bir gün Hunkâr abdest alırken burnu kanadı. Kadıncık, dedi, bu suyu ayak değmiyecek bir yere dök. Kadıncık leğeni kaldırıp götürdü. Şimdiye kadar o tertemiz suyu içerdim, bunu ne diye dökeyim, hayırlısı bu, tiksirmeden bunu da içeyim dedi.

Hunkâr Kadıncık’ın yüzüne baktı, bu hal, malûm olmuştu zaten kendisine, Kadıncık dedi, bu suyu da içtin mi? Kadıncık, erenlere ne malûm değil, erenlerden artanın bir yudumunu bile dökecek yer bulamadım, ancak karnımı buldum dedi.

Hunkâr, Kadıncık dedi, bizden umduğun nasibi aldın; senden iki oğlumuz gelecek adımızla, onlar, yurdumuzun oğlu olacak, halkın 70 yaşındakileri, onların 7 yaşında olanının elini öpsünler ...” (Gölpınarlı 1958: 64-65)

Note: *Öktemniñ müzín sındıryan* '(toi) qui as brisé les cornes de l'orgueilleux'. Cette expression est munie d'une traduction latine interlinéaire: *superbi cornu quae confregisti*.

Ici *müzí* fut traduit par Grønbech et Drimba au singulier. En voilà un exemple typique pour le rôle négatif des traductions latines interlinéaires dans le Codex Cumanicus! Car, selon une typicité des langues turkes, dans un contexte un substantif peut être pris aussi bien au singulier qu'au pluriel, et ici il fallait traduire *müzí* au pluriel. S'il était au singulier on aurait indiqué laquelle des deux cornes se brise (la corne gauche – côté solaire)? Tryjarski nous a procuré une sentence biblique, où 'cornua' est au pluriel: *Et omnia cornua peccatorum confringam* (Ps. 75: 10). Nous le remercions bien.

Ainsi, dans la Bible il est question de casser les cornes des pécheurs et dans notre hymne – de l'orgueilleux. C'est Jésus qui casse les cornes de l'orgueilleux qui est le représentant du mal, le Diable. Dans l'iconographie turke *Erlik*, dieu des enfers, a une tête de bœuf. Et à l'origine, l'animal aux cornes à casser fut précisément le bœuf, le taureau, ou le buffle.

On dit que le Bœuf céleste est luni-solaire. Cela veut dire que le Bœuf représente à la fois les deux principes: Solaire, masculin et lunaire, féminin. La Lune, planète froide et humide, symbolise les six mois de l'hiver, et le Soleil, planète chaude et sèche, les six mois d'été. En hiver c'est la Lune qui regne, en été c'est le Soleil. L'équinoxe de printemps marque la fin du regne lunaire et le commencement de celui du Soleil. C'est le Bœuf (Taureau) zodiacal.

Casser les cornes du Taureau c'est déclarer l'arrivée de la belle saison, et reconnaître la suprématie du Soleil par rapport à la Lune.

Or l'image de la Lune c'est le croissant, représenté par les cornes du Taureau. Apis, la Vache céleste des Egyptiens, a une marque blanche en forme de croissant de Lune sur l'épaule droite, côté lunaire; il est consacré à la Lune. Le scarabée à cornes du Taureau est aussi consacré à la Lune.

"Mais je crois" – dit Dupuis (1795, 2: 108b) – "que les cornes du scarabée qui offrent dans cet insecte une image sur la terre des cornes, que la lune dans son croissant présente à nos yeux dans le ciel, donnent l'origine de cette consécration, comme les cornes de cette même planète ont donné lieu au choix du Taureau, pour signe de son exaltation. La tradition sacrée, sur la génération d'Apis, confirme les rapports imaginés par les prêtres entre le bœuf sacré et la lune. Plutarque disoit qu'Apis

naissait d'une vache qui, au moment du coït, éprouvait l'action de l'influence de la lune, lorsqu'elle répand une lumière féconde sur la terre, et que c'est à cause de cela, qu'on trouve sur Apis beaucoup de marques, qui ont trait aux phases de la lune. Cette vache l'a conçu par l'action du feu céleste, dont elle est frappée. Sémélé, frappée de la foudre de Jupiter, met au monde Bacchus."

Le thème de casser les cornes du Taureau est assez bien étudié sur le plan astronomique-calendrique et artistique. Ainsi, Eliade (1963: 316-317) dit: "The origin common to both groups of ceremonies—the display of the Maypole (May 'pouvoir' [notre note]) and the beginning of a new 'time'—can be clearly seen in quite a number of traditions. In some places for instance, the custom is to 'kill' the May King, who represents vegetation and stimulates its growth." Volčok (1982: 67-68), en étudiant l'histoire du Roi aux cornes de Buffle dans l'iconographie protoindienne, écrit: "Esli verxovnyj bog-bujvol iz pečati javljaetsja bogom-pokrovitelem 12-letnego cikla Jupitera, to tak skazat', po usloviju ritual žertvoprinošenija bujvola ("ubijstvo bujvola") dolžen znamenovat' načalo goda, a takže cikla let. U protoindijcev dva načala goda: S osen-nego ravnodenstvija (po bolee drevnemu, trexsezonnomu kalendarju) i s letnego solncestojanija (po šestisezonnomu kalendarju)."



Le Roi aux cornes de Buffle  
(iconographie protoindienne)

Le Roi y est entouré de quatre Vivants: Le Tigre, l'Eléphant, le Rhinocéros et le Buffle, représentants de quatre saisons.

Roux, en analysant les reliefs d'Aghthamar et la peinture de Samarra sur le même sujet, où un personnage, le genou droit posé sur le sol, saisit, un taureau par les deux cornes et le contraint à baisser la tête, y cherche un rite chamanique de "verser le sang qui contient l'âme". Roux (1971: 194, 201) estime que ce rite est imposé à l'iconographie abbaside

et arménienne par les Turcs. L'immolation réelle du taureau, la tauromachie etc. sont des aspects différents de ce rite. V. encore *buzouwley* dans la strophe 28.

76 *Awe Yesusnĩn anasnä,*  
*awe ananĩn öylunä!*  
*Alyĩš bĩzgä ol kím bersĩn*  
*öwğän anasĩ (→ öwđĩrgän ana) yalbarsĩn!*  
*Alay bolsun!*  
 'Ave, Mère de Jésus, ave Fils de la Mère! Que la chère maman bénie (→  
 Que la mère qui s'est faite bénir) (le) prie de nous donner sa bénédiction.  
 Ainsi soit-il!'

Notes: Nous traduisons *anasĩ* par 'maman', forme affective, spéciale; cf. dans un autre hymne du Codex Cumanicus: *Owluma bol dep – anasĩ!* "Sois maman de mon fils!" (Mollova 1987: 26, 23).

*Öwğän anasĩ*, corrigé, devient *öwđĩrgän ana*. Kuun (1880: 258): *övgä anasĩ*; Radloff (1887: 105): *övgän anasina yalbarsin* "Möge flehen zu seiner geliebten Mutter!"; Drimba (1973: 275, 289): *öwdürgän ana yalbarsin* "Que sa mère bénie prie". Dans une note il reconnaît seulement qu'un *d'* fut ajouté à *öwgän*. Chez lui *öwğän anasĩ* furent omis.

La dernière phrase de cette strophe nous paraît renversée; le pronom relatif *kím* est placé à l'intérieur de la proposition circonstancielle de but, au lieu d'être au commencement:

*öwğän anasĩ (...) yalbarsin*  
*kím ol bĩzgä alyĩš bersin!*

77 *Awe oğul, awe ana,*  
*awe sen üstungĩ ata!*  
*kímnĩ köktäğĩ hazırlär*  
*öwer ham barča fristälär → uçmaqlı tınlär.*  
 "Ave, Fils, ave, Mère, ave, toi, Père suprême que louent les saints du  
 ciel et tous les anges → les esprits du paradis." (Traduction de Drimba,  
 1973: 289.)

Note: Dans la mythologie chamanique turke, la notion d'ange faisant défaut, le premier traducteur s'est servi d'un persisme: *Fristä* (avec un *s*). Et un autre, le trouvant obscur, a ajouté un mot composé, forgé peut-

être par lui *učmaqlı tın* littéralement ‘esprit du paradis’. Dans la Première partie du Codex Cumanicus le mot latin *angelus* fut traduit en turk (et en persan) par *frısta* et encore par un nom composé turk: *elčinga* ou *elčın̄ya* ‘messagère (litt. sœur-messagère)’ probablement d’une divinité masculine. Car selon le système binaire, la divinité féminine a son messager et la divinité masculine sa messagère (v. Mollova 1993: 133-135).

### Conclusion

Ainsi, ayant poursuivi le but de chercher et d’essayer d’expliquer certains traits culturels (astrologiques, chamaniques, bouddhiques, islamiques etc.), adaptés aux exigences chrétiennes dans certains strophes de l’hymne “Ave Porta Paradisi”, il nous est arrivé de constater encore:

(1) Qu’il y aurait des termes et expressions, forgés par les traducteurs: *Teñrı sızı ten keyın-* ‘le Verbe de Dieu se revêtir du corps’ (strophe 59); *etezgä sñır-* ‘absorber dans le corps’ (strophe 60); *učmaqlı tın* ‘ange (litt. esprit du paradis)’ (strophe 77);

(2) et que certaines graphies devaient être lues et traduites autrement. Ce sont: *sanč-* ‘piquer; aiguillonner’ (strophe 21); *urγ(u) ur-* ‘battre gros tambour de guerre’ et *küyóuŋ* ‘lieu (maison) d’adoration (ou de passion); sanctuaire’ (?) (variante 1 de la strophe 18).

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# Spoken Turkish: Synchronic and diachronic aspects

Jurij V. Ščeka

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The study of spoken Turkish seems to be lagging behind the study of such spoken Indo-European languages as English, French, German and Russian. Spoken language, being different in many basic features from the written form, should be considered as a functional variety of standard (literary, normative) language. Therefore, it is deeply incorrect to treat the peculiarities of spoken Turkish as deviations from certain rules observed in the written form and regarded as the only correct ones. The subsystem of standard spoken Turkish comprises all levels: phonetics, morphology, syntax, etc., and shows a great richness of forms and shades of meaning. The study of spoken Turkish is important both synchronically and diachronically. The classes of spoken constructions and models represent and illustrate basic features of the development of grammatical categories in Turkic and Altaic languages. Spoken language is an important and indispensable basis for the reconstruction of parent forms of protolanguages and of their semantics.

