

Werk

Titel: Articles

Ort: Wiesbaden

Jahr: 2005

PURL: https://resolver.sub.uni-goettingen.de/purl?666048797_0009|LOG_0013

Kontakt/Contact

[Digizeitschriften e.V.](#)
SUB Göttingen
Platz der Göttinger Sieben 1
37073 Göttingen

✉ info@digizeitschriften.de

The case of the direct object in Turkish: Semantics, syntax and morphology

Klaus von Heusinger & Jaklin Kornfilt

von Heusinger, Klaus & Kornfilt, Jaklin 2005. The case of the direct object in Turkish: Semantics, syntax and morphology. *Turkic Languages* 9, 3-44.

In this paper, we investigate the interaction between semantic parameters and morphological constraints in determining the distribution of the accusative case marker *-(y)I* in Turkish. This marker is often discussed as an instance of differentiated object marking (DOM). The account of accusative marking based on a functional interpretation of DOM assumes that the case suffix marks a direct object if it is too similar to an archetypical subject. Other approaches to accusative marking in Turkish have been based on the observation that the accusative marker is closely related to the direct object's specificity as such, rather than to the similarity of the direct object to a typical subject—and there is general agreement that typical subjects are specific. These approaches predict that specific subjects are also overtly case-marked; this is confirmed by the data. Enç (1991) explains specificity in terms of partitivity and argues that the accusative case marker indicates a partitive construction (or at least an implied partitive relation), and thus marks a specific direct object. In this paper we show that the conditions for the distribution of this case marker are quite complex and cannot be explained within the functional view of DOM. In particular, we argue that the suffix indicates specificity under certain morpho-syntactic conditions, rather than indicating just a contrast to the subject. This view is vindicated by the assignment of (genitive) case to the embedded subject that is determined by very similar morpho-syntactic and semantic conditions: the embedded subject receives genitive case if it is specific and no genitive case if it is non-specific. Furthermore we show that Enç's definition of specificity in terms of partitivity must be modified for semantic as well as morphological reasons. We develop a more flexible notion of specificity in terms of referentially anchored indefinite NPs. We give additional evidence, based on the detailed analysis of the morphological conditions for partitives, which shows that partitives are not necessarily specific. In conclusion, we show that the accusative case marker can indicate the referential property of the direct object (such as specificity) in clearly defined morphological environments in a reliable fashion; in other contexts, it is not a reliable indicator of properties like specificity.

Klaus von Heusinger, Institut für Linguistik / Germanistik, Universität Stuttgart, Keplerstr. 17, DE-70174 Stuttgart, Germany. Jaklin Kornfilt, Syracuse University, Department of Languages, Literatures and Linguistics, 340 HBC Syracuse, NY 13244-1160, U.S.A. E-mail: kornfilt@syr.edu

1. Introduction

Turkish exhibits a morphosyntactic contrast between instances of the direct object with the case marker $-(y)I$ and those without it. The accusative case suffix $-(y)I$ indicates the specificity (in some sense to be defined later) of its noun phrase. (The $-(y)I$ represents the set of accusative suffixes which differ according to phonological rules.) Turkish does not have a definite article, but an indefinite article *bir*, which is related to the numeral *bir* ‘one’, but which differs from it in distribution. The direct object can be realized as a bare noun (or noun phrase) without a case ending or as a noun (phrase) with the accusative case suffix $-(y)I$. In (1a) the bare noun *kitap* expresses a reading that comes close to an incorporated reading.¹ The demonstrative *bu* ‘this’ enforces the case suffix on the head of the nominal phrase in (1b). The form *kitabı* with the case suffix in (1c) is generally translated as a definite NP,² while the form *bir kitap* in (1d) with the indefinite article and without the case suffix is translated as an indefinite NP. However, (1e) shows that the case suffix expresses

¹ Erguvanlı (1984: 23) calls the bare NP in (1a) *non-referential* and distinguishes it from the indefinite NP *bir kitap* in (1d) by “the ability of the latter, but not the former, to pronominalize”.

(63)	<i>Ali kaç gündür</i> Ali how-many day <i>nihayet bugün</i> finally today	<i>bir resim</i> one picture { <i>on-u/Ø</i> } it-ACC	<i>yap-ıyor-du,</i> make-PROG-PAST <i>bitir-di.</i> finish-PAST
------	--	--	--

‘Ali was painting (picture-making) for days, finally he finished (it) today.’

(64)	<i>Ali kaç gündür</i> Ali how-many day <i>nihayet bugün</i> finally today	<i>resim</i> picture *{ <i>on-u/Ø</i> } it-ACC	<i>yap-ıyor-du,</i> make-PROG-PAST <i>bitir-di.</i> finish-PAST
------	--	---	--

‘Ali was painting (picture-making) for days, finally he finished (it) today.’

On-u ‘it’ (referring to a *picture*) can alternate with zero pronominalization in (63), but (64) where *it* refers to the non-referential DO [= direct object] *resim* ‘picture’, is unacceptable. Thus, the bare NP without an article is different from the bare NP with the indefinite article. However, Erguvanlı (1984: 24-29) also provides arguments against an incorporation-analysis for the bare NP, as does Kornfilt (1984), while Aydemir (2004) does argue in favor of an incorporation(-like) analysis.

² In more recent terminology, a distinction is made between NP and DP, using functional projections for the latter. In this paper, we use the terms DP and NP interchangeably, although it might be possible, in a fully articulated phrasal architecture, to distinguish specific and non-specific nominal phrases by attributing DP versus NP-status to them, respectively. For our present purposes, however, this issue is not immediately relevant.

specificity rather than definiteness, since it can be combined with the indefinite article (see Lewis 1967, Johanson 1977, Erguvanlı 1984, Dede 1986, Kornfilt 1997, Sezer 1972, Enç 1991, Aydemir 2004 among others):

- (1) Referential options for the direct object in preverbal position
- | | | | | |
|----|-------|---------------------|------------------|---------------------------------|
| a. | (Ben) | <i>kitap</i> | <i>oku-du-m.</i> | “incorporated” |
| | I | book | read-past-1SG | |
| | | | | ‘I was book-reading.’ |
| b. | (Ben) | <i>bu kitap-tı</i> | <i>oku-du-m.</i> | demonstrative |
| | I | this book-ACC | read-past-1SG | |
| | | | | ‘I read this book.’ |
| c. | (Ben) | <i>kitab-tı</i> | <i>oku-du-m.</i> | definite |
| | I | book-ACC | read-PAST-1SG | |
| | | | | ‘I read the book.’ |
| d. | (Ben) | <i>bir kitap</i> | <i>oku-du-m.</i> | non-specific indefinite |
| | I | a book | read-PAST-1SG | |
| | | | | ‘I read a book.’ |
| e. | (Ben) | <i>bir kitap-tı</i> | <i>oku-du-m.</i> | indefinite specific |
| | I | a book-ACC | read-PAST-1SG | |
| | | | | ‘I read a certain book.’ |

In this paper we want to investigate the semantic and morphological parameters that determine the presence or absence of the accusative case marker. In section 2, we discuss this case marker in the context of the functional model of “differentiated object marking”. This theory attempts to explain object marking in various languages in terms of distance from or similarity to the subject. According to this approach, if the object is too similar to the subject, a language may mark the object by a distinct marker like the Turkish accusative case or the particle *a* in Spanish. We argue that the accusative in Turkish expresses clearly defined semantic and morphological features of the object itself, rather than distance or similarity to the subject. This is shown by the semantic and morphological conditions of case marking on the subject in embedded sentences. These conditions are similar to the conditions for the direct object rather than being their mirror image—a situation which is contrary to the predictions of DOM. In section 3, we discuss different aspects of specificity and then Enç’s theory of specificity as partitivity. Here we show that her view is too restricted and must be extended to a model of specificity in terms of “referentially anchored indefinites”. In section 4, we show that her observation that certain bare partitives (i.e. without accusative case) are ungrammatical has nothing to do with the semantic dimension of specificity, but rather is due to morphological and syntactic conditions imposed on nominal phrases without overt nominal heads, as we shall see shortly.

Crucially, we also see examples showing that bare, i.e. case-less partitive direct objects with non-specific interpretation *are* possible, which in turn shows that non-specific partitives do exist. In section 5, we summarize our findings by saying that the accusative case suffix in Turkish marks specificity under clearly defined morpho-syntactic conditions, but that this suffix can also attach to non-specific expressions under certain other morphosyntactic conditions. In conclusion, we define a specific indefinite NP as a “referentially anchored indefinite expression”.

2. Accusative case marking in Turkish and DOM

The marking of the direct object in Turkish is often discussed in connection with the functional model of “differentiated object marking” (DOM) (Comrie 1975, Bossong 1985, Aissen 2003 and others). In this section we will give a short overview of the ideas behind DOM, discuss the referential parameters generally linked to DOM and show that DOM cannot explain all the conditions for case marking of the direct object. We present additional evidence from the conditions on case marking of subjects in embedded sentences, which are contrary to the prediction of DOM. Therefore, we conclude that case markings (in these two cases) clearly indicate the referential parameter of specificity.

2.1. Differentiated Object Marking (DOM)

Bossong (1985) coins the concept of “differentiated object marking” (“differentielle Objektmarkierung”) or DOM for the observation that the direct object in various languages may be morphologically marked or not. Cross-linguistically, there are at least three parameters that determine if the direct object is marked or not (Bossong 1985: 3-8, who refers to Thomson 1912): (i) animacy, (ii) referential categories, and (iii) information structure (“topicality”). In this section we will primarily discuss two referential categories, namely definiteness and specificity.

Languages differ in the way they can mark the direct object. Spanish, for example, exhibits DOM via the “prepositional accusative”, as in (2a) and (2b), and via clitic doubling, as in (3a) and (3b).

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|---|-----------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|
| (2) | a. | <i>Vi</i>
see-PAST-1SG
'I saw the / a woman.' | * <i>(a)</i>
to | <i>la / una</i>
the / a | <i>mujer.</i>
woman | (Standard Spanish) |
| | b. | <i>Vi</i>
see-PAST-1SG
'I saw the / a table.' | * <i>(a)</i>
to | <i>la / una</i>
the / a | <i>mesa.</i>
table | (Standard Spanish) |
| (3) | a. | <i>La</i>
CL-ACC | <i>veo</i>
see-1SG | <i>a</i>
to | <i>ella.</i>
her | (Standard Spanish) |

- b. **Ve* *a* *ella*. (Standard Spanish)
 see-1SG to her
 'I see her.'

In (2a) the marker *a* is obligatory to mark the specific human direct object, independent of definiteness, while in (2b) the marker must not appear with a non-human object. In (3a) and (3b), clitic doubling indicates a pronominal direct object in Standard Spanish (see Brugè & Brugger 1996, Torrego Salcedo 1999, Leonetti 1999, 2003 for details and von Heusinger & Kaiser 2003 for the description in terms of DOM). Bossong (1985) observes that there are at least 300 (presently known) languages around the earth that exhibit some version of DOM (see Aissen 2003 for more references).

The functional explanation for DOM is that in languages that do not overtly distinguish between subjects and direct objects, direct objects may be morphologically marked if they become too "similar" to subjects. This should help prevent confusion between subjects and objects. However, languages may differ with respect to the parameters or the dimensions according to which they compare subjects and objects and according to which they determine an (additional) marker for the direct object or not. As mentioned above, besides information structure (see sections 2.3.2-2.3.3), animacy and definiteness are the two relevant dimensions. For the purposes of DOM, these dimensions are expressed as scales:

- (4) Animacy Scale
 human > animate > inanimate
- (5) Definiteness Scale
 personal pronoun > proper noun > definite NP > indefinite NP

According to Bossong (1985: 177) DOM in Russian is determined by the Animacy Scale, while DOM in Persian and Turkish (among other languages) is determined by the Definiteness Scale. DOM in Spanish, Rumanian, Hindi and other languages are determined by a combination of the two scales. In the next subsections we will discuss the parameters for DOM in Turkish.

2.2. DOM in Turkish

For Turkish, the contrast between (1c) and (1d), repeated as (6a) and (6b), seems to be a contrast between a definite and indefinite NP. However, (1e), repeated as (6c) shows that we can combine the indefinite article *bir* with the case marker. Thus this shows that the accusative case marker indicates specificity, rather than definiteness.

- (6) a. (*Ben*) *kitab-t* *oku-du-m*. definite
 I book-ACC read-PAST-1SG
 'I read **the** book.'

- b. (Ben) *bir kitap oku-du-m.* indefinite non-specific
 I a book read-PAST-1SG
 ‘I read a book.’
- c. (Ben) *bir kitab-ı oku-du-m.* indefinite specific
 I a book-ACC read-PAST-1SG
 ‘I read a certain book.’

It has often been observed that the “combination” of the case marker and the indefinite article is possible, as in the important grammar of Lewis (1967: 248):

The accusative with *bir*. Although the accusative suffix shows that the word to which it is attached is definite, the use of it is not precluded by the presence of *bir*, since this, as well as being the ‘indefinite article’, is the numeral ‘one’. Nevertheless, even in such contexts, ‘a’ and not ‘one’ may often be the better translation. Compare *her gün bir gazete okuyorum* with *her gün bir gazeteyi okuyorum*. Both may be translated ‘every day I read a newspaper’, but the second, unlike the first, implies that I always read one particular newspaper.

At the time of writing his grammar, the concept of specificity was not available; this would explain why Lewis paraphrases the specific indefinite with “a particular”. The concept of specificity was only introduced at the end of the sixties (see section 3.1).

Johanson (1977), however, makes use of the concept of specificity and states that the accusative case suffix indicates specificity,³ rather than definiteness.⁴ A more recent study that also distinguishes “specificity” from “definiteness” and which relates the occurrence of the accusative marker on direct objects to the former rather than the latter is Enç (1991).

The situation is very similar in Persian (Windfuhr 1979, Lazard 1984, Bossong 1985, Karimi 1996). The following observation is from Ghomeshi (1997: 134):

The Persian morpheme *-râ* presents a puzzle both semantically and syntactically, and the search for possible explanations has implications for much current research. Looking at the semantics briefly first, we can note that the morpheme *-râ* seems to act like a

³ Johanson (1977: 1187): “In bezug auf die vom Akkusativsuffix getragene Idee, die hier tentativ als ‘Spezifität’ bezeichnet werden soll”.

⁴ Johanson (1977: 1188): “Enthält nun die Nominalphrase dagegen den unbestimmten Artikel *bir*, so entsteht durch die Hinzufügung des Akkusativsuffixes eine Kombination *bir-i*, die logisch widersprüchlich anmuten mag, wenn die durch den Akkusativ ausgedrückte ‘Spezifität’ kategorisch als ‘Bestimmtheit’ etwa im Sinne des deutschen bestimmten Artikels definiert wird”. Early mention of this phenomenon can be found in Erdal (1981) and Sezer (1972).

definiteness marker (compare (7a) and (7b)). However, it can occur with the indefinite marker *-i* (compare (7c) and (7d)) which should be impossible if it really marks definiteness.

- (7) a. *Ketâb* *xarid-am.* (Persian)
 book bought-1SG.S [S: subject agreement]
 ‘I bought books.’
- b. *Ketâb-o* *xarid-am.* (Persian)
 book-râ bought-1SG.S
 ‘I bought the book.’
- c. *Ketâb-i* *xarid-am.* (Persian)
 book-INDEF bought-1SG.S
 ‘I bought a book.’
- d. *Ketâb-i-ro* *xarid-am.* (Persian)
 book-INDEF-RÂ bought-1SG.S
 ‘I bought a (certain/particular) book.’

Specificity is often understood as secondary referential property of NPs that applies only to indefinite NPs and it is included in Aissen’s Definiteness Scale, in the form stated in Aissen (2003: 437):⁵

- (8) a. Definiteness Scale
 proper noun > definite NP > specific indef. NP > non specific indef. NP

To sum up, the Turkish case suffix *-(y)I* indicates the specificity of the indefinite direct object—at least in the position directly preceding the main verb. Thus we can align the case marking of the direct object with the Definiteness Scale in (8b):

- b. Definiteness Scale and accusative case marking
 proper noun > definite NP > spec. indef. NP > non-spec indef. NP
Hasan-ı *kitab-ı* *bir kitab-ı* *bir kitap*

It seems that only indefinite direct objects are sensitive to this contrast, while definite direct objects always take the case suffix (other than in the Spanish case, see example (2)).⁶

⁵ For a different view see von Heusinger (2002) and von Heusinger & Kaiser (2003). There, specificity is assumed to crossclassify with definiteness yielding non-specific (= non-referential) definite NPs; this cannot be described by the Definiteness Scale.

2.3. Additional conditions for the case suffix

In the last subsection we have seen that the accusative case suffix indicates specificity. However, this is so only unless there are other reasons for its occurrence that makes its usage obligatory on independent grounds. Some of these other parameters will be presented and discussed in this section: (i) the generic use of direct objects, (ii) word order, (iii) information structure in general, and (iv) animacy in certain contexts.

2.3.1. Generic readings

According to Dede (1986: 156-159) the case suffix may optionally mark a generic direct object, as illustrated in (9a) and (9b):

- (9) a. *Çocuk-lar* *çikolata* *sev-er.*
 child-PL chocolate like-AOR
 ‘Children like chocolate.’
- b. *Çocuk-lar* *çikolata-yı* *sev-er.*
 child-PL chocolate-ACC like-AOR
 ‘Children like chocolate.’⁷

This usage is quite limited, and having mentioned its existence, we shall not discuss it further.

⁶ Non-referential readings of definite NPs in Turkish also receive an accusative case since there is no other way to mark definiteness of such non-referential terms, see (i) and (ii):

- (i) *Hasan* *dekan-ı* *arı-yor,* *yani* *Profesör Yanılmaz-ı.*
 Hasan dean-ACC seek-PR.PROG that is professor Yanılmaz-ACC
 ‘Hasan is looking for the Dean—that is, for Professor Yanılmaz.’ (referential)
- (ii) *Hasan* *dekan-ı* *arı-yor,*
 Hasan dean-ACC seek-PR.PROG
dekan *kim* *olursa* *olsun.*
 dean who be-AOR-COND be-OPT
 ‘Hasan is looking for the Dean—whoever the Dean may be.’ (non-referential)

⁷ This example is ambiguous between a generic reading for the direct object and a definite one, although, due to the aorist on the verb, the generic reading for the direct object is stronger. The direct object is formally definite here. The possibility of such definite, generic NPs is quite restricted; we leave a formulation of relevant conditions on their distribution to future research.

2.3.2. Word order

The case suffix is a reliable indicator of specificity only if the direct object stands in the immediately preverbal position. In any other position, the direct object has to take the case suffix, thus either obligatorily having a specific reading or, in some limited circumstances, having a generic (and thus non-specific) reading (despite the overt accusative marker; see the previous subsection, and Johanson 1977, Erguvanlı 1984, Dede 1986, Kornfilt 1997).

- (10) a. *Bizim ev-de çay-ı her zaman Aytül yap-ar.*
 our house-LOC tea-ACC always Aytül make-AOR
 ‘Aytül always makes the tea in our family.’
- b. **Bizim ev-de çay her zaman Aytül yap-ar.*
 our house-LOC tea always Aytül make-AOR
 Intended reading: ‘Aytül always makes the tea in our family.’

As a matter of fact, non-specific direct objects are not always well-formed in positions other than the immediately preverbal one, even when they bear overt accusative marking. Thus, while (10a) is fine, (10c) and (10d) are not (under a non-specific reading for the direct object):

- c. *??/* Biz-im ev-de kitab-ı*
 our home-LOC book-ACC [NON-SPECIFIC]
her zaman Aytül ok-ur.
 always Aytül read-AOR
 Intended reading: ‘Aytül always reads books in our family.’
- d. *??/* Biz-im ev-de köpeğ-i*
 our home-LOC dog-ACC [NON-SPECIFIC]
en fazla Aytül sev-er.
 most Aytül love-AOR
 Intended reading: ‘In our family, Aytül loves dogs most.’

These examples are fine with direct objects having definite readings, but they are ill-formed for generic, non-referential readings for the direct objects. A treatment of the conditions under which non-referential direct objects with overt accusative markings can show up, preserving their non-specificity, goes beyond our present concerns, and we leave it to future work.

2.3.3. Information structure and specificity

While the accusative case suffix does not reliably indicate specificity of direct objects that are not in the immediately preverbal position, the specificity of such objects is still relevant for certain positions such as the topic position. While the non-specific indefinite direct object in the topic position⁸ in (11a) is ill-formed for many speakers (even though it is case marked), the semantically determined specific indefinite direct object in (11b) is well-formed (Erguvanlı 1984: 17; her examples [75] and [76]):

- (11) a. **Bir kitab-ı Murat aceylele oku-yor.*
 a book-ACC Murat hurriedly read-PR.PROG
 Intended reading: ‘Murat is hurriedly reading a / some book.’
- b. *Mavi kaplı bir kitab-ı Murat aceylele oku-yor.*
 blue covered book-ACC Murat hurriedly read-PR.PROG
 ‘Murat is hurriedly reading a (certain) blue-covered book.’

The reason for the difference is the following: The indefinite direct object is illformed under a non-specific reading in both examples, since it can’t be a topic. Under a specific reading, however, (11b) is well-formed, due to the overt modification, while for many speakers the accusative marker alone does not suffice to make the direct object specific enough so that it would qualify as a topic in (11a).⁹

Erguvanlı (1984: 27) summarizes her findings concerning possible positions for non-specific direct objects as follows:

We conclude that the position of the non-referential and the indefinite but non-specific DOs is fixed; that is, they can only occur immediately before the verb and they cannot be moved from that position in any way. It is only when the direct object is definite, or indefinite but specific (given the appropriate context) that it may vary its position. The sentence initial position, as the topic position, has its own restriction: only overt specific indefinite DOs are allowed to occur in this position. The general constraint on the ordering of the direct object NPs can then be stated as:

⁸ We make the generally accepted assumption that the topic in Turkish is sentence-initial. In particular, we assume that any constituent preceding an otherwise sentence-initial, specific and not focalized subject in Turkish is a topic. The modifications made here concerning the subject are necessary, because non-specific subjects as well as focalized subjects are typically in an immediately pre-verbal position. We have in mind a subject which is either topicalized itself or is in its canonical sentence-initial position.

⁹ For inanimate direct objects the insufficiency of the accusative marker alone as an expression of specificity holds, at least as a strong tendency, even if the direct object is not a topic. This will be touched upon briefly in the next section.

When the object NP has no case marking, it must occur in the position immediately preceding the verb.

2.3.4. Animacy

DOM is governed by referential parameters (definiteness and specificity), animacy and information structure (word order and topicality). Turkish is said to be sensitive only to referential parameters and information structure, while animacy does not restrict the use of the case suffix (Bossong 1985: 177).

Dede (1986: 157), however, notes that in certain contexts animacy may interact with the referential parameters. Certain verbs of propositional attitudes, such as *aramak* ‘look for’, and *istemek* ‘want’ induce ambiguity between a specific and a non-specific reading in direct objects that are bare of overt accusative marking.¹⁰ Furthermore, Dede states that the case suffix is not permitted with inanimate objects that are indefinite (the ungrammaticality judgments in this block of examples are Dede’s (1986: 157)):

- (12) a. *Bir öğrenci ari-yor-um. Bul-a-mi-yorum.*
 a student look+for-PR.PROG-1SG find-NEG.ABIL-NEG-PR.PROG-1SG
 ‘I am looking for a student. I can’t find him.’ [specific]
 ‘I am looking for a student. I can’t find one.’ [non-specific]
- b. *Bir öğrenci-yi ari-yor-um. Bul-a-mi-yorum.*
 a student:ACC look+for-PR.PROG-1SG find-NEG.ABIL-NEG-PR.PROG-1SG
 ‘I am looking for a student. I can’t find him.’ [specific]
 ‘I am looking for a student. (*I can’t find one.)’ [non-specific]
- (13) a. *Bir kitap ari-yor-um Bul-a-mi-yorum.*
 a book look+for-PR.PROG-1SG find-NEG.ABIL-NEG-PR.PROG-1SG
 ‘I am looking for a book. I can’t find it.’ [specific]
 ‘I am looking for a student. I can’t find one.’ [non-specific]
- b. **Bir kitab-ı ari-yor-um. Bul-a-mi-yorum.*
 a book:ACC look+for-PR.PROG-1SG find-NEG.ABIL-NEG-PR.PROG-1SG
 Intended reading: ‘I am looking for a book. I can’t find it’ [specific]

¹⁰ In other words, with such verbs, many speakers do allow a secondary reading of [+specific] for a bare direct object immediately left of the verb.

While for us the difference between (12b) and (13b) is not as robust as for Dede, we agree with her that a difference does exist between those examples.¹¹ We suggest that the explanation for the ill-formedness of (13b) is akin to the explanation we gave for the difference between (11a) and (11b): indefinite direct objects, when inanimate, need overt modification when marked accusative, even when they are not topicalized. Animate, especially human, indefinite specific direct objects need such modification less stringently, as the accusative direct object in (12b) shows.

To sum up, the accusative case marker is a reliable indicator of specificity only for indefinite direct objects in a position directly before the verb. Animacy may interact in a way that renders animate direct objects more likely to exhibit this contrast. Finally, one can note that the case marker unambiguously indicates specificity (in the aforementioned context, i.e. to the immediate left of the verb), while the lack of the case marker can be ambiguous with respect to specificity when certain verbs are present; typically, these verbs express propositional attitudes.¹²

2.4. Case marking of subjects

Aissen (2003: 473) discusses *differential subject marking* (DSM) as the mirror image of DOM. If DOM marks objects if they are similar to subjects, then DSM should mark subjects that are not typical subjects, i.e. if they are non-animate, indefinite, non-specific. The prediction is that if we find DSM then it should enforce (morphological) marking of indefinite non-specific inanimate subjects. Interestingly, Turkish allows for subject marking in clearly defined contexts. However, specific subjects are marked, while non-specific ones usually are not.

The subject in a matrix sentence cannot be case marked (which is another way of stating that in Turkish, the nominative case is morphologically null), but the subject of an embedded clause can be case marked by the genitive suffix. Johanson (1977: 1196) and Kornfilt (1984 and 1997: 215) notice that if the subject is not in a position directly before the verb, it must get case, as in (14). Here the contrast between

¹¹ For us, (13b) with its inanimate object marked accusative is, while awkward and close to borderline, still grammatical with a modifier, e.g. a relative clause. Such a direct object then becomes grammatical, despite being inanimate.

¹² However, by pragmatic inferences the contrast between occurrence the suffix and the absence of the suffix is quite robust. In contrast to Turkish, a direct object in Spanish with *a* can be ambiguous, while an animate direct object without *a* can only interpreted as non-specific (Leonetti 1999: 864):

- | | | |
|-----|---|----------------|
| (i) | <i>contrar un especialista</i> ‘to look for a specialist’ | [non-specific] |
| | <i>ver un guerrillero armado</i> ‘to see an armed guerilla’ | [non-specific] |
| | <i>buscar una asistenta</i> ‘to look for an asistent’ | [non-specific] |

specific and non-specific is neutralized for many speakers. If the subject takes the position directly preceding the verb, genitive case marking strongly indicates specificity, as illustrated by (15).¹³

- (14) *[Bir haydut-un köy-ü bas-tığ-in]-ı duy-du-m.*
 a robber-GEN village-ACC raid-FNOM-3SG-ACC hear-PAST-1SG
 ‘I heard that a [certain] robber raided the village.’

- (15) a. *[Köy-ü bir haydut-un bas-tığ-in]-ı duy-du-m.*
 village-ACC a robber-GEN raid-FNOM-3SG-ACC hear-PAST-1SG
 ‘I heard that [a certain] robber raided the village.’
- b. *[Köy-ü haydut bas-tığ-in]-ı duy-du-m.*
 village-ACC robber raid-FNOM-3SG-ACC hear-PAST-1SG
 ‘I heard that robbers raided the village.’

The following examples behave similarly; we see here that a non-specific subject which is positioned immediately before the verb does not bear overt genitive (16a). If it does exhibit genitive case marking in this position, it gets interpreted as specific (16b). Further, we see that such a subject, when it is separated from the verb, can be interpreted as non-specific even when it bears genitive marking (16c). Finally, such a subject cannot show up without the genitive marking in a position removed from the verb (16d):

- (16) a. *[Yol-dan bir araba geç-tiğ-in]-i gör-dü-m.*
 road-ABL a car pass-FNOM-3SG-ACC see-PAST-1SG
 ‘I saw that *a car* [non-specific, non-referential] went by on the road.’
 (The subject may be focussed, but it does not have to be.)
- b. *[Yol-dan bir araba-nın geç-tiğ-in]-i gör-dü-m.*
 road-ABL a car-GEN pass-FNOM-3SG-ACC see-PAST-1SG
 ‘I saw that *a car* [indefinite, but specific] went by on the road.’

¹³ Johanson (1977: 1195) refers to the Russian S. S. Majzel’, who has observed this fact in his book *Izafet v tureckom jazyke* (Moskva, Leningrad 1957) and described the use of the genitive as a marker of definiteness while its absence as a marker of indefiniteness. (‘Der russische Turkologe S. S. Majzel’, der in seinen Bestrebungen nach exakter Deskription der türkeitürkischen Syntax seiner Zeit weit voraus war, machte u.a. geltend, daß bei *dik*-Infinitisierungen eine Genitivmarkierung des Erstaktanten einen bestimmten Gegenstand, die unmarkierte Form dagegen einen unbestimmten Gegenstand bezeichne (1957: 152).’)

- c. *[Bir araba-nın yol-dan geç-tiğ-in]-i gör-dü-m.*
 a car-GEN road-ABL pass-FNOM-3SG-ACC see-PAST-1SG
 ‘I saw that *a car* [indefinite, and specific *or* non-specific] went by on the road.’
- d. **[Bir araba yol-dan geç-tiğ-in]-i gör-dü-m.*
 a car road-ABL pass-FNOM-3SG-ACC see-PAST-1SG
 Intended reading: ‘I saw that *a car* [indefinite and non-specific, non-referential] went by on the road.’

Similar facts hold in existentials—this is expected, as the “semantic” subjects are non-specific:

- (17) a. *[Garaj-da beş araba ol-duğ-un]-u bil-iyor-um.*
 garage-LOC five car be-FNOM-3SG-ACC know-PR.PROG-1SG
 ‘I know that there are five cars in the garage.’
- b. **[Beş araba garaj-da ol-duğ-un]-u bil-iyor-um.*
 five car garage-LOC be-FNOM-3SG-ACC know-PR.PROG-1SG
 Intended reading: Same as in (17a).

The restrictions for case marking are very similar between the accusative case suffix and the genitive case suffix in embedded sentences. The case suffix is obligatory if the NP is not to the immediate left of the verb, while in a position left-adjacent to the verb the case suffix signals specificity, and its absence non-specificity.

This observation contradicts the prediction of a functional approach to DOM / DSM. In that theory the respective markers of structural (i.e. non-lexical) case indicate two types of differences:

1. A difference between the morphologically marked direct object or subject and their respective kinds, i.e. the respective classes of archetypical direct objects and subjects.
2. A difference between the morphologically marked object and the subject, or between the morphologically (un)marked subject and the direct object rather than a particular grammatical category or feature.

Comrie (1975) argues that morphological structural case markers just indicate that the object or subject on which they appear is different from what is expected. These markers do not reflect a grammatical category. The dependency of accusative case marking on the Definiteness Scale was illustrated in (8b), repeated here as (18). The prediction of DSM would be something like (19), while the findings are as in (20) (in the appropriate positions):

(18) Definiteness Scale and accusative case marking

proper noun >	definite NP >	specific indefinite NP >	non-specific NP
marked	marked		unmarked
<i>Hasan -ı</i>	<i>kitab-ı</i>	<i>bir kitab-ı</i>	<i>bir kitap</i>

(19) Prediction of DSM with respect to the Definiteness Scale and genitive case marking in embedded sentences as the mirror images of the specifications in (18)

non-specific indef. NP >	specific indefinite NP	definite NP >	proper noun
marked		unmarked	unmarked
<i>bir kitab-ın</i>	<i>bir kitap</i>	<i>kitab</i>	<i>Hasan</i>

(20) Findings about genitive case marking of subjects in embedded sentences

proper noun >	definite NP >	specific indefinite NP >	non-specific indefinite NP
marked	marked		unmarked
<i>Hasan-ın</i>	<i>kitab-ın</i>	<i>bir kitab-ın</i>	<i>bir kitap</i>

In contrast with the predictions made by the approach based on DOM and DSM, the observations from Turkish strongly suggest that the structural case markers (i.e. accusative and genitive) indicate specificity; they do not reflect a semantic difference from the expected form. Getting back to Turkish direct objects, the accusative case suffix *-(y)ı* is a specificity marker in Turkish—but what is specificity?