*Jurij V. Ščeka, Institute for Afro-Asian Studies, Turcology, Moscow University, 11 Mokhovaya St., 103911 Moscow, Russia.*

In spoken Turkish as it is reflected in modern fiction, one can find a large number of whole passages where no grammatical affixes are used:

- |                                         |                                       |
|-----------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| – <i>Bilmem ama, korkuyorum.</i>        | – ‘I don’t know, but I’m afraid.      |
| – <i>İçip sarhoş olmaktan mı?</i>       | – Of drinking and being drunk?        |
| – <i>Evet.</i>                          | – Yes.                                |
| – <i>Deli! Bu ne be? Bira. Buzlu su</i> | – You are mad! What is it? Beer. It’s |
| <i>gibi bir şey!</i>                    | something like cold water!            |
| – <i>(Garson:) Buyrun?</i>              | – (Waiter:) What will you have?       |
| – <i>Bana bir duble votka!</i>          | – A double vodka for me!              |



- |                                                         |                                         |
|---------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| – <i>Ne o?</i>                                          | – What's that?                          |
| – <i>Sert bir içki.</i>                                 | – A strong drink.' (OKD: 210)           |
| – <i>Geniş geniş pencereler, pırıl pırıl musluklar.</i> | – 'Large windows, shining taps.         |
| – <i>Ya yüz numaralar? Nasıl abla?</i>                  | – And what about toilets? How are they? |
| – <i>Bal dök yala!</i>                                  | – You just pour honey and lick it!      |
| – <i>Vay anasını!</i>                                   | – That is something!' (ODK: 115)        |

*Allah! Yeyim! Isırayım! Ulan kitap gibi karı be! Bu karı var ya bu karı! Şimdi n'olacak biliyor musun? Bol meze, bol şarap, yahut rakı, dışarda lapa lapa kar, içerde soba çıtır çıtır ... Ha? Bunu soyacaksın. Öf Allah öf!*  
 'My God! I want to eat, to bite (her)! What a peach of a woman! That woman over there! You know how it should be? Plenty of food and wine or rakı, a heavy snowfall outside and an oven burning hot inside... You see? You make her undress. Oh, God!' (OKY: 24)

To evaluate this fact, we should remember some general principles. The order of language categories appearing in a modern inflected word shows which category developed first and which one developed later. For instance, in a verbal inflected form such as *söyleilmeyeceksiniz* 'you will not be made to speak (= they will not urge you to speak)' the order of categories is: (1) root (lexical categories; *söy* ~ *söz* 'word'), (2) derivational categories (*-le*), (3) inflectional affixes: (a) voice (*-t*, *-il*), (b) negation (*-me*), (c) mood and tense (*-ecek*), (d) person and number (*-siniz*).

Accordingly, there was a stage of the language evolution when no grammar (= no inflection) existed. Every major stage of language evolution finds its reflection in modern linguistic structure in the form of different functional varieties. The most important (functional and structural) differentiation of modern standard (literary) language can be described as its deviation into written and spoken forms (Švedova 1960: 5). We shall not dwell here in detail on the theory of spoken language, which has been actively developed since the 1960s in Indo-European and Russian linguistics and considers spoken language as having its own structure and its own norms or "rules" (Lapteva 1976: 364; Martinet 1960: 6; Aupècle 1973). Before spoken language had been thoroughly studied, it was regarded as a kind of sum total of deviations from the literary (standard) form. To our mind, it is a great shortcoming of many present-

day grammars of Turkish that no special effort is made to describe spoken Turkish as a separate structure having its own “rules” different from those of written Turkish. Thus Mehmet Hengirmen classifies *devrik cümle* “the inverted phrase” as opposite to *kurallı cümle* “a phrase built according to the rules” (Hengirmen 1995: 365). Attempts to consider typical spoken phenomena from the theoretical standpoint of one (= written) grammatical principle inevitably lead to unsurmountable difficulties. Just to give an example, we should note that a form of spoken Turkish such as *-dı + personal ending + mı* (*Odama geldim mi pencereyi açarım* ‘as soon as I come into my room, I open the window’) cannot (to our mind) be classified as a verbal adverb (*ulaç*), for it can have personal endings (Gencan 1979: 404). We think that it is precisely because of the inflexible approach to and the nondifferentiation of the principles of grammar that “Mit reinen ‘Formenklassen’ ist eine funktionell relevante Klassifikation kaum zu erreichen” (Johanson 1990: 202).

The examples of spoken dialogues presented above are none other than living manifestations of those remote stages when human language had no grammar. We proceed from the assumption that before a category and its corresponding set of affixes had been created, its meaning, being less regular and mixed with different emphatic and emotional shades, was expressed through repetition or reduplication of already existing speech patterns. Some basic principles of the evolution of phonological units (phonemes) can be reconstructed using the example of the language acquisition of children who repeat their first syllables (*la la la ...*) because, before the existence of phonemes, a sound of any definite quality can be obtained only by way of its multiple repetition. Such a repetition of syllables marks the creation of the first rhythmic level, that of syllables. Then follows the development of the rhythm of the word level, at which stage a protoword could have a certain shape (certain linguistic qualities) only through repetition (there existed no phonemes proper). The third and fourth rhythmic levels are those of syntagm and phrase (Šćeka 1992). Here, it is important to emphasize that (1) prosody was the basis of phonology and (2) the repetition of already existing intonational (and protogrammatical) units was the basis of future grammatical categories.

The synchronic reflection of diachrony occurs at different levels, those of (a) text (the above examples), (b) phrases (see below), (c) syntactic position inside a sentence (see below), (d) syllables inside a word (*besbelli* ‘quite clear’, *kıpkırmızı* ‘quite red’, etc.) and (e) phonemes in a

succession of syllables (as specified above in connection with child language acquisition).

The level of phrases can also reflect protogrammatical stages, at the same time manifesting the process of the formation of syntactic positions inside the sentence:

*Kırmızı yandı ... Bizimki bekliyor. Bir kocakarı birden. Geldi geldi arabamıza tosladı.*

'The red light was burning ... The driver of ours is waiting. All of a sudden an old woman. She came quickly and bumped into our car.' (OKY: 76)

*Ne ne ne? Hakaret mi? Ben mi? Sana mı? Ben sana mı hakaret ediyorum?*  
'What? Insulting? Me? Insulting you? Am I insulting you?' (OKY: 128)

*Bana ne? 'What do I care?'*  
*Sana ne ha? 'How is it that you don't care?' (OKY: 79)*

*Sen ha? Burada ha? Hayrola!*  
'You? Here? Hello!' (OKY: 96)

The sentences here can be rewritten in the standard form as

*Birden bir kocakarı geldi.*  
'All of a sudden an old woman came.'

*Sen burada mısın?*  
'Are you here?'

Therefore the phrase *Bir kocakarı birden* can be considered as the subject and the phrase *Geldi geldi* as the predicate (as the subject-phrase and as the predicate-phrase in the given context).

But most abundant in spoken Turkish are such cases of clustered phrases which contain different grammatical affixes. That is why we can consider this class of peculiarities of spoken Turkish as reflecting later evolutionary stages and showing that the formation of grammatical categories occurred simultaneously with the formation of the simple sentence proper, i.e. with the formation of parts of the sentence (syntactic positions). Although reduplication of one kind or another is also often observed, these are not so much cases of reduplication, but of aggregates

of two (or more) predicative centres on their way from coordination to subordination. The clusters of phrases under discussion are connected by means of intonation. They can be subject- and predicate-phrases:

*Herifte bir boy var, iki metre şerefsizim!*

'The guy has such a height. Two metres upon my word!' (OKO: 140)

(= *Herifin boyu iki metredir* 'The guy is two metres tall'.)

Object- and predicate-phrases:

*Ne gördün de korktun?* 'What did you see and what were you afraid of?

*Ne göreceğim? Ananı!* 'What should I see? Your mother!' (RPO)

(= *Ananı gördüm* 'I saw your mother'.)

The semantics of an indirect object-phrase can be expressed:

*Gece yarısından sonra aklımız hükmetti mi çek oğlum şoför, artık Ankara mı olur, İstanbul mu, İzmir mi?*

'If we just decide after midnight, then come, our dear driver, take us to Ankara, Istanbul or Izmir.' (OKY: 89)

Due to the dialogical nature of spoken language, corresponding phrases can be uttered by different speakers. Subject- and predicate-phrases:

– *Ama benim dedem ...* – 'But my grandfather ...

– *Canavar mı?* – (Is he) a monster?

– *Canavar ya!* – Yes, he is!' (OKO: 169)

Object- and predicate-phrases:

– *Size bir şeyler bıraktı mı bari?* – 'Has he left you something at least?

– *Ne gibi?* – Like what?

– *Kırık sarık, ev mev ...* – Some old property, a house.'