3. Specificity and partitivity

Enç (1991) assumes that specificity can be explained in terms of partitivity, a semantic concept which in turn is closely related to the morpho-syntactic construction with the same name. In this section, we first present 4 different types or aspects of specificity, and we also present Enç's proposal which focuses on one type. Finally we argue that Enç's proposal has to be modified to a more flexible notion of specificity, which we formulate as "referentially anchored" expression (a concept which was implicitly mentioned by Enç, but not worked out).

3.1. The concept of specificity

The concept of specificity was introduced in the late 60s by transferring the *de re—de dicto* distinction between definite NPs under verbs of propositional attitudes, as in (21), to indefinite NPs, as in (22):

- (21) a. *Joan wants to present the prize to the winner—but he doesn't want to receive it from her.* [definite—referential]
 (21) b. *Joan wants to present the prize to the winner—so she'll have to wait around till the race finishes.* [definite—non-referential]

- (22) a. *Peter intends to marry a merchant banker—even though he doesn't get on at all with her.* [indefinite—specific]
 (22) b. *Peter intends to marry a merchant banker—though he hasn't met one yet.* [indefinite—non-specific]

The Turkish equivalents of these examples are (23) and (24). While English marks only definiteness, but not specificity, Turkish marks indefiniteness and specificity, but the latter notion only for indefinite NPs.

- (23) a. *Dekan-ı ödüllendir-eceğ-iz, fakat*
 dean-ACC give+prize-FUT-1PL but
kendisin-i bul-a-mı-yor-uz.
 he-ACC find-NEG.ABIL-NEG-PR.PROG.-1PL
 'We will give a prize to the dean, but we are unable to find him.'
 [definite—ref.]
- b. *Dekan-ı ödüllendir-eceğ-iz, fakat yeni dekan*
 dean-ACC give+prize-FUT-1PL but new dean
seç-il-ince-ye kadar bekle-me-miz gerek.
 elect-PASS-WHEN-DAT until wait-NFN-1PL necessary
 'We will give a prize to the dean, but we have to wait until a new dean will have been elected.'
 [definite—non-ref.]
- (24) a. *Bir öğrenci-yi arı-yor-um. Bul-a-mı-yor-um.*
 a student-ACC look+for-PR.PROG.-1SG find-NEG.ABIL-NEG-PR.PROG-1SG
 'I am looking for a student. I can't find him.' [indefinite—specific]
- b. *Bir öğrenci arı-yor-um. Bul-a-mı-yor-um.*
 a student look+for-PR.PROG.-1SG find-NEG.ABIL-NEG-PR.PROG-1SG
 'I am looking for a student. I can't find one.' [indefinite—non-specific]¹⁴

Specificity is often divided into different classes: (i) scopal specificity, (ii) epistemic specificity, (iii) partitive specificity, and (iv) relative specificity (Farkas (1995) for (i)-(iii) and von Heusinger (2002) for (iv), which in Farkas & von Heusinger (2003) is called “anchored specificity”). It is still controversial if there is one single concept of specificity with these four subclasses or if these are different, though related, concepts.

¹⁴ We saw earlier (see examples 12 which have been repeated here as 24) that without the accusative marking, the animate direct object can also express a specific reading, when it is found in certain contexts. In this section, we are interested in the non-specific reading, which is the stronger one in any case. The specific reading is expressed clearly by the accusative marking on the corresponding direct object in the previous example.

3.1.1. Scopal specificity

Classically, the contrast between a specific and a non-specific reading of an indefinite is configurationally represented by scope interaction between the indefinite and some other operator, such as verbs of propositional attitude, negation or universal quantifiers as in (25)-(26) below.

(25) *Bill didn't see a misprint.* (Karttunen 1976)

This example is ambiguous between the following readings:

- (25) a. There is a misprint which Bill didn't see.
b. Bill saw no misprints.

Likewise, the following example is ambiguous along similar lines:

(26) *Bill intends to visit a museum every day.* (Karttunen 1976)
a. There is a certain museum which Bill intends to visit every day.
b. Every day, Bill intends to visit some museum or another.

Note the following Turkish example which corresponds to the English one in (26) in terms of scope ambiguity:

(27) *Hasan her gün bir arkadaş-in-ı ziyaret et-mek isti-yor.*
Hasan every day a friend-3SG-ACC visit do-INF want-PR.PROG
'Hasan wants to visit a friend of his every day.'

This example is ambiguous between a specific reading of the direct object, under which there is one single friend of his whom Hasan wants to visit every day, and a non-specific reading, under which Hasan wants to visit a (presumably different) friend of his every day, whereby the identity of the friend does not matter.

3.1.2. Epistemic specificity

There are examples that show the same (intuitive) contrast, but do not contain operators. For the specific reading of (28), we can continue with (28a), while the non-specific reading can be continued by (28b). This contrast is also often described as *referential* vs. *non-referential*. The specific indefinite refers to its referent directly, while the non-specific indefinite depends on the interpretation of other expressions in the context.

(28) *A student in syntax I cheated on the exam.* (Fodor & Sag 1982)
a. His name is John.
b. We are all trying to figure out who it was.

Similar examples can be found in Turkish, too:

- (29) a. *Smf liste-sin-e bak-ıl-ır-sa* [indefinite, specific]
 class list-CMPM-DAT look-PASS-AOR-COND
bir öğrenci-yi kaybet-miş-iz.
 a/one student-ACC lose-EV.PAST-1PL

Bu öğrenci Ali-den başka hiç kimse ol-a-ma-z.
 this student Ali-ABL other nobody be-NEG.ABIL-NEG.-NEG.AOR
 ‘Looking at/according to the class list, it looks like we lost a student. This student can’t be anyone else but Ali.’
- b. *Smf liste-sin-e bak-ıl-ır-sa* [indefinite, non-specific]
 class list-CMPM-DAT look-PASS-AOR-COND
bir öğrenci kaybet-miş-iz.
 a/one student lose-EV.PAST-1PL

Kim ol-duğ-un-u anlı-ya-ma-dı-k.
 who be-FN-3SG-ACC understand-NEG.ABIL-NEG-PAST-1PL
 ‘Looking at/according to the class list, it looks like we lost a student. We haven’t been able to find out who this was/is.’

As we saw earlier, the indefinite, but specific direct object is typically marked with the accusative, and the indefinite, non-specific direct object is typically bare of any case marking. However, there are instances where, as mentioned earlier, the bare direct object can express a specific indefinite, as well as instances where the accusative marked indefinite can express a non-specific indefinite (especially if it is not immediately left of the verb); nonetheless, the primary correlations are between overt accusative and a specific reading, and between lack of accusative and a non-specific reading, as illustrated by this last pair of examples.

3.1.3. Partitive specificity

Milsark (1974) argues that indefinite NPs can either receive a weak (or existential) interpretation or a strong (or presuppositional) interpretation. In (30a) the indefinite *some ghosts* receives a weak interpretation, but it gets a strong interpretation in (30b), i.e. it presupposes that there are other groups of ghosts. The reading in (30b) is generally called “partitive”.

- (30) a. *There are some ghosts in this house.*
 b. *Some ghosts live in the pantry; others live in the kitchen.*

Enç (1991) develops this idea of specificity as partitivity and argues, based on examples like (31), that the accusative in Turkish marks exactly this type of specificity:

- (31) a. *Oda-m-a* *birkaç* *çocuk* *gir-di.*
 room-1SG-DAT several child enter-PAST
 ‘Several children entered my room.’ (Enç 1991: ex. 16)
- b. *İki* *kız-ı* *tanı-yor-du-m.*
 two girl-ACC know-PROG-PAST-1SG
 ‘I knew two girls.’ ((Enç 1991:ex. 17); Enç’s translation, our glosses)

In the first sentence a set of children are introduced and the accusative case in the second sentence indicates that the two girls are part of that set of children. Thus the expression *two girls* shows wide scope. Enç takes this as a strong indicator for such an expression as being specific and develops her theory of specificity as partitivity (see section 3.2).

3.1.4. Relative specificity or referentially anchored specificity

There are indefinite NPs that neither have wide scope nor are referential, but are still ‘specific’. Higginbotham (1987: 64) illustrates this with the help of the examples (32) and (33):

In typical cases specific uses are said to involve a referent that the speaker ‘has in mind.’ But this condition seems much too strong. Suppose my friend George says to me, ‘I met with a certain student of mine today.’ Then I can report the encounter to a third party by saying, ‘George said that he met with a certain student of his today,’ and the ‘specificity’ effect is felt, although I am in no position to say which student George met with.

- (32) George: “I met a certain student of mine.”
 (33) James: “George met a certain student of his.”

We find the case suffix in the Turkish equivalents of the two examples. This indicates that specificity cannot be understood as “the speaker knows the referent” or “the speaker has the referent in mind”, but rather in a more abstract way: “the referent is referentially anchored to some other expression” (see section 3.3 for a more detailed description of this concept). In (34) the specific indefinite *bir öğrencimi* is licensed by *Ali*, while in (35) it can be licensed by either *Ali* or by *Osman*.

- (34) *Ali: “Kütüphane-de çok başarılı bir öğrenci-m-i gör-dü-m.”*
 Ali library-LOC very successful a student-1SG-ACC see-PAST-1SG
 ‘Ali: “I saw in the library a very successful student of mine.”’

- (35) *Osman: "Ali kütüphane-de çok başarılı bir öğrenci-sin-i gör-müş.*
 Osman Ali library-LOC very successful a student-3SG-ACC
see-REP.PAST
 ‘Osman: “Ali (reportedly) saw a very successful student of his in the library.”’

Much the same distinction is found in sentences which attribute propositional attitudes to each of a range of different protagonists, as in (36), and its potential continuation (37a) or (37b), and their Turkish equivalents (this example is due to Hans Kamp, p.c.):

- (36) *Every politician had decided that a certain institute had to be closed.*
- (37) a. With such unanimity of opinion it was clear that the institute could not be saved.
 b. But since they couldn’t agree which institute should be closed down, everything remained the way it had been.
- (38) *Her politikacı öğrenci-siz kal-an bir enstitü-yü kapat-mağ-a karar ver-miş.*
 every politician student-without remain-REL.P an institute-ACC
 close-INF-DAT decision give-REP.PAST
 ‘Every politician decided to close an institute that remains/remained without students.’
- (38) a. *Böylesine bir karar birliğ-i karşısında enstitü-yü kurtar-mak olanak-sız-dı.*
 such a decision unity-CMPM across institute-ACC
 save-INF possibility-WITHOUT-PAST
 ‘Faced with such a unanimity of decision, it was impossible to save the institute.’
- b. *Fakat hangi enstitü-yü kapat-mak gerek-tiğ-i konu-sun-da anla-ş-a-ma-dık-ları için eninde sonunda herşey ol-duğ-u gibi kal-dı.*
 but which institute-ACC close-INF necessary-FN-3SG
 topic-CMPM-LOC understand-REC-NEG.ABIL-NEG.-FN-3PL because
 “in the end” everything be-FN-3SG like stay-PAST
 ‘But because they were unable to agree on the issue of which institute it was necessary to close, everything stayed the way it was.’

It is clear that in the case of (37b) and (38b) the specific indefinite does not have maximal scope. This shows that there is at least one kind of specificity which does

not entail maximal scope as a matter of course. Scopal behavior of indefinite NPs and questions of specificity must thus be distinguished.

Enç (1991: 18) illustrates such relative specificity with the following example (39):

- (39) *Her antrenör belli bir atlet-i/*atlet çalış-tır-acak.*
 every trainer certain one athlete-ACC work-CAUS-FUT
 ‘Every trainer will train a certain athlete.’
 a. all trainers the same athlete (specific wide scope)
 b. each trainer a different athlete (specific narrow scope)

Note that Enç uses here the modifier *belli* ‘(a) certain’. This contributes to the specificity of the indefinite expression and thus to the well-formedness of the accusative marker, in a fashion similar to other modification we saw previously. We shall return to this issue.

It is interesting to note that if we move the indefinite to sentence initial position (which, as we mentioned earlier, is a topic position), then we receive only the wide-scope specific reading, as in (40):

- (40) *Belli bir atlet-i her antrenör çalış-tır-acak.*
 certain one athlete-ACC every trainer work-CAUS-FUT
 ‘Every trainer will train a certain athlete.’
 a. all trainers the same athlete (specific wide scope)
 b. *each trainer a different athlete (specific narrow scope)

We will come back to this observation in section (3.3), where we return to this type of specificity within the larger context of setting up a typology of specificity.

3.2. Enç’s proposal

Enç (1991) suggests two theories of specificity, based on observations having to do with accusative marking in Turkish and on semantic considerations: (i) specificity as partitivity, and (ii) specificity as “relating novel objects to familiar objects”. She is most often quoted for the former theory, while we think that the latter one is more adequate for semantic reasons and for the Turkish data which we will discuss.

Enç formulates her analysis in a discourse theory that assumes that NPs are associated with discourse referents or discourse items at an additional level of discourse representation (see Heim 1982, Kamp 1981). The discourse referent is indicated by the index *i* of the NP. Such theories further assume that every (argumental) NP introduces such a discourse referent—only incorporated nouns do not. Definiteness, specificity or partitivity signal certain properties of the discourse referents at the level of discourse representation. The classical contrast between a definite and an indefinite NP is that a definite NP signals that the discourse referent was already introduced into the discourse representation, while indefiniteness indicates that the

discourse referent is new. The contrast between specific and non-specific indefinite NPs is more subtle. Partitive indefinite NPs signal that the discourse referent is new, but linked to a set of already established discourse referents. Non-partitive indefinite NPs introduce new discourse referents that are not linked to the established discourse. Thus partitive indefinites are similar to definite NPs in that they tend to have wide scope (they are discourse linked), while non-partitive indefinites tend to have narrow scope. Since Enç equals partitivity with specificity, she formulates the condition for specific NPs in general.

3.2.1. Specificity as partitivity

Enç (1991) proposes that what makes a NP specific is essentially that its referential index stands for a subset of the referential indices of NPs previously mentioned, or else of NPs whose referents are contextually salient. This inclusion, she proposes, amounts to a partitivity relationship, an idea which forms the basis for her proposal for a formal definition of specificity, based on partitivity. This definition of specificity states that the referential index of a specific expression must be in an inclusive relationship to the set of corresponding indices of an established set (established in the discourse or made otherwise salient).

A non-specific expression must have a referential index which is not included in the index set of previously mentioned or otherwise established entities. It must be completely new in some sense.

Enç thus claims that implicitly as well as, of course, explicitly partitive constructions in natural languages must be specific and, where a language expresses specificity syntactically and/or morphologically, partitive expressions are always treated as specific expressions. This can be seen in (41a) versus (41b), as well as in (42a) versus (42b)—the partitive phrase in direct object position bears overt accusative marking in the well-formed examples (marked as a): without the Accusative marking—which we follow Enç in viewing as not only a marker of case, but also of specificity—the examples become ungrammatical, as seen in the ill-formed examples (marked as b.).

- | | | | | | |
|------|----|------------------------------|----------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| (41) | a. | <i>Ali</i> | <i>kadın-lar-m</i> | <i>iki-sin-i</i> | <i>tamı-yor-du.</i> |
| | | Ali | woman-PL-GEN | two-AGR[3]-ACC | know-PROG-PAST |
| | | 'Ali knew two of the women.' | | | (Enç 1991: ex. 28) |
| | b. | <i>*Ali</i> | <i>kadın-lar-m</i> | <i>iki-si</i> | <i>tamı-yor-du.</i> |
| | | Ali | woman-PL-GEN | two-AGR[3] | know-PROG-PAST |
| (42) | a. | <i>Ali</i> | <i>kadın-lar-dan</i> | <i>iki-sin-i</i> | <i>tamı-yor-du.</i> |
| | | Ali | woman-PL-ABL | two-AGR[3]-ACC | know-PROG-PAST |
| | | 'Ali knew two of the women.' | | | (Enç 1991: ex. 29) |

- b. **Ali kadın-lar-dan iki-si tanı-yor-du.*
 Ali woman-PL-ABL two-AGR[3] know-PROG-PAST

These examples illustrate *explicitly* partitive constructions—they differ in whether they use a genitive or an ablative case for the partitive. An example of an *implicitly* partitive relationship is found below, where example (43) establishes an expression—*several children*—as the potential superset for expressions to appear later in the discourse:

- (43) *Oda-m-a birkaç çocuk gir-di.*
 room-1SG-DAT several child enter-PAST
 ‘Several children entered my room.’ (Enç 1991: ex. 16)

The referents of the expressions that might appear later in the discourse and which are, according to Enç, a subset of the referents established previously as in (43), can be illustrated as in (44), where the direct object bears overt accusative (i.e. the specificity marker):

- (44) *İki kız-ı tanı-yor-du-m.*
 two girl-ACC know-PROG-PAST-1SG
 ‘I knew two girls.’ (Enç 1991: ex. 17, Enç’s translation, our glosses)

Indeed, this example is fine in this discourse, with the direct object interpreted as two individuals out of the previously established set of children. Enç is also right in stating that (45), whose direct object is bare, is not a felicitous continuation of the discourse after (43), because it wouldn’t be naturally interpreted as having a direct object whose referents are included in the previously established set:

- (45) *İki kız tanı-yor-du-m.*
 two girl know-PROG-PAST-1SG
 ‘I knew two girls.’ (Enç 1991: ex. 18, Enç’s translation, our glosses)

Enç further states that (44), with its direct object marked overtly as specific and with its implicitly partitive semantics is equivalent to (46), where the direct object is *explicitly* partitive (and where the translation of the direct object is ‘two of the girls’), and where the overt accusative marks the direct object as specific:

- (46) *Kız-lar-dan iki-sin-i tanı-yor-du-m.*
 girl-PL-ABL two-AGR-ACC know-PROG-PAST-1SG
 ‘I knew two of the girls.’ (Enç 1991: ex. 19) (Enç’s translation; glosses: Enç’s for the partitive, ours for the verb)

(46) is thus similar to the examples we saw previously—i.e. (41) and (42) *a.* versus *b.*; we find here partitive direct objects which are claimed to be necessarily specific,

given that their accusative marking is obligatory. We will discuss the semantics of this approach in section 3.3 and the morphological predictions in section 4.

3.2.2. Specificity as “relational specificity”

After having introduced the equivalence between specificity and partitivity as semantic concepts via illustrative semantic and morphological properties of relevant constructions, Enç (1991: 18) introduces a second type of specificity, which is closely related to the concept of “referentially anchored specificity” or “relative specificity” which we mentioned in section 3.1.4. She discusses this kind of specificity in reference to example (47) (her (56)), mentioned previously as (39) and (40):

- | | | | | | |
|------|---|----------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| (47) | <i>Her antrenör</i> | <i>belli</i> | <i>bir atlet-i /*atlet</i> | <i>çalış-tır-acak.</i> | |
| | every trainer | certain | one athlete-ACC | work-CAUS-FUT | |
| | ‘Every trainer will train a certain athlete.’ | | | | |
| | a. | all trainers the same athlete | | | (specific wide scope) |
| | b. | each trainer a different athlete | | | (specific narrow scope) |

Enç (1991: 19) accounts for the use of the accusative case by assuming that the direct object is “somehow distinguished. It is distinguished because it stands in the contextually salient relevant relation to some other object”. She sketches a formalization of this idea by using Skolem functions (or what she calls “assignment functions”) for the specific indefinite, following a proposal by Hintikka (1986).

Enç (1991: 21) combines the two views on specificity by stating that

specificity involves linking objects to the domain of discourse in some manner or other. One acceptable way of linking is through this assignment function, by relating objects to familiar objects. Another acceptable way of linking is the subset relation, which we have observed in covert and overt partitives.

However, at the same time (1991: 21), she also states distinct properties of the two types of specificity: “Relational specifics such as a *certain N* do not presuppose existence, whereas partitives do.” We might add that a second—and more clear-cut—distinction is that partitives can be non-specific under all the views discussed in section 3.2, as we will show below. Before we discuss the morphological implications of Enç’s proposed equivalence between the semantic concept of specificity with the morpho-syntactic expressions for partitivity, we first reconstruct her two views on specificity within a formal theory.

3.3. A formal theory of specificity

Enç formalizes her view of specificity in terms of Heim’s (1982) familiarity approach to discourse structure. Heim defines definiteness in terms of familiarity, or more formally, in terms of identity of the indices of file cards (denotation) for NPs, as defined in (48), and illustrated by (49)-(50):

- (48) Heim's Familiarity Condition
 An NP₁ in a sentence ϕ with respect to a file F and the Domain of filenames Dom(F) is
- (i) [+definite] if $i \in \text{Dom}(F)$, and it is
 - (ii) [-definite] if $i \notin \text{Dom}(F)$

Heim (1982) reconstructs definiteness with respect to the already established discourse. Every NP comes with an index i , which represents the discourse referent (or Heim's "file card") associated with that NP. If the discourse referent i is already introduced in the discourse—or more formally if the index i is element of the set of all established discourse referents $\text{Dom}(F)$, then the NP must be definite; if, however, the discourse referent i is not among the already established discourse referents, i.e. if $i \notin \text{Dom}(F)$, then the NP must be indefinite. Definiteness signals the familiarity of the discourse referent associated with the NP.

- (49) a. *A man₁ meets a woman₂* Dom(F) = {1,2}
 b. *The man₁ talks to her₂* 1, 2 \in Dom(F)
- (50) a. *A man₁ meets a woman₂* Dom(F) = {1,2}
 b. *A man₃ talks to a woman₄* 3, 4 \notin Dom(F)

In (49a) the two indefinite NPs introduce new file cards or discourse items, which we indicate by the two indices 1 and 2. These indices form the domain of filenames ($\text{Dom}(F)$) and they are accessible for the evaluation of the NPs in (49b). The two indices in (49b) can be linked to the already established indices in the domain for indices (or the domain of established discourse items), which licenses the definiteness of the two NPs. In contrast, in (50b) the two NPs are indefinite, which means their indices cannot be linked to already established indices or discourse items. Therefore, the indefinite NPs introduce new discourse items.

Enç modifies the familiarity condition of definite vs. indefinite NP to the partitivity condition for the contrast between specific / partitive vs. non-specific/ non-partitive indefinite NPs. Like definite NPs, specific NPs signal that the associated discourse referent is linked to the already established discourse. Other than with definites, this link is not direct but licensed by the "part of" relation or the partitive relation. Here she has to distinguish between the plural case (51i) and the singular (51ii). In the plural case (*several children ... two of the girls*) the formal reconstruction (i) says that the partitivity is licensed by the fact that the index i (standing for a group of entities, such as *two of the girls*) is part of (subset relation \subseteq) an index j that stands for an already established group of entities (*several children*). In the singular case (ii), the partitivity of the NP is licensed by the fact that the group con-

sisting of that one discourse referent (therefore a set with just one index: $\{i\}$) is part of the already established group j .

(51) is a reconstruction of Enç's (1991: 7 ex. 22) condition for partitive NPs.¹⁵

- (51) Enç's Specificity / Partitivity Condition (adapted version)
 An NP₁ in a sentence ϕ with respect to a file F and the Domain of filenames Dom(F) is
- (i) for NP₁ plural: [+specific] if there is a j such that $i \subseteq j$ and $j \in \text{Dom}(F)$
 or
 - (ii) for NP₁ singular: [+specific] if there is a j such that $\{i\} \subseteq j$ and $j \in \text{Dom}(F)$

Sentence (52a) introduces a new index (or discourse item), a set of several children. The (implicit) partitive *two girl(s)* in (52b) is related to this set by the subset relation. This means that the index or discourse item 3, i.e. a set of two girls, is a subset of index 1 standing for the set of several girls already established. Since this set of two girls is new it is indefinite, but because of its relation to an already established set it is partitive (and specific, according to Enç). It is also obvious that the partitive has wider scope with respect to other operators in the sentence, since it is related to an established set.

- (52) a. *Several children₁ entered my room₂*
 Dom(F) = {1, 2} (with 1 denoting a set)
- b. I knew two girls₃. $3 \subseteq 1$ and $1 \in \text{Dom}(F)$

In order to account for specificity in terms of a relational specificity or referentially anchored specificity, we formulate the condition (53) in similar terms. An NP is specific if its index (or filename) can be linked to an already established index. This relation or link to another already established discourse referent is formally expressed by the function f . This means that the discourse referent for the specific indefinite NP is fixed by the discourse referent to which the specific one is linked.

¹⁵ Enç's (1991: 7) own reconstruction is even more difficult to read: "All NPs carry a pair of indices, the first of which represents the referent of the NP. The indices themselves bear a definiteness feature. The feature on the first index determines the definiteness of the NP, as usual. The definiteness feature on the second index determines the specificity of the NP by constraining the relation of the referent of the NP to other discourse referents.

- (i) Every [NP a]_{<i,j>} is interpreted as $a(x_i)$ and
 $x_i \subseteq x_j$ if NP<i,j> is plural
 $\{x_i\} \subseteq x_j$ if NP<i,j> is singular

Often the specific indefinite is linked to the speaker of the sentence (who also counts as an index or available discourse referent), but the specific indefinite can also be linked to other discourse referents or indices. An additional restriction is that the index must be from the current sentence, rather than from the previous discourse. In this sense, specificity is sentence bound, while definiteness is discourse bound.¹⁶

The formal reconstruction of this view of specificity states that a specific NP_{*i*} signals that the associated index *i* is linked by a salient function (or relation) to another index *j* from the same sentence:

- (53) Relational / Anchored Specificity Condition
 An NP_{*i*} in a sentence ϕ with respect to a file *F* and the Domain of filenames
 $\text{Dom}(\phi)$ is [+ specific] if there is a contextual salient function *f* such that $i = f(j)$ and $j \in \text{Dom}(\phi)$

Let us illustrate the definition on our examples (32) and (33), repeated as (54a) and (54b). The embedded sentence in direct speech in (54a) introduces a new index *1*, such that the index *2* of the specific indefinite can be linked to it by a contextually salient function *f*. This function could be spelled out by saying that George can identify that student or that there was a temporal point at which both individuals were at the same location etc. The function only indicates that once we have fixed the identity of the anchor (George) we can also identify the identity of the anchored indefinite. In (54b), we have two potential anchors such that we can relate the index of the specific indefinite to either one of them, yielding the two representations (i) and (ii) standing for the two accessible readings: in (i) George is the anchor and “responsible” for the specific indefinite, while in (ii) James is the anchor:

¹⁶ Note that the following condition allows only for functions between indices (denotations) inside the actual sentence. If one wants to expand the domain of accessible indices, one can extend the domain to the whole discourse: $\text{Dom}(f \cup F)$. Additionally we might also want to add to the domain the speaker at the context *c* of the sentence: $\text{Dom}(f \cup \text{speaker} \upharpoonright_c)$. Furthermore we might want to add that the index may not be dependent on itself ($i \neq j$).

While specificity could be claimed to be discourse-bound, as well (i.e. similar to definiteness—and is claimed to be thus bound by Enç), this is true for partitive NPs only. Partitives, in turn, are, we claim, best analyzed as a combination of definite and indefinite operations. Genuine specific NPs are purely sentence-bound. A full discussion of this point, which is tangential to our concerns, would take us too far afield, but see von Heusinger (2002).

- (54) a. *George*: “ I_1 met [a certain student of mine] $_2$.”
 $2 = f(1)$ and $1 \in \text{Dom}(\phi)$
 b. *James*: “*George*, met [a certain student of his] $_2$.”
 reading (i) $2 = f(1)$ and $1 \in \text{Dom}(\phi)$
 reading (ii) $2 = f(3)$ and $3 \in \text{Dom}(\phi)$

In (55) the universal quantifier introduces an index 1 and a new domain for each value for 1 , such that inside that domain the index 2 for the specific indefinite is functionally dependent on the index for *every trainer*.¹⁷ Again the contextually salient function could be spelled out by *his favorite athlete*, or *the athlete who pays the most money* etc.

- (55) (Speaker $_i$): *Every trainer* $_1$ will train a certain athlete $_2$.
 a. all trainers the same athlete (specific wide scope)
 $2 = f(i)$ and $i \in \text{Dom}(\phi)$ (if i stands for the speaker)
 b. each trainer a different athlete (specific narrow scope)
 $2 = f(1)$ and $1 \in \text{Dom}(\phi)$ (if 1 stands for the trainer)

With this theory of “referentially anchored indefinites” we can account for the observation made above that the Turkish variant (56) (previously mentioned as (40)) of (55), with the indefinite direct object scrambled over the subject, can only receive the reading with wide scope. Here, we could argue that the referential index of the indefinite (specific) object, cannot be anchored by *her antrenör*, the universally quantified subject, for configurational (binding-theoretical) reasons:¹⁸

- (56) [*Belli bir atlet -i*] $_2$ [*her antrenör*] $_1$ *çalış-tır-acak.*
 certain one athlete-ACC every trainer work-CAUS-FUT
 ‘Every trainer $_1$ will train a certain athlete $_2$.’
 a. all trainers the same athlete (specific wide scope)
 $2 = f(i)$ and $i \in \text{Dom}(\phi)$ (if i stands for the speaker)
 b. *each trainer a different athlete (specific narrow scope)
 $2 = f(1)$ is not possible

The topicalized indefinite cannot reconstruct, and given that, as we assume, the anchor has to c-command the indefinite, the absence of specific narrow scope of the indefinite with respect to the anchor is explained. Another way of putting the matter is

¹⁷ The conditions for a universal quantifier are somewhat more complex (see Heim 1982: 352.)

¹⁸ The exact configurational conditions must be formulated in more detail; one likely possibility is that the anchor has to c-command the indefinite—a condition violated in (56). Chierchia (2001) gives such conditions for similar observations in Italian.

that the narrow scope reading for the indefinite object is impossible, because the index of the object can't be bound (see discussion of (55)). Only the wide scope reading is possible for the object, whereby the index may be bound (e.g. by the speaker).

If we compare the definition of partitivity in (51) with the one of relational / anchored specificity in (53), we can observe the following points of difference between those definitions:

- (i) they differ in that partitivity is discourse bound but anchored specificity is sentence bound
- (ii) they differ in that partitivity expresses a relation (subset-relation), while anchored specificity expresses a function
- (iii) they differ (as Enç noted) in that partitives are always presuppositional (since discourse linked), but anchored specifics are not necessarily presuppositional.

Superficially, the two definitions define similar properties of partitive and specific indefinites: they both assign wide scope. The two definitions cooperate in that we often find a partitive construction with a specific indefinite. While the partitive construction delimits the set, the specificity of the indefinite NP signals that we make a "specific" choice. The better we know the set the easier we can make the specific choice.

Summary of this section: A partitive construction often induces a specific reading (i.e. it goes along with a specific interpretation). However, this is not necessary: we also find partitives without a specific interpretation. Therefore, it is not partitivity that covers specificity, it is rather the explanation in terms of referential anchoring that explains specificity. It seems that specificity and partitivity are not equal concepts: partitivity is a complex referential property that consists of a definite part and an indefinite part. The definite part is the relation to an already introduced set, while the indefinite part is the choice out of this set. This choice can be specific or non-specific. In the latter case we would get non-specific partitives.

We now turn to a discussion of non-specific partitives.

4. The morphology of Turkish partitives

What we are primarily interested in showing in this paper is that examples like those in (41) and (42) are misleading. The ungrammaticality of the examples in b. (in both pairs) with *bare* partitive direct objects has nothing to do with specificity but rather is due to morphological and syntactic conditions imposed on nominal phrases without overt nominal heads, as we shall see shortly. Crucially, we see examples showing that bare, i.e. case-less partitive direct objects *are* possible, which in turn shows that non-specific partitives do exist.

Furthermore, even in some examples where, as in (41) and (42), the overt accusative case on the partitive direct object appears to be obligatory, non-specific readings are possible, thus contributing to the number of construction types where

partitives can be non-specific, and at the same time raising the question of how reliable morphological expressions of specificity (like the accusative marker in Turkish) are in general.

4.1. “Bare” partitive direct objects

We now turn to examples of partitive DOs without any accusative marking which are non-specific. Note that identification of such bare DOs as non-specific is in accordance with Enç’s criterion of viewing overt accusative as an expression of specificity:

(57) *Ali kadın-lar-dan iki kişi tanı-yor-du.*
 Ali woman-PL-ABL two individual know- PROG-PAST
 ‘Ali knew two individuals of the women.’

(58) *Ali büro-ya çocuk-lar-dan iki kız al-acak.*
 Ali office-DAT child-PL-ABL two girl take-FUT
 ‘Ali will hire, for the office, two girls of the children.’

The direct objects here are similar to their counterparts in (46), as well as to (41) and (42); we find ablative partitive direct objects here, just as in (42a) and (46). Given that the direct objects are explicit partitive constructions, we would expect to find obligatory overt accusative marking. Indeed, (57) and (58) *could* carry accusative:

(57’) *Ali kadın-lar-dan iki kişi-yi tanı-yor-du.*
 Ali woman-PL-ABL two individual-ACC know-PROG-PAST
 ‘Ali knew two (specific, particular) individuals of the women.’

(58’) *Ali büro-ya çocuk-lar-dan iki kız-ı al-acak.*
 Ali office-DAT child-PL-ABL two girl-ACC take-FUT
 ‘Ali will hire, for the office, two (specific, particular) girls of the children.’

The examples (57’) and (58’) with the overt accusative marking on their direct objects are unsurprising. What’s interesting and surprising here is that the accusative marking *can* be left off in (57) and (58). The interpretation of these “bare” direct objects is just as that of any non-specific direct objects: in (57), the speaker probably doesn’t know the identity of the two people Ali knows, but does know that they were among the women previously talked about. Similarly, in (58), Ali will hire two girls whose specific identity is not known, or not committed to by the speaker; however, their referents are to be found among those of the children whose reference has been previously established.

We see that partitives without accusative marking—hence non-specific partitives—do exist.

A similar point is made by “bare” ablative partitives with phonologically unrealized heads (see Kornfilt 1996). These, too, lack overt accusative marking in direct object position (which is not surprising, as there is no phonological host to which the

accusative marker could be attached—a fact which may explain why this “headless partitive” can only be interpreted as having a non-specific subset), and they are understood in the same way in which non-specific NPs are generally interpreted, as expressed in the italicized parts of the translations of (59) and (60), i.e. as ‘non-specific amount’:

- (59) *Ali şarap-tan iç-ti.*
 Ali wine-ABL drink-PAST
 ‘Ali drank (*an unspecified amount*) of the wine.’

- (60) *Ali balık-tan ye-di.*
 Ali fish-ABL eat-PAST
 ‘Ali ate (*an unspecified amount*) of the fish.’

Similar observations hold of subjects of certain existential verbs, where the phonologically unrealized head is interpreted as ‘non-specific amount or number’:

- (61) *Biz-de bu kitap-tan var / yok /kal-ma-dı.*
 we-LOC this book-ABL existing /NEG+existing /remain-NEG-PAST
 ‘We have/don’t have *any* (copies) of this book; we don’t have *any* (copies) of this book left.’¹⁹

All of these examples have in common the property that, although they are partitive constructions, and their heads are interpreted as referring to a subset of an overt superset, these heads are non-specific. Partitivity, then, is obviously not sufficient to impose interpretation of specificity.

4.2. Reasons for the ungrammaticality of ill-formed “bare” partitives

Why, then, are (41b) and (42b) ill-formed? Is this because the partitive is (illegitimately) marked as non-specific, as claimed by Enç, or is this indeed due to lack of overt accusative marking, but independently of specificity?

We claim here that it is the latter. In order to back up our claim, we would like to make two interrelated points:

¹⁹ For arguments that such “headless” ablative expressions are regular ablative partitives, as well as for arguments that ablative partitives are regular partitive phrases, i.e. constituents whose heads express the subset of a superset, the reader is referred to Kornfilt (1984) and (1996). Please note also that Enç (1991) views ablative partitives on a par with genitive partitives as a legitimate means of expressing the partitive relationship; this is shown in the pair (41) versus (42) (which exhibit the genitive versus ablative partitive construction, respectively), as well as in (46), which illustrates the ablative partitive. All of these examples are taken from Enç (1991).

A. It is possible to show that the accusative marking, while in general a reliable expression of specificity, may be misleading: it can conceal a non-specific expression. This is so when the appearance of the accusative marking is due to formal reasons, e.g. to morphological requirements: the nominal *agreement* marking on a nominal phrasal head has to be followed by the accusative in a transitive context. The agreement marking itself is an expression of specificity in general, but it can also conceal non-specificity when it appears in head-noun positions of nominal phrases—this is true in constructions when a nominal head is required but no *lexical* head is available:

- (62) a. *Kitap-lar-m* *iki-sin-i* *al,*
 book-PL-GEN two-AGR(3)-ACC buy
geri-sin-i *kutu-da* *birak.*
 remainder-AGR(3)-ACC box-LOC leave
 ‘Take (any) two of the books and leave the remainder [of the books] in the box.’
- b. *Kitap-lar-dan* *iki-sin-i* *al,*
 book-PL-ABL two-AGR(3)-ACC buy
geri-sin-i *kutu-da* *birak.*
 remainder-AGR(3)-ACC box-LOC leave
 Same reading as in (62a).

The accusative subset may be interpreted as specific or, crucially, as non-specific, as shown in the translation.

By now, the fact that we can have a non-specific partitive should not surprise us. But what is interesting is the fact that the non-specific interpretation is possible despite the overt accusative. Furthermore, it is also interesting to note that the accusative is *obligatory* (even under the non-specific reading), as illustrated by the two following examples, where lack of overt accusative on these examples leads to ill-formedness:

- (62') a. **Kitap-lar-m* *iki-si* *al,*
 book-PL-GEN two-AGR(3) buy
geri-sin-i *kutu-da* *birak.*
 remainder-AGR(3)-ACC box-LOC leave
- b. **Kitap-lar-dan* *iki-si* *al,*
 book-PL-ABL two-AGR(3) buy
geri-sin-i *kutu-da* *birak.*
 remainder-AGR(3)-ACC box-LOC leave

The agreement marker, usually found following a head noun in a possessive DP, can—in fact must—also appear in head-noun positions of nominal phrases when a modifier is present, but no lexical nominal head is.²⁰ This can be seen in (62) a. and b., which illustrate the genitive and ablative partitive constructions, respectively. It is in these instances, where an agreement marker (agreeing with the expression denoting the superset of the partitive phrase) shows up, that an accusative marker also shows up and is obligatory. This is the common denominator between the examples in (62) and those in (41) and (42) (the latter two being Enç’s examples), where leaving off the accusative leads to ill-formedness, yet where this obligatoriness of overt accusative is not due to obligatory specificity. That the illformedness of these examples without overt accusative is not due to specificity is shown by the availability of non-specific readings for their grammatical counterparts with overt accusative, as we just saw in (62a and b).

Similar examples are seen in (63) with an adjectival modifier. Note (63a), where the third person agreement marker serves as the nominal head of the modified DP. The agreement marker itself requires overt accusative when it heads a phrase which is a direct object:

- (63) a. *Çeşitli* *model-ler-i* *karşılaştır-dı-m* *ve*
 various model-PL-ACC compare-PAST-1SG and
yeni-sin-i *al-dı-m.*
 new-AGR[3]-ACC buy-PAST-1SG
 ‘I compared various models and bought the new (one).’
- b. **Çeşitli* *model-ler-i* *karşılaştır-dı-m* *ve*
 various model-PL-ACC compare-PAST-1SG and
yeni-si *al-dı-m.*
 new-AGR(3) buy-PAST-1SG
 Intended reading: ‘I compared various models and bought the new (one).’

Furthermore, (63a) becomes ungrammatical, when the agreement morpheme is omitted—entirely comparable to the effect that omission of *one* has in the English translation; note that the ungrammaticality persists even when the accusative marker is present:

²⁰ It is important to include into this statement a reference to the presence of a modifier. Partitive constructions, especially ablative partitives, which lack a nominal lexical head are possible, as long as their (silent) head has no modifiers of any sort. We saw this in the course of our discussion of bare (or “naked”) ablative partitives in the text; this construction is also mentioned in the previous footnote.

- (63) c. *Çeşitli model-ler-i karşılaştırdım ve
 various model-PL-ACC compare-PAST-1SG and
 yeni-yi al-dım.
 new-ACC buy-PAST-1SG
 Intended reading: ‘I compared various models and bought the new
 (one).’

Compare this to the similar ill-formedness in English:

- (64) *I compared various models and bought the new *(one).*

The same is true for the examples in (62). In other words, the agreement marker can’t be omitted there, either—even if the accusative marker were retained, these examples would be ungrammatical in the absence of overt agreement.

In (63), the modifier is an adjective; in our previous examples, most importantly in (62), we had instead numeral quantifiers. In all of those examples, i.e. in utterances that are characterizable as having DPs where a “regular” nominal head is missing, an agreement morpheme that functions as such a head “saves” the construction, but it must be followed by overt accusative, as in (62a) and (62b) and in (63a). In all of these examples, where the presence of the accusative is due to a formal requirement (namely that the overt agreement marker requires its presence), a non-specific reading is possible. While the accusative marker does express specificity in many instances in the language (as we saw previously), it is unreliable as a specificity marker when it is needed due to formal reasons, as we just saw.

Note that in examples comparable to (63), but with the difference that the partitive phrase that constitutes the direct object does have a *lexical* nominal head, a non-specific reading obtains when the accusative is missing:

- (65) a. (Bak-ma-dan) kitap-lar-dan iki tane al-dım.
 look-NEG-ABL book-PL-ABL two “item” buy-PAST-1SG
 ‘I bought/took two of the books (without looking).’

This example is entirely equivalent semantically to the *non-specific* reading of the following example which has no lexical head, but instead has an agreement marker and an *accusative marker*:

- (65) b. (Bak-ma-dan) kitap-lar-dan iki-sin-i al-dım.
 look-NEG-ABL book-PL-ABL two-AGR(3)-ACC buy-PAST-1SG
 ‘I bought/took two of the books (without looking).’

This example is ambiguous between a reading where the subset is specific (not surprisingly, given the accusative marker), and a non-specific reading, again made possible by the lack of a lexical head and the consequently arising necessity of providing a nominal head via the agreement marker. Under the latter, non-specific reading,

(65b) is synonymous with (65a), whose lexical head *tane* ‘item’ functions elsewhere as a classifier-like element.

This pair of examples, then, provides us with two important conclusions, which we have mentioned as claims earlier:

1. Where the accusative marker is required for formal reasons, it is not a reliable marker for specificity; elsewhere, it is;
2. It is possible to have non-specific partitives—i.e. non-specific subsets that are clearly expressed as being related to just as clearly expressed supersets. This is illustrated by the well-formed (65a), where the lack of the accusative marker (on the “regular” nominal lexical head) signals lack of specificity, and by the contrasting possibility of a non-specific interpretation for (65b) (despite the overt accusative marker). The non-specific interpretation for (65b) is possible despite the presence of overt accusative, because the accusative is necessary due to formal reasons—i.e. due to the presence of the agreement marker which is, in turn, necessarily present due to the absence of a “regular”, i.e. lexical, nominal head.

Many of our examples have illustrated *ablative* partitives. Let us look at *genitive* partitives, as well, as they are interesting in the context of formal reasons for the appearance of the accusative marker.

The genitive on a DP requires the presence of overt agreement on a related nominal head. This is so in possessive phrases,²¹ as well as in (genitive) partitive phrases. One might even view the genitive and the agreement morphemes as a single discontinuous morpheme—a view that receives support from the following observation: not only does overt Agr have different shapes for different person and number combinations, but also the genitive itself, albeit in a much more limited

²¹ With the exception of possessive phrases in an informal and/or rural style, where overt Agr is absent. The semantics of such Agr-less phrases are not so much one of possessivity (as is the case in regular possessive phrases with overt Agr), but rather one of relatedness and familiarity between the (Agr-less) head and the genitive specifier:

- (i) *biz-im* *smf*
 we-GEN class
 ‘our dear, old (familiar) class’

versus

- (ii) *biz-im* *smf-ımız*
 we-GEN class-1PL
 ‘our class’

fashion: the first person singular and plural genitive is different from the genitive for the other person and number combinations.

Now, given that the genitive that marks the superset in a partitive phrase requires the presence of overt Agr on the subset expression of the partitive, the accusative marker is also (again formally) required, and the accusative-less alternatives (which, as we saw earlier, are possible in the ablative partitives) are unavailable:

- (66) a. **Kitap-lar-m iki tane al-dı-m.*
 book-PL-GEN two “item” buy-PAST-1SG
 Intended reading: ‘I bought two of the books.’

For the genitive partitives, the accusative is obligatory (where the partitive is a direct object), because the overt agreement is obligatory (itself, as just stated, due to the genitive). This is so even when a lexical head is present:

- (66) b. *Kitap-lar-m iki tane-sin-i al-dı-m.*
 book-PL-GEN two “item”-AGR[3]-ACC buy-PAST-1SG
 ‘I bought two of the books.’

Interestingly for our purposes, the accusative by itself is not enough to “save” (66a), without overt Agr:

- (66) c. **Kitap-lar-m iki tane-yi al-dı-m.*
 book-PL-GEN two “item”-ACC buy-PAST-1SG
 Intended reading: ‘I bought two of the books.’

The accusative is not sufficient to make (66a) grammatical, because, as stated earlier, the genitive necessitates the presence of overt agreement.

A particularly telling pair of examples is provided by (67a) versus (67b):

- (67) a. *Bu vastf-lar-a sahip ol-an bir insan /*
 this property-PL-DAT owner be-REL.P **a person/**
bir kütüphaneci arı-yor-um.
a librarian seek-PR.PROG-1SG
 ‘I am looking for a(ny) person/a(ny) librarian who has these properties.’

As the translation makes clear, this example illustrates a non-specific direct object, lacking accusative marking. This is just as expected: Clearly, the bold-faced expression is non-specific; the speaker is looking for *any* person or *any* librarian who fulfills certain properties; it is obvious that the speaker does not have any particular person or librarian in mind. Not surprisingly, the non-specific direct object bears no overt accusative marker.

If the direct object *is* followed by the accusative, the interpretation is specific: the speaker is looking for a *particular* person or librarian who has the properties in question:

- (67) b. *Bu vasıf-lar-a* *sahip ol-an* *bir insan-t /*
 this property-PL-DAT owner be-REL.P a person-ACC
bir kütüphaneci-yi *arı-yor-um.*
 a librarian-ACC seek-PR.PROG-1SG
 'I am looking for a (particular) person/a (particular) librarian who has these properties.'

In contrast, the case marking properties of the following example, semantically very similar to (67 a), *are* surprising at first:

- (68) *Bu vasıf-lar-a* *sahip ol-an* *bir-in-i*
 this property-PL-DAT owner be-REL.P one-AGR(3)-ACC
arı-yor-um.
 seek-PR.PROG-1SG
 'I am looking for someone who has these properties (i.e. someone with these properties)'

This example means essentially the same as (67a) with the difference that it is ambiguous between a specific and a non-specific reading for the direct object. In other words, the distinction between (67a) and (67b) in terms of specificity, expressed in a one-to-one fashion by the absence versus presence of the accusative marker, is collapsed in (68), where the accusative marker is obligatory under either one of the two readings. Under the specific reading, the accusative marking in (68) is just as expected.

In contrast, under the non-specific reading, the use of accusative is, at first glance, surprising; however, this example falls into place, along with others that lack a lexical nominal head and instead only have a quantificational or adjectival modifier to express the subset. Here, too, the nominal agreement marker is used as a nominal head; consequently, use of the accusative becomes necessary, due to this formal reason. Given that the accusative is here necessitated because of formal reasons, it stops being a reliable marker of specificity, giving rise to the ambiguity between specific and non-specific readings. (As a matter of fact, the non-specific reading is the primary one here, despite the overt accusative.)

Enç's original examples, i.e. (46) as well as (41) and (42), are similar. The accusative marking on the partitive direct objects are due to morphological and syntactic requirements of these otherwise headless nominal (partitive) phrases—"headless" in the sense of lacking a lexical nominal head. Crucially, while the accusative is obligatory on the partitive direct objects in all of these examples, this obligatoriness is not due to the specificity of these partitives: We saw that non-specific readings are available in all of these instances. Rather, the obligatoriness of the

accusative markings in these examples is enforced due to formal reasons, i.e. here due to the agreement marker that precedes it; the agreement marker itself is obligatory, due to lack of a lexical nominal head of the partitive phrases. This is so in all partitive phrases. In addition, the overt agreement marker must be present in *genitive* partitive phrases even where there *is* a lexical nominal head, due to the requirement that the genitive be licensed by overt agreement. In such instances, too, the overt agreement marker necessitates overt accusative (where the whole partitive phrase is a direct object).²²

4.3. Partitivity and specificity

As we have seen, additional data and closer scrutiny have shown that partitives *can* be non-specific. On the other hand, the semantics of specificity do seem to require that a specific expression must have its referential index checked against the referential indices of previously uttered expressions (or else contextually salient ones) and actually achieve success in that matching. This would then mean that the set of referential indices of the specific expression must be a subset of the set of referential indices, previously uttered, and that we have here partitive semantics. How, then, is it possible that a partitive construction is non-specific?

We suggest that partitivity is a necessary, but not sufficient condition for specificity. The presupposition necessary for specificity is made explicit in a partitive construction. However, this is not enough to make an expression specific. Rather, in addition, the speaker must be interested in stating that s/he has verified that the index-checking has been successful and that s/he knows which indices of the explicit or implied superset satisfy those of the specific expression, and that s/he conveys this knowledge of identification to the hearer. Without that second part, we have presupposed or explicit partitivity, but not specificity.

This view makes it possible to correctly predict the existence of non-specific partitives. Here, the superset merely narrows down the referential possibilities of the (non-specific) subset, but no uniquely identifying index-matchup is presupposed. Thus, when we say something like: “I saw two (persons) of the students” in Turkish without an accusative marker for the direct object, we are saying that we have narrowed down the set of all humans to a smaller set—that of students, and in fact a set of particular students (the latter expressed via an expression of definiteness on the superset). However, by saying that the two individuals we saw belong to that set, we

²² We have not discussed the reasons for the formal requirement that an overt agreement marker heading a DP enforces an overt accusative marker, if this DP is a direct object. This issue, which has to do with the phrasal architecture of DPs and with the formal licensing of features, is tangential to the concerns of the present study and is too intricate to be dealt with in a brief fashion.

have not committed ourselves to claiming knowledge of which particular individuals among those constituting the superset we saw, or else that we want to share this knowledge if we do, or else that we presuppose interest in such sharing of knowledge on the part of the hearer. For example, we might be able to identify the two because they wear a certain uniform, or because they are injured etc., but without knowledge of their particular identities.

The superset expression in a partitive construction serves as a description of a certain type of the subset, just like other kinds of modifying expressions do—whereby “certain type” is intended to narrow down sets of possible candidates. But the superset does not identify the subset. If we have actually matched the referential indices of the subset against those of the superset and have found identity and do commit ourselves to conveying this, then we are dealing with a *specific* subset and the corresponding morphological markers are used: We saw two particular individuals—e.g. Joe and Mary—among the students.

This means that it is correct to characterize specific expressions as those whose referential indices are included in a larger set/file (see Heim 1982) of such indices, but such a characterization is insufficient. However, to say that the referential index of a non-specific expression cannot be included in a larger set of such indices is incorrect; it *can* be, as we saw, and this is amply exemplified in this study.

5. Summary

We have shown in this paper that case marking of the direct object in Turkish is conditioned by semantics, morphology and syntax. Accusative case marking in Turkish is an instance of the more general phenomenon of differentiated object marking, or DOM, in various languages. DOM depends on parameters like information structure, referential categories and animacy. In Turkish, DOM depends on information structure (typically expressed via word order) and on the referential category of specificity: If a direct object is topicalized (which, in most instances, is possible only if it is specific) or if it is specific in its preverbal position it must have overt case. Specificity, then, is the most important semantic property that determines overt objective, i.e. accusative, case marking in Turkish. Animacy, however, does only play a minor role.

The functional explanation of DOM assumes that direct objects are marked if they are too similar to typical subjects. For Turkish this would mean that topicalized or specific direct objects receive case in order to distinguish them from proper subjects. However, we have shown that this view cannot be correct since subjects receive (genitive) case under the same conditions. In other words, case marking of the direct object (and of the subject) depends on the absolute value of the parameters rather than on relative value with respect to another category.

We have also discussed Enç’s concept of specificity in terms of partitivity—a concept that is closely related to accusative case marking. We have extended Enç’s proposal to a broader concept of specificity as “referentially anchored expression”.

With this concept we were able to account for non-partitive and narrow-scope specific indefinites.

Finally, we have discussed the complex interaction between the agreement marker and the accusative case marker in Turkish on partitive constructions as direct objects, where an agreement marker directly precedes the accusative marker. The data clearly show that direct object case marking is much more dependent on agreement marking than previously discussed in the literature. Thus this morpho-syntactic parameter is a crucial parameter for DOM in Turkish—and several of Enç's original examples thus receive a new analysis. The same interaction between agreement marking and accusative marking was also illustrated with respect to the different behavior of genitive partitives vs. ablative partitives. However, the close and subtle interaction between agreement and case marking needs additional investigation, and we are convinced that further research will yield an even better understanding of the fine interaction between referential categories, case, agreement and their morphological marking.

References

- Aissen, Judith 2003. Differential object marking: Iconicity vs. economy. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 21, 435-483.
- Aydemir, Yasemin 2004. Are Turkish preverbal bare nouns syntactic arguments? *Linguistic Inquiry* 35, 465-474.
- Bossong, Georg 1985. *Empirische Universalienforschung. Differentielle Objektmarkierung in den neuirischen Sprachen.* (Ars linguistica 14.) Tübingen: Narr.
- Brugè, Laura & Brugger, Gerhard 1996. On the accusative *a* in Spanish. *Probus* 8, 1-51.
- Chierchia, Gennaro 2001. A puzzle about indefinites. In: Checchetto, C. & Chierchia, G. & Guasti, M.-T. (eds.) *Semantic interfaces. Reference, anaphora and aspect.* Stanford: CSLI Publications. 51-89.
- Comrie, Bernard 1975. Definite and animate direct objects: A natural class. *Linguistica Silesi-ona* 3, Katowice, 13-21.
- Dede, Müşerref 1986. Definiteness and referentiality in Turkish verbal sentences. In: Slobin, D. I. & Zimmer, K. (eds.) *Studies in Turkish linguistics.* Amsterdam: Benjamins. 147-164.
- Enç, Mürvet 1991. The semantics of specificity. *Linguistic Inquiry* 22, 1-25.
- Erdal, M. (1981) Turkish participles and the absence of reference. In: Young, D. W. (ed.) *Studies presented to Hans Jakob Polotsky*, East Gloucester, Mass.: Pirtle and Polson. 21-49.
- Erguvanlı, Eser Emine 1984. *The function of word order in Turkish grammar.* Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press.
- Farkas, Donka 1995. Specificity and scope. In: Nash, L. & Tsoulas, G. (eds.) *Actes du Premier Colloque Langues & Grammaire.* Paris, 119-137.
- Farkas, Donka & von Heusinger, Klaus 2003. *The particle pe in Rumanian and referential stability.* Ms. University of Stuttgart.
- Fodor, Janet & Sag, Ivan 1982. Referential and quantificational indefinites. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 5, 355-398.
- Ghomeshi, Jila 1997. Topics in Persian VPs. *Lingua* 102, 133-167.
- Heim, Irene 1982. *The semantics of definite and indefinite noun phrases.* [Ph.D. dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.] Ann Arbor: University Microfilms.

- von Heusinger, Klaus 2002. Specificity and definiteness in sentence and discourse structure. *Journal of Semantics* 19, 245-274.
- von Heusinger, Klaus & Kaiser, Georg A. 2003. Animacy, specificity, and definiteness in Spanish. In: von Heusinger, K. Kaiser, G. A. (eds.). *Proceedings of the workshop "Semantic and syntactic aspects of specificity in Romance languages"*. Arbeitspapier 113. Fachbereich Sprachwissenschaft, Universität Konstanz. 67-101.
- Higginbotham, James 1987. Indefinites and predication. In: Reuland, E. & Meulen, A. G. B. ter (eds.). *The representation of (in)definiteness*. Cambridge/Mass.: MIT Press. 43-70.
- Hintikka, Jaakko 1986. The semantics of 'a certain'. *Linguistic Inquiry* 17, 331-336.
- Johanson, Lars 1977. Bestimmtheit und Mitteilungsperspektive im türkischen Satz. *Zeitschrift der Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Suppl.* 3/2, 1186-1203.
- Kamp, Hans 1981. A theory of truth and semantic interpretation. In: Groenendijk J. & Janssen, T. & Stokhof, M. (eds.) *Formal methods in the study of language*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam Center. 277-322.
- Karimi, Simin 1996. Case and specificity. Persian *râ* revisited. *Linguistic Analysis* 26, 174-194.
- Karttunen, Lauri 1976. Discourse referents. In: McCawley, J. (ed.) *Syntax and semantics 7, Notes from the linguistic underground*. New York: Academic Press. 363-385.
- Kornfilt, Jaklin 1984. *Case marking, agreement, and empty categories in Turkish*. [Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University] Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Kornfilt, Jaklin 1996. Naked partitive phrases in Turkish. In: Hoeksema, J. (ed.) *Partitives. Studies on the syntax and semantics of partitive and related constructions*. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 107-142.
- Kornfilt, Jaklin 1997. *Turkish*. London: Routledge.
- Kornfilt, Jaklin 2001. Non-specific partitives and the unreliability of specificity markings. [Unpublished manuscript]. Syracuse University.
- Lazard, G. 1984. Actance variations and categories of the object. In: Plank, F. (ed.) *Objects. Towards a theory of grammatical relations*. London: Academic Press. 269-292.
- Leonetti Jungl, Manuel 1999. El artículo. In: Bosque, I. & Demonte, V. (eds.). *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*. (Colección Nebrija y Bello) Madrid: Espasa Calpe. 787-890.
- Leonetti Jungl, Manuel 2003. Specificity and object marking: the case of Spanish *a*. In: von Heusinger, K. & Kaiser, G. A. (eds.). *Proceedings of the workshop "Semantic and syntactic aspects of specificity in Romance languages"*. Arbeitspapier 113 des Fachbereichs Sprachwissenschaft, Universität Konstanz. 67-102.
- Lewis, Geoffrey 1967. *Turkish grammar*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Milsark, Gary 1974. *Existential sentences in English*. [Unpublished doctoral dissertation, MIT] Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Sezer, Engin. 1972. *Some observations on the role of genitive in Turkish nominalizations*. [Unpublished ms.] Harvard University.
- Thomson, Alexander 1912. Beiträge zur Kasuslehre IV. Über die Neubildung des Akkusativs. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 30, 65-79.
- Torrego Salcedo, Esther 1999. El complemento directo preposicional. In: Bosque, I. & Demonte, V. (eds.) *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*. (Colección Nebrija y Bello) Madrid: Espasa Calpe. 1779-1805.
- Windfuhr, Gernot L. 1979. *Persian grammar. History and state of its study*. The Hague et al.: Mouton.

Acknowledgement

Parts of this paper were presented at the Zentrum für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, Berlin, and at UC Santa Cruz by the first author, and at the LSA Annual Meeting of 2001 in Washington, D.C. (cf. Kornfilt (2001)), at the University of Arizona, Tucson, at the University of Delaware, and at the Workshop on Differential Subject Marking at the University of Nijmegen by the second author. We would like to thank the audiences for their comments. In particular, we are grateful to Sandy Chung, Peter Cole, Donka Farkas, Jorge Hankamer, Gabriela Hermon, Helen de Hoop, Hans Kamp, Simin Karimi, Manfred Krifka, Bill Ladusaw, Philippe Schlenker, and Ellen Woolford for very constructive comments and suggestions. The first author was supported by a Heisenberg-Grant of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. The second author's stay in Germany in the summer of 2003, when this research was started, was made possible by fellowships from the University of Leipzig, the MPI-EVA in Leipzig, and the University of Konstanz. The order of the authors' names is alphabetical.

Aspect in Turkish constituent clauses

Julian Rentzsch

Rentzsch, Julian 2005. Aspect in Turkish constituent clauses. *Turkic Languages* 9, 45-64.

Morphology has always played a central role in the grammatical description of Turkish and Turkic in general. However, overestimating morphology often impedes insight into the exact function of a given item. The article below employs a basically syntactic approach: Predicates of non-finite clauses with a specific syntactic status within the matrix sentence—namely *constituent clauses*—are examined for an inventory of competing morphological items denoting a specific set of semantic categories—namely *aspect*. Some peripheral semantic oppositions are considered along the way. The strongly functional delimitation allows a perspective on the items under investigation which is quite different from the traditional point of view reflected in most grammars of Turkish. For this inductive study of aspect in constituent clauses, ample examples from Turkish literature are quoted.

Julian Rentzsch, Seminar für Orientkunde, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, DE-55099 Mainz, Germany. E-mail: rentzsch@mail.uni-mainz.de

1. Introduction

Aspectological work usually focuses on finite verbs. Still, aspectual values are marked in non-finite positions, too. In Turkish, four non-finite syntagmatic positions with different items competing and, consequently, different oppositions arising need to be distinguished. These are: constituent clauses, relative clauses, converb clauses and secondary predications.

Constituent clauses are clauses that hold constituent status in the sentence, e.g. <Otobüste, evle okul arasında geçen zamanın bana nasıl bir yük olduğunu> *bilemezsin* ‘You cannot know <what a burden the time that passes in the bus between home and school means for me>’ (TUT 41), where the passage in brackets holds the status of the object constituent of the sentence. Aspectual and modal items in the predicative head of constituent clauses are verbal nouns, i.e. action nouns.

Relative clauses specify a nominal head and fulfil semantic and syntactic functions similar to adjectives. They can be restrictive, e.g. *Dadım*, <*doksan yaşında bile güzel kalmış*> *bir Çerkezdi* ‘My nanny was a Cherkess <who had remained beautiful even in her nineties>’ (DİN 23), or non-restrictive, e.g. <*Uykunun huzuruna gömülmüş*> *Rüya* ‘Rüya, <who was buried in the tranquillity of sleep>’ (KK 11). Turkish distinguishes between two types of relative clauses, depending on whether the first actant in the relative clause is co-indexed with the nominal head within the matrix sentence, e.g. <*okuyan_i*> *adam_i* ‘the man_i <who_i reads>’, or not, e.g. <*okuduğum_i*>

*kitap*_j ‘the book_j <I_i read>’. Both types of relative clauses have distinct inventories of aspectual items in different oppositions. Many other Turkic languages do not employ different inventories depending on co-indexation. Relative clauses can be bound, i.e. the nominal head is expressed overtly, e.g. <*Bütün gece uğraşmış olduğu*> *bir konunun rüyasına girmemesi garip geldi ona* ‘It seemed strange to him that an issue <he had been busy with the whole night> did not enter his dreams’ (TUT 32), or free, i.e. without the head being mentioned, e.g. *anlatamıyorlar <anlatılmayanı>* ‘They cannot explain <what is unexplainable>’ (TUT 133). The question whether a relative clause is free or bound is irrelevant for the inventory and the functional configuration of the aspectual oppositions. Aspectual and modal items in the predication of relative clauses are verbal adjectives, i.e. participles.

Converb clauses have adverbial status in the sentence, e.g. <*Tahta üstünde oturarak*>, *dört beş gün süren yorucu bir yolculuk yaptık* ‘<Sitting on a wooden bench>, we made an exhausting journey of four or five days’ (DİN 195). Converb items present the aspectologist with a number of problems as they do not constitute a closed class and can carry other semantic values beside aspectual ones. Nonetheless, among nonfinal items converbs are investigated best from an aspectological point of view (e.g. Johanson 1990, 1995a, 1995b). Converbs are verbal adverbs, i.e. gerunds.

Secondary predications are predicative attributes (cf. Drimba 1976). They usually occur directly in front of the superordinate predication and pose relatively strong restrictions on intervening items. Examples for secondary predications are *biraz olsun <kurtulmuş> sayılır bu hastalıktan* ‘he is considered <saved from this illness>, at least a little bit’ (KK 263) and *Hakikatte bütün bu insanlar <hakikat denen duvarın ötesine geçmek için birer delik bulmuş> yaşıyorlardı* ‘In fact, all these people were leading their lives <having each found a hole to get beyond the wall called truth>’ (SAE 44). The superordinate predication needs not be finite; in *kurtulmuş sayıldığı için* and *delik bulmuş yaşarken*, *kurtulmuş* and *bulmuş* are examples of secondary predications with non-finite matrix predicates.