(OKY: 127)

We should also note the emphatic reduplication of phrases as leading, at further stages of evolution, to the creation of some spoken predicative constructions (see below):

*Müslümanlık bu değil! Hayır! Bu değil müslümanlık!*

'This is not Islam (piety)! No! There is no piety in it!' (OKY: 79)

*Hala konuşuyor, hala konuşuyor!*

'He is still talking, still talking!' (OKY: 80)

*Söyle seviyor musun? Ha? Seviyor musun?*

'Are you in love? Say, are you in love?' (OKY: 115)

*Bırakma beni, n' olursun bırakma!*

'Don't leave me, please, don't!' (OKY: 122)

One important feature of spoken language is that it is closely connected to a given situation, which constitutes an integral extralinguistic component of the texture of spoken speech. Therefore spoken Turkish abounds in such patterns of utterances which contain no subject-, complement- or predicate-phrases. We do not believe that these cases should be considered a kind of ellipsis (the omission from a sentence of a word or words that would complete or clarify the construction), because in the given situation these utterances are complete and need no further clarification. Here are examples of nominal or predicative phrases where there is no explicitly expressed predicate or, accordingly, subject:

*Namus mu? Şeref mi? Ulan sende namus, şeref ne gezer?*

'Honesty? Honour? What have you to do with honesty and honour?' (OKY: 118)

*(Az aşağı al arabanı kardeşim) ... Al al al al, az daha al . Tamam.*

'(Move your car back a little bit, old man) ... Come, come. That's all.' (HTH: 227)

The stages of linguistic evolution when modern parts of the sentence were represented by separate utterances are reflected in some peculiar constructions of present-day Turkish. These are, for instance, the constructions with reduplicated forms of *-dı* and *-mış*:

*Geberdikleri bir şey değil, ilaçtı, şuydu buydu boşuna bir sürü masraf oluyor.*  
 'It is not important that they died, there are some unnecessary expenses like medicine, one thing and another.' (OKY: 66)

*Türküydü, gavuruydu, yüzlerce kızı çıkıyor istasyona.*  
 'Hundreds of girls come to the station, Turkish and foreign girls.' (HTH: 238)

*Evden fırlayışım var. Yağmurmuş, karmış, soğukmuş.*  
 'I rush out from the house. No matter if it rains, snows or is cold.' (OKY: 93)

As can be seen from the examples given, the repeated forms of *ilaçtı*, *şuydu buydu* and *türküydü*, *gavuruydu* have not developed into a certain part of the sentence, since there is always another explicit expression of the subject (in our examples these are *bir sürü masraf* 'some expenses' and *yüzlerce kız* 'hundreds of girls'). The last example represents the form of a separate phrase with the general meaning of an adverbial modifier.

The further development of separate situationally oriented phrases resulted at the stage of the creation of syntactic positions proper in such peculiarities (a) of written language as nominal sentences proper and (b) of spoken language as sentences with zero-expression of syntactic positions (Šćeka 1983a). There is an important difference between a written language nominal sentence and a spoken sentence with zero-expression of the predicate, because the latter implies a certain concrete speech situation, whereas the former has a descriptive value only:

*Su! ... Azıcık su!*  
 'Water! ... A little water!' (RPO)

*Ah! İlyas ağabeyi, onun sesi.*  
 'Ah! Brother Ilyas, it is his voice!' (RPO)

– *Vay. Sen ha?* – 'Oh, you!  
 – *Ben ya hemşerim. Nasılsın?* – Yes, it's me, my fellow. How are you?'  
 (OKY: 100)

A spoken phrase with zero-expression of the predicate can have an interrogative and other forms, it is emotionally coloured, which is not the case with the written nominal sentence. In spoken Turkish not only the

predicate but also other parts of the sentence can have zero-expression, representing a special class of spoken sentences.

The syntactic peculiarities of spoken Turkish can be very generally described as (1) zero-expression of syntactic positions (see the examples above) and (2) double or reduplicated expression of syntactic positions (Ščeka 1983b), which we shall dwell upon in more detail below.

The reduplicated expression of a sentence part peculiar to spoken Turkish and often referred to by Turkish linguists as *ikileme* (Korkmaz 1992) should be strictly distinguished from homogeneous parts of the sentence in written language. The latter represent two syntactic positions having the same function and referring to the same word and are pronounced with an enumerative intonation. The former constitutes one syntactic position containing a reduplicated or a double element always pronounced with a unifying intonational pattern.

A close study of spoken Turkish in general and of reduplicated parts of the sentence in particular is very important from a synchronic point of view. This class of syntactic models comprises the two following subdivisions.

(1) Models of the nominative structure of the sentence are such models where the double syntactic elements modify the propositional nomination (Švedova 1966: 131): *Kapıyı çarptı ayrıldı buradan* 'He slammed the door and went away from here' Here both verbs in the position of the predicate take part in the nomination with their lexical meaning: *çarptı* 'slammed' and *ayrıldı* 'went away'.

(2) Predicative constructions are structures where the reduplication or the double element modifies the communicative and / or grammatical (predicative) meaning of the sentence: *Saatimi kaybettim gitti* 'I just lost my watch' Here the double elements (*kaybettim gitti*) do not influence the nominative aspect of the sentence (*saatimi kaybetmem* 'my having lost the watch'), but specify special shades of its predicative meaning. The element *gitti* does not realize its lexical meaning. Predicative constructions of spoken Turkish represent a large variety of forms expressing different shades of meaning, in their richness by far surpassing the comparatively well-known predicative categories of the written language. Therefore, as indicated, they are of great interest from the point of view of the synchronic description of modern Turkish.

No less important is their diachronic aspect, for reduplicated and double elements reflect the evolution of grammatical categories (see above). In order to understand the mechanism of the creation of gram-

matical categories, we should bear in mind another important feature of spoken Turkish involving its semantics. The development of any grammatical category and its corresponding set of affixes was preceded by the existence of only the simplest form from this set covering the meaning of all other future forms of a given paradigm. This principle is largely reflected in modern spoken Turkish, where one form of a given grammatical or communicative paradigm is often used in the meaning of the other. In such cases, the meaning expressed always contains some additional emphatic shades. These phenomena can be described as expressive transformations of aspect (Šćeka 1982) and are referred to by Turkish linguists as *anlam kayması* ‘the shift of meaning’ (Gencan 1979: 373-377). Here are some examples.

(1) Interrogative → affirmative:

*Belâ mısın sabah sabah?* (= *belâsın*).

‘Are (aren’t) you being a nuisance? (= you are)’ (RIH: 55)

*Çarem kalmadı, kapıp koyverdim kendimi boşluğa. Sen misin atlayan, bir çığlık koparmışım* (= *atlayan benim*).

‘There was nothing to do, I threw myself in the precipice. Was it really me who threw himself? I gave a shout (= I threw myself).’ (IHM: 68)

*Ne korktum ben!*

‘I was so scared!’ (RPO)

(2) Interrogative-negative → affirmative:

*Ne ki yediğimiz zaten? Bir kuru ekmek değil mi oğlum?* (= *yediğimiz kuru ekmektir*).

‘And what do we eat? Isn’t it only dry bread? (= we eat only dry bread)’ (RPO)

*Onlar girmiyorlar mı mutfığa hiç?* (= *giriyorlar*)

‘Don’t they enter the kitchen at all? (= they do enter the kitchen)’ (RPO)



## (3) Negative → affirmative:

- |                                                                                                                          |                                                                                                                                                                        |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| – <i>Dinleteceksen de!</i>                                                                                               | – ‘Say, if they listen to you!’                                                                                                                                        |
| – <i>Dinleteceğim elbet! Evde bir şey<br/>olacak da ben Ilyas’a demeyeceğim,<br/>Allah Allah! (= Ilias’a diyeceğim).</i> | – ‘Certainly they will listen! There is<br>something happening in the house<br>and I shouldn’t speak to Ilyas about<br>it, my God! (= I shall speak to<br>Ilias’ (RPO) |
| – <i>Doğru mu bu, baba?</i>                                                                                              | – ‘Is it so, father?’                                                                                                                                                  |
| – <i>Yoo, yoo, yalan! (= bu gerçektir).</i>                                                                              | – ‘No, no, it is a lie! (= it is true)’<br>(RPO)                                                                                                                       |

## (4) Affirmative → negative:

*Demek bizim de suçumuz varmış aa! (= suçumuz yok).*  
 ‘So we are guilty too! (= we are not guilty)’ (RPO)

## (5) Interrogative → negative:

*Öfff! Böyle bir evin içinde küslük olur mu be? (= olmaz).*  
 ‘Oh, is it possible to quarrel in such a house? (= it is not)’ (RPO)

*Peki ama, hırsızlık mı ediyoruz biz ha? (= etmiyoruz).*  
 ‘Well, are we stealing? (= we are not)’ (RPO)

The above brief observations already demonstrate that, for instance, negation (a grammatical category) has issued from the emphatic question (a communicative category): *Ne bileyim ben?* ‘What do I know?’ → *Bilmiyorum* ‘I don’t know’.

In addition to the shift of communicative meaning, the shift of grammatical meaning is also largely typical of spoken Turkish. Most important seems to be the shift of mood semantics, imperative → indicative:

*Hepimizi bir gülme alsın, bir gülme alsın ... Eh kırıldık yani (= çok güldük).*  
 ‘All of us burst out laughing, I say we laughed until we cried.’ (HTH: 302)

A structural classification of the predicative constructions of spoken Turkish can be made according to their basic types described in Table 1. The abbreviations and numbers indicate where the corresponding examples are discussed below. The blank spaces in the table imply the exist-

ence of corresponding constructions, although they are not mentioned in the present paper.

Table 1

|                | <i>reduplication</i> |             |                |               | <i>syn.</i>   | <i>ant.</i> | <i>a single element</i> |               |      |
|----------------|----------------------|-------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|-------------------------|---------------|------|
|                | <i>interj.</i>       | <i>full</i> | <i>partial</i> | <i>+fix.1</i> | <i>+fix.2</i> |             | <i>+fix.1</i>           | <i>+fix.2</i> |      |
| <i>subj.</i>   |                      | S.1         | S.2            |               |               | S.5         |                         | S.8.          |      |
| <i>d.obj.</i>  |                      | DO.1        | DO.2           |               |               | DO.5        |                         | DO.8.         |      |
| <i>i.obj.</i>  |                      |             |                |               | IO.4          | IO.5        |                         |               |      |
| <i>attrib.</i> |                      | Attr.1      |                |               | Attr.4        | Attr.5      | Attr.6                  | Attr.8        |      |
| <i>a.mo.</i>   |                      | Am.1        | Am.2           |               | Am.4          | Am.5        |                         | Am.8          |      |
| <i>pr.n.</i>   |                      | Prn.1       | Prn.2          |               | Prn.4         | Prn.5       | Prn.7                   | Prn.8         |      |
| <i>pr.v.</i>   | Pr.0                 | Pr.1        | Pr.2           | Pr.3          | Pr.4          | Pr.5        | Pr.6                    | Pr.7          | Pr.8 |

Abbreviations: interj. = interjections, fix. = fixed, syn. = synonyms, ant. = antonyms, subj. = subject, d.obj. = direct object, i.obj. = indirect object, attrib. = attribute, a.mo. = adverbial modifier, pr.n. = predicate nominal, pr.v. = predicate verbal.