Distinguishing the different types of non-finite clauses can sometimes be difficult. Their morphological inventories partly overlap. Converb clauses with secondary converb heads often contain constituent clauses (e.g. *diği için*) or relative clauses (e.g. *diği zaman*). Whether or not aspectual values in secondary converb structures can be evaluated within the framework of their basic constructions largely depends on the degree of grammaticalization of the converb constructions (cf. *diğine göre* in example 55 below). Headless relative clauses can sometimes be misinterpreted as constituent clauses. In theory, the sentence *Turgut, <söylediklerine> inanmakta zorluk çekmedi* (TUT 39) could be interpreted in two ways, i.e. as a relative clause (‘It was not difficult for Turgut to believe <in what he had said>’) or as a constituent clause (‘It was not difficult for Turgut to believe <that they had spoken>’). The reason is that free relative clauses can assume constituent status in the matrix sentence themselves. Usually, the context will make it perfectly clear which interpretation is the correct one. Still, there remain rather intricate cases. E.g., <*ne yapmış olduğunu*> *bilirsek* ‘if we know <what he has done>’ (TUT 72) is a constituent clause in Turkish

in spite of its *translation* as a relative clause. Question words like *ne* and *kim*, which function as a compensation for relative pronouns non-existent in Turkish, have the same syntactical status here as *kahvaltı* in *kahvaltı yapmış olduğunu bilirsek* ‘if we know that s/he has had breakfast’ or *kendisinin* in *kendisinin yapmış olduğunu bilirsek* ‘if we know that s/he has made it’.¹ Although distinguishing between constituent clauses and free relative clauses may be difficult sometimes, it is vital to distinguish these types of clauses carefully, as the aspectual items are part of different oppositions and thus carry different values.² It goes without saying that the analytical problem for the researcher does not arise for the skilled L1 user, as the correct value is selected automatically during the interpretation process. Most grammars of Turkish follow a completely morphological approach and deal with items like *DİK* regardless of their syntactic status and the oppositions involved.

This article deals with constituent clauses exclusively. As speakers of Turkish often disagree about the grammaticality of constructed examples, I quote examples from literature and refrain from own constructions so that the issue about correctness will not arise.

My analysis is based on Johanson’s aspect model (Johanson 2000, etc.), which sharply distinguishes between the functional layers of aspect and actionality and employs the most elaborate set of distinctions I have encountered to date, thus offering a most smooth and flexible means for analysis. The details of this model cannot be described here. The reader is referred to Johanson (2000, 1971). I will confine myself to pointing out that actional contents maximally comprise a *terminus initialis* τ_1 , a *cur-sus* and a *terminus finalis* τ_2 . Actional phrases are multiple complexes whose *internal phase structure* (IPS) is determined by the combined semantic values of basic verb, arguments, and satellites. There are *transformative* [+t] and *non-transformative* [-t] actional phrases. Transformatives can be subdivided into *initio-transformatives* [+ti] and *fini-transformatives* [+tf], depending on whether τ_1 or τ_2 is the *crucial limit* τ_C . Fini-transformatives are either *momentaneous* [+mom] or *non-momentaneous* [-mom]. Non-transformatives comprise *dynamic* [+dyn] and *non-dynamic* [-dyn] actions. Non-transformatives do not have a crucial limit, but their *relevant limit* τ_R is τ_1 as the action can be taken as “having occurred” after transgression of τ_1 . The five IPSs crucial for the aspecto-actional interplay can be arranged along the following hierarchy according to their limit orientation (Johanson 2000: 58):

$$[+tf, +mom] > [+tf, -mom] > [+ti] > [-t, +dyn] > [-t, -dyn]$$

¹ Cases of doubt with respect to free relative clauses can be tested by adding an overt head, e.g. **<ne yapmış olduđu> işi bilirsek*.

² This fact is even more obvious in other Turkic languages, e.g. Uyghur, where for example *GEn* carries the value [+POST] in constituent clauses, but [(-INTRA)(-POST)] in relative clauses, which is not true for Turkish *DİK*. The correspondences between participles and action nouns in terms of aspectuality are remarkably strong in Turkish.

The actional phrase functions as the operandum of aspect values.

Aspect consists of the parameters *viewpoint* and *focality*. The *viewpoint* parameter determines the relative position of the aspectual viewpoint to the limits of the actional phrase. The options available are intraterminality [+INTRA], postterminality [+POST] and adterminality [+AD] as well as the negative (and neutral) values [-INTRA], [-POST] and [-AD]. [+INTRA] views the action within its limits, [+POST] after transgression of τ_C or τ_R and [+AD] in the attainment of τ_C .³ *Focality* is a scalar notion that determines the sharpness of the view towards the action. We can roughly distinguish *high* [HF] and *low focality* [LF] and *non-focal* [NF] items. Although the basic aspectual value can be determined in an abstract way for each individual item, the exact and concrete meaning realizes itself in dependency to the oppositions the items are involved in. For the interpretation of an utterance both the aspecto-actional interplay and the interaction between co-occurring aspectual items are decisive. Further factors like taxis and pragmatics are not considered in this article.

2. Basic items in constituent clauses

Turkish verbal nouns can be classified along morphological criteria. There are primary, i.e. simple, and secondary, i.e. compound items. The Turkish primary verbal nouns are *DİK*, *mE* and *mEK*.⁴ They do not carry any positive aspectual value of their own. Consequently, their contrast is of a non-aspectual nature. The opposition between *DİK* and *mE(K)* has been characterized as [±factive] by Johanson (1998: 60). It has to be mentioned here that [-factive] only means the absence of marked facticity and does not imply that a [-factive] item cannot refer to a fact (see examples like 18, 19, 56, 57, 69 and 71 below). The contrast between *mE* and *mEK* is less clear and often depends on conventionalized patterns.⁵ It seems, though, that *mE* as the item capable of combining with possessive and genitive suffixes tends to convey a shade of concreteness in contrast to the more abstract *mEK* (for illustration of the [-concrete] feature of *mEK*, cf. examples like 30 and 34). Although *DİK*, *mE* and *mEK* are devoid of a positive aspectual value of their own, they must still be considered aspect-

³ The opposition [±AD] is irrelevant in Turkish and, probably, in Turkic generally.

⁴ Another important primary verbal noun, *İş*, is probably characterized best as a derivational suffix, the resulting items being mostly lexical in nature. It is not involved in aspectual oppositions to the same degree as *mE*, *mEK* and *DİK* and will not be dealt with in this article. Its aspectual value, however, is [(-INTRA)(-POST)]. (*İş* is more strongly involved in systematic aspectual contrasts in other Turkic languages, e.g. Uyghur.) Further (secondary) verbal nouns not discussed in this article are *mEkİİK* (Lewis 1967: 170) — which is disregarded here due to scarcity — and *mEzİİK*, which also belongs to the field of derivation.

⁵ These patterns are summarized in Brendemoen & Hovdhaugen (1992: 121-124) and Lewis (1967: 167-172).

tual items as they systematically operate as the negative and neutral terms in full-fledged aspectual oppositions. Further explanation will be provided below.

The three primary items discussed here differ not only in value but also in distribution (the latter fact being conditioned by a combination of factors like the difference in meaning, conventionalization in use and phonetics). For example, *DİK* is used much less frequently in the subject slot than *mE* and even *mEK*, whereas it is very common as an object to verbs denoting meanings of thinking, knowing, feeling, etc. The following examples will be categorized along the following criteria:

- A. Direct (nominative) case, i.e. subject or predicate constituent
- B. Accusative case, i.e. direct object constituent
- C. Other cases and combinations
- D. Non-final member in combinations resembling (*tatpuruṣa* and *karmadhāraya*) compounds

Examples for the basic items:

DİK:

A.

(1) <*Eski Osmanlı ediplerine çok özendiğiniz*> *ayan oluyor efendim*. ‘It becomes obvious <that you are emulating the old Ottoman authors>, sir.’ (TUT 57)

(2) *Deli eniştemiz bunu işitince bakmış ki bu defa da <peygamberi sövdüğü> sanılarak başına bir iş açılacak!* ‘When our crazy uncle heard this he realized that once again he would be thought of as <having cursed the Prophet> and therefore he would run into trouble.’ (ÇEN 125)

(3) <*Nereden geldiği*> *anlaşlamayan fosforlu bir ışıkla arada bir belli belirsiz aydınlanan Kara Cadillac’a ağır ağır, korkuyla, yambaşındaki Haçlı muhafızlarından izin alır gibi saygıyla yaklaşacağım*. ‘Slowly and fearfully, respectfully, as if asking permission from the crusader guards at its side I will approach the Black Cadillac that is occasionally slightly illuminated by a phosphorescent light of which nobody knows <where it comes from>.’ (KK 27)

(4) <*Nereden kabardığı*> *bilinmeyen bir küçük rüzgârla harekete geçen bir bulut parçası, evvela bir gül bahçesi oldu, sonra ince ince parçalara ayrılarak ta başlarının ucuna kadar ilerledi ve orada yeleleri aevli siyah bir atın ön ayaklarına doğru bir halı gibi serildi*. ‘A piece of cloud moved by a breeze of which nobody knew < from where it had arisen > became a rose garden first; then it was split into minute pieces and moved down towards their heads. There, they were spread out like a carpet before the forelegs of a black horse with a blazing mane.’ (HUZ 204)

(5) *Tek bildiğim*, <onlarla aynı evde yaşadığım>. ‘The only thing I know is <that I live in the same house with them>.’ (BİP 160)⁶

B.

(6) *Nermin*, hafifçe başını kaldırıp, <<sevindiğini> gizlediğini> belirtmek isteyen bir bakışla: “Başka türlü olabilir miydi?” dedi. ‘Nermin raised her head slightly and said with a glance which was meant to indicate <that she was hiding <that she was glad>>: “Could it be different?”’ (TUT 49)

(7) *Galip*, <Celâl’i bulmak üzere olduğunu> anlattı. ‘Galip told him <that he was about to find Celâl>.’ (KK 387)

(8) *Dostları*, <onun gizli din kullandığını> bile rivayet ederlerdi. ‘His friends even used to relate <that he practised a secret religion>.’ (SİB 52)

(9) *Turgut*, bütün bunları o sırada mı düşündü, yoksa sonradan, o anı hatırladığı zaman, <öyle düşündüğünü> mü sandı? ‘Did Turgut think all these things then, or did he believe <that he had thought like that> when he remembered that moment later?’ (TUT 36)

(10) <Biraz daha dişini sıkması gerektiğini> biliyordu sadece. ‘He simply knew <that he would have to grit his teeth a little longer>.’ (TUT 38)

C.

(11) <Bu açıklamanın, değil dinleyenler için, benim için bile fazla soyut olduğunun farkındayım. ‘I am aware of the fact <that this explanation is too abstract not only for those who listen but also for myself>.’ (TUT 41)

(12) *İşiten* <senin Müslüman kızı olduğuna> inanmayacak... ‘The one who hears this won’t believe <that you are a Muslim girl>.’ (SİB 44)

(13) *Bütün bunlara bakıp* <hakikaten hayatımı, mühim, anlatılması behemehal lâzım gelen bir şey sandığıma>, <ona olduğundan fazla bir değer verdiğime> inanmayız. ‘With regard to all these things, do not think <that I really consider my life an important matter that absolutely needs to be narrated> and <that I attach more importance to it than it has>.’ (SAE 14)

(14) *Bu*, <Celâl’in uzun zamandır gazeteye yeni yazı göndermediğinin> açık bir işareti olduğu gibi, başka bir şeyin gizli bir işareti de olabilirdi. ‘Just as it could be a clear sign for the fact <that Celâl had not sent any new articles to the newspaper for a long time>, it could also be a secret sign for something else.’ (KK 96)

⁶ *Tek bildiğim* is a free relative clause.

D.

(15) *Eminönü otobüsündeyken kucağındaki paketin tuhaf bir şekilde ağırlaştığını hissetti, aynı tuhaflıkla başka bir duyguya, bir gözün kendisini gözetlediği duygusuna da kapıldı.* ‘While he sat in the Eminönü bus he felt that the parcel in his lap was becoming heavy in a strange way; in the same strange way he was seized with another feeling, namely the feeling that an eye was watching him.’ (KK 72)

mE:

A.

(16) *İçinin boşaldığını hissetti birdenbire: <göğsünden midesine, oradan da bacaklarına doğru bir kayıp gitme>.* ‘Suddenly he felt that he became empty internally: <a drifting away from his chest to his stomach, and further towards his legs>.’ (TUT 34)

(17) *Fakat onu hayran eden şey, <bir kadının iki sene bir sır gibi saklayabilmesi> oldu.* ‘But what struck him was <that a woman could hide it like a secret for two years>.’ (SİB 38)

(18) *Bu saadetin tek lekesi <Seyit Lûtfullah’ın ancak Aselban’ın kendisini çağırdığı zamanlar oraya gidebilmesi> idi.* ‘The only stain on this bliss was <that Seyit Lûtfullah could only go there when Aselban invited him>.’ (SAE 46)

(19) *<Şimdi, hiçbir köşede bulunamaması>, <biraktığı adreslerin ve telefon numaralarının yanlış ya da uydurma çıkması>, sevgilerine karşılık veremediği yakın akrabalarına, uzak akrabalarına—bütün insanlara—duyduğu tuhaf ve anlaşılmasız bir nefret yüzündendi.* ‘<That he could not be found anywhere now> and <that all the addresses and telephone numbers he had left turned out to be wrong or fictitious> was due to a strange and incomprehensible hatred against his close relatives, his distant relatives—all people whose love he did not reciprocate.’ (KK 101)

B.

(20) *<Direnmeyi> bırak.* ‘Give in (i.e. give up the resistance).’ (TUT 537)

(21) *Bizim <tekrar tekrar dinlemeyi> sevdiğimiz bu fıkrayı anlatırken o hâlâ bu işten ucuz kurtulmuş olmasının heyecanını duyardı.* ‘When he told this anecdote, which we loved <to hear again and again>, he always still felt the excitement of only just having escaped this situation.’ (ÇEN 125)

(22) *Yokuşu çıkarken <Celâl’e yalnızca Rüya’nın hafif hasta olduğunu söylemeyi> kuruyordu.* ‘While he was going uphill he planned <to tell Celâl only that Rüya was a little ill>.’ (KK 96)

C.

(23) *<Adları değiştirerek kitabı yayımlamamda> bir sakınca görmediğini belirtti.* ‘She declared that she had no objection <against publishing the book (while) changing the names>.’ (TUT 19)

(24) *Umumî veya hususî psikoloji ve bilhassa sosyoloji hakkında hiçbir fikrim olmasına rağmen <işin böyle olmasına> ben de memnunum.* ‘Although I have no idea about general or special psychology and especially sociology, I am content <that the matter is like this>.’ (SAE 21)

(25) *Buna rağmen, ister gündüz olsun, ister gece, canları diledikçe, bir mezarlıktan ötekine hoplaya zıplaya geçenler de vardı: rüzgâr ve hırsızlar, kertenkeleler ve kediler, <aradaki duvarın üstünden, içinden, altından geçmenin> türlü türlü yollarına vakıftı.* Nevertheless, there were creatures that hopped and leaped from one graveyard to the other as their hearts desired: wind and thieves, lizards and cats were aware of <manifold ways of getting across, through or below the wall between them>.’ (BİP 19)

(26) *<ölümü beklemenin> zamanı geldi artık* ‘the time has finally come <to expect death>’ (KK 27)

D.

(27) *İçinde bazı uyku sonlarını andıran çok lezzetli bir tükenme duygusu, hattâ bu sıcak kavrayış ve sokuluşların içinde bir tükenme arzusu vardı.* ‘Internally there was a very delicate feeling of exhaustion that resembled the end of slumber, even a desire for exhaustion within this warm grasping and shoving.’ (HUZ 26)

(28) *Doğduğundan beri başımın çevresini bir uğursuzluk hâlesi gibi saran o amansız yalnızlık duygusundan, insanlara sokulamama hastalığından kurtulamayacağımı anlamıştı artık.* ‘He finally had understood that he would not be able to escape that merciless feeling of loneliness that had surrounded his head like a halo of misfortune since birth, and the illness of being unable to cope with people.’ (KK 101)

(29) *Her şey, moda mağazalarından, muâşeret güçlüklerinden, cinsi terbiyeden, utanma duygusundan, günah korkusundan edebiyat ve sanata kadar her şey bu işe müdahale ediyor.* ‘Everything, beginning from fashion magazines, the difficulties in social relations, sexual education, sense of shame, fear of guilt, up to literature and art, everything is involved in this matter.’ (HUZ 167)

mEK:

A.

(30) *<Hatırlamak> <gördüğünü bilmektir>. <Bilmek>, <gördüğünü hatırlamaktır>. <Görmek>, <hatırlamadan bilmektir>.’ ‘<To remember> is <to know what you have seen>. <To know> is <to remember what you have seen>. <To see> is <to know without remembering>.’ (BAK 91-92)*

(31) *Belki de bütün ömrünce ikisini beraber görmeye alıştığı için, <ayrı ayrı yerlerde yattıkları düşünmek> ona ağır geliyordu.* ‘Maybe it was hard for him <to realize that they lay in different places>, because he had been accustomed to seeing them both together all his life.’ (HUZ 35)

(32) *<Şeker bayramında şeker yemek ve ikram etmek>, <Kurban bayramında kurban eti yemek ve dağıtmak>; <Muharrem’in onunda aşure pişirtmek, yemek ve tanıdıkla-*

rına göndermek> *lezzetli bir sevapti*. ‘<To eat and offer candy on the Candy Festival>, <to eat and distribute meat on the Festival of Sacrifice>, <to have prepared Ashura on the tenth of Muharram, to eat it and to send it to one’s acquaintances> was a pleasant, good deed.’ (ÇEN 35-36)

(33) *Bilmiyorum*, <*bir fiction’un yokluğuna üzölmek*> *ne dereceye kadar doğrudur?* ‘I don’t know; to what extent is it right <to feel regret about the absence of a fiction>?’ (HUZ 270)

(34) <*İnsanın aylardır mutlulukla resmettiği bir kitabın, kutsal bildiği şeylere saldır-dığından kuşkulananmak*>, <*yaşarken cehennem azabı çekmek*>. ‘<To suspect that a book one has been illustrating for months insults things one considers holy> is <to burn in hell alive>.’ (BAK 183)

B.

(35) *Hanımlar*, *bu sabah saatlerinde*, <*gezinmeği*> *pek severler* ‘The ladies very much loved <to go for a stroll> in these morning hours.’ (ÇEN 70)

C.

(36) <*Öteki adları değiştirmekte*> *güçlük çekmedim*. ‘I had no difficulties in <changing the other names>.’ (TUT 19)

(37) <*Çocuk iki yaşına geldiği gün çektilen fotoğrafta onu tanımakta*> *güçlük çekerdiniz*. ‘It would be difficult for you <to recognize him on a photo which was taken on the day the child became two>.’ (TUT 53)

(38) *Hayır*, <*hâtıralarımı yazmaktan*> *kastım* <*kendimi anlatmak*> *değildir*. ‘No, my intention <in writing my memoirs> is not <to express myself>.’ (SAE 14)

(39) *Evet*, <*ne okumaktan, ne yazmaktan*> *hoşlanırım*. ‘Yes, I enjoy <neither reading nor writing>.’ (SAE 13)

(40) *Celal*, <*sahneye çıkmaktan*> *korkan bir oyuncuyu yüreklendirir gibi sırtını sıvazlayarak, perdenin önüne doğru nazikçe itekledi kardeşini*. ‘Celal pushed his brother gently towards the curtain, stroking his back as if he was encouraging an actor that was afraid <of going on stage>.’ (BİP 337)

(41) *Milletin yarısı*, <*öbür yarısının hayvaniyetini doymakla*> *meşgul*. ‘Half of the people are busy <satisfying the bestiality of the other half>.’ (SİB 57)

D.

(42) *Onun en büyük hususiyeti* *harikulâde bir yemek pişirmek, yemek ve yedirmek merakıydı*. ‘His biggest peculiarity was his passion to cook, eat and serve an extraordinary meal.’ (ÇEN 61)

(43) *Beni daima ciddiye almak lütfunu gösteren Doktor Ramiz bu düşüncelerinin sonunda benim büyük bir idealist olduğumu da ilâve etmişti*. ‘Doctor Ramiz, who had

the kindness always to take me seriously, added at the end of these considerations that I was a great idealist.’ (SAE 21)

Thus, we can say that *DİK*, *mE* and *mEK* carry the following values:

Aspectual value	[±factive]	[±concrete]	Morpheme
[(-INTRA)(-POST)]	+	+	<i>DİK</i>
[(-INTRA)(-POST)]	-	+	<i>mE</i>
[(-INTRA)(-POST)]	-	-	<i>mEK</i>

The existence of the oppositions [±factive] and [±concrete] bears relevance for the complete aspectual inventory of constituent clauses. The items *DİK*, *mE* and *mEK* both function as neutral terms within this inventory, i.e. as carriers of the value [(-INTRA)(-POST)], and are involved in the formation of all the positively marked items as well.

As for their distribution, *DİK* rather rarely occurs in the direct case, with the exception of constructions like *diği için* or *diği gibi* (*Yani her millette olduğu gibi* ‘In other words, as it is the case in every nation’ (HUZ 241)), which are highly conventionalized. This infrequency of *DİK* in the direct case might be the reason why occurrences of *DİK* in the subject slot are often questioned by speakers of Turkish.

The contrast [±concrete] between *mE* and *mEK* is restricted in some respects:

- As soon as possessive suffixes are involved, *mE* is preferred to *mEK*. This is actually *because of* the contrast [±concrete]: Possessive suffixes always imply concreteness.
- *mEK* never combines with the genitive and rarely (cf. example 35) with the accusative, possibly due to the fact that these combinations could only be distinguished in their velar variant (cf. Lewis 1967: 168). As an object, *mEK* usually occurs as an unmarked object to verbs like *istemek*, etc. only. This usage is also highly conventionalized.
- *mE* never combines with the ablative; this is probably in order to avoid homonymy with the converb *mEdEn*: □

□

(44) *O zamanlarda herkes <“Zülfüyâr” diye andığı bu istibdat idaresini kuşkulandırabilecek bir haberdan bahsetmekten, bunu duymaktan bile> çekinirdi.* ‘These days, everybody was afraid <to mention or even to hear tidings that might arouse the suspicion of the absolutist regime labelled “The Lover’s Lock”>’. (ÇEN 125)

- In the case of the dative, there are obviously certain conventions for selecting *mE* or *mEK*, e.g. *mEyE başlamak* (45, 46) but *mEğE uğraşmak* (47). In many cases, both options seem acceptable. From the phonetic point of view, they can only be distinguished in the velar version (*maya* vs. *mağa*), which might contribute to the neutralization of the contrast. □

(45) “Ne?” diye haykarmaya başlamış ‘“What?” he started screaming.’ (ÇEN 125)

(46) *Hemen Fincancılar yokuşundan aşağı, koşmaya başlamış* ‘Immediately he started running down the Cupmakers’ Hill.’ (ÇEN 125)

(47) *kendini yine bir yere tâyin ettirmeğe uğraştığı bir gün* ‘one day when he tried to get transferred to another place’ (ÇEN 125).

As a result of these restrictions, the functional contrast between *mE* and *mEK* is most striking in the subject or predicate constituent.

The aspectually neutral value [(-INTRA)(-POST)] is responsible for the fact that constituent clauses marked with *DİK*, *mE* or *mEK* can be interpreted either as synchronous with the superordinate predicate or as “preterite”, quite independently of the IPS of the actional phrase. It is a special characteristic of [(-INTRA)(-POST)] items that both these negative values need not necessarily appear balanced, but depending on the context one of the (negative) values may be highlighted, thus producing a phantom reading of the complementary positive value. E.g., in *sevindiğini* [-t, +dyn] in example (6) above, the quality [-POST] prevails over [-INTRA], thus producing a pseudo-intraterminal reading in this particular context. The same is true for *gözetlediği* [-t, +dyn] in example (15). The reverse is the case for *öyle düşündüğünü* [+tf, -mom] in example (9). Here, for contextual reasons, the value [-INTRA] is highlighted, resulting in a pseudo-postterminal reading. Needless to say, these readings do not reflect any marked linguistic feature. Of course, the neutral value of [(-INTRA)(-POST)] items can result in aspectually indifferent or terminal readings, too.

3. Secondary items in constituent clauses

Almost all action nouns positively marked for aspect are constructed periphrastically by the aspect items *mİş*, *mEktE* and *İyor* and the copula *ol-* combined with *DİK*, *mE* or *mEK*. The items *mİş*, *mEktE* and *İyor* in combination with *ol-* are predicative attributes, strictly speaking; thus action nouns with the values [+POST] and [+INTRA] are analytical constructions based on secondary predications. The value [+POST] is signalled by *mİş ol-*, where *mİş*, unlike in finite position but like in relative clauses, retains its original postterminal quality. [+INTRA] is signalled by *mEktE ol-* and *İyor ol-*. As a result of their combinability with *DİK*, *mE* and *mEK*, the oppositions [±factive] and [±concrete] are imposed on the whole inventory of action nouns. As the secondary items are encountered less often than the primary ones, the syntactic categories A. to D. mentioned above could not be found for all theoretically possible combinations. Examples for secondary items will therefore be mentioned where available, with the syntactic category in question indicated afterwards. The following examples slightly focus on *İyor ol-* items, as these are the ones least accounted for in turcological literature.

mîş olduđu

(48) <Memleketini ve dinini terketmiş olduđu> söylenirdi. ‘There was a rumour <that he had forsaken his country and his religion>.’ (SIB 52) A.

(49) *Halbuki <iliklerine kadar dinin kanaatleri, emirleri, nehiyeleri, lezzetleri, nedametleri, rüzgârları ve fırtınaları içinde bocalayan deli eniştemizin bütün âsabi ve hüviyeti dinin selâmetiyle daha yatışmamış olduđu> görülüyordu.* ‘However, it was obvious <that the nerves and the character of my crazy uncle, who was deeply entangled in a web of religious beliefs, orders, prohibitions, pleasures, regrets, winds and storms, were not yet reconciled with the reassuring aspects of religion>.’ (ÇEN 37) A.

(50) *Ben de ona, <eserdeki insanların adları için Turgut’un bir teklif listesi göndermiş olduđunu> söyledim ve Günseli adını uygun bulup bulmadığını sordum.* ‘I also told her <that Turgut had sent a list with proposals for changing the names in the work> and asked her whether or not she found the name Günseli appropriate.’ (TUT 19) B.

(51) *Sonunda okuyacağım bu İncil’i ve <senin okumamış olduđunu> ispat edeceğim böylece.* ‘In the end I will read this Gospel and prove this way <that you haven’t read it>.’ (TUT 52) B.

(52) *Eđer, siyasi ve milli muarızlarıyla uzun seneler mücadele etmek mecburiyetinde kalmayıp da biraz okumaya fırsat bulsaydı, <tarihte, kendisi gibi birçok şahsiyetin yaşamış olduđunu> görecek ve her bakımdan tatmin olarak, muhaliflerinin kendisinde işaret ettiđi ani hırçnlık ve kaprislerden, belki bir nebze olsun kurtulabilecekti.* ‘Had he not been obliged to fight his political and national opponents for many years, and had he found the opportunity to read a little instead, he would have realized <that quite a few persons like him had existed before in history> and maybe he could to everyone’s satisfaction have escaped at least a little the sudden tantrums and caprices his opponents identified in his personality.’ (TUT 56) B.

(53) *Soğuk kış gecelerinde, “Sonunda ayakta kalabildim!” derken kendime, <içimin boşalmış olduđunu> da bilirdim.* ‘On cold winter nights, when I said to myself “Finally I have prevailed!” I also recognized <that I had become empty inside>.’ (KK 113) B.

(54) *Hava, <geceden yeni çıkmış olduđundan> serin ve <uykudan henüz ayrılmış olduđundan> dinlenmiştir.* ‘The air is cool <because it has emerged from the night recently> and it is well rested <because it has just awakened from sleep>.’ (ÇEN 70) C.

(55) *Fakat <ben yerlerde süründükten sonra açılan geniş adımlarla Rumelihisarı mezarlığına doğru kaçmış olan eniştemizin bize gelmemiş olduđuna> göre, mutlaka mezarlık ortasından geçen yokuştan yukarı çıkmış, mezarlığa karışmış ve maneviyatından bir kısmının orada kalmış, biraz kaybolmuş ve eksilmiş olacağına—sonradan eniştemizi tam ve sağlam görmüş olduđum halde bile—ihtimal vermekten ve bunu zannetmekten kendimi alamadım.* ‘But due <to the fact that our uncle, who had fled with giant strides towards the cemetery of Rumelihisarı, had not returned to us after I had shuffled along here and there>, I could not refrain from deeming it possible and be-

lieving—even though I saw him alive and kicking later—that he undoubtedly would have climbed the slope leading right through the cemetery, got lost in the graveyard and part of his wit would have remained there, vanished and diminished a little.’ (ÇEN 53) C.

mîş olma

(56) *Bilhassa <bu sözlerin kulağına söylenmiş olması>; bu tarihi şahsiyette, bütün kültürün ve hassaten Arap kültürünün kulaktan dolma bir şekilde tezahürüne sebebiyet vermiştir.* ‘Especially <that these words had been whispered into his ear> was the reason why all the culture, particularly the Arab culture, manifested itself in this historical person in a shallow, hearsay manner.’ (TUT 56) A.

(57) *Bana gelince, <esas fikri kendime ait olmasa bile, imzayı taşıyan bu eserin on sekiz dile tercüme edilmiş olması>, bu dillerin gazetelerinde tenkit edilmesi, <Van Humbert gibi bir âlimin sırf benimle tanışmak ve Ahmet Zamanî'nin kabrini ziyaret etmek için Hollanda'dan buraya kadar gelmiş olması>, diyebilirim ki, hayatımın en önemli hâdiselerinden biridir.* ‘As far as I am concerned, I can say that it is one of the most important events in my life <that this work, which is signed with my name even though its basic idea was not my own, has been translated into eighteen languages>, that it has been reviewed in the newspapers of these languages, and <that a scholar like van Humbert travelled here all the way from Holland just to make my acquaintance and to visit the grave of Ahmet the Temporary>.’ (SAE 12) A.

(58) *<Onu aramış olmam>, konuştuğumuz anlamına gelmiyordu illa da.* ‘<My having phoned her> did not necessarily mean that we had talked.’ (BİP 136) A.

(59) *<Ayşin'in dün gece telefonu açmamış olmasının> akla en yakın meali, o esnada evde bulunmamasıydı.* ‘The most likely meaning of <Ayşin not having answered the phone last night> was that she was not at home at that time.’ (BİP 136) C.

(60) *Ayrı kişiler tarafından kaleme alınmış olması nedeniyle yer yer tutarsızlıklar vardı.* ‘For the reason that it had been composed by different people there were inconsistencies here and there.’ (TUT 19) D.

mîş olmak

(61) *<Sarhoşken ona telefon etmiş olmak> yeterince azap verici.* ‘<Having phoned her drunk> is distressing enough.’ (BİP 135) A.

mEktE olduğu

(62) *<Gürültü patırtıdan aklındaki şiiri unutmakta olduğunu> korkuyla anlayan Ka bu sırada salondan çıkmıştı.* ‘Meanwhile, Ka, who realized with terror that <he was forgetting the poem in his mind because of the uproar>, had left the hall.’ (KAR 154) B.

(63) *On dakika sonra İpek'i bir an önce görmek için dayanılmaz bir istek duyarak aşağıya inince <bütün ailenin bir misafirle birlikte çevresinde toplandığı sofranın ortasına Zahide'nin çorba tenceresini yeni yerleştirmekte olduğunu> ve İpek'in kumral saçlarının parıltısını mutlulukla gördü.* 'Ten minutes later, when he felt an unbearable urge to see İpek at once and went downstairs, he saw <that Zahide was just placing the soup tureen in the middle of the table around which the whole family had assembled together with a guest>. He happily saw the glittering of İpek's blonde hair, too.' (KAR 300) B.