S.1. A full reduplication of the subject expresses its strong emphatic accentuation. The repeated subject occupies the inverted position after the predicate: *Senin bu azgınlığını tenesir paklar tenesir!* 'You will die in debauchery, as you lived!' (OKY: 12). *Dünya, ... değişiyor dünya!* 'The world ... is changing, the world is!' (OKY: 71). The repeated subject can be a noun with an attribute or a pronoun: *Bu karı var ya bu karı!* 'That woman over there!' (OKY: 24). *O ne burun o?* 'What a nose it is, what a nose!' (OKY: 140). A still stronger emphasis is expressed by the repetition of the whole construction: *O ne hinoğlu hindir o, o ne kahpe dinli kızılbaştır o!* 'What an old fox he is, what a faithless giaour!' (HTH: 247). The following example shows the formation of this construction from two separate phrases: *Ama baban? Taş çatlarsa razı olmaz baban!* 'But your father? He won't accept it, not for the world!' (HTH: 118).

S.2.1. A partial reduplication means that the repeated element differs in some of its formal features from the first one. Nevertheless, we can still consider it as a (partial) reduplication, bearing in mind that it reflects very remote stages of evolution, when a repeated chain of syllables was just one linguistic form in spite of different phonemes occurring in it (because these phonemes are different only in the present-day phonological

system). The construction under consideration consists of two elements in direct succession (there are no other words between them). First of all, it concerns those cases when the reduplicated subject resembles onomatopoeic words and when the reduplicated subject is represented by interjections: *Ama gene de bütün gününü doldurur bu ıvır zıvırlar ha!* 'But all the same, this rubbish took him the whole day to do' (OKY: 59). *Sıra tanımayan ekselansa heeey de denir oha da!* 'One can say hey and look here at an excellency who does not want to stand in the queue' (OKY: 75).

There is a large number of reduplicated words in spoken Turkish, one of which cannot be used separately and has no separate meaning. Such double elements also belong to the construction under discussion, although they are nearer to the case of synonym pairs: *Konu komşu toplanmış, ağlaşıyordu* 'Neighbours and acquaintances came and wept together' (OKY: 53).

S.2.2. Somewhat different from the above is the case of the reduplication with an initial *m-*: *Vallahi benim açlığım maçlığım geçti* 'Really, I am not hungry any more' (RPO). *Okumak mokumak, Avrupaya mavrupaya gitmek filan fostu fos* 'It was all in vain to study, to go to Europe and the like' (OKY: 89).

S.5. The subject can be represented by a pair of synonyms or a pair of words which can be considered as having a similar meaning in the given context: *Şimdi gençlerde adap, erkân ne gezer desene!* 'Now young people have no good breeding, no civility!' (OKY: 128). *Evine gelenlerin gözü gönlü açılacak* 'All who came to see his house should be fascinated and charmed' (OKY: 52). *Eli ayağı titriyordu* 'He trembled all over' (OKY: 81). *Öylesine kolu kanadı kırılmıştı ki* 'He was so crestfallen' (OKY: 134). *Oda, odadaki eşyalar, şu bu öyle manasızlaşmıştı ki!* 'The room, the things in the room, everything in it became so meaningless!' (OKO: 153). *Herhalde vardır bir elli beş, altmış* 'Certainly she is fifty-five or sixty' (OKY: 128). As can be seen from these examples, the shades of meaning expressed by constructions of this type vary in different cases and are not easy to describe. The example with *adap erkân* seems to involve an emphatic negation. In the examples with *gözü gönlü*, *eli ayağı*, *kolu kanadı*, it is the intensity of the action that is emphasized. *Şu bu* has a pluralistic shade of meaning (= all things) and *bir elli beş altmış* conveys that the numbers are approximate.

In many cases it is not easy to draw a clear-cut line between a predicative construction of the type under consideration and the nominational

syntactic model: *Nene lazım elin keçisiyle koyunu?* ‘What do you need other people’s goats and sheep for?’ (OKY: 57). If the speaker means just goats and sheep, it is a nominational model. But if he means something like ‘the property of other peasants’, it is a predicative construction with a shade of emphatic negation (= ‘you do not need other people’s property’).

S.8. This type contains a single notional element (a verb) with the following fixed elements: (a) Interrogative pronoun and (b) the marker of the conditional mood: *Ne (kim, nerede ... ) ... -sa* + personal ending: *Ama ne yapsa nafile* ‘Whatever he did was in vain’ (HTH: 316). *Kime sorsam bilmez* ‘Whomever I ask, they do not know’ (OKO: 55).

DO.1. A full reduplication of the object expresses its strong emphatic accentuation. The repeated object occupies the inverted position after the predicate: *Değil böyle çay, ... şampanya patlamalıyım şampanya!* ‘Not such tea, ... I should uncork a bottle of champagne’ (OKY: 93). Some examples show the process of the formation of this construction from two separate phrases: *Fırın – dedi –. Fırın! Fırını anlatsana!* ‘The bakery, he said, the bakery! Tell us about the bakery!’ (OKY: 84).

DO.2. A partial reduplication of the object can be based on the rule of adding *m-* or exchanging the first consonant by *m-*: *Ben amirimden emir almışım. Açamam kapı mapı* ‘I’ve got an order from my chief. I can’t open any doors!’ (OKY: 65). In the given example, the construction describes a stronger degree of refusal.

DO.5. The object can be represented by a pair of synonyms or by such words which are similar in meaning in the given context: *Bense lafi sözü hiç sevmem* ‘As for me, I don’t like idle talk’ (OKY: 55). *Kafalarını gözlerini kırdırmışlar* ‘They perished’ (OKY: 141). *Zeytin peynir getir!* ‘Bring something to eat like olives and cheese!’ (RPO). *Ellerini kollarını sallayıp geziyor* ‘They walk freely’ (HTH: 333). *Bir iki demem dedim ya!* ‘I already said that I shall act at once!’ (OKO: 129). *Şuralarını, buralarını düzelttiler* ‘They set everything straight’ (OKY: 27). These examples express an emphatically accentuated negation (*lafi sözü*), a greater intensity of the action (*kafalarını gözlerini*), and an object described approximately, which comes close to the meaning of the pronoun *filân* (*zeytin peynir* = *zeytin peynir filân getir* ‘bring something to eat like olives and cheese’). In some cases the reduplicated object is very close to a phraseological expression: *Ellerini kollarını sallayıp gezmek* ‘to walk freely’, *bir iki dememek* ‘to act at once, not to hesitate to do

something'. Often the construction expresses the semantic shade of plurality (*şuralarını buralarını*).

DO.8. This construction contains a single notional element (a verb) with the following fixed elements (a) an interrogative pronoun and (b) the marker of the conditional mood: *Ne (kim, nerede ... ) ... -sa* + personal ending: *Git ne halin varsa gör, haydi!* 'Go and pull through all by yourself!' (OKY: 113).

IO.4. In this construction the indirect object contains a pair of words expressing homogeneous notions plus fixed notional elements: *Lambanın ne kırmızısına aldırıyor, ne yeşiline* 'He pays attention neither to the red nor to the green traffic light' (OKY: 76). This example involves a negation by means of *ne ... ne ...*.

IO.5. This type of predicative construction contains an indirect object represented by a pair of synonyms or a pair of words with similar meaning in the given context: *Devlete millete dua etmeliydim* 'I had to offer praise to the state and the people' (OKY: 58). *Eşe dosta, gelene geçene rakı, şarap ikram etmeliyim* 'I should offer rakı and wine to all my friends, to everyone who comes' (OKY: 93). *Dereden tepeden konuştuk* 'We talked about one thing and another' (OKY: 109). There is an emphatic affirmative meaning in the first example (*devlete millete*) and the pluralistic shade of meaning in the example which follows it (*eşe dosta, gelene geçene*). The last example is a phraseological expression (*dereden tepeden konuşmak* 'to speak about one thing and another').

Attr.1. A full reduplication of the attribute often consists of interjections or imitative words: *bir pöh pöh cümlesi* 'a phrase of irritation' (HTH: 318), *şu lapa lapa karlı havada* 'in this weather with heavy snowfall' (OKY: 87), *küme küme işçiler* 'crowds of workers' (OKY: 95). Interjections (*pöh pöh*) make the phrase more expressive. Reduplicated attributes also convey the idea of multitude or the intensity of the action (*küme küme, lapa lapa*).

Attr.4. One frequently used predicative construction consists of the reduplication of the attribute with the fixed particle *mu* (otherwise an interrogative particle) between the elements: *bacağında bol mu bol, kirli mi kirli, yamalı mu yamalı gri bir pantolon* 'wearing very loose, very dirty and all patched-up trousers' (OKY: 68), *kara, kuru, upuzun, beceriksiz mi beceriksiz adam* 'a wizened, very tall and very clumsy person' (OKY: 87), *mert mi mert bir arkadaşım* 'my friend who is very noble' (OKY: 94). As can be seen from the above examples, this construction expresses a higher degree of the quality and emphasizes it.

Attr.5. In spoken Turkish, attributes can often be expressed by a duplicate: *terbiyesiz, utanmaz adam* 'an ill-bred, shameless man' (OKY: 80), *yaşlı başlı kadın* 'a wise, honourable woman' (OKY: 128), *o halim selim, namazında niyazında hatun kişi* 'that kind, pious woman' (HTH: 129), *gelmiş geçmiş bütün maliye nazırları* 'all ministers of finance who came and went' (HTH: 295) *İler tutar yerim kalmamıştı* 'No intact place was left on me' (OKY: 126). The duplicate attributes can express an accentuated, emphatic rendering of the quality described (*terbiyesiz namus-suz*). Another subclass of these constructions comprises pairs of words that have become lexical expressions (*yaşlı başlı* 'grown wise with experience', *halim selim* 'kind, soft-hearted', *namaz niyaz* 'prayer, praying', *gelmiş geçmiş* 'one who has come and gone'). Such duplicates also impart a certain stylistic value to spoken language. In some cases, one of the elements cannot be used separately (*iler* in *iler tutar* 'safe, intact').

Attr.6. The reduplicated attributes can consist of antonyms: *Beyazıt'ta kızlı erkekli, irili ufaklı öğrenciler* 'At Beyazıt schoolboys and schoolgirls, big and little' (OKY: 71), *Kadınlı erkekli çocuklu, baylı bayanlı ya da küme küme işçiler ... irili ufaklı işyerlerine giriyor* 'Workers as women, men and children, as gentlemen and ladies or crowds of workers ... start their big and small jobs' (OKY: 95). *İşçiler. Kadınli, erkekli, çocuklu* 'Workers. Women, men and children' (OKY: 120). The last example illustrates separate phrases as the origin of these constructions.

Attr.8. This construction consists of a single attribute plus *ne* or *ne kadar* and expresses a higher degree of the quality and emphasis: *Ulan ne matrak kızsın be!* 'Oh, what a funny girl you are!' (OKY: 103).

Am.1. As is well known from the grammar of standard Turkish, an adjective which qualifies a verb becomes an adverb, for instance, *bunu güzel yaptın* 'you did it well' (Hengirmen 1995: 164). The full reduplication of an adjective normally qualifies a verbal form and functions as an adverbial modifier. Such constructions can be considered a kind of borderzone between stylistically neutral and spoken Turkish: *İhtiyarlığı kolay kolay üstümüze konduramayız* 'We can't easily let ourselves become old' (HTH: 214). *Başörtüsünü sinirli sinirli çözdü* 'She nervously untied her kerchief' (OKY: 25). *Kurnanın yanına suçlu suçlu baktık* 'We looked guiltily towards the tap' (OKY: 131). *Aptal kızı gene yelli yelli konuşuyor ha!* 'His stupid daughter is talking nonsense again!' (OKY: 114). *Nereye böyle yelli yelli?* 'Where are you going so full-sail?' (OKY: 113). The last example (*Nereye böyle yelli yelli?*) is al-

ready a typical spoken syntactic model based on the zero-expression of the predicate.

A reduplicated noun modifying a verbal form also functions as an adverbial modifier, although a single noun (with the exception of a few phraseological expressions) never modifies a verb—an important feature of distinction between adjectives and nouns (Kononov 1956: 135). Some of the constructions under consideration seem to belong to the stylistically neutral form of the language: *Soyduk kabuklarını, dilim dilim yedik* ‘We peeled and ate them slice by slice’ (OKY: 131). But most often they should be considered as belonging to spoken Turkish, since e.g. *dilim dilim yedik* conveys no emphasis. In most other cases there is a certain amount of expressive value involved, turning the reduplicated noun in the function of an adverbial modifier into a spoken predicative construction: *Şaşılacak şey, kuzu kuzu kalktı* ‘It was astonishing, but he rose like a lamb’ (OKY: 133). *Sütü burnundan fitil fitil getiririm sonra* ‘I shall make you repent this bitterly then’ (OKY: 114). *Yan yan baktı* ‘She looked askance’ (OKY: 27). The last example is a more expressive form of the spoken phraseological expression *yan bakmak* ‘to look askance, to look with an unfavourable eye’. Since the ability to modify a verb is a distinguishing feature of adjectives (as an important feature of neutral standard Turkish), the reduplication of nouns in the function of adverbial modifier should be considered as a spoken predicative construction reflecting those stages of the evolution when there was no differentiation between nouns and adjectives. A full reduplication of the word *zaman* becomes an adverbial modifier of time: *zaman zaman* ‘from time to time’.

Onomatopoeic elements can be used in repeated form only: *Sabah-leyin yüzünü bir açtım, ne açayım? Çıldır çıldır bakıyor* ‘In the morning I opened his face and what do I see? He looks with glassy eyes’ (OKY: 53). *Buram buram terler* ‘He sweats heavily’ (OKY: 87).

Spoken Turkish furnishes examples showing successive stages of the formation of the syntactic position of adverbial modifier through separate phrases and a nominal phrase (see examples below) as well as the formation of lexical stems of verbs (e.g., *tiril tiril titremek* ‘to shake all over’): *Çinko tas kaynıyor. Fokur fokur* ‘The zinc basin is boiling. With all its might’ (OKY: 123). *Boru ötmüştü. Uzun uzun, kalın kalın* ‘The whistle blew. Very long and very deep’ (OKY: 120). *Tıpkı tıpkı Alain Delon* ‘Just like Alain Delon’ (OKY: 27).



The spoken form of the adverbial modifier can consist of the reduplication of pronouns: *Nasıl nasıl alaya alırlardı!* 'How, just how, they would make fun (of him)!' (OKY: 32). *Kim kim gidiyorsunuz?* 'Whom are you going with?' (HTH: 299).

Am.2. This predicative construction is similar to the previous one, but the repeated elements have formal variations of some kind or other: *Yanaklarını şapur şapur öperdim* 'I gave her smacking kisses on both cheeks' (OKY: 97). A typical variation can be the substitution of the initial consonant by *m-*: *Ben dışarı mışarı çıkmam* 'I shan't go out at all' (OKY: 115). This example shows in particular that the repeated element, being an adverbial modifier, at the same time modifies the whole predication since it expresses a strong unwillingness of the speaker to perform the action described by the verb.

Another subclass of the construction under consideration is the reduplication of the element with different case endings: *Cebimde tamı tamına üç tane çeyrek* 'There are three twenty-five banknotes in my pocket only' (OKY: 95). *Onu alaya alırlardı inceden inceye* 'They would make fun of him in a refined way' (OKY: 32).

The elements of the construction can be represented by synonyms or antonyms: *Bu zamanda insanı malıyla, parasıyla ölçüyorlar* 'In our time, they appraise a man by his property and his money' (OKY: 128), *aşağıdan yukarı, yukarıdan aşağı süzdükten sonra* 'after eyeing (him) from head to foot and up and down' (OKY: 27).

Am.4. This class of construction comprises reduplication together with some fixed elements, such as *ama, hiç, da*, etc: *Herkesin ama herkesin içinde bir yerlere dokunur* 'She touched absolutely everybody to the quick' (OKY: 101). *Garsonluk ile hiç mi hiç bağdaşamadı* 'In no way did it become him to be a waiter' (HTH: 308). *Bu kadının yaşı olsun olsun da otuz* 'At the utmost, the age of this woman was thirty' (OKY: 13).

Am.5. The elements of the construction can be synonyms: *Odadan doğru dürüst çıktığım mı var benim?* 'And properly speaking, do I go out from the room at all?' (RPO).

Am.8. The distinguishing feature of this construction is a certain fixed element, for instance *-dır*: *Kaç gündür koltuğunun altında taşıyordun onları?* 'For how many days have you been bringing those things in your arms?' (RPO). Being originally a copula, *-dır* shows here (as in many other cases of the *dır*-modality) also the process of the formation of a syntactic position from separate phrases.



Prn.1. This type of spoken predicative construction consists of the (full) reduplication of an element: *Yüzünün derisi ta ensesine kadar kırış kırış* 'The skin of his face is wrinkled to the very back of his head' (OKY: 41). This element can be onomatopoeic: *Tramvaylar, ... dolmuşlar vızır vızırdı* 'The trams, ... cars were scurrying' (OKY: 96).

A different variety of this construction is represented by repetitions of a more loose character, being much closer to the case of separate phrases: *Yazık, çok yazık!* 'It's a pity, a great pity!' (HTH: 252). *Kafama bir vurdum ki, ağa haklı, yerden göğe kadar haklı* 'I thought better of it, the gentleman is right, absolutely right' (OKY: 114). *Kız vallaha değil kız, billâha değil* 'Really not, girl, upon my word not' (OKY: 118).

Prn.2. The reduplication of an element with different endings: *Kız alı al, moru mor* 'The girl's face is very red, exceedingly purple' (OKY: 72). As can be seen from the given example, such reduplications often occur two times with different words (in this case *al* and *mor*).

Prn.4. This construction comprises the reduplication and a fixed element (*mı, işte*): *Dolmuşlar nazlı mı nazlı* 'The minibuses are so capricious' (OKY: 74). *Kızın zarif bacaklarına hayranlıkla baktığı anları unutamıyordu. Bacaktı işte bacak. Yer yüzündeki milyonlarca güzel baktan biri* 'He could not forget those moments when he looked with admiration at the slender legs of the girl. These were just legs. One (pair) of millions of beautiful legs on earth' (OKY: 103). The construction in the first example (*nazlı mı nazlı*) expresses a higher degree of the quality described. The construction in the second example (*bacaktı işte bacak*) has a different (inverted) structure and conveys some specific shades of emphatic meaning (= 'just legs and nothing more').

The repeated constructions with *var* and *yok* can be classified as a different subdivision: – *Ayak sesi var!* – *Varsa var! Sana ne ayak sesinden?* – 'I can hear footsteps! – Well, and what then? What do you care about it?' (RPO). *Sende o gök gözüün var mı yok mu?* 'Do you have that blue amulet, or don't you?' (HTH: 316).

Prn.5. These are predicative constructions of the nominal predicate consisting of synonyms, words with a certain semantic similarity or elements with some formal variations: *İyi güzel, fakir fukaranın biraz yüzü gülecek* 'Well done, fine, it will make the poor happy' (HTH: 297). *Her yerler kir, pas içinde* 'Everywhere there is dirt and mud' (OKY: 52). The first example (*iyi güzel*) is a phrase with zero-expression of the subject, the predicate of the second example is *kir, pas içinde(dir)*.

A subclass of these constructions contains the repetition of the copula as well: *Hayır pabuçları eskiydi, yamalıydı* 'His charity-boots were old, all patched' (OKY: 120).

Prn.7. This construction of the nominal predicate contains a fixed structural (not notional) element: *Bu kadar güzel eşyalara bir hanım lâzımdı da* 'Such fine things just need a lady to own them' (OKO: 173). *Şaraplar da tesirsiz be!* 'Even wine has no effect!' (OKO: 123). *Para-sızsın galiba!* 'It seems you have no money!' (OKO: 162). *Hiç te değil!* 'Not at all!' (RPA). *Ne bu halin ya?* 'What just happened to you?' (RPO). These predicative constructions convey some additional expressive shades of meaning, for instance astonishment (*be*), supposition (*galiba*) and others.