(64) *Sonra Nermin sofrayı toplarken, oturduğu koltukta, birden Turgut <aynı huzursuzluğun yaklaşmakta olduğunu> hissetti.* 'Later, while Nermin was tidying up the table, Turgut in his armchair upon which he sat suddenly realized <that the same restlessness was approaching him>.' (TUT 50) B.

(65) *Beklerken, <çaprazında oturan, gözlerinin altında morun üç ayrı tonundan üç ayrı torba birikmiş, karayağız bir adamın dikkatle kendisini süzmekte olduğunu> fark etti.* 'While he was waiting he realized <that a swarthy man sitting diagonally across from him, under whose eyes three different bags of three different shades of purple were gathered, was watching him attentively>.' (BİP 304) B.

(66) *<Boğaz'ın sularının çekilmekte olduğunu> farkettiler mi?* 'Did you notice <that the water of the Bosphorus is receding>?' (KK 23) B.

mEktE olma

No examples encountered.

mEktE olmak

No examples encountered.

İyor olduğu

(67) *Beni sevenlerin sık sık beni düşünüp, <İstanbul'un bir köşesinde aptalca bir meşgaleye hâlâ oyalanıyor olduğumu>, hatta başka bir kadının peşinden gittiğimi hayal etmeleri huzursuz ruhuma büsbütün azap veriyor.* 'It is torturing my restless spirit extremely that those who love me think about me frequently, that they imagine <that I am wasting time with some stupid activity somewhere in İstanbul>, even that I'm off with another woman.' (BAK 11-12) B.

İyor olması

(68) *<Zavallı yetimin hâlâ ağlıyor olması> birden çok dokundu bana, kendim de ağlayacaktım.* 'It suddenly touched me <that the poor orphan was still crying> and I was about to cry myself.' (BAK 164) A.

(69) *<Az önce birlikte diz dize yan yana oturup resimlere baktığım kişiyle konuşuyor olmaları> içimi bir gurur ateşiyile doldurdu.* 'It filled me with a blaze of pride <that

His Excellency was talking to the person with whom I had sat down together and looked at the pictures a little earlier.’ (BAK 311) A.

(70) <Sizin bilimle uğraşiyor olmanız> umurlarında bile değildir. ‘They don’t even care <that you are concerned with science>.’ (PAT 48) A.

(71) <Hiç tanımadıkları birinin erzakları koydukları yere kadar kampı tanıyor olması>, kazı başkanını ürkütmüş, hemen istediklerinin hazırlanmasını söylemişti. ‘<That somebody whom they didn’t even know knew the camp including even the place where they stored their provisions> had frightened the chief of the excavation, and he had told him that everything they wanted would be prepared at once.’ (PAT 49) A.

(72) İşin kötü yanı <Orhan’ın kendini de kandırıyor olmasıydı>. ‘The worst thing about it was <that Orhan was betraying himself>.’ (PAT 298) A.

(73) Odanın yalınlığı ve fakirliği, boyasız ve sıvası dökülmüş duvarlar, <tepedeki çıplak ampulün kuvvetli ışığının gözünün içine giriyor olması> onu huzursuz ediyordu. ‘The bareness and poverty of the room, the unpainted walls with the plaster crumbled off, <(and the fact) that the bright light of the naked bulb on the ceiling was shining into his eyes> made him feel uncomfortable.’ (KAR 76) A.

(74) <Gecenin yerel televizyondan “veriliyor” olması> Karşılıkların çoğunda evlerinde oturup sahnede olanları televizyondan izleme isteğinden çok, tiyatroya gidip “çekim” yapan televizyoncuları seyretme isteği uyandırmıştı. ‘<That the night was being broadcast by local television> aroused in many inhabitants of Kars the desire, rather than just sitting at home and watching the events on stage on television, to go to the theatre and see the television staff doing the shoot.’ (KAR 150) A.

(75) Karla kaplı kaldırımda yürürken bembeyaz sokakların boşluğu ve <bütün şehirde yalnız onların yürüyor olması> içini mutlulukla doldurmuştu. ‘While they were walking on the snow-covered sidewalk, the emptiness of the snow-white streets and <the fact that within the whole town only they were walking around> filled his mind with happiness.’ (KAR 197) A.

(76) Mesela <benim İslamcı bilimkurgu romanı yazıyor olmam> onları gülümsetir. ‘For example <that I am writing an Islamist science fiction novel> makes them smile.’ (KAR 412) A.

(77) Haykırmakta olan karımı kendime çektim ve <çocukların gözyaşlarıyla yaklaşıyor olmasına> aldırmadan, yanağından aşkla öptüm onu. ‘I pulled my screaming wife towards me and without bothering <about the children approaching with tears in their eyes> I kissed her lovingly on her cheek.’ (BAK 256) C.

(78) <Modernist efsanelere kanarak zor anlaşılır şiirler yazan şairleri yıllarca küçümsedikten sonra hayatının son dört yılında kendi yazdığı şiirleri kendi kendine yorumluyor olmasının> gene de birkaç hafletici özürü var. ‘Still, there are some mitigating excuses <for his being engaged in interpreting for himself the poems he had written in

the last four years of his life, after having belittled for years poets who believe in modernist tales and write poems difficult to understand.’ (KAR 378) C.

(79) *Ama daha önemlisi <geceğin televizyondan naklen yayınlanıyor olması>, bu bir yerel yayın olmasına rağmen, onlarda bütün Türkiye'nin ve Ankara'nın kendilerini seyrediyor olduğu duygusunu uyandırmıştı.* ‘But more important was <that the night was being broadcast live on television>, and although this was a local broadcast, it aroused in them the feeling of all of Turkey and Ankara watching them.’ (KAR 149-150) A. D.

İyor olmak

(80) *Dünyanın baştan aşağı değiştiğinden o kadar emindim ki, <evden çıkarken babamın o ağır ve eski paltosunu giyiyor olmak> bende bir eksiklik duygusu uyandırmadı.* ‘I was so convinced that the world had changed from top to bottom that it did not wake inside me the impression of a flaw <that I was putting on that heavy and old coat of my father’s while leaving the house>.’ (YH 21) A.

(81) *<Alman parasıyla besleniyor olmak> sana bu milletin inançlarını ayaklar altına alma hakkım vermez!* ‘<Feeding on German money> does not entitle you to trample on the beliefs of this nation!’ (KAR 295) A.

(82) *<Padişah'ın özel izniyle böyle tehlikeli bir şey yapıyor olmak>, Frenk üstatlarının resimlerine hayranlık kadar önemliydi onun için.* ‘<To make such a dangerous thing with the Sultan’s special permission> was just as important to him as his admiration for the European masters.’ (BAK 448) A.

(83) *“Kiminle tanışmış oluyorum,” diye sordu bana ve alınma dikkatle baktı, belki de <Canan'a benden fazla bakıyor olmaktan> çekindiği için.* ““With whom do I have the pleasure of becoming acquainted,” he asked me and looked at my forehead attentively, maybe because he was afraid <of looking at Canan more than at me>.’ (YH 88-89) C.

(84) *<Birdenbire ve üstüm başım kan içindeyken, O'nun huzuruna çıkıyor olmaktan> utanç duydum.* ‘I was ashamed <of approaching Him all of a sudden and soaked in blood all over>.’ (BAK 266) C.

From the sum of examples it is quite apparent that the absence of the combinations *mEktE olma* and *mEktE olmak* from this corpus does not indicate that these combinations are impossible. Quite on the contrary, it can be assumed that *mİş*, *mEktE* and *İyor* can occur with *olduğu*, *olma* and *olmak* in the same distribution as the basic items *DİK*, *mE* and *mEK*.⁷ The examples cited with *İyor ol-* show that *İyor* freely

⁷ In terms of frequency, the following ranking can be established: *mİş ol-* > *mEktE ol-* > *İyor ol-*.

combines with *ol-* in periphrastic constructions of all kinds and is by no means restricted to certain conventionalized patterns like *İyor olmalı*, etc. Nevertheless, it has to be admitted that these combinations are extremely infrequent,⁸ the examples cited here being confined to just a few authors.

The infrequency of both *mEktE ol-* and *İyor ol-* accounts for the fact that these items, though *occurring* in one and the same author's work, virtually never *co-occur*.⁹ Therefore, no contrast in focality can be established, and *mEktE ol-* and *İyor ol-* have to be regarded as free variants.

Thus we can ascribe the following values to the individual items, with the same restrictions applying as with the primary items:

Aspectual value	[+factive]	[-factive]	
		[+concrete]	[-concrete]
[(-INTRA)(-POST)]	<i>DİK</i>	<i>mE</i>	<i>mEK</i>
[(+POST)(-INTRA)]	<i>mİş olduđu</i>	<i>mİş olma</i>	<i>mİş olmak</i>
[(+INTRA)(-POST)]	<i>mEktE olduđu</i> <i>İyor olduđu</i>	<i>mEktE olma</i> <i>İyor olma</i>	<i>mEktE olmak</i> <i>İyor olmak</i>

As we have seen, there are no focality contrasts in constituent clauses. The inherent focality degrees of the action nouns can be described as relatively high, which is supported by the fact that the items positively marked for aspect are marked in frequency against the [(-INTRA)(-POST)] items and therefore represent their respective values quite emphatically. Not surprisingly, of all the examples quoted above, *taniyor olması* in (71) is the only case of an [+INTRA] item combining with IPS [-dyn], and all but three examples—*okumamış olduğunu* [-t, -dyn] in (51), *yaşamış olduğunu* [-t, +dyn] in (52) and *gelmemiş olduğuna* [-t, -dyn] in (55)¹⁰—of [+POST] items combine with IPS [+tf]. Thus it is appropriate to state that the [+INTRA] and [+POST] items in question usually operate on their actional core domain. All situations apt for postterminal or intraterminal presentation can be related with the help of neutral *DİK*, *mE* and *mEK* also. The choice of a positively marked aspect item for a constituent clause is in itself an act of marked presentation, which is not the case with finite items (cf. *İyor*). The situation in constituent clauses is in this

⁸ In Orhan Pamuk's novel *Kar*, for example, *İyor ol-* (regardless of whether in constituent or in relative clauses) statistically occurs once every 52.5 pages (although thrice on page 150 alone).

⁹ Consider, though, the co-occurrence of adjectival *mEktE olan* and substantival *İyor olma* in example (77) above.

¹⁰ *okumamış olduğunu* and *gelmemiş olduğuna* being special cases as they represent [+tf, -mom] actional phrases recategorized as [-t, -dyn] by negation.

respect comparable to the situation in finite [+PAST] representations, where *Dİ* is applicable in all situations and positively marked items convey particular ideas.¹¹

4. Marginal phenomena

Needless to say, this article leaves many things unexplained. Modals have been excluded from the description, a decision which could be disputed as there is no clear demarcation line between the semantic fields of aspect and certain types of modality. Both the extremely frequent primary [+MOD] item *EcEK* and secondary items such as *Ir ol-* do occur in constituent clauses and deserve attention in their own right, but are disregarded here as they do not belong to the aspectual core inventory.

There are other cases of clearly aspectual nature, though. In these cases, positively marked aspectuality is achieved without periphrasis with *ol-*:

mİş.Ø

(85) *Üçüncü gün işçinin yerine, ağzında dişi, dizinde dermanı kalmamış ama <çenesinin kuvvetinden zerre kaybetmişe> benzemeyen dedesi damladı araziye ...* ‘On the third day, instead of the workers, an old man who had no teeth in his mouth and no strength left in his knees but who did not seem <to have lost the least bit of the power of his chin>, dropped in on the territory.’ (BİP 25)

İyor.Ø

(86) *O kadar ki, sesi <bataklıktan çıkıyora> benziyordu.* ‘To the degree that its voice seemed <to be emerging from a swamp>.’ (HUZ 221)

These extremely rare cases are very difficult to judge. They clearly have constituent status in the sentence. But are they constituent clauses in the true sense of the word? Clearly enough, these cases do not partake in the oppositions [\pm factive] and [\pm concrete]. Whatever their exact status is, they can definitely be labelled abnormal.

5. Summary

- Turkish primary action nouns are aspectually neutral. Still, they are full-fledged aspectual items as they systematically function as the negative term in aspectual oppositions.
- Positively marked aspectual values are signalled by morphologically secondary action nouns. These can be analyzed as periphrases of secondary

¹¹ Both situations differ in other respects, e.g. that there is no finite [+POST] item in Turkish (*mİş* being defocalized to a [(-INTRA)(-POST)^{+IND}] item; though the renewed item *mİş bulunuyor* might possibly be considered a full-fledged [+POST] item), and that the intraterminal *İyordu* is far more frequent than both intraterminal items in constituent clauses.

predicative items and the copula *ol-* with one of the three primary items. The contrasts [\pm factive] and [\pm concrete] that are established by the basic items (although certain restrictions apply) are thus systematically combined with aspectual oppositions.

- The opposition [\pm concrete] is largely restricted to the subject and predicate slot.
- The aspectual oppositions [\pm INTRA] and [\pm POST] are fully represented in constituent clauses. [(-INTRA)(-POST)] items offer the option of leaving aspectual ideas unexpressed and consequently display a universal applicability comparable to the finite item *Dİ* in the [+PAST] sphere. Consequently, [+INTRA] and [+POST] items are not only marked semantically but also in frequency. They represent their aspectual values quite emphatically and can be classified as high focals.

References

- Brendemoen, Bernt & Hovdhaugen, Even 1992. *Tyrkisk grammatikk*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Deny, J. 1921 [1971]. *Grammaire de la langue turque (dialecte osmanli)*. Paris. [Reprint: Niederwalluf.]
- Drimba, Vladimir 1976. La détermination prédicative en turc de Turquie, *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher* 48, 49-64.
- Johanson, Lars 1971. *Aspekt im Türkischen. Vorstudien zu einer Beschreibung des türkisch-türkischen Aspektsystems*. (Studia Turcica Upsaliensia 1.) Uppsala.
- Johanson, Lars 1990. Zur Postterminalität türkischer syndetischer Gerundien. *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher*, N. F. 9, 137-151.
- Johanson, Lars 1995a. Mehrdeutigkeit in der türkischen Verbalkomposition. In: Erdal, Marcel & Tezcan, Semih (eds.) *Beläk Bitig. Sprachstudien für Gerhard Doerfer zum 75. Geburtstag*. (Turcologica 23.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. 81-101.
- Johanson, Lars 1995b. On Turkic converb clauses. In: Haspelmath, M. & König, E. (eds.) *Converbs in cross-linguistic perspective. Structure and meaning of adverbial verb forms—adverbial participles, gerunds*. (Empirical approaches to language typology 13.) Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Johanson, Lars 1998. The structure of Turkic. In: Johanson, Lars & Csató, Éva Á. (eds.) *The Turkic languages*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Johanson, Lars 2000. Viewpoint operators in European languages. In: Dahl, Östen (ed.) *Tense and aspect in the languages of Europe*. EURO-TYP 20-6. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Johanson, Lars & Csató, Éva Á. (eds.) 1998. *The Turkic languages*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Lewis, Geoffrey L. 1967. *Turkish grammar*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.
- Sasse, Hans-Jürgen 2002. Recent activity in the theory of aspect: Accomplishments, achievements, or just non-progressive state? *Linguistic Typology* 6, 199-271.

Primary sources

- BAK: Orhan Pamuk 1998 [2000]. *Benim adım kırmızı*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- BİP: Elif Şafak 2002. *Bit Palas*. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.
- ÇEN: Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar 1956 [1996]. *Çamlıcadaki eniştemiz*. İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları.
- DİN: Mîna Urgan 1998 [2002]. *Bir dinozorun anıları*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.
- HUZ: Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar 1949 [2001]. *Huzur*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.
- KAR: Orhan Pamuk 2002. *Kar*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- KK: Orhan Pamuk 1990 [2000]. *Kara kitap*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- PAT: Ahmet Ümit 2000. *Patasana*. İstanbul: Om Yayınevi.
- SAE: Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar 1962 [2001]. *Saatleri ayarlama enstitüsü*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.
- SİB: Halide Edib Adıvar 1936 [2000]. *Sinekli bakkal*. İstanbul: Özgür Yayınları.
- TUT: Oğuz Atay 1972 [2000]. *Tutunamayanlar*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- YH: Orhan Pamuk 1994 [2004]. *Yeni hayat*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Consonant-vowel interactions in Karaim phonology: A Government Phonology perspective

Ann Denwood

Denwood, Ann 2005. Consonant-vowel interactions in Karaim phonology: A Government Phonology perspective. *Turkic Languages* 9, 65-84.

The NW dialect of Karaim, which is spoken in Lithuania, provides a challenge for theoretical phonologists. The essence of this language's harmonic process is elusive, prompting questions about how to define it. For example, is it the consonants alone which drive the harmony, or do the vowels play a part? Or is it the syllabic head which encodes all harmonic information? Is it indeed possible to separate the harmonising properties of consonants from those of vowels? In this paper consonant-vowel interactions in Karaim are looked at from a Government Phonology theoretical point of view. Harmony is treated as a supra-segmental phenomenon, driven by inter-nuclear relationships. The effect of such a relationship percolates down through all intermediate relationships, between the structural positions which consonants and vowels occupy, and between the component parts of the segments occupying these positions. There is more than one manifestation of structural hierarchy in Karaim phonology. Firstly, inter-nuclear relationships ensure that all nuclei within the relevant domain contain the palatalising element, I. Secondly, the complementary distribution of the vowels *e* and *a* in front-harmonic words provides evidence for an inter-nuclear relationship which also involves the element I. The occurrence of *e* (only in initial nuclei) and of *a* (only in non-initial nuclei) is explained as a restriction on the way I fuses with other elements in non-initial nuclei. I conclude that the hierarchy of relationships firstly between structural positions occupied by consonants and vowels, and secondly between the elements which these segments are composed of, makes it impossible to separate the quality of a consonant from the properties of a vowel, or vice versa, in a Government Phonology analysis of Karaim harmony.

Ann Denwood, Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi, Batı Dilleri ve Edebiyatı Bölümü, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, Bebek 80815, İstanbul, Turkey. E-mail: denwood@boun.edu.tr

1. Introduction

The North Western dialect of Karaim, spoken in Lithuania, has been documented by Csató as part of her efforts to preserve the language. Karaim is interesting because it has a full set of plain and palatalised consonants, probably influenced by its long contact with Polish and Russian which are both well-known for their palatalised consonants. It is an unusual feature for a Turkic language to have a full set of contrasting consonants, although palatalisation itself occurs to a greater or lesser extent

in related languages. What is particularly interesting about Karaim is that palatal¹ harmony involves consonants as well as vowels. In some cases, even, the front quality of non-initial vowels appears to be less distinct than the front quality of the surrounding consonants.

Two recent analyses of Karaim harmony have been proposed. Csató (1999) following Johanson (1991) proposes syllabic harmony; Nevins & Vaux (2002) propose consonant harmony. The problem of how Karaim harmony should be defined reveals differences in theoretical approaches to analysing the data. The question here is not whether “syllabic” harmony or “consonant” harmony is the correct analysis, but whether Government Phonology (GP)² can offer some insights into a relationship between harmony and palatalised consonants. In this paper I propose an analysis of Karaim harmony in GP terms, suggesting that consonants and vowels interact with each other. I shall consider some distributional asymmetries, focussing on the complementary distribution of /e/ and /â/ as transcribed in Csató (1999)³ in relation (i) to palatalised consonants and (ii) to their position in the word. The analysis will be based firstly on a special relationship between an onset containing a palatalised consonant and the nucleus which follows it⁴ and secondly on a hierarchical relationship between the nucleus which is head of the harmonic domain and the remaining nuclei within its domain.⁵ It will be proposed that nuclei which are not head of the harmonic domain have constraints on the composition and structure of vowels which occupy these positions. The conclusion will be that consonants and vowels are not easily separated when analysing Karaim harmony.

For the benefit of readers who may not be familiar with GP, a few words about the framework may be helpful, before looking in detail at Karaim.

2. The GP framework: basic concepts

GP is a principles and parameters abstract theoretical approach. Harmony can be analysed as the spreading of some property or properties, but this is essentially only a *metaphor*. Harmony involves the presence of a particular property (for example,

¹ Harmony may be classified as “palatal”, “front” vs. “back”, depending on one’s theoretical background. From a GP point of view, palatality is expressed by the presence of an element “T”.

² The theoretical framework will be introduced briefly wherever it applies.

³ Two short extracts are illustrated in the Appendix. For the purposes of this paper, the focus is on the vowel transcribed as /â/ although the same analysis could be extended to the other vowels. The pronunciation of /â/ varies both between different speakers and also between examples of the same speaker. Approximate IPA symbols [a] and [æ] are used to show this. The variation will be explained as two manifestations of a constraint on the fusion of elements in non-initial nuclei.

⁴ This relationship, defined as “Sharing” by Kaye (1992), will be discussed in detail in section 3.

⁵ Restrictions on the content of recessive nuclei will be explained in section 4 by means of the Licensing inheritance principle, Harris (1997).

frontness or roundness) in all the relevant positions within the harmonic domain. Two significant differences from some other frameworks are the use of monovalent elements as the basic building blocks in the composition of segments, and the organisation of the structure above segments. As the name implies, relationships within a domain involve government.

2.1. Elements

There are no distinctive features (plus or minus), phonemes, allophones etc. in GP. A very small number of elements in various combinations generate all phonological expressions (i.e. consonants and vowels).⁶ For example, the element I represents palatality, frontness etc., the element U represents labiality, roundness etc. and the element A represents openness, lowness etc.

Elements play one of two roles within a phonological expression. They may either be a head or an operator. Only one head per expression is permitted, but the number of operators is not limited since these do not form a hierarchical relationship with each other when they fuse together (unlike the relationship between a head and an operator). A phonological expression may have no head. It may even be empty, in which case it can be interpreted in various ways in different languages, e.g. as [ɨ] or as schwa.

Three elements combined in an unstructured relationship generate seven possible vowels, plus a potential expression without any content. These are illustrated in (1) with approximate phonetic interpretations since they are not specific to any particular language.

(1) (A)a (I)i (U)u (A.I)e (A.U)o (U.I)ü (A.I.U)ö ()ɨ

A structured relationship between elements produces further possibilities. For example, the elements A and I can combine either as (I.A) where A is head, or as (A.I) where I is head. (By convention, heads of expressions are usually shown on the right-hand side and underlined.) Since there is no ordering of operators, (A.I) is theoretically the same as (I.A). This makes a total of three ways that two elements can combine, illustrated in (2).

(2) (A.I) (A.I) (I.A)

Such differences in structure can be utilised in some languages to analyse expressions which are related, but which may behave differently phonologically e.g. [e], [ɛ] and [æ].

⁶ For general background on elements, see Harris & Lindsey (1995). Cobb (1993) and Charette & Göksel (1998) discuss some revisions to the theory, together with constraints on combinatorial properties of elements especially with respect to Turkic vowel harmonies.

Language-specific constraints determine how elements combine in order to produce the inventory of sounds for a given language. For example, in some languages it has been proposed that the element A cannot be a head in nuclear expressions, i.e. vowels, whilst in other languages it has been proposed that the element I must be a head. As far as palatal harmony is concerned, the element I should be present in all relevant positions within the harmonic domain. From the point of view of Karaim harmony, the question is to define which position is relevant: the onset (consonant), the nucleus (vowel), or both. The role that the element I plays within the position it occupies forms a crucial part of the analysis.

2.2. Structure above the segment

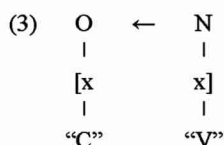
It is necessary to discuss structure very briefly for two reasons. Firstly, we need to understand how the terms “syllabic” harmony and “consonant” harmony can be translated into GP theoretical concepts. Secondly, the hierarchy of relationships between constituents of a word, and also between heads of constituents has consequences for the analysis of harmony.

Melody is linked to a structure which is constrained by principles of Universal Grammar.⁷ GP differs fundamentally from many other frameworks in that segments are allocated to an existing structure, and not vice-versa (i.e. structure is not made to fit the segments) via a skeletal tier of timing slots. This means that logically a structural position may sometimes be empty.⁸

The syllable is not recognised as a constituent in GP. Onset nucleus pairs form the basic structural unit which can be identified informally as the equivalent of an open syllable in other frameworks. Since GP does not allow a word-final coda, word-final consonants must occupy an onset followed by a silent nucleus. The most important aspect for the present purposes is the universally head-final relationship between onset and nucleus, whereby the nucleus is the licenser, i.e. the head, and the onset is the licensee of the minimal structure illustrated in (3).

⁷ For background reading on constituent structure in GP, see Kaye (1990), Kaye, Lowenstamm & Vergnaud (1990) or Brockhaus (1995). Although Government phonologists allow maximally binary branching constituents, Lowenstamm (1996) proposes a more constrained non-branching version of the theory. In some versions, melody may be linked directly to CV positions without intermediate skeletal points. A non-branching structure suffices here for the purpose of this paper.

⁸ An empty position remains silent (uninterpreted) subject to the conditions of the phonological empty category principle. It should be possible here to have a general picture of constituent structure without a detailed discussion of how GP deals with empty categories although these form an essential part of GP theory.



Relationships between nuclei, the heads of ON pairs, are formed when there is a string of more than one such pair. These relationships take place at a higher level where supra-segmental phenomena, for example stress and harmony, are organised. The direction of relationships between nuclei, for example in harmony phenomena, may be either head-initial or head-final, according to the language.

3. Relationships between structure and content

Relationships between onset and nucleus, as well as between nucleus and nucleus, may be manifested as harmony of one kind or another. In this paper we are especially concerned firstly with the relationship between an onset containing a palatalised consonant and the following nucleus, and secondly the relationship between onset-nucleus pairs which form harmonic domains in Karaim.

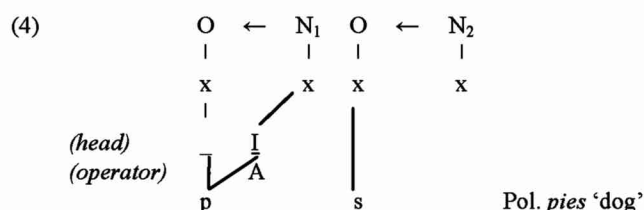
3.1.1. Harmony between onset and nucleus

Although there are many languages where the content of an onset appears to be totally unrelated to the content of its nucleus (in other words any vowel may follow any consonant), there are languages where constraints clearly exist on the content of adjacent consonant and vowel. A typical example of this is the relationship between a palatalised consonant and the vowel which follows it. For example, the vowel [i] should follow a palatalised and not an unpalatalised consonant in languages where the two types of consonant contrast. The vowel [ɪ] should follow a plain consonant. Since Karaim is famous for its palatalised consonants, we begin by looking at their structure in GP.

3.1.2. Palatalised consonants in GP

In GP terms, palatalisation (as well as other phenomena involving the front quality of consonants or vowels) is represented by the presence of the element I. From the point of view of structure, the element I occupies the onset as an operator.⁹ In addition to this, Kaye (1991) proposed that a palatalised consonant in Polish has a special relationship with the following vowel, whereby the same element I occupies the nucleus as a head. A rough sketch to show a concrete example from Polish, *pies* ‘dog’, is given in (4). The full elemental composition of the consonants is not shown here, only the relevant palatalising I element.

⁹ This distinguishes palatalised consonants from true palatals, which have I as a head.



In (4) a single I element is linked both to the onset as operator and to the nucleus as head, giving us a palatalised p. The nucleus N₁, which is head of the ON constituent, licenses the I-head it dominates to be an operator in its own onset. The fusion of two elements in N₁, an I-head with an A-operator, gives us the vowel [e]. (The final empty nucleus need not concern us here.)

The theoretical concept of Sharing was introduced by Kaye (1991, 1992) to explain the appearance and disappearance of palatalised consonants in Polish, related to vowel-zero alternation in that language.¹⁰ For example, the word *pies* 'dog' apparently has a palatalised consonant followed by a front vowel, but when the addition of a suffix triggers vowel-zero alternation the consonant is not palatalised, e. g. *pies* 'dog' ~ *psa* [dog:GEN]. Kaye argues that it is not helpful in Polish to say whether the I element occupies the onset or the nucleus, therefore he proposes sharing I between both positions. This avoids the problem of deciding whether to analyse the word *dog* either as *p^l-e-s*, with a palatalised consonant, or as *p-ie-s*, with a diphthongised vowel. In Polish, when the nucleus containing a shared I is silent, then the same I element cannot be interpreted in the onset.

Whilst the Polish analysis is crucial for understanding the very close relationship between an onset containing a palatalised consonant and the nucleus which licenses it, this is not to say that the relationship is constrained in exactly the same way in all languages. It is clear that in some languages, e.g. Russian and Khalkha Mongolian, palatalised consonants can be followed by a silent nucleus. Although this must be the case also in Karaim because certain palatalised consonants occur word-finally (please see the text in the appendix for examples), this detail will not be discussed here.

From the point of view of harmony between onset and nucleus, it appears that either both positions must contain an I element, or else neither position may contain an I element. This point will be returned to later, when we look at restrictions on which vowel may follow a palatalised consonant in Karaim, and which may not.

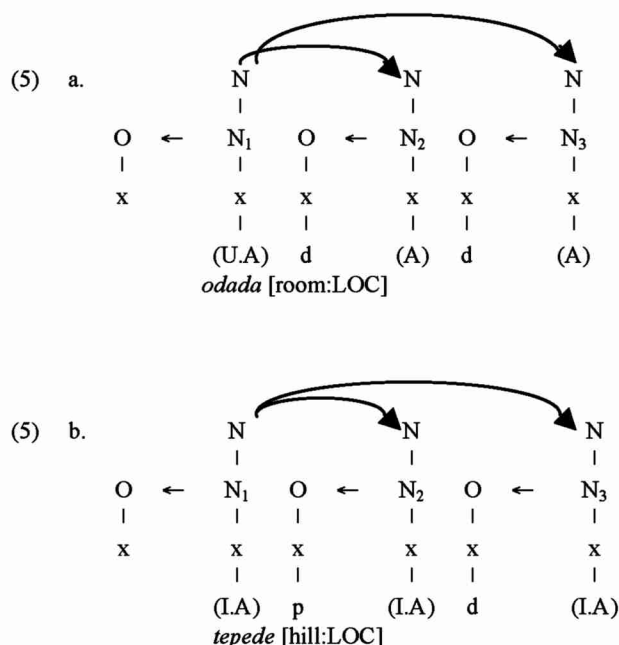
¹⁰ In Slavic languages a vowel which alternates with zero is called a *yer*. The interaction between *yers* and palatalisation is well-known, but analyses vary according to different frameworks. There is no vowel deletion in GP, only the operation of the phonological empty category principle controlling non-interpretation of the nucleus a vowel occupies. The operation of the ECP (not only on fully empty categories but also on a pseudo-empty category, i.e. a position occupied only by a shared element) is beyond the scope of this paper.

Meanwhile, let us see how relationships between nuclei, the heads of ON constituents, control harmony within the domain of a word.

3.2. Harmony between nuclei

Harmony can be defined as agreement with respect to some property between a licenser and its licensee. At a suprasegmental level, this is assumed to be a manifestation of governing relationships between nuclei on a projection where they are adjacent. The domain-head, the governor, licenses a certain property in its licensee(s) through government.

Let us take Turkish to illustrate a typical example of harmony between vowels. In this case, the I element is the property which is shared by all nuclei within a harmonising domain. Two words are shown in (5), one where no I element is present in any nucleus, and the other where I is present in all nuclei of the domain.¹¹



To begin with, in (5a) there is no element I present in any of the nuclei. This does not mean that there is no relationship between nuclei at the projection where inter-nuclear government takes place. N₁ is assumed to govern N₂, and then again to gov-

¹¹ U-harmony is not considered here. Consonants are involved in I-harmony only very marginally in Turkish, and will not be included in this part of the discussion. No attempt is made here to define the status of heads or operators in these examples.

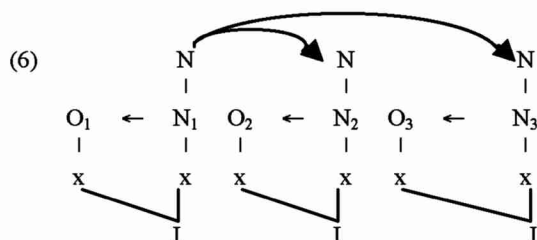
ern N_3 , which are both within its domain.¹² It simply means that no I element is present for the governing nucleus to license. In (5b), on the other hand, all nuclei contain an I element. N_1 licenses the element I which is present in itself also to occupy the remaining nuclei within its domain.