The same fixed structural elements form the predicative constructions with *var*, *yok*: *Senin bu dostun var ya!* 'You have this friend of yours, don't you!' (RPA). *Meteliğim yok be!* 'I'm without even a penny!' (OKO: 166). *Sonunda ölüm yok ya!* 'They won't kill you!' (OKO: 122). *Burada da su yok yahu!* 'There is no water here either!'.

Prn.8. This construction of the nominal predicate contains a fixed notional element: *Bekârdı nasıl olsa* 'He was unmarried in any case' (OKO: 186). *Bizim patron iyi insan nasıl olsa!* 'Our boss is a good man in any case!' (OKO: 125). *Dargın filan değiliz* 'I'm not offended or anything' (OKY: 127). *Kalender bugün daha sabahtan bir yorgundu* 'Already today Kalender was so tired since morning' (HTH: 235). *Bir canı sikkındı* 'He was so uneasy' (HTH: 236). The construction with *bir* (*bir yorgundu*, *bir ... sikkındı*) emphasizes a higher degree of what is described in the nominal predicate.

The most important peculiarities of the predicative constructions in spoken Turkish are connected with a largely diversified system of special formal features of the verbal predicate.

Pr.0. The reduplication of onomatopoeia can be considered a separate subclass. They certainly do not belong to the class of verbal predicates, but reflect some very remote stages of the evolution when no verbs proper existed: *Futbol topu üçü arasında tık tık tık* 'The ball was going bang bang between the three of them' (OKY: 47). *Kar savruluyor. Taşutlar tek tük* 'There is a snow-storm. Traffic is sparse' (OKY: 86). There are examples of onomatopoeia pronounced as separate phrases: *Son gittiğim yerde fevkâlade karşılandım tabii. Hoş beş* 'Certainly they received me very well where I went last time. We greeted each other' (OKY: 109). Onomatopoeia can be used with an auxiliary verb: *Bunu*

*sevgilimde denemek arzusuyla içim şimdi büsbütün vık vık eder* 'Now I am burning with the desire to try it on my beloved' (HTH: 167). *Liseyi, ortayı, hatta ilki olsun bitireme, sonra da geç karşıma bana cart curt et!* 'You couldn't learn at college, in secondary or even in primary school, and now you come and snap at me!' (OKY: 134).

Close to onomatopoeic elements is the reduplication of interjections. Such constructions express an emotion connected with what is denoted by the notional element: *Hay bunak hay!* 'What a silly man!' (HTH: 244). *Hey babam hey!* 'Well, well!' (OKY: 93).

Pr.1. These predicative constructions consist of a full reduplication of the verb and can be divided into several different subtypes (Ščeka 1979). A multiple reduplication of the verb, especially in the imperative, has the communicative meaning of an emphatic inducement to fulfill the action: *Bak bak bak! ... Ayak sesleri var!* 'Hush, just listen! ... I can hear footsteps!' (RPO). *(Suyu) al al al al!* 'Just drink, drink!' (RPO). *Al suyunu al!* 'Just drink your water!' (RPO). *Bırak çalsın be kardeşim n'olursun çalsın!* 'Let him play, old chap, please, let him play!' (HTH: 196). The repeated forms of the verb in the imperative mood show a large variety of spoken peculiarities suggestive of the process of the formation of grammatical forms. For instance, the following example may illustrate a stage preceding the formation of the participle: *Onbeş kuruş bu, boru mu? Harca harca bitmez!* 'It is fifteen kurush, it's no joke! Spend it as long as you like!' (OKY: 95).

The reduplication of the verb in the indicative mood conveys different expressive shades of meaning peculiar to the spoken language: *(Kocamın metresini) gördüm gördüm, benden güzel olsa vallahi gam yemezdim!* 'I really have seen (my husband's mistress), if she was more beautiful than me, upon my word, I wouldn't be sad!' (OKY: 18). *Anladık anladık ama her şeyin bir ölçüsü olur* 'I see, I see, but we should keep within limits with everything' (HTH: 283). *Biliyorum biliyorum, aran iyi değil* 'I know, I know, you are on bad terms with him' (OKY: 53). – *Çekil şuradan! – Çekilmeyeceğim, çekilmeyeceğim!* 'Get away from here! – I won't, I won't!' (RPO).

Another subclass of the constructions under consideration is connected with a pair of elements, intonationally more united and expressing duration or intensity of the action: *Bal rengi gözlerini açarak dikkatle baktı* 'He looked intently, opening his honey-coloured eyes' (HTH: 264). *Düşündüm düşündüm çıkaramadım* 'I turned it over in my mind, but I couldn't understand' (OKY: 27). *Gözlerim kapalı kapanıveriyor*

'My eyes are just closing' (HTH: 331). *Durdu, sallandı sallandı, sonra yıkılırcasına çekti gitti* 'He stopped, swayed for a while, and then went away as if breaking down' (OKY: 40). *Soluk dudaklarını kızarması için dişleriyle ezdi ezdi* 'She repeatedly bit her pale lips to make them red' (OKY: 53). *Çocuğun ardına düştü düştü* 'She followed the lad readily' (OKY: 28). As in the last example (*düştü düştü*, meaning in this context the readiness of a young girl to follow at once her beloved one), there can be a large variety of shades of meaning expressed, according to the given context. A gradual development of the action can be expressed as well as its intensity: *O her yanından sağlık fışkıran genç irisi ufalmış ufalmış ufalmıştı* 'This stalwart guy, showing healthiness in every aspect, started getting smaller and smaller' (OKY: 133). A higher intensity of the action together with its being sudden can also be expressed: *Araba o hızla gitti gitti, kaldırıma çıktı* 'The car went suddenly at the same speed and got onto the sidewalk' (HTH: 215).

An important subclass of constructions based on the full reduplication of the verbal element consists of the repetition of the verb in any person, singular or plural, of the *ır*-tense conveying the modal-expressive meaning of disdain or irritation, caused by someone else's question. There are two submodifications of this construction, one being the full reduplication of the affirmative or of the negative form and the other consisting of the first element in the affirmative and of the second element in the negative form: – *Yine sinemaya mı gidiyorsun? – Giderim giderim, sana ne?* – 'Are you going to the sinema again? – Whether I go or not, what do you care?' (RPA). – *Ahmet İngilizce bilmiyor. – Bilmez bilmez, mecbur değil.* – 'Ahmet doesn't speak English. – Well, he doesn't, he isn't obliged to' (RPA). – *Sen hiç çalışmıyorsun. – Çalışırım çalışmam, dert mi sana?* – 'You don't work at all. – Whether I work or not, what do you care?' (HTH: 155). – *O kızı alırım almam, size ne?* – 'Shall I marry her or not, what do you care?' (OKY: 116). It should be noted that this construction can describe an action in the present, future or past: – *Ahmet dün sinemaya gitti. – Gider gider, yasak değil.* – 'Ahmet went to the cinema yesterday. – Let him go, it isn't forbidden.'

Another subclass of the predicative construction under consideration is the full reduplication of the verbal element expressing a limit of the action. It is typical for this construction that the same verb is in the predicate of the sentence: *Bu işte çok az ücretle çalışacağım. Fakat kazanırım kazanırım bir gazoz parasını kazanırım hiç değilse* 'I shall work in this job for a very small salary. But I shall earn something, at

least I shall have enough to buy some soda water' (OKO: 155). *Kazansa kazansa ancak şu kadar bir şey kazanabilir* 'He will earn practically nothing at the utmost' (OKO: 157). *Kalsan kalsan yalnız iki gün kalabilirsin* 'At the utmost, you can remain for two days only' (HTH: 76). *Ola ola bugün Ankara barosunda kırtipil bir avukat olup çıktım* 'I became an unfinished lawyer at the Ankara bar, that's all I could do' (HTH: 224). *Kala kala dört lira kalmıştı* 'Only four liras remained' (OKY: 95).

A modification of this construction consists of the reduplication of a verbal adverb instead of the finite verbal form: *Uğraşa uğraşa bunu mu yapabildin yalnız?* 'Is that all you could do after so much work?' (RPO).

Pr.2. This type of predicative construction consists of a partial reduplication of the verbal form, i. e. the verbal form is repeated with some variations.

Pr.2.1. The affirmative form plus the negative form (most often) of the third-person singular or plural of the imperative mood can express the meaning of the speaker's indifference towards the action being or not being performed: *Evdoksiya duysun dusmasın, acısın acımasın, ağlasın ağlamasın, patronu metresine ne derse desin yahut demesin, Kâmrân'a vız geliyordu* 'Kamran didn't care a straw about Evdoksiya's knowing it, whether she would pity him, cry for him, about what his boss would or would not tell his mistress' (OKO: 155).

Pr.2.2. Another construction of this type has the first element in the conditional and the second in the imperative mood: *Diskoteğe gidiyorsak gidelim işte* 'If we are going to a discotheque, then let's go' (RPO).

Pr.2.3. A large subclass of the constructions under consideration is formed according to the formulas: (a) *-dıysa + -dı* and (b) an interrogative pronoun + *-dıysa + -dı*: *Söylediyse söyledi, ne önemi var?* 'If he said it, he said it, is it (so) important?' (RPO). *Kim aldıysa aldı ben yapamayacağım bunu* 'Whoever took it, I won't be able to do it' (RPO). *Ne mi düşündüm? Ne düşündümse düşündüm* 'What was I thinking of? It doesn't matter' (HTH: 225). *Size kim söylemişse yalan söylemiş* 'Whoever told you, told you a lie' (HTH: 227). – *Niye ederse etsin, bana ne?* – 'With whatever purpose he does it, what do I care? – *Hangi rakıyı tercih edersin hemşerim?* – *Hangisi olursa olsun.* – 'Which raki do you prefer, old fellow? – Any sort will do' (OKY: 98). Some minor variations of the construction are possible, for instance the verb can be repeated for the third time with *de / da*, one of the elements can be in the negative form of the conditional mood: *Söylesin de ne söylerse söylesin!* 'Let him say whatever he says!' (HTH: 196). *Dünyada ben olmasam da*

*olur* ‘Nothing will happen if I leave this world’ (OKY: 42). The last example (*olmasam da olur*) illustrates the form of the predicate which is largely used as a substitute for /.../ *-mayabilir* (*gelmiyebilirsin = gelmesen de olur*).