It makes no difference for the present purposes whether harmony is viewed as a process of I-spreading from the head of the domain, or as a static process of licensing I to occupy all nuclei within the harmonic domain. In a non-derivational framework like GP, harmonic spreading is essentially only a metaphor.

3.3. Combining the two relationships

It should logically be possible to combine the two relationships described above. Harmony between onset and nucleus, as in the case of a palatalised consonant and a following vowel both of which contain a shared I element, could go hand in hand with harmony between nuclei which also all contain an I element.

Leaving aside the fact that in some languages there may be constraints preventing certain consonants from being palatalised, let us imagine a hypothetical language where all consonants palatalise in the context of all front vowels. The diagram in (6) shows an abstract example with none of the additional segmental material. The shared I element alone is illustrated occupying O_1 and N_1 , representing a palatalised consonant followed by a front vowel. According to the harmonic spreading metaphor, licensing of the I element passes down the chain of relationships through nuclear government by the domain head. N_1 governs N_2 which in turn licenses its own onset O_2 , and licenses the I element to be shared between them. As head of the harmonic domain, N_1 also licenses the I element in the remaining positions of its domain either directly through inter-nuclear government or indirectly through onset licensing.



The question is: can this hypothesis be applied to Karaim?

¹² The licensing principle (Kaye 1990) states: "All phonological positions, save one, must be licensed within a domain. The unlicensed position is head of the domain".

4. Harmony in Karaim

The thing that distinguishes Karaim from other Turkic languages is that it has a full set of contrasting plain and palatalised consonants. Words where there is palatal harmony, i.e. I-harmony in GP terms, have palatalised consonants, in contrast with words where there is no I-harmony.¹³ Examples in (7) illustrate the contrast.

(7)	a.	<i>kaldim</i>	[stay:PAST1SG]
		<i>orunya</i>	[place:DAT]
	b.	<i>k'ełdim</i>	[come:PAST1SG]
		<i>juv'gá</i>	[house:DAT]

As far as the consonants are concerned, they are clearly palatalised in words where I-harmony occurs. The quality of certain vowels in the context of palatalised consonants however, especially those transcribed as *á*, *ó* and *ú*, is more problematic.¹⁴ These are different from the front vowels usually transcribed as *e*, *ö* and *ü*, to the extent that sometimes they appear to be phonetically little different from the vowels in non-harmonic words.

The phonetic quality of these so-called front vowels has prompted Nevins & Vaux (2002) to analyse Karaim harmony as “consonant harmony” in which intervening vowels play no part. Csató (1999), on the other hand, defines Karaim harmony as “syllabic harmony”¹⁵ whereby the value for frontness or backness is encoded in the whole syllable rather than residing in a single component of the syllable.

No real criticism or comparison of these two analyses is proposed here, since the theoretical foundations on which their proposals are made differ from those of GP. Nevertheless, both approaches assume a harmonising relationship between constituents at a higher structural level. In other words, both treat harmony as a suprasegmental phenomenon and not as spreading between strictly adjacent constituents. Syllabic harmony implies a relationship between syllable heads, i.e. nuclei in GP terms. Consonant harmony, as I interpret Nevins & Vaux’s analysis, takes place at a projection where onsets are adjacent and visible to each other, and where nuclei play no part in the process.

From a GP perspective, I aim to show that in Karaim there is a relationship between nuclei at a supra-segmental level which has direct consequences on the relationship between vowels and palatalised consonants at the segmental level. It is not so much a question of whether onsets or nuclei establish harmonising relationships with each other, but a question of where and how the I element, i.e. frontness, is interpreted. I suggest that the properties of a palatalised consonant cannot easily be separated from the properties of a following vowel.

¹³ Palatalisation of final consonants is variable. This will not be discussed here.

¹⁴ Csató (1999) describes these as front vowels “pronounced in a somewhat retracted way”.

¹⁵ There are two types: intra-syllabic in which all constituents of a syllable are involved (and must agree), and inter-syllabic which involves agreement between different syllables.

First, let us be clear about what consonant harmony involves.

4.1. Definition of consonant harmony

Consonant harmony appears to fall into two categories. One type would be better described as “consonant-vowel harmony”, since both consonants and intervening vowels are affected. The second type involves only consonants. According to Hansson (2001), the latter type is comparatively rare and unusual. He gives the following pre-theoretical working definition for this type of harmony.

- (8) *Consonant harmony* (definition):
 Any assimilatory effect of one consonant upon another consonant, or any assimilatory co-occurrence restriction holding between two consonants, where:
 a. the two consonants are separated by a string of segmental material consisting of, at the very least, a vowel; and
 b. intervening segments, in particular vowels, are not audibly affected by the assimilating property.

Hansson claims that true consonant harmony is oblivious to the nature of intervening vowels. According to the above definition, Karaim appears to fall into the consonant-vowel category on two counts.

Firstly, there are adjacency restrictions between certain consonants and certain vowels. Palatalised consonants must occur in the context of *e* and *i* and never occur in the context of *i* [1], e.g. *k'el'dim* **keldim* ‘I came’, *kaldim* **k'al'dim* ‘I stayed’. This fact alone tells us that there is a certain amount of interaction between consonants and vowels in Karaim, otherwise we incorrectly predict that **keldim* ‘I came’ and **k'al'dim* ‘I stayed’ ought to be possible.

Secondly, there is the question of the front quality of vowels transcribed here as *a*, *o* and *u*, which occur in the context of palatalised consonants. These vowels may be considered problematic since they vary not only between different speakers but also between different contexts for the same speaker.¹⁶ Nevertheless, the very fact that there is sometimes an audible effect on intervening vowels should be taken into account.

For some phonologists, the question of whether or not the intervening vowels are thought to be involved in the harmonic process depends on their theoretical point of view. For example in a framework where features are distinctive, the problem is to define whether the vowels contrast and palatalisation of consonants is allophonic, or whether the consonants contrast and front quality of vowels is allophonic. If harmony is considered to be solely a consonantal property, any assimilation of the vowels has

¹⁶ For example, the two vowels transcribed as /ä/ in *č'üp'r'äk'k'ä* ‘in a cloth’ (The famous Karaim cucumber) are clearly different, the former being more audibly front than the latter. In the same passage, the vowel /ä/ in *k'er'äk* ‘need’ is less audibly front than in *č'üp'-r'äk* ‘cloth’, although the adjacent consonants are identical.

to be treated as a mere phonetic co-articulation affect without any theoretical significance.

GP does not have this problem, because there are no distinctive features, phonemes or allophones. When we hear frontness in consonants or vowels, then the I element is present. The problem in the present case is to know where the I element is interpreted, either in the onset or in the nucleus, or in both. This is something that our ears alone cannot tell us, as for example in the case of the alternating palatalised consonant and following vowel in Polish, e.g. *pies* ~ *psa* [dog:GEN], which was discussed in 3.1.

The distributional restrictions on *e* and *i*, which must follow a palatalised consonant, and on *ĩ*, which must not follow a palatalised consonant, show that there is a direct link between an onset containing a palatalised consonant and the following nucleus, at least in the case of these vowels. Such a relationship qualifies as harmony between onset and nucleus, as defined in 3.1. The distribution of palatalised consonants within a harmonic domain demonstrates a relationship between the nuclear heads of ON pairs at a supra-segmental level. This was the hypothetical structure suggested earlier in 3. iii, and illustrated in fig. (6). If it can be shown that the composition of all vowels which follow palatalised consonants is subject to constraints on nuclei within the harmonic domain, then there can be no doubt that nuclei as well as onsets are involved in the harmonic process. It is impossible to separate the properties of the onset from the properties of the nucleus.

The problem which remains is how formally to relate the quality of the vowels *á*, *ó* and *ú* to the palatalised consonants which they follow. Focussing on the asymmetrical distribution of *e* and *á*, I hope to show that different interpretations of the element I are a manifestation of a hierarchical relationship between nuclei within the harmonic domain. Whatever is proposed here for the composition of *á* can later be extended to analyse *ó* and *ú*. The problem has two parts: firstly to explain the complementary distribution of *e* and *á*, and secondly to explain the variable pronunciation of the vowel so far transcribed as *á*.

4.2. Distribution of Karaim vowels

The distribution of palatalised consonants within a harmonic domain is uncontroversial. The quality of certain vowels following palatalised consonants is less clear. Nevertheless, there are distributional asymmetries which can help us in an analysis of Karaim harmony. The following vowel distribution facts are taken from Csató (1999), using the same transcription as far as possible.¹⁷

¹⁷ Reduced central vowels are not included here. We leave aside the absence of word-initial *ĩ* (a nucleus without any element). The lack of *o*, *ö* and *ó* in non-initial nuclei is irrelevant here because it is due to restrictions on U-harmony and not on I-harmony.

(9) a.	Vowel-initial words:								
	initial nucleus	a		o	u	e	i	ø	ü
	non-initial nucleus	a	ĩ		u	á	i		ü
b.	Consonant-initial words:								
	initial nucleus	Ca	Cĩ	Co	Cu	C ^j e	C ^j i	C ^j ø	C ^j ü
	non-initial nucleus	Ca	Cĩ		Cu	C ^j á	C ^j i		C ^j ü

Although consonant-initial words display a slightly different pattern of contrasts from vowel-initial words, the most important asymmetry to be observed here is the complementary distribution of *e*, which is restricted to initial nuclei, and *á*, which is restricted to non-initial nuclei. This asymmetry is the same whether there is an initial consonant or not. For this reason the following analysis is focussed upon the distribution of *e* and *á*.¹⁸

Two closely connected questions are now discussed. Firstly, why does *e* occur only in initial nuclei, and not in non-initial nuclei? Apparently *e* is the trigger for harmony but never the result of harmony. In other words, what prevents *e* from following a palatalised consonant in non-initial nuclei? Secondly, what, precisely, is *á*? Its pronunciation varies, not only between speakers but also between utterances of the same speaker. For example, in the story of "The famous Karaim cucumber", the vowel *á* in the words *č'úp'j'ák'k'á* 'into a cloth', and *k'er'ák* 'need' does not sound the same each time. I suggest that the IPA symbols in (10) approximately reflect two different interpretations of *á*.

- (10) Phonetic interpretations of *á*:
- a. C^j[æ]
 - b. C^j[a]

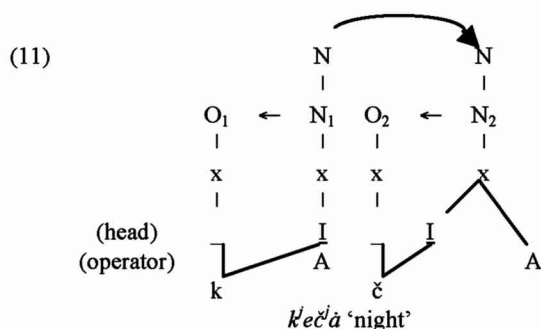
In terms of elemental composition, the elements A and I are involved. I suggest that in (10a) A and I fuse together as (A.I), but in (10b) I suggest that there is no fusion of elements, separating the expression into two components (I) and (A). The fact that frontness, i.e. the I element in GP terms, is not *always* clearly discernible in the second part of the expression has prompted some people to propose that the property of frontness belongs only to the palatalised consonant and not to the following vowel. So, does the I element really belong to the onset and not to the nucleus?

¹⁸ The difference between *ø/ö* and *ü/ü* in initial nuclei appears to depend on the presence or absence of an initial consonant, e.g. *öz'* 'self' versus *k'öz'* 'eye', but the difference between *e* and *á* does not have this additional complicating factor. Whatever explains the difference between *e* and *á* may later be extended, with variations on a similar theme, to explain the distribution of *ø/ö* and *ü/ü*.

4.3. Relationship between consonant and vowel

Consider first the pronunciation C^j[a]. It is possible to describe this simply as a palatalised consonant followed by a non-front vowel. On the other hand, is there any theoretical reason why we should not analyse this as a consonant followed by a diphthong [ja]? Even if the consonant is palatalised, we might also claim that this is followed by a kind of diphthong. After all, when we find the combination C^ji, we analyse this as a palatalised consonant followed by a vowel [i]. In other words, we hear I in the nucleus as well as in the onset.

Following Kaye’s insight that we cannot separate the vowel from the consonant, as in the Polish example *pies* ~ *psa* [dog:GEN], I suggest similarly that the front properties of onsets and nuclei cannot be separated in Karaim. In other words, it is impossible to say whether *kečä* ‘night’ should be analysed as “*kečä*” with the I element in the onset or as “*kiečä*” with the I element in the nucleus. In (11) a single I element is shown shared between two positions, as head in the nucleus and as operator in the onset, which represents a palatalised consonant followed by a front vowel. The remaining elemental composition of the consonants is not given, the letters *k* and *č* being used to represent informally the unpalatalised portion of the consonants.



In both nuclei, the I element is head. In N₁ the I-head fuses with an A-operator and is interpreted as [e] (A.I). In N₂ the I-head does not fuse with A, resulting in a diphthong-like sound [ia] ((I)(A)).¹⁹ This example is what was described in 3.1. as harmony between onset and nucleus.

Before we consider the alternative pronunciation [æ] in non-initial nuclei, let us look at the relationship between nuclei which must take place if harmony between vowels is to be considered. Firstly, do nuclei relate to each other harmonically in Karaim? Secondly, why does *e* contrast with *ä*? Why is *e* not found in non-initial nuclei? I suggest that the *e/ä* contrast provides evidence for a relationship between nu-

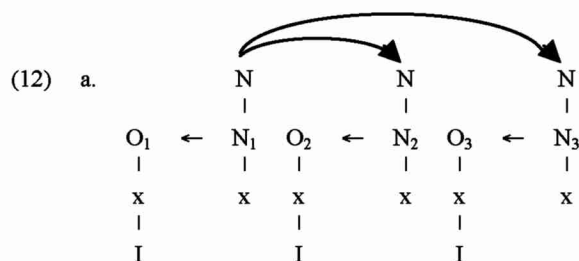
¹⁹ The question of whether this (A) is the same as the vowel usually transcribed as /a/ following a non-palatalised consonant is beyond the scope of this paper. They do not necessarily have the same phonological structure.

clei. In addition, I suggest that the alternative interpretation of *á* as [æ] reflects a different manifestation of a constraint on I-heads in nuclei.

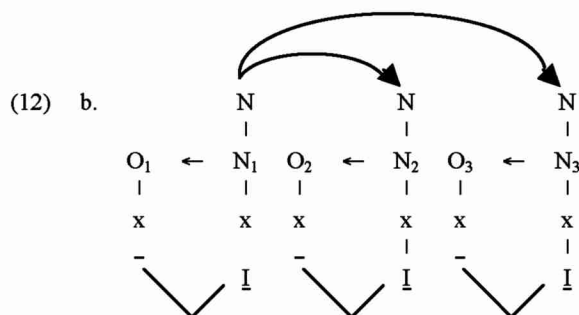
4.4. Relationships between nuclei

A nucleus is head of the onset-nucleus pair which makes up the minimal syllabic constituent in GP. The universal relationship between O and N has been illustrated in this paper by a left-pointing arrow. In any word longer than one ON pair, there must be a licensing relationship between heads of constituents, i.e. nuclei, at a higher projection. This relationship is illustrated by a right-pointing arrow between nuclear heads.²⁰ There is no doubt that some kind of a relationship exists between nuclear heads, since according to the licensing principle, Kaye (1990), all nuclei within a domain must be licensed apart from the head of that domain. What remains to be shown is that in Karaim this relationship involves the element I.

Let us assume that the minimal requirement for harmony in Karaim is that the consonants of a word agree with respect to the element I; either they all have it, or none have it. According to such a hypothesis, if there were no sharing relationship between O and N, it might be possible for any vowel to follow a palatalised consonant. In that case, nuclei would license an I-operator in their onsets, but would be free to have any content themselves. The relationship between nuclei would depend upon the initial nucleus licensing a palatalised consonant, and then licensing all remaining nuclei within its domain to do the same. This would be an example of consonant rather than consonant-vowel harmony. Such a hypothesis is illustrated abstractly in (12a). The alternative, with I shared between O and N as operator in the onset and head in the nucleus, is shown in (12b). This would be an abstract example of consonant-vowel harmony.



²⁰ The direction of inter-nuclear relationships varies according to the phenomenon and the language in question.



The implication of the sharing hypothesis is that if I is linked jointly to O and N, as illustrated in (12b), there will be some effect on the content of nuclei. One effect would be that all nuclei contain vowels which include I, e.g. *e* (A.I). Any relationship between I and other elements which may occupy the same nucleus would depend on the constraints and restrictions on element combination in the specific language under analysis.

Nuclear relationships manifest themselves in many ways. One manifestation of an inter-nuclear relationship is harmony. The nucleus which is head of the harmonic domain licenses some property of its own in the remaining nuclei within its domain.²¹ A typical example of this is I-harmony, as for example in Turkish where the vowels can be grouped according to whether they contain I {*e, i, ö, ü*}, or not {*a, ı, o, u*}.

Harmony is not the only manifestation of an inter-nuclear relationship. There may be other restrictions on the content or structure of certain nuclei. For example, in many languages e.g. Neapolitan Italian, Bulgarian, Catalan, Chumash, the full vocalic inventory is found only in certain privileged positions.²² Neapolitan Italian, for example, has an inventory of seven vowels {*a, e, ε, i, o, ɔ, u*}. Non-stressed nuclei are restricted to *i* (I), *u* (U) and *a* (A), which consist of a single element (or to schwa, which contains no element). Only a stressed nucleus can support a vowel composed of more than one element.

This situation is typical of constraints on the content of harmonised positions in some languages. A restriction on U-harmony illustrates the interaction between harmony and constraints on a particular position. For example, Turkish vowels can be grouped according to whether they contain the U element {*o, ö, u, ü*}, or not {*a, e, i, ı*}. Like I-harmony, vowels within a given domain should agree with respect to the element U, e.g. *kolu* [arm:POSS3], *sözü* [word:POSS3]. If the initial nucleus contains U, then subsequent nuclei within its domain should also contain U. Unlike I-harmony, there is a restriction on the occurrence of two vowels which contain U, *o* and

²¹ The harmonising property may be an element which occurs in all nuclei throughout the domain, or it may be structural. For example, all nuclear expressions within a domain may either have an element as head, or no element as head.

²² For details, see Harris (1997).

ö, and which should only occur in initial nuclei of the domain, e.g. *kollar *kollar* [arm:PL], *sözler *sözlör* [word:PL]. This is the result of a constraint on the combination of two specific elements, A and U, in non-initial nuclei.²³

Taking the licensing principle (whereby all positions within a domain must be licensed except one, the head of the domain) as the starting point, Harris (1997) has given us a way to formalise the restrictions which are frequently found on positions which are not head of the relevant domain. In simple terms, he proposes that positions which are farther down a chain of licensing relationships are essentially weaker than those at the head of the domain. This weakness, which may be expressed in many ways, includes restrictions on the content of a licensed position. The licensing inheritance principle is defined formally in (13).

- (13) *Licensing inheritance principle*
- a. Autosegmental licensing (a-licensing) potential
The a-licensing potential of a skeletal position refers to its ability either
 - (i) to directly a-license a melodic expression, or
 - (ii) to confer a-licensing potential on another position.
 - b. Licensing inheritance
A licensed position inherits its a-licensing potential from its licensor.

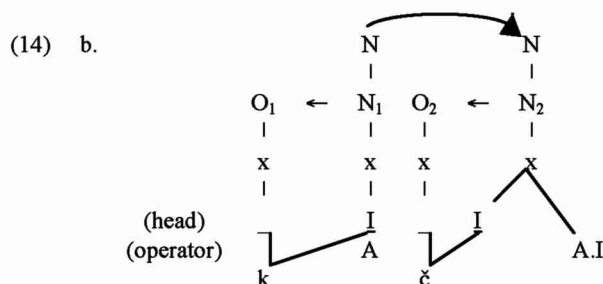
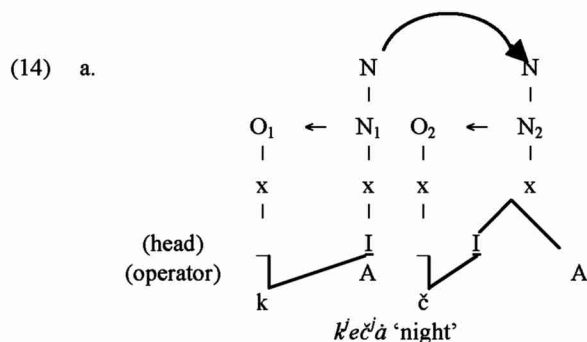
I suggest that the asymmetrical distribution of *e* and *á* in Karaim can be explained by the licensing inheritance principle.

5. The analysis

In Karaim, I propose that an I-head can fuse with an operator only in an initial nucleus, the head of the harmonic domain. This allows the vowel *e* (A.I) to occur in initial nuclei. A restriction on non-initial nuclei prevents an I-head from fusing with an operator, therefore (A.I) is prohibited there. In other words, only an initial nucleus has sufficient licensing potential to allow an I-head, which automatically follows a palatalised consonant as part of the harmonic relationship between O and N, to fuse with another element. The vowel *á*, which does not have I as a head, occurs in non-initial nuclei.

In addition to this, I suggest that varying pronunciations of *á* are the result of different outcomes of the proposed constraint. The example *k'eč'á* 'night' is repeated in (14) to illustrate the analysis in detail.

²³ Note that this particular constraint does not apply to all Turkic languages in the same way.



The situation in (14a) and (14b) is the same with respect to the initial nucleus, N₁, the head of the harmonic domain. N₁ licenses O₁, which contains a palatalised consonant. This entails a relationship between the two positions whereby a shared I element occupies the onset as an operator and the nucleus as a head. N₁ also contains an A element, which fuses with the I-head to form (A.I) *e*. The pronunciation of the onset and nucleus must be taken together as [k̟e]. It is impossible to separate the vowel *e* from the palatalised consonant it follows.

We come now to the situation in the second nucleus, N₂. Up to a certain point, the analysis is the same for (14a) and (14b). There is chain of licensing relationships. N₁ licenses N₂. N₁ and N₂ both license their onsets O₁ and O₂ respectively. Since N₁, the head of the domain, contains an I-head which it shares with the onset it licenses, N₂ must also contain an I-head which it must in turn share with its onset O₂. This relationship between the nuclei ensures palatalisation of all consonants within the domain.

The hierarchy between nuclei has a further consequence. According to the licensing inheritance principle, N₂ (and any other subsequent nuclei there may be within the domain) is farther down the licensing path of relationships between the domain-head and its licensee(s), therefore it has diminished segmental licensing potential. A

consequence of the weaker licensing potential of non-initial nuclei is that the I-head cannot fuse with an operator. There are two possible outcomes of this restriction, shown in (14a) and (14b), and both involve decomposition of head and operator into separate nuclear expressions.

In (14a) the two elements do not fuse at all. The effect of this is something like a diphthong whose second member has no I element, ((I)(A)). The outcome could loosely be described as [ia], not forgetting that the glide belongs both to the vowel and to the preceding palatalised consonant. In (14b) (I) is still unable to fuse with the operator (A). On the other hand, the two elements may fuse in a different relationship where neither element is head, but both are operators. The outcome this time is a diphthong-like expression [iæ] ((I)(A.I)), again not forgetting that the glide belongs both to the vowel and to the preceding palatalised consonant.

5.1. A theoretical issue

There are many branches of linguistics, and again many theoretical frameworks within each branch. Even though their aims may be similar, e.g. to record, to analyse etc., the tools used by practitioners of different frameworks may be very different. So, does it really matter how we define Karaim harmony? That depends very much on what our analysis aims to prove.

Perhaps it is relevant at this point to consider the role of phonology in language. Phonological phenomena act as a parsing device. They provide cues for the beginnings and endings of domains, words, phrases etc. The problem is to define what acts as a parsing cue in Karaim, consonants or vowels, or both.

Two phenomena in particular have been considered in this paper: harmony between related positions, and restrictions on harmonically related positions. Harmony is like glue which binds a domain together. More than one kind of harmony can operate within a single domain, e.g. I-harmony and U-harmony in vowels, although the conditions are different. Vowel harmony and consonant harmony may also operate side by side within the same domain, although it should also theoretically be possible in some languages for harmony to affect only vowels or only consonants. Perhaps, in Karaim, I-harmony in consonants is gradually becoming a more significant parsing cue than in I-harmony in vowels.

Restrictions on certain positions give rise to distributional asymmetries, which provide another powerful parsing cue. Some languages have restrictions on what kind of consonant can occur word-initially or word-finally. Other languages have restrictions on the distribution of vowels. The greatest number of vowel contrasts is one of the marks of a domain-head; restriction on vowel contrasts is typical of non-heads. In Karaim, it seems that there is a restriction on the way that I combines with other elements in non-initial nuclei of the I-harmonic domain.

Both phenomena involve relationships between nuclei. In Karaim, both phenomena involve the element I.

6. Conclusion

In this paper consonant-vowel interactions in Karaim have been looked at from a GP point of view. Harmony is treated as a supra-segmental phenomenon, driven by inter-nuclear relationships. These take place at a higher projection where all nuclear heads are visible to each other, and where one nucleus, the head of the domain, licenses all other nuclei in the relevant domain.

The effect of the relationship between nuclei percolates down through all intermediate relationships, between nuclei and the onsets they license, and between the elements occupying in these positions. There are several different manifestations of this structural hierarchy in Karaim. Inter-nuclear relationships ensure that all nuclei within the relevant domain contain an I element. Inter-nuclear relationships ensure that all nuclei within the relevant domain license their onsets to contain an I element i.e. a palatalised consonant. Inter-nuclear relationships also impose restrictions on how that I-element fuses with other elements in non-initial nuclei, giving rise to the complementary distribution of *e* and *á*.

I conclude that it is impossible to separate the quality of the consonant from the properties of the nucleus which licenses the onset that the consonant occupies.

Appendix

Texts published by Csató, Éva Á. in Csató, Éva Á. & Nathan, David (2002). *Spoken Karaim*. CD-ROM. Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.

A. *The Karaim Street*

Kayda karaylar t'ir'il'ád'l'ár' ([æ] [æ]) bu oram Karay oramı in'd'ál'át' ([æ][æ]). Kačan'es^j da bar vaxtlarñi dæ ek'in'd'ei dunya yat tæ dunya b'iz^j d'is in'd'ár' ([æ]) ed'ik bu karay oramın Karaimš'čiznabæ.

'The place where the Karaim live is called the Karaim street. Since long ago, the non-Karaim and also the foreigners, and also we Karaims have called it Karaimshchizna.'

... onu dæ yanından oramnñin, sonu dæ yanından oramnñin suvlar. G'jón'j'ár' ([æ]).

'...there is water on both the right and on the left sides of the street. Lakes.'

B. *The famous Karaim cucumber*

Xiyarnın b'ür't'üg'ün' k'er'ák ([a]) alma, k'eč'á ([a]) ašira anı ib'it'm'á ([a]) suvda. Son k'er'ák ([a]) alma č'üp'r'ák'k'á. ([æ] [a])

'You have to take cucumber seeds and soak them in water overnight. Then you have to put them in a cloth.'

Acknowledgement

My thanks to Éva Csató for drawing my attention to the language, and especially for allowing me to use the resources on the Karaim CD. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, Istanbul, April 2004.

References

- Brockhaus, Wiebke 1995. Skeletal and suprasegmental structure within Government Phonology. In: Durand, Jacques & Katamba, Francis (eds.) *Frontiers of phonology: Atoms, structures, derivations*. London, New York: Longman. 180-221.
- Cobb, Margaret 1993. Licensing constraints and vowel harmony in Uyghur. *SOAS working papers in linguistics and phonetics* 3, 40-62.
- Charette, Monik & Göksel, Asli 1998. Licensing constraints and vowel harmony in Turkic languages. In: Cyran, Eugeniusz (ed.). *Structure and interpretation: studies in phonology*. Lublin: Folium. 65-88. Also in: *SOAS working papers in linguistics and phonetics* 6, 1-26.
- Csató, Éva Á. & Johanson, Lars 1996. Zur Silbenharmonie des Nordwest-Karaimischen. *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 48, 329-337.
- Csató, Éva Á. 1999. Syllabic harmony in Turkic: the evidence of code-copying. In: Brendemoen, Bernt (ed.) *Language encounters across time and space: Studies in language contact*. Oslo: Novus Press. 341-352.
- Csató, Éva Á. & Nathan, David 2002. *Spoken Karaim*. CD-ROM. Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.
- Johanson, Lars 1991. On syllabic frontness opposition in Turkish. In: *Varia Eurasistica*, Szeged: Department of Altaic studies. 77-94.
- Hansson, Gunnar O. 2001. *Theoretical and typological issues in consonant harmony*. [PhD thesis, University of California, Berkeley.]
- Kaye, Jonathan 1990. 'Coda' licensing. *Phonology Yearbook* 7, 301-330.
- Kaye, Jonathan 1991. *On the incoherence of the notion "phonological segment"*. Talk given at University College. Phonology Seminar, London.
- Kaye, Jonathan 1992. *Polish Yers*. Talk given at the London Phonology Seminar.
- Kaye, J. & Lowenstamm, J. & Vergnaud, R. 1990. Constituent structure and government in phonology. *Phonology* 7, 193-231.
- Harris, John 1997. Licensing inheritance: an integrated theory of neutralisation. *Phonology* 14, 315-370.
- Harris, John & Lindsey, Geoff 1995. The elements of phonological representation. In: Durand, Jacques & Katamba, Francis (eds.) *Frontiers of phonology: Atoms, structures, derivations*. London, New York: Longman. 34-79.
- Lowenstamm, Jean 1996. CV as the only syllable type. In: Durand Jacques & Laks, Bernard (eds.) *Current trends in phonology: models and methods 1*. European Studies Research Institute (ESRI) & Manchester: University of Salford. 419-443.
- Nevins, Andrew & Vaux, Bert 2003. Consonant harmony in Karaim. In: Csirmaz, Anikó & Lee, Youngjoo & Walter, Mary Ann (eds.) *The Proceedings of the workshop on Altaic Formal Linguistics*. [MIT Working Papers in linguistics 46.] Cambridge, Mass. 175-194.

Mongolic loanwords of Turkic origin in Tuvan

Baiarma Khabtagaeva

Khabtagaeva, Baiarma 2005. Mongolic loanwords of Turkic origin in Tuvan. *Turkic Languages* 9, 85-92.

Tuvan has been subject to strong Mongolic influence to the effect that it has more Mongolic loanwords than any other Turkic language. The author uses phonetic, morphological and semantic criteria to determine a special category of loanwords that comprises elements of ultimately Turkic origin. In many cases Tuvan also displays the original Turkic words.

Baiarma, Khabtagaeva, University of Szeged, Department of Altaic Studies, Egyetem u. 2. H-6722 Szeged, Hungary. E-mail: baiarma@hotmail.com

The genetic relationship of the Altaic languages is debated up to now. Some researchers think that these languages are genetically related, while others believe they are not. However, according to more recent research, a great part of the correspondences among the Altaic languages are loanwords.

The aim of my dissertation was to find and characterize the Mongolic elements in Tuvan. In my work I deal with these words from etymological, phonetic and morphological aspects, and I try to determine when and from which Mongolic language the loanword was taken. In this paper, I will try to present a special category of Mongolic loanwords in Tuvan. While etymologizing Mongolic loanwords in Tuvan, I found several words which are Mongolic loanwords but of ultimately Turkic origin. In many cases we find, alongside the Mongolic loanword, the same word as a member of the original Turkic stock. The literature calls this type of loanwords „reborrowings”.

One may ask what method we have to distinguish those Turkic words in Tuvan that are loanwords from Mongolic, from those which remain from the ancient Turkic stock. Before answering this question, let us see what the reasons are for the powerful linguistic interaction between these two languages.

Tuvan belongs to the South-Siberian branch of Turkic languages. Although it is one of the most archaic Turkic languages, due to a powerful Mongolic influence it also has the most Mongolic loanwords of any Turkic language. According to Rassadin (1980: 58), the vocabulary of Tuvan includes more than 2,000 Mongolic loanwords, while Tatarincev (1976: 110) says that one-third of the Tuvan vocabulary is of Mongolic origin. In my work I deal with more than 1,500 basic words.