Pr.2.4. The second-person singular (or plural) of the imperative mood + *-bilirsen* (*-bilirseniz*), meaning ‘do something if you can, try and do something’: *Artık al gözünü camekandan alabilirsen!* ‘Now just try and not look at the shop window!’ (HTH: 270). *Tut gülmeni tutabilirsen* ‘One can’t help laughing’ (HTH: 308). *Ondan sonra tut bizi tutabilirsen* ‘You won’t be able to hold us after it’ (HTH: 318). *Dayanabilirsen dayan!* ‘Just try and bear it!’ (OKY: 92).

Pr.2.5. A simple tense of the indicative mood + *-masına* (*-mesine*), expressing a concessive shade of meaning: *Bir şeyler çizmeğe, sandığını şenlendirmeğe çalışmış. Sandık şenlenmiş şenlenmesine ya, çiçekler, çiçeklerin yaprakları olmamış* ‘He tried to paint something, to beautify the box. The box became more beautiful, but the flowers, their leaves didn’t turn out well’ (OKY: 41). *Dolmuşlar gelmesine geliyorlar ya, daha çok Sirkeci durağına yanaşıyorlar* ‘As for coming, minibuses came, but they stopped more often at the Sirkeci stop’ (OKY: 74). *Kim lâf atar, kim konuşmak isterse durur, konuşurmuş konuşmasına, ama o kadar* ‘If someone wanted to address her and speak with her, she stopped and spoke, but no more than that’ (OKY: 102).

Pr.3. These predicative constructions consist of the reduplication of the verb and contain a fixed structural (non-notional) element: *Bardağı dibinden tutmuş, parmakları arasında çeviriyor da çeviriyordu* ‘He held the glass at the bottom and kept turning it in his hand’ (HTH: 232). *Anasının memesini emiyor da emiyor* ‘He keeps sucking his mother’s breast’ (HTH: 332). *Teyze ağlar da ağlar* ‘Auntie keeps crying’ (HTH: 332). *Problemin içine dalmış, çıkamaz da çıkamazmış* ‘He plunged into thought, solving the problem, but could not solve it in any way’ (HTH: 276). The above examples show that this construction expresses the meaning of a greater duration of the action, or, as in the last example (*çıkamaz da çıkamazmış*), a greater extent, intensity of it.

A similar expressive value is conveyed by the constructions with *mu* or *ki* as fixed elements: *İnsan bu kalın paltoyu giyerse terler mi terler* ‘If someone puts on this thick overcoat, he will perspire heavily’ (OKY: 87). – *Ah, bu rekabet ah, gözü çıksın!* – *Çıksın ki çıksın!* – ‘Ah, this competition, damn it! – Yes, damn it!’ (OKY: 34).



There can be other fixed elements expressing specific emphatic shades of meaning: *Kaçmıştı, kaçmıştı ha!* 'Well, to be sure, she ran away!' (OKO: 182). *Kapat, kapat da aramızda halledelim* 'Stop it, let us settle it between us' (OKY: 118). *Bak hele bak!* 'Look, just look!' (OKY: 92).

A subclass of the construction under consideration is represented by elements repeated with some variations of their form (here the affirmative and the negative forms): *Yıllık kazancımı gün hesabına vursam her gün beş, altı lira ya düşer ya da düşmez* 'If I divide my annual income by days, it will be something like five, six liras a day' (OKY: 91).

Pr.4. This construction is similar to the previous one, but its fixed element is a notional one: *Bu sözler bana bir dokunsun, bir dokunsun!* 'These words offended me so much!' (HTH: 325). *İçim bir kötülendi, bir kötülendi ki!* 'I felt so bad, so bad!' (OKY: 52). In these examples we can see that the construction conveys the emphatic meaning of a greater intensity of the action. The elements can be expressed by synonyms: *On dakikanın içinde bir ifritleşsin, bir şirretleşsin!* 'In ten minutes, she got so nervous, so quarrelsome!' (HTH: 129). *Çocuk bir şaşır-sın, bir bocalasın* 'The child lost his head and felt upset' (HTH: 276). In the following example the second element is *iki* instead of *bir*, which gives the construction a different shade of meaning, that of repeated action: *Bir doladım, iki doladım* 'I turned round once, twice' (OKY: 113).

Another subclass of the construction under consideration has the fixed element *babam*, which is a construction often used with the *ır*-tense and expresses a peculiar meaning of intensity and duration: *Yıkanır babam yıkanır* 'He washes himself with all his might' (HTH: 282). One can find examples showing that the fixed element (*babam*) has developed from the form of address: *Dünya değişiyor kardeş değişiyor* 'The world is changing, old fellow, it is changing' (OKY: 71).

There are other constructions of this type, for instance the constructions with the fixed element *bakayım* or *bakalım* and the verb in the imperative mood: *Dur bakayım dur!* 'Wait a moment, wait!' (RPO). *Anlat bakalım anlat!* 'Come, tell it, tell it!' (RPO).

Pr.5. In this predicative construction we have a pair of synonymous verbs instead of the reduplication of one verb: *Şu deminki mesele için düşündüm taşındım* 'I have thought over this problem we spoke about lately' (OKY: 114). *Konu döner dolaşır imam hatip okullarının islahına dayanır* 'The question turns and rests on the reform of the mullah schools' (HTH: 297). *Gençlik çağı duman misali erir biter* 'Youth melts

away like haze' (HTH: 214). *Yumuşak deriyi itina ile parmak uçlarından tutup havaya kaldırdı. Evirdi çevirdi* 'He took up the soft leather carefully with his finger tips. He turned it round and round' (HTH: 141). *Yemekler yenilir içilir* 'The food is eaten and drunk' (HTH: 283). The construction expresses a greater duration and / or intensity of the action (*düşündüm taşındım, döner dolaşır, evirdi çevirdi*) or some special shades of meaning, for instance the action being gradual (*erir biter*). The verbs of the last example (*yenilir içilir*) can be considered nearly synonymous in the given context; they are used here not only to mark the difference between eating and drinking (i.e. their lexical meaning), but they also express the duration and intensity of the action denoted by the predicative construction. In the imperative mood, synonyms add more emphasis to the request: *Etme eyleme kardeşim, bunun neresi günah?* 'Don't, please, don't, my boy, is it really a sin?' (HTH: 297). *Yapma, etme, eyleme!* 'Don't do it, please, don't!' (HTH: 321). *Dinle bak gerisini!* 'Just listen to what happened next!' (HTH: 297).

In order to express still greater emphasis, a pair of repeated synonyms can be used: *İşçiler bitip tükenmiyor, yorulup usanmıyordu* 'The workers didn't get tired, didn't lose their strength' (OKY: 95).

It is possible to find many examples where each synonym has its own subject or other words modifying it, thus showing the process of the formation of the construction under consideration from separate phrases: *İsterse kimse görmesin, kokusu çıkmasın. Kendisi biliyordu ya* 'Nobody may see it or know anything about it. But he knew it himself' (OKO: 156). *Bu onu daha bir açar, daha bir sevimli yapar* 'It makes him more expressive, more agreeable' (HTH: 250).

Pr.6. This type contains a pair of antonyms instead of synonyms. Some of these constructions can express a greater intensity and duration: *Camiyi hop kaldırıp hop oturtuyordu* 'He made the mosque (the people in the mosque) rise and sit down again' (OKY: 81). Also a greater emphasis can be expressed: *Sensiz yaşayamam ölürüm!* 'I won't be able to live, I'll die without you!' (OKY: 122). On the other hand, this construction, if used with verbs in the past tense, expresses an action which had taken place one time: *İçeri girmiş çıkmışlar* 'They served a term of imprisonment' (OKY: 141). But if the tenses are *-yor* or *-ır*, a regularly performed action is expressed: *Okula gidip geliyorlar* 'They attend school' (OKY: 35). Some antonym pairs have become lexical expressions, for instance *atıp tutmak* (a) 'to boast, to exaggerate', (b) 'to abuse,



to defame, to scold': *Besbelliydi bize atıp tuttuğu* 'It was clear that they had abused us' (HTH: 223).

As with the constructions based on synonyms, antonyms can have separate words modifying them: *Erkek kardeşini sorarsanız, al onu vur ona* 'As for his brother, he is a reprobate' (HTH: 251).

Pr.7. This predicative construction consists of a single verbal form plus a fixed non-notional element, such as *ya, ki, be, ha, yahu* and others: *Anasından öyle kazık gibi doğmadı ya!* 'He isn't just as stiff as a poker from birth!' (OKO: 125). *Bir iki demem dedim ya!* 'I've just said that I won't hesitate!' (OKO: 129). *Tanımam ki!* 'But I don't know him!' (OKO: 184). *İşler öylesine tıkrında gider ki!* 'Everything goes so well!' (OKO: 124). *İnsan karı yüzünden bu hale gelir mi be!* 'Is it possible that one comes to such a state because of a woman!' (OKO: 152). *Senin yoluna ölürüm be!* 'I am ready to die for you!' (OKO: 131). *Size yazdı ha?* 'She wrote you a letter, didn't she?' (OKY: 121). *Hâlâ dediğini diyor yahu!* 'He still repeats it over and over again!' (BFI: 181). *Git şuradan yahu, zaten canımız sıkkın!* 'Go away from here, I feel wretched as it is!' (BFI: 181). *Kadıncağıza bir şey yapmasa bari!* 'If only he didn't do something to the poor woman!' (OKO: 179).

Pr.8. These spoken predicative constructions include a single verbal element plus a fixed notional element, constituting an important feature of spoken Turkish (Ščeka 1979).