Katanov (1903) was the first to deal with the Mongolic loanwords of Tuvan in his famous work of 1903. Later, this subject was discussed by Tatarincev (1976) and by

Rassadin (1980: 58-65). In the year 2000 the first volume of the Etymological Dictionary of the Tuvan Language appeared, wherein its author, Tatarincev (2000), briefly presents the origin of the Tuvan words, including the Mongolic loanwords.

The vast number of Mongolic loanwords in Tuvan can be explained by geographical, historical and cultural factors.

The territory of the present-day Tuvan Republic is bordered on the East by the Buryat Republic and on the South-East by Mongolia.

From a historical point of view, there was a Mongolic influence on Tuvan already in the 13th century, when the territory of Tuvan was inhabited by the Mongolian tribes called Forest-people. After the downfall of the Chingisid Empire, Tuvan played a role in the struggle of the Khalkha and Oirat khanates. From the end of the 14th century to the 16th century, the Tuvan people were under Oirat supremacy, subsequently entering the Khalkha khanate of Altan khan. In the second half of the 17th century they again became the subjects of Oirats of the Dzhungar khanate. From 1757 to 1912 they belonged to the Manchu Cin [Qing or Ching] dynasty. From that time on, Tuvan has shared its history with that of Russia and the Soviet Union.

Tuvan-Mongolian bilingualism is a very old phenomenon. As Vladimircov (1929: 14-15) observed early on, the Mongolian language was used by Tuvan people as the language of culture, and as the contact-language between Tuvan and Mongolian people. Up to the year 1930, only the Uighur-Mongolian script was used among the Tuvan people, not only in official but also in everyday life. The oldest specimens of Tuvan folklore were also noted down in the Mongolian language and Mongolian script.

The original religion of the Tuvan people had been Shamanism, but from the 17th century the Tibeto-Mongolian variant of Buddhism was spread among them. From this time Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhist terms entered into the Tuvan vocabulary via the Mongolian language.

Criteria

The Mongolic loanwords in Tuvan can be distinguished by certain criteria, such as:

The presence of vowels at the end of words:

Tuvan *berge* 'heavy, hard' ← Mongolic **berke*: cf. MNT *berke*, Ibn-Muh. *berke*, HY *berke*, LM *berke*, Khalkha *berx*, Buryat *berxe*, Kalmyk *berkä* ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *bärk* 'firm, stable, solid' > Tuvan *bert* 'a place passable with difficulty';¹ cf. Tofalar *be^ort* 'good', Yakut *bärt* 'good';

Tuvan *kuža* 'ram' ← Mongolic **quča*: cf. Muq. *quča*, HY *quča*, LM *quča*, Khalkha *xuc*, Buryat *xusa*, Kalmyk *xutsa* ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *qoč* ~ *qočñār* > Tuvan *koškar*,

¹ < **berk*: *-rk-* > *-rt-*: cf. OT **börk* 'cap' > Tuvan *bört*.

Tuvan *küčü* ‘power, might’ ← Mongolic **küčün* ‘power, force, strength’: cf. Muq. *küč(in)*, LM *küčün*, Khalkha *xüč(in)*, Buryat *xüse(n)*, Kalmyk *kütšn* ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *küč* ‘strength’ > Tuvan *küš* ‘energy’;

Tuvan *xira* ‘edging, border; bow, rim’ ← Mongolic **qira*: cf. LM *kira* ‘summit or ridge of a mountain; a strip attached to the front and rear edges of the saddle’, Khalkha *xyar*, Buryat *xyara*, Oirat *kiri* ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *qir* ‘an isolated mountain or block of mountains’ > Tuvan *kir*.

Tuvan words showing Turko-Mongolic rotacism:

Tuvan *aray* ‘just a little’ ← Mongolic **arai* < **ār+Ai*: cf. LM *arai*, Khalkha, Buryat *arai*, Kalmyk *arā*, Oirat *ārā* ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *āz* ‘few, scanty, a little’ > Tuvan *as* ‘a few’;

Tuvan *arā* ‘groove in rifling’ ← Mongolic **arā* < **ari+GA*: cf. MNT *ara’a*, Ibn-Muh. *arā*, Muq. *ari’ā*, LM *ariya* ~ *arag-a* ‘molar’, Khalkha, Buryat *arā(n)*, Kalmyk *arā* ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *azig* ‘a large tooth’ > Tuvan *azig* ‘eye-tooth’;

Tuvan *ürgay* ‘mine; shaft; hole, pit’ ← Mongolic **ürkai* < **agur+KAi*: cf. LM *agurqai*, Khalkha *ürxai*, Buryat *ürxai*, Kalmyk *ürxā* ~ *ürxā* ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *agiz* ‘the mouth’ > Tuvan *ās*;

Tuvan *uran* ‘artistic, masterly’ ← Mongolic **uran*: cf. Muq. *uran*, HY *uran*, ZY *uran*, LM *uran* ‘craftsman, artist’, Khalkha *ur(an)*, Buryat *uran*, Kalmyk *urn* ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *üz* ‘a skilled craftsman’ > Tuvan *us* ‘artistic, masterly’;

Tuvan *ximirān* ‘weak tea’ ← Mongolic **kimuragan* < **qimura+GAN*: cf. LM *kimuragan* ‘boiled milk with water’, Kalmyk *kimrān*, Oirat *kimir* ~ *kimēr* ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *qimiz* ‘fermented mare’s milk, koumiss’ > Tuvan *ximis*;

Tuvan *xürene* ‘marten’ ← Mongolic **kürene*: cf. LM *kürene* ~ *kürüne* ‘skunk, polecat’, Khalkha *xürne*, Buryat *xüneri*, Kalmyk *kürn*, Oirat *kürēn* ~ *kürün* ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *küzen* ‘polecat’ > Tuvan *küzen* ‘marten’.

Tuvan words showing Turko-Mongolic lambdacism:

Tuvan *čalī* ‘young’ ← Mongolic **jalū*: cf. MNT *jala’ui* ~ *jala’u*, Leiden *jalawu*, Ibn-Muh. *jala’ū*, Muq. *jala’ū* ~ *jalū*, Ist. *jalau*, LM *jalaḡu* ‘young, youthful’, Khalkha *jalū*, Buryat, Kalmyk *zalū* ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *yāš* ‘fresh’ > Tuvan *čaš* ‘childish, young’;

Tuvan *xolbā* ‘connection, contact’ ← Mongolic **xolbā* < **qolbo-GA*: cf. Muq. *qolba-*, LM *qolboḡa* ‘connection, contact’ < *qolba-* ~ *qolbo-* ‘to unite, to connect’, Khalkha, Buryat *xolbō(n)*, Kalmyk *xolwān*, Oirat *xolbā* ~ *xolwō* ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *qoš-* ‘to conjoin, unite (*two things*)’ > Tuvan *koš-*.

Original Turkic initial **y-* in Tuvan regularly changes to *č-*, but in some Mongolic loanwords the original Turkic **y-* is represented by *d-*:

Tuvan *dayin* ‘war’ ← Mongolic **dayin*: cf. MNT *dayin*, Ibn-Muh. *dain*, Muq. *dain*, LM *dayin* ‘war, enemy’, Khalkha *dain*, Buryat *dai(n)*, Kalmyk *dān*, Oirat *dāñ* ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *yagī* ‘enemy, hostile’ > Tuvan *čā* ‘war’.

The representation of original Turkic **y-* by *y-* in Tuvan, also proves the Mongolic origin:

Tuvan *yala* ‘guilt, punishment’ ← Mongolic **yala*: cf. LM *yala*, Khalkha *yal*, Buryat *yala*, Kalmyk *yal*^a ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *yalā* ‘suspicion; blame; false accusation’.

Mongolic suffixes in Tuva words:

Tuvan *čalā* ‘crest of a bird, band on a cap’ ← Mongolic **jalāga* < **jala*+*GA*: cf. LM *jalāga*, Khalkha *jalā(n)*, Buryat *zalā*, Kalmyk *zalā*, Oirat *dzalā* ~ *zalā* ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *yāl* ‘a horse’s mane’ > Tuvan *čal*: *a*^c *t* *čali* ‘fatty layer on the horse’s withers’;

Tuvan *kudurga* ‘crupper; breeching (harness)’ ← Mongolic **qudurğa* < **qudur-GAn*: cf. MNT *qudurqa*, Muq. *qudurğa*, LM *qudurğ-a(n)*, Khalkha *xudraga*, Buryat *xudarga*, Kalmyk *xudrga*, Oirat *xudürgä* ~ *xudrāgä* ← Turkic **qudur-*: cf. Old Turkic *qudruk* ‘the tail of an animal’ > Tuvan *kuduruk*;

Tuvan *kulugur* ‘dashing fellow’² ← Mongolic **qulugur* < **qul(u)-GUr*: cf. LM *qulugur* ‘laid or pressed back (of ears); crop-eared’; Khalkha *xulgar*; Kalmyk *xul*^g *gar* ← Turkic **qul*:³ cf. Old Turkic *qulaq* ~ *qulqaq*⁴ ‘ear’ > Tuvan *kulak*;

Tuvan *solagay* ‘left, left-handed’ ← Mongolic **solugai* < **solu*+*GAi*: cf. LM *solugai* ‘left hand, left-handed’, Khalkha *solgoi*, Buryat *halgai* ~ *holgoi*, Kalmyk *solgā* ~ *solgā*, Oirat *solgā* ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *sōl* ‘left’ > Tuvan *sol*;

Tuvan *sorül* ‘cigarette-holder’ ← Mongolic **sorül* < **sorogul* < **soro-GUl*: cf. LM *sorogul* < *soro-* ‘inhale, smoke’, Khalkha *sorül*, Buryat *horül*, Kalmyk *surül*, Oirat *surül* ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *sōr-* ‘to suck; to suck up, or out’ > Tuvan *sor-*;

Tuvan *tölevir* ‘compensation, payment of debt’ ← Mongolic **tölebüri* < **töle-bUri*: cf. LM *tölobüri* < *tölö-* ‘to compensate, pay off, pay a debt’, Khalkha *tölbör*, Buryat *tülberi*, Kalmyk *tölwr* ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *töle-* ‘to pay (a debt), repay (a loan)’ > Tuvan *töle-*;

There are also some words in Tuvan which at first sight seem to be original Turkic words, but for semantic reasons we have to suppose that although the word is ultimately of Turkic origin, the Tuvan word has been borrowed from Mongolic:

Tuvan *ertem* ‘science’ ← Mongolic **erdem*: cf. MNT *erdem*, Leiden *erdem*, LM *erdem* ‘knowledge, learning; science’, Khalkha, Buryat *erdem*, Kalmyk *erdm* ← Turkic *ärdäm* < **är*+*dAm*: cf. Old Turkic *ärdäm* ‘manly qualities, virtue’ < *är* ‘man’;

Tuvan *derlik* ‘Tuvan national summer-cloth’ ← Mongolic **terlig*: cf. LM *terlig* ‘summer-cloth’, Khalkha *terleg*, Buryat *terlig*, Oirat *terlök* ← Turkic **tärlük* < **tär*+*lIG*: cf. Old Turkic *tärlük* ‘something which absorbs sweat; sweat-cloth, saddle-cloth’ < *tär* ‘sweat’;

² See Russian *uhar* ‘dashing fellow’ < *uho* ‘ear’; Hungarian *szemfüles* ‘clever’ < *szem* ‘eye’ and *fül* ‘ear’.

³ See Mongolic *qulki* (< **qul+ki*) ‘earwax; middle ear’, *qulayi-* (< **qul(A)+yi-*) ‘to have cropped ears’.

⁴ According to Erdal, M. (1991: 75) in the Turkic words *qulaq* and *qulqaq* we can observe the suffixes +*GAK* and +*AK*, suffixes denoting metaphorical names for body parts.

Tuvan *xīna-* ‘to check, verify’ ← Mongolic **kina-*: cf. LM *kina-* ‘to look rigorously or attentively’, Khalkha *xyana-*, Buryat *xina-*, Kalmyk *kin-* ← Turkic **qīna-*: cf. Old Turkic *qīna-* ‘to punish, torture’ < *qīn* ~ *qīñ* ‘punishment, torture’;

Tuvan *surag* ‘news, rumor, information’ ← Mongolic **surag*: cf. LM *surag* < *sura-* ‘to ask’, Khalkha *surag*, Buryat *hurag*, Kalmyk *sur^uG* ← Turkic **sor-XG*: cf. Old Turkic *sorug* ‘question, inquiry’ < *sōr-* ‘to ask (a question); to inquire about (something Acc.)’, Khakas *surag*, Kirgiz *surak* ‘interrogation’;

Tuvan *süzük* ‘faith, belief’ ← Mongolic **süsüg*: cf. LM *süsüg* ~ *süjüg* ‘religious worship, faith, belief’, Khalkha *süseḡ*, Buryat *hüzeg*, Kalmyk *süz^uG*, Oirat *südžük* ← Turkic **süzük* < **süz-UK* Pass.N./A.S.: cf. Old Turkic *süzük* ‘clarified, strained; pure, transparent’ < *süz-* ‘to filter or strain (a liquid)’.

Compound words

The next group of Mongolic loanwords in Tuvan consists of compound words. The Mongolic origin of some Tuvan compound words is explained by the fact that one of their elements is Mongolic:

Tuvan *šō-börü* ‘jackal, hyena’ ← Mongolic **čō-bōri*: cf. MNT *jö’ebōri*, HY *čü’äbāri*, LM *čögebōri* ‘jackal’, Khalkha *cōwōr*, Buryat *sūber*, Kalmyk *išōwr* ← Turkic *bōri*: cf. Old Turkic *bōri* ‘wolf’ > Tuvan *börü*;

Tuvan *belek-selek* ‘gift, present’ ← Mongolic **beleg seleg*: cf. Leiden *belek*, LM *beleg-seleg*, Khalkha, Buryat *beleg-seleg* ← Turkic **bäläg*: cf. Old Turkic *beläg* ‘something wrapped up; a gift’. The word *seleg* does not exist independently in Mongolic. It is formed by reduplication with change of the original initial, which is a Mongol-type word-formation, as in the case of Khalkha *ger-mer* ‘the yurt and everything around’, *cās mās* ‘paper’, *jolig-molig* ‘good-for-nothing’.

Hybrid words

An independent group consists of hybrid words. Sometimes it is quite difficult to determine whether such words are of Mongolic or Turkic origin:

Tuvan *soguna* ‘onion’ < ← **sō+GXnA*: cf. Old Turkic *sōḡun* and LM *songgina*. Here the final vowel would point to a Mongolic origin, while the lack of *-ñ-* may be an argument in favour of its Turkic origin;

Tuvan *tavañgay* ‘the sole of the foot’ < ← **taban+GAi*: cf. Old Turkic *taban* ‘the sole of the foot’ and LM *tabaqai* ‘paw’. The suffix *+GAi* is Mongolic, while the *-ñ-* and its meaning point to a Turkic origin.

Compound hybrid words

In addition to the last two categories, there is a group of hybrid words which are compounds. One of their elements is Mongolic while the other is Turkic. This group consists mostly of colour names, and names of animals and plants:

Tuvan *ak-bidā* ‘rice’ ← Old Turkic *āq* ‘white’ + Mongolic *budaḡ-a* ‘rice’;

Tuvan *a't-inā* 'horse, saddle-horse' ← Old Turkic *at* 'horse' + Mongolic *unuḡ-a* 'saddle-animal';

Tuvan *dagır-ergek* 'thumb' ← Mongolic *takir* 'crooked' + Old Turkic *ārñāk* 'finger';

Tuvan *kizil-xüreñ* 'wine-red' ← Old Turkic *kizil* 'red' + Mongolic *küreng* 'brown';

Tuvan *užar-sāzın* 'kite' ← Old Turkic *uč-* 'to fly' + Mongolic *čaḡasun* 'paper'.

Mongolic loanwords with Turkic morphological element

Another special group of compound words are those where the Mongolic word takes a Tuvan morphological element, like the Common-Turkic negative particle *yōq* instead of Mongolic *ügei*, e.g.:

Tuvan *magatčok* 'maybe' ← Mongolic *maḡad ügei* < *maḡad* 'sure';

Tuvan *xamānčok* adv. 'indifferently' ← Mongolic *qamiya ügei* 'unrelated, indifferently' < *qamiya* 'relevance, relation';

Tuvan *ōdežok* 'tired, withered' ← Mongolic *ōgede ügei* 'no good, good for nothing' < *ōgede* 'upwards'.

Original Tuva words with Mongolic suffixes

Many original Tuva words take Mongolic suffixes, mostly deverbial noun suffixes, e.g.:

1. *-lGA (GWM §161):

Tuvan *bastırilga* 'threshing' < Old Turkic *bastur-* Causat. < *bas-* 'to press, crush, oppress, make a surprise attack';

Tuvan *baštalga* 'leadership; direction' < Old Turkic *bašad-* 'to be a leader, at the head of (a body of men)' < *baš* 'head, beginning';

Tuvan *ekižidilge* 'improvement, amelioration' (< **eki+žI-t-* Causat.) < Old Turkic *ädgü* 'good';

Tuvan *kezilge* 'cutting, harvesting' < Old Turkic *käs-* 'to cut, to cut off';

Tuvan *kiržilge* 'participation' < Old Turkic *kiriš-* 'penetrate; to intervene; to meddle, interfere' < *kir-* 'to enter';

2. *-lA (GWM §163):

Tuvan *čıl̄da* 'collection, gathering' (< *čig-* 'to collect') < Old Turkic *yig-*;

Tuvan *čül̄da* 'washing' (< *čug-* 'to wash') < Old Turkic *yū-*;

Tuvan *körülde* 'viewing' < Old Turkic *kör-* 'to see';

Tuvan *kīrilde* 'introduction' < Old Turkic *kigür-* 'to bring in, introduce' Causat. < *kir-* 'to enter';

Tuvan *özülde* 'growth' < Old Turkic *ös-* 'to grow'.

3. *-mAl (GWM §168):

Tuvan *čirimal* 'celestial body' (< *čiri-* 'to be, or become bright; to shine') < Old Turkic *yarū-*;

- Tuvan *čorumal* ‘traveller, wayfarer’ (< *čoru-* ‘to walk, march’) < Old Turkic *yo-rī-*;
- Tuvan *kazimal* ‘fossilized’ < Old Turkic *qaz-* ‘to dig, dig out’;
- Tuvan *kilimal* ‘make’ < Old Turkic *qil-* ‘to do (something); to make (someone something)’;
- Tuvan *ünümel* ‘original, wild (of plants)’ < Old Turkic *ün-* ‘to rise (of plants)’;
4. **-mji* (GWM §171):
- Tuvan *berimče* ‘donation, contribution’ < Old Turkic *bēr-* ‘to give’;
- Tuvan *čedimče* ‘luck’ (< *čet-* ‘to reach, catch up’) < Turkic *yet-*;
- Tuvan *dōramči* ‘chopped frozen meat used for cooking soup’ (< *dōra-* ‘to cut, or split into slices or small pieces’) < Old Turkic *toğrā-*;
- Tuvan *kezemče* ‘punishment’ < Old Turkic *kās-* ‘to cut, cut off’.

In conclusion, the question we asked at the beginning of this paper can be answered as follows:

To distinguish those Turkic words in Tuvan which are loanwords from Mongolic, from those which remained from the ancient Turkic stock, we have recourse to several criteria, namely phonetic, morphological and semantic ones.

References

- Buryat = Čeremisov, K. M. 1973. *Burjatsko-russkij slovar’*. Moskva: Sovetskaja Ėnciklopedija.
- Erdal, M. 1991. *Old Turkic word formation. A functional approach to the lexicon*. (Turcologica 7.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- GWM = Poppe, N. N. 1954. *Grammar of written Mongolian*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- HY = Mostaert, A. 1977. *Le matériel mongol du Houa i i u de Houng-ou (1389)*. Bruxelles: Institut belge des hautes études chinoises.
- Ibn-Muh. see Muq.
- Kalmyk = Ramstedt, G. J. 1935. *Kalmükisches Wörterbuch*. (Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura. Lexica Societatis Fenno Ugricae 3.) Helsinki.
- Katanov, N. F. 1903. *Opyt izsledovanija urjanxajskago jazyka, s ukazaniem glavnejšix rodstvennyx otnošenij ego k drugim jazykam tjurkskago kornija*. Kazan’. Tipo-litografija Imperatorskago Kazanskago Universiteta.
- Khakas = Baskakov, N.A. (ed.) 1953. *Xakassko-russkij slovar’*. Moskva. Gosudarstvennoe izdatel’stvo inostrannyx i nacional’nyx slovarej.
- Khalkha = Kara, György (ed.) 1998. *Mongol-magyar kéziszótár* [Mongolian-Hungarian dictionary]. Budapest: Terebess K.
- Kirgiz = Judaxin, K. K. 1965. *Kirgizsko-russkij slovar’*. Moskva: Sovetskaja Ėnciklopedija.
- Leiden = Poppe, N. N. Das mongolische Sprachmaterial einer Leidener Handschrift. *Izvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR*. 1927: 12-14, 1009-1040; 1927: 15-17, 1251-1274; 1928, 55-79.
- Lessing, Ferdinand D. (ed.) 1996. *Mongolian-English dictionary*. Bloomington: Mongolia society.
- LM = Kowalewskij, O. M. 1844-1849. *Mongol’sko-russko-francuzskij slovar’* 1-3. Kazan’.

- Luvsandendeв, A. 1957. *Mongol-oros tol'*. Moskva. [Mongolian-Russian dictionary] Ulsein Gadaad, Dotoodiin Olon Xelnii Tol' Bičgiin Xevlel.
- MNT = Haenisch, E. 1939. *Wörterbuch zu Mongqol-un Niuča Tobča'an*. Leipzig: Harrassowitz.
- Muq. = Poppe, N. N. 1938. *Mongol'skij slovar' Muqaddimat al-adab*. 1-2. Moskva, Leningrad: Akademija Nauk.
- Oirat = Coloo, J. 1988. *BNMAU dax' mongol xelnii nutgiin ayalguunii tol' bičig. Oird ayalguu*. Ulaanbaatar. [Dictionary of the dialects of Mongolia 2. The Oirat dialect.] Ulaanbaatar: BNMAU-iin ŠUA Xel Joxioliin Xüreelen.
- Old Turkic = Clauson, G. 1972. *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Pal'mbax, A. A. (ed.) 1953. *Russko-tuvinskij slovar'*. Moskva: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo inostrannyx i nacional'nyx slovar'ej.
- Rassadin, V. I. 1980. *Mongolo-burjatskie zaimstvovanija v sibirskix tjurkskix jazykax*. Moskva: Nauka.
- Sečenčogtu 1988. *Monggol üges-ün ijağur-un toli* [Dictionary of Mongol stems]. Kökeqota: Öbör Monggol-un Arad-un Keblel-ün Qorij-a.
- Tatarincev, B. I. 1976. *Mongol'skoe jazykoe vlijanie na tuvinskuju leksiku*. Kyzyl: Tuvinskoe knižnoe izdatel'stvo.
- Tatarincev, B. I. 2000. *Étimologičeskij slovar' tuvinskogo jazyka*. Novosibirsk: Nauka.
- Tenišev, È. R. (ed.) 1968. *Tuvinsko-russkij slovar'*. Moskva: Sovetskaja Ènciklopedija.
- Tofa = Rassadin, V.I. 1995. *Tofalarsko-russkij slovar'*. *Russko-tofalarskij slovar'*. Irkutsk: Vostočnoe Sibirskoe Knižnoe Izdatel'stvo.
- Tuvan = Isxakov, F. G. & Pal'mbax, A. A. 1961. *Grammatika tuvinskogo jazyka. Fonetika i morfoložija*. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Vostočnoj Literatury.
- Vladimircov, B. J. 1929. *Sravnitel'naja grammatika mongol'skogo pis'mennogo jazyka i xalxaskogo narečija. Vvedenie i fonetika*. Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Leningradskogo Vostočnogo Instituta imeni A. S. Ènukidze.
- Yakut = Pekarskij, E. K. 1959. *Slovar' jakutskogo jazyka* 1-3. Leningrad: Akademija Nauk SSSR.

Tuvan or Mongol: A study of inter-ethnic relations and ethnic definition strategies among Tuvans and Kazakhs in western Mongolia

Joakim Enwall

Enwall, Joakim 2005. Tuvan or Mongol: A study of inter-ethnic relations and ethnic definition strategies among Tuvans and Kazakhs in western Mongolia. *Turkic Languages* 9, 93-115.

The inter-ethnic relations between Tuvans and Kazakhs living in the province of Bayan-Ölgii in western Mongolia have hitherto been touched upon mainly in works on either Tuvans or Kazakhs living in the area. The present paper is a sociolinguistic study of the inter-ethnic relations, with particular emphasis on education, culture, media and publishing. Furthermore, the tendency of the Tuvans to identify ethnically with the Mongols rather than with the Kazakhs is analyzed from the point of view of a sub-minority—majority identification theory.

Joakim Enwall, Department of Linguistics and Philology, Uppsala University, P.O. Box 635, SE-75126 Uppsala, Sweden. E-mail: Joakim.Enwall@lingfil.uu.se

0. The setting

The rain increased during the afternoon. More and more often the Korean jeep got stuck in the mud and we had to get out in order to pull it loose. On the right side of the valley the holy mountains of the Tuvans, Tsengel Hairhan Uul, rose majestically and now just a few hours remained until sunset. At the yurt where we had last asked for directions we had been told to drive up to the plateau at the end of the valley, and with great effort we finally managed. The view was simply enchanting, with a dark mountain lake in front of us, and in the distance the snow-capped mountains at the Chinese border. But soon we became aware that this was not the right road either, and we turned towards the north.

Evening had already fallen and we could just faintly discern a few yurts on a slope, but here our car got helplessly stuck. With my recording equipment in a backpack, I slowly began to walk upwards, my long Russian boots sinking deeper and deeper into the mud. From a yurt at the top of the slope, throat singing suddenly started, which forcefully, and to my ears in a somewhat extraterrestrial way, echoed into the valley. A few yaks stood together near the yurt, their white heads shining eerily like skulls. But then I suddenly heard a well known voice, “Welcome, welcome, was it difficult to find your way?” And there, the director of the Mongolian

theatre, Dr. Zolbayar, stood in a Tuvan *deel* and hat. “Come in and get warm; I will send people to arrange with the car and your luggage.”

Soon I sat together with Zolbayar in the yurt, which was lit by one single candle, barefoot on the woollen carpet, and his aunt Möndör handed me a small silver bowl filled with milk vodka as a gesture of greeting me to their home.

1.1. Introduction

In the province of Bayan-Ölgii in western Mongolia the population is mainly constituted of ethnic Kazakhs, but there are also other ethnic groups like the Uriankhai, Dörvöd, Tuvans and (Khalkha) Mongols. This study focuses on the Kazakhs, the Tuvans, and the Mongols, though with the latter more as a point of reference.¹ These groups are different from each other linguistically as well as in matters of religion, as the Kazakhs are Muslims, the Tuvans Shamanists and the Mongols Lamaist Buddhists.² For the Kazakhs as well as the Tuvans, the majority of the ethnic group live in other countries, the Kazakhs in Kazakhstan and the Tuvans in the Tuvan Republic within the Russian Federation.³ The theoretical problem addressed in the present paper is the type of two-layer ethnicity existing among the Tuvans in western Mongolia. They internally define themselves as Tuvans, but in relation to the Kazakhs they often define themselves as Mongols.⁴ What is even more important, however, is that in the local context they also act as Mongols. Furthermore, I look at the Kazakhs’ context-bound use of either Tuvan or Mongol, when referring to the Tuvans.

¹ The majority ethnic group of Mongolia, the Khalkha Mongols, constitute only around 0.4% of the population of Bayan-Ölgii province.

² The Kazakhs are Sunni Muslims, but just like the other Islamic nomadic cultures in Central Asia they were converted to Islam mainly by errant Sufis, and thus to a much lesser extent influenced by Islam than the traditionally sedentary populations. The Shamanism practiced among the Tuvans is sometimes defined as Tengrism, as the cult is focused on the God of Heaven, Tengri. Furthermore, strong Shamanist influence is observable in the variety of northern Buddhism practised by the Mongols.

³ Tuva was a part of Outer Mongolia under the Qing Empire, but became an independent state between 1921 and 1944. In 1944, Tuva was incorporated into the Russian Soviet Republic (RSFSR) as an autonomous *oblast*, and later, from 1961, as an autonomous republic. For a more detailed account, see Mandelstam Balzer (1999: 133-135). After the fall of the Soviet Union, Tuva became one of the federal subjects of the Russian Federation, and the official name was changed to Tyva. According to the 1989 census, the number of Tuvans in the Soviet Union was 207,000. The Tuvan language belongs to the southern branch of Siberian Turkic, and the written standard established in 1930 was based on the central dialect of the republican capital Kyzyl. In 1930, Latin script was used to write Tuvan, but in 1941-43 this written norm was replaced by Cyrillic script, with three additional letters.

⁴ The classification of Tuvans as Mongols is also official policy of China, where the Tuvans are counted as a subgroup of the Mongols. See Mongush (1996b). For further materials on the language of the Tuvans in China, see Mawkanuli (1999).

The views of the Kazakh and Tuvan local intelligentsia are analyzed from a local as well as from a regional perspective. Of particular importance in this connection are the various migrations, both in earlier times and in the recent decades, which have led to the present ethnic composition of the area.

Finally, I describe how the Mongolian central power in Ulaanbaatar has handled the question of Kazakhs and Tuvans, how the Soviet theories on the nationality question have influenced the ethnic classifications in Mongolia, and how the Soviet terminology has been adapted to a Mongolian traditional ethnic classification.

1.2. Theoretical framework

The purpose is to investigate why certain ethnic minority groups adopt the ethnic identity of the majority population, *parallel* to their own, in order to strengthen their own positions vis-à-vis another locally dominant ethnic minority group. In this connection, I try to outline how the conceptions of the ethnic history of the proper group and other groups, as well as context bound ethnic definitions, influence the interaction of ethnic groups. The present paper contains a case study on this question in the province of Bayan-Ölgii in western Mongolia.

This research question lies within the framework of theories of ethnicity and, more specifically, within the theories on formation and change of ethnic definitions. Although this field of research has developed significantly during recent decades, not much attention has been given to the kind of situation outlined above. In this case, we deal with a small minority identifying itself with a numerically much larger group as a lever against the locally dominant ethnic group. The point of departure is the definition of *ethnie*, or ethnic group, as proposed by Anthony D. Smith (1986: 22-30), but on this foundation, factors contributing, or potentially contributing to, this sub-minority—majority identification phenomenon will also be outlined.

Anthony D. Smith defines an *ethnie* with the following criteria:

- A collective name
- A common myth of descent
- A shared history
- A distinctive shared culture
- An association with a specific territory
- A sense of solidarity

Furthermore, Smith (1986: 32-41) lists the following factors as bases for ethnic formation:

- Sedentariness and nostalgia
- Organized religion
- Inter-state warfare

1.3. Sources and state of research

The background material is constituted partly by secondary sources, partly by materials from interviews and some statistical sources. The published sources are mainly scholarly writings on Tuvans and Kazakhs in Bayan-Ölgii and locally published statistical reports.

The interviews with the representatives of the Kazakh and Tuvan intelligentsia were carried out in Bayan-Ölgii in 2001 and in Astana, the capital of Kazakhstan, in 2002.⁵ These interviews were carried out as part of a broader study on cross-border linguistic contacts in Central Asia and the Caucasus.⁶ For the interviews, a semi-structured form was used. It had proven impossible to make detailed plans for the interviews prior to the field-trip, as there was no way of knowing whom it would be possible to locate on the spot. Thus, the interviews are the result of a cumulative process. As no large scale surveys were carried out, and as the number of interviews was limited, there is no claim to full coverage in this study. Rather, it is to be treated as a preliminary endeavour which could serve as a basis for further in-depth studies in the future.