Pr.8.1. (a) *ne ... se beğenirsiniz*, (b) *ne ... se iyi*. In both cases the *sa*-form is that of the conditional mood most often in the third-person singular. This construction expresses the action as being unexpected, with emotions of surprise or indignation on the part of the speaker: *Geçen gün şu ... gazeteci terezi ne uydursa beğenirsiniz?* 'What, of all things, did this ... unfledged journalist think up the other day?' HTH: 333). *Bizim oğlan ne haltetse iyi?* 'What, of all things, has our son done?' (KTK: 226). It should be noted that the expressiveness of this construction is based on (a) the use of the interrogative pronoun in an emphatically affirmative meaning and (b) the shift of meaning of the mood for a past action, as expressed by the form of the conditional mood.

Pr.8.2. (*Sakın*) ... *ayım deme* or (*sakın*) ... *alım demeyin*. This construction conveys the meaning of an emphatic interdiction of the action described by the verb. *Sakın yalan söyleyim deme!* 'Take care not to tell lies!' (RPO). *Jandarmalar gitmeden önce aşağı inelim demeyin!* 'Take care not to come down before the police go!' (RPO). As a rule, the fixed

and the lexically free elements are both in the singular or plural form, but there can be exceptions: *Burada kalacaksınız. Buradan çıkayım demeyin!* 'You will remain here. Take care not to leave this place!' (KYI: 251). *Sakın ha* is also possible: *Sakın ha konuşayım deme!* 'Take care not to speak!' (IEA: 442).

Pr.8.3. *(Bir) ... alım dedik* or *(bir) ... ayım dedim*. This construction expresses an emphatic willingness of the speaker to perform an action: *Portakalları yiyelim dedik* 'We decided to eat the oranges' (OKY: 131). *Evinizi bir göreyim dedim* 'I decided to see your house' (RPO). The elements of the construction can be separated by other words: *Bir uğrıyayım bakayım Erol bey oğlumuz nasıldır dedim* 'I decided to come and see how our son Erol is' (RPO).

Pr.8.4.a. *Varsın ... sın(lar)*. The meaning of this construction is similar to that of the English expression 'let him (them) ..' *Hakkı üstümüze gelirse ... varсын gelsin!* 'If Hakkı attacks me ... let him attack (me)!' (KTK: 391). There can be other words between the elements of the construction: *Bize ne! Varsın acıdan ölsün!* 'What do we care! Let him die of pain!' (KYI: 45).

Pr.8.4.b. *Var(in) ... (in), varayım (...alım) ...eyim (...elim)*. The meaning of this modification is similar to that of the previous one, i.e. an emphatic rendering of an order or stimulation: *Var git kardeş. Yolun acık olsun!* 'Well, go, old fellow. Happy journey!' (KYI: 295). *Varın hesaplayın, iki yüz bin lira yılda ne para getirecek sendikaya!* 'Come, calculate how much money two-hundred-thousand liras will bring for the trade union!' (ERS: 101). There can be other words between the elements of the construction: *Varın işinize gidin!* 'Come, go your way!' (KYI: 222). Examples showing this construction in the first-person singular and plural: *Memedim köye gelseydi doğru eve gelirdi. Gene de varayım gideyim* 'If my Memed came to the village, he would come home at once. Let me go (and see) all the same' (KYI: 21). Sometimes instead of the fixed element *varayım* (*varalım*) the verbal adverb *varıp* is used: *Varıp bir duvar dibinde dileneyim bari!* 'Shall I beg, sitting by the wall, perhaps!' (OKY: 146). Both elements can have the form of the optative mood: *Cehennemde yanarmışım. Vara yanaydım, hey Allah!* '(He says) I should burn in hell. Let me burn, by God!' (KTK: 2).

Pr.8.4.c. The fixed verb *varmak* and the free lexical verb, both in the form *-dı* or *-ır* of the indicative mood. This modification expresses a stylistic colloquial shade of meaning ('just', 'simply'): *Vardı tabancayı yerden aldı* 'He just picked up the gun from the ground' (KYI: 117).

*Varır değirmenin oraya giderim* 'I shall simply go there to the mill' (KYI: 205). The form *-ip* is possible, especially when the free lexical element is in the present *yor*-tense: *Dili varıp da bir türlü soramıyor* 'In no way had he the heart to ask' (KYI: 173). The cases when the fixed element *varmak* has words modifying it should be considered other subclasses of this construction: *Oh, iyi vardım da bunu yaptım. Canım sağ olsun!* 'It is very well that I just did it. Good for me!' (HTH: 125).

Pr.8.5. A verb in the imperative mood plus *bakayım* or *bakalım*. There can be no agreement in number and person between the fixed element and the verb. This construction renders a request more emphatic: *Şu camı aç da sor bakayım!* 'Open that window and ask!' (KTK: 330). *Ne oluyorsun, be Kâmrân? Ne var? Anlayalım bakalım!* 'What happened to you, Kâmrân? What is it? Let me know!' (OKO: 149). The verb *bakmak* can be the lexical (free) element of the construction: *Dur ki bak bakalım, seni paralamaz mıyım!* 'Wait and see, I shall tear you to pieces now!' (KTK: 437). When the lexical element has the third-person form, the construction may express the indifference of the speaker towards the action described: *Demek öyle dedi? Desin bakalım!* 'She said so, you say? Let her say so!' (KTK: 368).

Pr.8.6. A verb in the imperative mood plus *göreyim* or *görelim*. This construction can have also the fixed elements *bir* and / or *da*. The meaning is similar to that of the previous construction: *Aynı şeyi Mecliste bir başvekil yapsın göreyim!* 'Just let a prime minister do it in the Meclis!' (HTH: 190). *Yahu sen bana nasıl "lân" diyebilirsin? Bir dene de görelim!* 'But how can you say "hey" to me? Just try and do it!' (BFI: 181).

Pr.8.7. *Gel* or *gelin* (*de*) plus the verb in the imperative mood. The agreement in number is observed between the fixed element and the verb. As to the person, the verb may be in the first or second person. The construction expresses an emphasized request or advice: *Gelin bağışlayalım. O da bizim köylümüz* 'Let us forgive him. He is also from our village' (KTK: 207). The lexically free element of the construction often conveys a shifted communicative meaning, for instance the negative form of the verb plus a special intonation express an emphatic affirmation. In such cases there are additional special shades of meaning: *Fabrikada gözleri kör eden kömür tozları. Sen gel de verem olma!* 'There is coal dust at the factory. It is impossible not to fall ill with tuberculosis!' (ERS: 137). Other shifts of meaning are possible. For example, a form of possibility with the construction under discussion can emphasize the impossibility of the action: *Sesi kulağımda. Kulağımda ama gel*

*de bulabil!* 'I can hear his voice. I hear it, but try and find him!' (KTK: 339).

Pr.8.8.a. *...ır gider(di)* + personal endings. The meaning of this construction depends on whether the verb is terminative or nonterminative. If the context implies the nonterminative meaning of the verb, the construction expresses duration: *Hep birlikte gül gibi geçinip giderlerdi* 'They all lived very happily together' (OKO: 186). If the meaning of the verb is terminative, the construction emphasizes the action being irrevocably terminated: *Sen mahpusa girersen, ölürsün, geberir gidersin* 'If you find yourself in prison, you will die, you will be done for' (KTK: 360).

Pr.8.8.b. *...muş gitmiş(ti)* + personal endings. This modification expresses an irrevocably terminated action or an expressive subjective implication of a greater intensity of the action: *Halk toplanacağına daha da dağılmış gitmiş!* 'Instead of gathering together, people dispersed even more!' (RPO). The free lexical element can have the *ıp*-form, especially when the meaning is negative: *Müthiş bir ateş içindeydi. Yüzü uzayıp gitmişti* 'He had a bad fever. His face just pinched' (BFE: 194).

Pr.8.8.c. *...ıp gidiyor(du), ...ıp gidecek(ti)* + personal endings. The meaning of this modification is similar to that described for modification 8.a (for the nonterminative verb): *Aramızdaki bu ilişki sürüp gidiyordu* 'This link between us was going on' (NAB: 59). *Bu ne zamana kadar sürüp gidecekti?* 'Till what time should it go on like that?' (OKO: 153).

Pr.8.8.d. *...di* + personal endings + *gitti* (or *gittiydi*). There is no agreement in person and number between the fixed and lexically free elements. The meaning emphasizes the action as being irrevocably terminated, corresponding to the English equivalents 'never', 'after all': *Burası fabrika mı, kerhane mi, anlamadım gitti* 'Is it a factory or a brothel, I just can't understand' (OKY: 112).

Pr.8.9. *Ha babam ...ıyor* or *...ır* + personal endings. This construction expresses a higher intensity of the action, corresponding sometimes to the English expression 'with all one's might': *Ha babam kaçıyor* 'He runs with all his might' (NAB: 104).

We have considered some classification principles of the predicative constructions in spoken Turkish. These constructions and other spoken syntactic models are important both with respect to synchrony and diachrony. As a matter of fact, the classes of spoken constructions and models represent and illustrate basic features of the development of grammatical categories in Turkic and Altaic languages. In the origin of a

grammatical category there lies a general, yet undefinable expressiveness given by the reduplication of elements. The next stages are represented by fixed elements appearing in the constructions along with the reduplications. At the end of this development, we find constructions consisting of one lexically free element and one fixed element, the latter being the archetype of the future grammatical marker proper. Through the examples of spoken constructions, we can observe the semantic origins of particular grammatical categories and the development of their semantics from emphatic components of generalized communicative categories (e.g. emphatic interrogation) to the meaning of specific grammatical categories (e.g. negation). Thus, spoken language is an important and indispensable basis for the reconstruction of parent forms of proto-languages and of their semantics.

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 BFI = Baykurt, F. 1975. *İçerdeki oğul*. Ankara.  
 ERS = Enis, R. 1968. *Sarı it*. İstanbul: Ararat yayınevi.  
 HTH = Taner, H. 1970. *Hikâyeler*. Ankara: Bilgi yayınevi.  
 IEA = İzzet, E. 1930. *Aşk güneşi*. İstanbul: Remzi yayınevi.  
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 RPA = A play by Radio Ankara: *Acı tebessüm*.  
 RPO = A play by Radio Ankara: *Oğullar*.

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