Research on the Kazakhs and Tuvans in western Mongolia is relatively limited, especially concerning ethnic relations and their theoretical implications. However, there are a significant number of studies, mainly in the fields of ethnography and folklore, and there are also some articles dealing with ethnic relations, such as some of the articles written by Dr. Erika Taube, who started to study the Tuvans of western Mongolia already in the 1960s. Linguistic research on the Tuvan dialect of western Mongolia, termed Altai Tuvan or Tsengel (Cengel) Tuvan, has been carried out on the basis of the materials collected by Taube (Aydemir 2002: 39-50), but also by scholars who have recently done field research in Tsengel, e.g. K. David Harrison.⁷ Dr. Marina Mongush, a Tuvan scholar in Kyzyl, has mainly written on the Tuvans of the republic of Tuva, but also on the Tuvans of China and Mongolia, and their ethnic classification. Furthermore, research on the Tuvans of Mongolia and China has been carried out by Russian, Soviet and Chinese scholars (Potanin 1881; Rešetov 1983, 1990; Sat & Doržu 1989; Vladimircov 1923). Apart from these scholars, there are articles on the Kazakhs of Bayan-Ölgii written by Peter Finke and Ingvar Svanberg. Furthermore, Alexander Diener is at present working on questions related to Kazakh migration patterns between Bayan-Ölgii and Kazakhstan.

⁵ The financing for the field-trip to Bayan-Ölgii was kindly granted by the Helge Ax:son Johnson Foundation, and for Astana by the Birgit and Gad Rausing Foundation for Advanced Research in the Humanities.

⁶ Other parts of this broader study are: Enwall (1992), (1999), (2000) (forthcoming).

⁷ Harrison conducted field research in Tsengel in 2000 and 2002 and is also co-author of a Tuvan dictionary (Anderson & Harrison 2003). Furthermore, he has established a homepage for Tsengel Tuvan language and culture (<http://www.swartmore.edu/SocSci/Linguistics/aslep/tsengel.php>) within the Altai-Sayan Language and Ethnography project (ASLEP).

Among earlier publications, there are also locally published works by Kazakh scholars. These works mainly deal with the history of the Kazakhs, but partly also with the Tuvans (usually referred to as Uriankhai, see below).⁸ In addition to these, we find descriptions in the form of fictional works, written in German by the head shaman of the Bayan-Ölgii Tuvans, Dr. Galsan Chinag [Tschinag].⁹

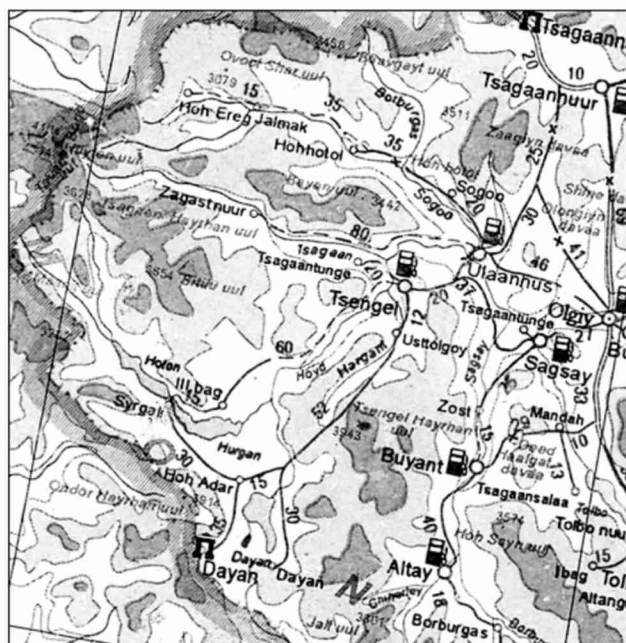
2. Ethnic and historical background

The geographical area on which this study is focused is the province (Mongolian: *aimag*) of Bayan-Ölgii in western Mongolia, bordering on the Altai prefecture in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of China and the Russian Federation, including the republic of Tuva. The province has a total area of some 46,000 square kilometres and consists mainly of mountainous areas. It is further divided into fourteen smaller administrative units, called *sum*. The total population in the year 2000 was 94,094. Of these, 25,763 lived in the provincial capital Ölgii and some 8,110 in the *sum* Tsengel, where the overwhelming majority of the Tuvans live.¹⁰ However, since 1953, there has been no land border with Kazakhstan. As long as the Soviet Union existed, this did not in practice affect the possibilities of travelling and engaging in border trade between western Mongolia and Kazakhstan, as both Kazakhstan and the intermediary area were part of the Soviet Union. This area, consisting of some 150 square kilometres, often referred to as the “Altai knot”, has, however, caused many problems for persons travelling between western Mongolia and Kazakhstan, as Mongolian citizens need visas for Russia, which can only be procured in Ulaanbaatar, six days by car from Ölgii (while they enjoy a visa free regime with Kazakhstan).

⁸ The most important of these works are written by A. Saraj, former governor of Bayan-Ölgii province. Viz. A. Saraj (1992, 1999, 2001).

⁹ Regarding the history and life of Tuvans in Mongolia, there are several works by Galsan Chinag in German, including Tschinag (2000).

¹⁰ Bayan-Ölgii aimgiin statistikiin heltes (2000: 8). In this otherwise very detailed survey of many kinds of statistical information pertaining to Bayan-Ölgii, there is, interestingly enough, no information whatsoever on ethnic and linguistic issues.

Map of Tsengel¹¹

The views vary among scholars as to the ethnic composition before the middle of the 19th century in the area which forms the province of Bayan-Ölgii. This area was apparently not the object of scholarly interest in the neighbouring countries of Tsarist Russia and Manchu China, and there are no written descriptions regarding these matters. According to Tuvan intellectuals, the area was at the time sparsely populated by Tuvans, and no Kazakhs lived in the area.¹² According to the views of the Kazakhs, the area was virtually uninhabited before the first Kazakhs moved into the area from the Altai prefecture of China in the years 1850-1865 (A. Saraj 1992: 21). At this time, though, there was no state border between these areas, as Outer Mongolia was also part of the Qing Empire.¹³ During the early years of Kazakh immigration into the area, the area of Tsengel *sum* of Bayan-Ölgii province served as summer

¹¹ On this map an English-based transcription system is used, whereby *Ölgii* is rendered as *Olgii*.

¹² Tömör-uyal: interview. According to Galsan Chinag, the first Kazakhs came to the Tsengel area as late as in 1898 (Chinag, Galsan: interview).

¹³ The area now constituting Tsengel *sum* of Bayan-Ölgii province was furthermore marked as part of China on official maps as late as 1957 (Taube 1996: 214). The map she refers to is *Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo dituji*, Beijing, Shanghai, (1957: 44-45).

pasture for the Kazakhs, but as more and more Kazakhs moved into the area during the latter part of the 19th century, some of them also sought their winter pasture in the area.

After the fall of the Qing Empire in 1911, Mongolia soon declared its independence under the religious and worldly leader Jebcundamba Qutuqtu. However, even after the Chinese had been forced to surrender to the Mongolian troops at Hovd (Kobdo) on August 7, 1912, a most important symbolic event in the course of establishing Mongolia as an independent state, the central power in Urga (present Ulaanbaatar) had to struggle for several years in order to gain full control over the territory. In addition to these problems, the Oirat-Mongol prince of Altai, Sharasūme, refused to let his area become part of the independent Mongolia, which explains why this district is nowadays a prefecture of Xinjiang in China. After Jebcundamba Qutuqtu's death in 1924, the Mongolian People's Republic was established, due to a massive Soviet-Buryat influence on the political scene.

Kazakh immigration into Mongolia at times increased due to the instable situation in Xinjiang during the republican period. There were also groups of Kazakhs who had immigrated from the Russian part of Altai in connection with the October Revolution (Finke 1999: 110). In 1931, in connection with the collectivization of live stock in the Kazakh areas of western Mongolia a large group of Kazakhs migrated to Xinjiang, but all of them, including some Kazakhs originally living in Xinjiang, returned to Bayan-Ölgii in 1932, as the living conditions in Xinjiang had proven to be even worse (A. Saraj: interview).

In 1940, the province (*aimag*) Bayan-Ölgii was founded. Earlier, this area had constituted the western part of the two provinces Uvs and Hovd, which in their turn had formed the district of Hovd (Kodbo) until 1931. Bulag (1998: 98-99) writes: "In 1940, however, in order to assist the Soviet operation in Xinjiang, a new autonomous *aimag* was founded out of Hovd *aimag* for the Kazakhs and the Altai Urianghais—Bayan Ölgii [...]. Until 1945, Mongols provided military aid to the Kazakh resistance fighter Osman [...]. The Chinese recognition of Mongolian independence in 1946 saw an end to this operation, but numerous Kazakh refugees went into Mongolia subsequently. The autonomous *aimag* managed to survive as a normal province, despite the abortion of the operation in Xinjiang." The Mongolian historian B. Baabar (1999: 396-397) describes the immigration process in the following way:

During the turbulence of this time [1930s and 1940s], an exodus of Kazakh refugees from Xinjiang began on a large scale. A generation before, towards the close of the nineteenth century, a few families had left their native Xinjiang due to heavy snowfall and migrated east of the Altai mountains. When the Bogd Khan theocracy was proclaimed, a few Kazakhs expressed their allegiance to him. Starting in 1921, the refugee movement was given a new name: "class struggle." For instance, a certain Dabidai, the leader of the Kazakhs in 1925, informed the State Bag Hural that about 340 families had been influenced by propaganda and wanted to move into Mongolia. The civil war, rebellions and revolts in the 1930s and 1950s caused a growing influx of

refugees into Mongolia. Bayan-Ölgii *aimag* gave refuge to the fleeing Kazakhs. Three hundred and fifteen people from sixty-nine families fled to Mongolia in July 1942. They reported that they sought asylum because they were victims of pillage and robbery, and they applied for Mongolian citizenship.

In the 1940s the relations between the Tuvans in Mongolia and the central power in Ulaanbaatar were severely complicated due to the tense relations between the Mongolian leadership and the Tuvan leader Salchig Togoo, after the independent republic of Tannu-Tuva had applied for incorporation into the Soviet Union. This incorporation was carried out in 1944 (B. Baabar 1999: 411), and this change in the political status of Tuva was regarded as too big a concession to the Soviet Union and as a dangerous precedent for the political future of Mongolia.

3.1. Population statistics and recent migrations

According to the 1956 census, the Kazakh population of Mongolia numbered 36,700 persons, of which most lived in Bayan-Ölgii. During the 1950s and 1960s, however, a large number of Kazakhs moved to other parts of Mongolia, mainly to Ulaanbaatar and the mining city Nalaih, in the vicinity of Ulaanbaatar. The subsequent population development for Kazakhs, Tuvans (numbers indicated only since 1989) and the total population of Mongolia were, according to Bulag (1998: 30) as given in the table below:

	1963	1969	1979	1989
<i>Total population</i>	1,017,158	1,188,271	1,594,386	2,043,954
<i>Kazakhs</i>	47,735	62,812	84,305	120,506
<i>Tuvans</i>				2,153

The Tuvans referred to in this comprehensive table in Bulag, put together by him from unpublished data from the State Statistics Bureau, are presumably only the Tuvans originating from Bayan Ölgii, as the number of Tuvans indicated in his table of distribution of nationalities by province indicates that only one Tuvan lives in Hövs-göl province, where the Tuvan-speaking Tsaatan (reindeer people) or Dukha number around 500. In this statistical survey they may have been lumped together with the 3,215 Uriankhai (referred to by Bulag as Urianghai) indicated for the province. However, there is no mentioning of Tuvan speakers in Hovd province, which seems odd, considering Hashimoto's field-work among the Tuvan speakers in Hovd as late as 1998. See Hashimoto & Pürevjav (1998). In the introduction (p. 145) to the word lists presented in the article, they write (*in my translation*): "Today, there are more than 160 households or approximately 1400 Tuvans [*tuva*] living in Khovd *aimag* in Mongolia. The Tuvans are also called *mon-chaaga*. It is considered that the word *monchaag* is etymologically related to early Turkic *bunčuk* (*mon-čuk*) and Mongolian *moltsog* (*molčuy*). The common explanation is that the *mon-chaaga* in early times used to make clan symbols in the style of finely formed tassles (Mongolian *moltsog*)

out of horse mane and horse tail. It should furthermore be mentioned that they were also called *höh* [blue] *monchaaga* as they used to wear pointed hats made of bluish cloth. The older people talk very fluently among each other in their mother tongue. It also seems that some of the young people have gone to the city of Kyzyl in the Russian Federation in order to study at institutes of higher learning and at university in the Tuvan language.”

This group has also been described by Mongush: “In China the Tuvinians are called *kök monchaks* or just *monchaks*, although they tend to call themselves *tyva*. They are called *mochaks* by the other peoples living in this particular region. It is thought they were first called this by the Kazakhs, and that the term was then adopted by the Tuvinians as self invented. Writers on the subject translate *kök monchak* as ‘blue necklace’ [...]. The story goes that at one time people distinguished the Tuvinians from other nationalities by the blue necklaces they wore. This explanation is colourful but rather implausible. An alternative explanation for the term might be provided by considering the fact that among the Tuvinians there is a fairly large clan group (in Tuvinian *so-o-k*) called Monchak” (Mongush 1996b: 121). However, Mongush presents a much less positive assessment of their language skills in Tuvan (Mongush 1996a: 225-243) than Hashimoto & Pürevjav.

A somewhat different interpretation of the name is offered by Schubert (1971: 107), who writes: “*Urianxai* (Mončak/Mončok; ob = mong. *munxag*?). Sie nennen sich selbst ‘Sojoten’ und werden auch mong. ‘Xöx čuluut = die mit blauen Steinen’ genannt. Sie siedeln in BAJ-ÖL [Bayan-Ölgii]/XOWD [Hovd].”

Taube concludes that this use of exonyms for Tuvans has resulted in much of the confusion now still prevalent in many works on the subject. She writes (Taube 1996: 218): “Die Tatsache, daß die Tuwiner in der wissenschaftlichen Literatur und in Reiseberichten über lange Zeit nicht unter ihrer Eigenbenennung erscheinen, sondern so, wie ihre Nachbarn sie nannten, manchmal auch nach einzelnen ihrer Stämme bezeichnet (wie Sojan oder Mončak/Monjak) oder nach Untergruppen derselben (wie Gök Mončak, was wieder in mongolischer Übersetzung als *Kokčulütun* oder Varianten davon in der Literatur auftaucht), hat gelegentlich zu Verwirrung geführt, zum Beispiel zur Verwechslung mit den mongolischsprachigen Urian-chaj.”

Interestingly enough, Bulag (1998: 90) classifies this group as part of the Oirat Mongols: “In Mongolia, the Oirat do not exist as a collective ethnic group. They have been fragmented into various subgroups which are known as ‘nationalities’ (*yastan*): Bayat, Dürbet, Zahchin, Myangat, Ööld, Sartuul, Torgut, Urianghai, Hotgoit, Montsogo, etc.” Presumably, the last of the groups mentioned could be identified with *monchaaga*. However, Sanders mentions no ethnic group called Montsogo, or anything similar, in his *Historical dictionary of Mongolia* (Sanders 2003). For the 2000 census, he gives the number 4,778 for the Tuvans (p. 113). To the Oirat ethnic group (p. 257) he assigns Dörvöd [= Dürbet], Torguud [= Torgut], Zahchin, Ööld, Myangad [= Myangat] and Bayad [= Bayat], but not the other groups mentioned by Bulag.

During the 1990s the size of the Kazakh population varied considerably from year to year, due to a massive emigration to Kazakhstan in the early 1990s, and a subsequent return, though on a smaller scale. In 1990 a treaty on exchange of work force was concluded between Kazakhstan and Mongolia, according to which Mongolian citizens could get residence and work permits for Kazakhstan for up to five years. This led to a massive migration of Kazakhs from Bayan-Ölgii into Kazakhstan. According to Ambassador Isagaliev, a total number of 63,000 Kazakhs have left Mongolia for Kazakhstan since 1990. Out of these, some 20,000 have become citizens of Kazakhstan; around 10,000 have returned to Bayan-Ölgii; 10,000 have filed applications for renouncing their Mongolian citizenship, which is a prerequisite for settlement in Kazakhstan, and the rest travel on a more or less regular basis between the two countries. In 1997, Kazakhstan established quotas for Mongolian Kazakh immigration to Kazakhstan, and also decided in which parts of Kazakhstan they should settle.¹⁴

According to the preliminary figures of the 2000 census, the total number of Kazakhs in Mongolia amounted to 102,983 (out of a total population of 2,382,525), and of these Kazakhs 80,776 lived in Bayan-Ölgii and an additional 10,005 in the neighbouring province Hovd, and 6,439 in the city of Nalaih, near Ulaanbaatar.¹⁵ The Tuvans were until 1989 counted as a sub-group of the Mongolian-speaking Uriankhai¹⁶, a group which in 1963 amounted to 14,399; in 1969: 15,662; and in 1979: 18,957. In 1989 the number of the Uriankhai (this time without the Tuvan sub-group) was 21,325 (Bulag 1998: 30).

According to Taube (1996: 213), the number of Tuvans in Tsengel amounted to approximately 2,400 in the 1960s. The number of Tuvans in Bayan-Ölgii for 1989 was 737 persons in the statistics presented by Bulag (1998: 69), which corresponds poorly to local estimates by Tuvans and Kazakhs alike. Their estimates range between 1,500 and 2,000. According to Harrison, their number is 1,400 (<http://www.swartmore.edu/SocSci/Linguistics/aslep/tsengel.php>).

¹⁴ Isagaliev: interview. According to information received from discussion partners in Almaty, however, this quota system has not only led to less immigration to Kazakhstan from Bayan-Ölgii, but also to a larger number of people returning to Bayan-Ölgii, as the regions assigned for settlement generally are located in the northern part of the country, which is inhabited almost exclusively by ethnic Russians.

¹⁵ *Čislennost' naličnogo naselenija i kazakov proživajuščix v Mongolii (po predvaritel'nyim itogam perepisi naselenija 2000 g.), na 15 nojabrja 2000 g.* Unpublished document.

¹⁶ The Uriankhai of Bayan-Ölgii were previously Tuvan-speaking, but during the last century, Mongolian has become their spoken language. Nonetheless, the Uriankhai shamans in Bayan-Ölgii still use the Tuvan language in shamanist practices (Ariunaa: interview). A parallel is present in China, on which Mongush (1996b: 123) founding herself on Rešetov's (1990:178-179) research, writes: "[...] the Tuvinians who have completely lost their native language cease to regard themselves as Tuvinians. They are usually called not *kök mo-chaks*, but Altay Uryankhays."

3.2. Language policy, education and publishing: the Kazakhs

Education in Bayan-Ölgii has been carried out mainly in Kazakh since the establishment of the province, and the system of education was built up by teachers and educational specialists from Kazakhstan. The textbooks used in the schools were mainly those of the Soviet republic of Kazakhstan (Isagaliev: interview). Later on, school textbooks in Kazakhs were mainly locally produced. Mongolian has been the official language of administration, but in practice this refers only to the written documentation and not to the language spoken at the various authorities within the provincial and *sum* administration. Especially in the rural areas, this tends to be only Kazakh.

A Kazakh language newspaper and a publishing house were founded already in 1941,¹⁷ and between 1941¹⁸ and 1991 several hundred books in Kazakh were published by this publishing house. No catalogues or registers of publications are available either in the archives of the publishing house or in the provincial library, but a reasonable estimate of the total number of titles is probably around 300.¹⁹ The circulation of the books was between 1,000 and 5,000 copies, with an average of 3,500 copies. Around half the titles were works of fiction, most of them original works in Kazakh, but also some translations from Mongolian and Russian. Political reports and handbooks in various spheres constituted the other half. In the 1980s the newspaper, *Žaŋa ömir*²⁰ (New Life), published twice weekly, had a circulation of 10,000 copies. In connection with the economic collapse of Mongolia in 1995, the buildings of the publishing house and the newspaper were privatized and in the same year the state-run publishing house was shut down, and the format of the newspaper was diminished, while the circulation plummeted to less than 1,000 copies. It is now published only every ten days. A literary journal, *Šūyyla* (Ray of light), was published between the 1950s and 1990s, and recently there have been efforts to revive it (Šynaj, R.: interview), but it is no longer published on a regular basis. Until the 1980s its circulation was around 2,200 copies. There was also a political journal *Uaqyt žene oqiya* (Contemporary questions), published between 1955 and 1990 with a circulation of 2,100 copies (Raxat, Q.: interview).

The buildings of the publishing house were bought by a local entrepreneur, Ms. Lašyn, and apart from being responsible for the publication of *ž aŋ a ö m i r*, she also

¹⁷ The buildings of the publishing house were, however, built in 1949, and until then the publishing activities were carried out in provisional premises. In 1954 the activities of the publishing house were expanded and several of the employees were sent to Ulaanbaatar for education (Raxat, Q.: interview).

¹⁸ Between 1941 and 1945 the books were published in the Latin-based Kazakh orthography then in use in Kazakhstan (Rakhat, Q.: interview).

¹⁹ In principle, one copy of each book should be kept at the provincial library, but due to economic problems, all the stocks of books have been moved together into the corner of the original library, as most of the facilities will be turned into a cinema.

²⁰ Earlier called *Örkendeu* (Progress), and renamed *ž aŋ a ö m i r* in 1955 (Raxat, Q.: interview).

prints invitation cards, name cards, and at times books on commission (Lašyn: interview). In these years of economic crisis the interest in literature and learning drastically dropped, and the remaining stocks of the publishing house are nowadays sold as fire-lighting paper at 300 tugriks a kilo at the firewood section of the Ölgii bazaar (Šynaj, R.: interview). The former bookshop was also closed down, and now serves as a snooker bar, leaving the firewood section as the only distribution point for books in the province.

In order to compensate for the collapse of a significant part of state-run educational and cultural activities in the early 1990s, the government of Kazakhstan has made great efforts to give help to the cultural and educational sectors in Bayan-Ölgii. Relay stations for Kazakh television were installed in 1992, and this has strengthened the ties between Bayan-Ölgii and Kazakhstan also in the spheres of popular culture and ideology. It has also led to standard Kazakh influence on the spoken language in Bayan-Ölgii. Since 1992, there are also local broadcasts from a TV studio in Ölgii, but only a few hours per week. The local radio broadcasts one hour per day, from 8 until 9 p.m. and is financed by advertisements.

Each year, 50 state scholarships for studies in Kazakhstan are granted to students from Bayan-Ölgii, and Kazakhstan also provides substantial help to the Kazakh theatre in Ölgii (Mizamxan: interview).

In 2002, a branch of the East Kazakhstan University was opened in Bayan-Ölgii, with some 75 students, who are to study for two years in Bayan-Ölgii and then for two years in Kazakhstan. The university is divided into three faculties: computer science, business administration and languages & literature. The executive director is Mr. Tau from Bayan-Ölgii, and seven of the teachers are also locally recruited. The rest come from Kazakhstan, both as regular and temporary faculty. In order to set up the university, Kazakhstan invested some 20 million tenge, but there are hopes that further investments will be made, so that the university can get its own premises within a future Centre for Kazakh Culture and Education. At present, they rent rooms from the Teachers' College in Ölgii (Tau: interview).

Pakistan has paid for building a mosque in Ölgii, and there is also a *medrese* with some 30 students. Some twenty persons have also gone for further studies to Medina, Karachi and Istanbul, where the economic conditions are much better for the students than in Kazakhstan, thanks to scholarships and travel grants. At the Friday prayer some 200 attend at most, and as only a handful of people know Arabic, everything is also translated into Kazakh. A Kazakh translation of the Quran was printed in Medina in 1990 (Batırbek: interview).

3.3. Language policy, education and publishing: the Tuvans

In the province of Bayan-Ölgii there was since 1940 one *sum* with a predominantly Tuvan population, Tsengel Hairhan *sum*, but this *sum* was *de facto* disbanded in 1959, *de jure* only in 1962 (Taube 1996: 225), and the area was incorporated into the significantly larger Tsengel *sum*, with a population majority of Kazakhs. During the

1960s it gradually became more difficult for educated Tuvans to find qualified work in Bayan-Ölgii, as these posts were distributed by the local branch of the Mongolian Communist Party by Kazakhs to other Kazakhs. As a result, many Tuvans moved to areas in central Mongolia, altogether some 1,500 persons. According to Taube, there was even a saying in Tsengel that it was better to be a slave among the Mongols than a beggar among the Kazakhs (Taube 1996: 216). Those who remained in Tsengel had to use Kazakh in all contacts with the authorities. The official languages were both Kazakh and Mongolian, but as virtually no ethnic Mongols live in Tsengel, the Kazakh language dominated everywhere. However, there was one school with Mongolian as language of instruction, and there the Tuvan children were educated, as the Tuvans were very reluctant to put their children in Kazakh schools. The teachers were ethnic Tuvans. Around 1989 the Tuvan exodus from Tsengel halted and in the year 1995 the Tuvan shaman and writer Galsan Chinag managed, thanks to both state financing and private donations, to arrange a symbolical return of Tuvans to Tsengel, and from two areas in central Mongolia a camel caravan brought some 135 Tuvans back to Tsengel. After travelling for more than 2,000 kilometres a large welcoming ceremony was arranged for the returning Tuvans, an event which gained great symbolic value for the self conscience of the Tuvans. Later, calls were made for the reestablishment of the Tsengel Hairhan *sum* (Taube 1996: 216-225), but in 2001 there were no signs that this call would be met by the provincial authorities.

In 1992, a Tuvan school was founded in Tsengel, where the language of instruction for the first four grades was only Tuvan. For the 5th to 10th grade, teaching was mainly in Mongolian, but with Tuvan language and literature taught in Tuvan. The Kazakh language was not taught in this school. The textbooks were imported from Tuva in the Russian Federation. This school functioned until 1997, and it then had 337 pupils. Sixteen of the pupils were later sent to Kyzyl for further studies. In 1997, the school was shut down due to administrative and economic reasons, and the Tuvan pupils had to move to the much larger Kazakh school. Even there, however, education is in Tuvan during the first four grades, and later students receive some teaching in Tuvan until the 8th grade (Tömör-uyal: interview). The Tuvan written language standard, however, differs significantly from the Tuvan spoken in Tsengel (Ariunaa: interview). On this issue, Erika Taube (1996: 224) writes: "Allerdings wird mit tuwinischen Lehrbüchern aus Kyzyl unterrichtet. Das muß die Eigenart des Tuwinischen, das im Altai gesprochen wurde, beeinflussen, die Besonderheiten dieses Dialekts verwischen und eine Fülle von Russismen und Internationalismen in die Sprache bringen, die sie bisher nicht kannte. Selbst die Mongolismen werden dadurch zunehmen, die im Standard-Tuwinischen 30% ausmachen. Natürlich entspricht die in Tuwa verwendete Schreibung nicht der Aussprache des Tuwinischen im Altai."

The Tuvans who have moved to the provincial capital Ölgii generally have a relatively high level of education. They have quickly made careers within the Mongolian language institutions at the provincial level, and nowadays both the Mongolian theatre and the Mongolian school in Ölgii are led by ethnic Tuvans. By filling the

functions earlier filled by Khalkha Mongols through the state work appointment system, functioning until 1991, the Tuvans have managed to gain a higher level of prestige in the province.

Regarding the written language, only few Tuvans are literate in the Tuvan language, while the literacy rate in Mongolian among the Tuvans is very high. Knowledge of written Kazakh is more sporadic.

An interesting case of a common space for interaction between Kazakhs and Tuvans is, however, the Mongolian Turkish School in Ölgii. It is a private secondary school run by an organization called UFUK Educational Foundation, and it is one of four Turkish schools in Mongolia, the others being located in Ulaanbaatar, Darhan and Erdenet. The school in Ölgii was founded in 1995 and offers four years of education to 180 pupils, between 14 and 18 years of age, with an equal number of boys and girls. The languages of instruction are English, Turkish, Mongolian and Russian, but notably not Kazakh. The focus lies on computer science, languages and mathematics, and it is a boarding school with strict discipline. Twelve of the teachers come from Turkey and the other ten are locally recruited (Selahattin: interview). This school has become the elite school for the children of both the Kazakh and the Tuvan intelligentsia, and advertisement posters for the school are seen in most official locations and also in private homes. It is generally regarded as the only safe way to prepare children for university studies, and each year up to ten grants are given for university studies in Turkey.²¹

3.4. Inter-ethnic relations in Bayan-Ölgii

The inter-ethnic relations in Bayan-Ölgii, between the provincial majority population of Kazakhs and the various Mongol sub-groups, of which the Tuvans formally constitute one, are generally described as good and without any elements of more serious conflicts than the normal disputes about pasture land, which generally characterize the nomadic cultures of the region. This view is stated with emphasis by Mongols in Ulaanbaatar and also by the Kazakhs in the provincial capital Ölgii. Peter Finke (1999: 137-138) writes: “The relations between Kazaks and Mongols are remarkable, compared to other parts of Central Asia. In general they are peaceful, though not too intimate. [...] Usually mutual visits are restricted to close neighbours, but there are also more intensive friendships as well. [...] The language of inter-

²¹ Only very vague explanations regarding the organizational structure and financing of the school were given in spite of repeated questions on these matters. These four Turkish Mongolian schools form part of the worldwide network of schools based on the thinking of Said Nursi and Fethullah Gülen. They are also listed as such by Balci on the basis of information from the Turkish Ministry of Education, viz. “Liste de principaux établissements nourdjou dans le monde en 1996/97” (Balci 2003: 144). Though Balci does not include Mongolia in his research, his description of the school activities and style of education corresponds well to information received in Ölgii. Ufuk also has an official homepage: www.ufmts.org, but it does not contain much information.

ethnic communication is usually Mongolian, although some Mongols have a fairly good command of the Kazak language. Inter-ethnic marriages, however, are almost non-existent.²²

The Tuvans who live in Ölgii, however, usually present themselves as Mongols, and only when enquiring into more detail is it apparent that almost all of them are ethnic Tuvans. At present, there are only very few ethnic Mongols living in Ölgii. The Kazakhs also use the ethnic terminology in the same way; they tend to use Tuvan only as a mark of disrespect, and use Mongol on neutral occasion when referring to the Tuvans.

In private discussions at greater length, however, a somewhat more complex picture of the inter-ethnic relations emerges. The Tuvans generally characterize the Kazakhs as hungry for material goods and power, and apart from this, the Tuvans often associate the Kazakhs with the Kazakh bandits led by Osman (Ospan) Batur, known for his cruelty in connection with the Kazakh rebellions in Xinjiang in the 1940s.²² According to a widespread view among the Tuvans, and partly also among the Kazakhs, in the early 1950s Mao Zedong persuaded the Mongolian leader Choibalsan to let many of the men who had fought together with Osman settle in western Mongolia (except for Osman himself, who was executed by the Chinese in 1951) and according to this view, these former bandits have introduced an element of ruthlessness among the Kazakhs.²³

The Kazakhs, in turn, tend to describe the Tuvans as lazy drunkards, scorning the Tuvan yurts, which are much smaller than those of the Kazakhs, and the Tuvan habit of drinking milk vodka. The Kazakhs also regard the Tuvans as guilty, at least by association, of the repeated cattle theft carried out by Tuvan bandits, based in the republic of Tuva. This phenomenon has furthermore led to a virtual depopulation of the whole area bordering on Tuva.

Nonetheless, the impact of such stereotypes should not be overestimated, and even in Hargant, there are many *ails*, groups of yurts, consisting of both Tuvan and Kazakh yurts. According to Galsan Chinag (interview), however, the main reason for this is that the Kazakhs want to keep an eye on the Tuvans. This area has become particularly popular among the Kazakhs due to its suitable climate for raising cashmere goats, a major source of cash income. However, certain taboos are upheld by the Tuvans, and Kazakhs are not welcome at the Tuvan *ovoos*. From the language point of view, it is clear that while most Tuvans are trilingual in Tuvan, Mongolian and Kazakh, with linguistic competence in descending order, the Kazakhs living in Tuvan dominated areas like the Hargant valley, do not learn Tuvan.

²² See Benson 1998. She mentions an agreement concluded in 1942 between Osman and the Mongolian authorities on Mongolian aid to Osman's Kazakh fighters in the form of weapons and advisors. For a slightly different version of these events, see B. Baabar (1999: 397-398).

²³ In view of the thorough analysis of the historical events carried out by Linda Benson, there is no evidence to corroborate this statement.

In connection with the tendencies of dissolution of the Soviet Union, starting around 1989, the power monopoly of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) was more and more put into question. At the same time, some Kazakhs voiced a wish to work for secession from Mongolia and incorporation into Kazakhstan. Among the Kazakhs there were, however, divergent views on how far the claims for autonomy should be taken and whether it was a good idea to be incorporated into Kazakhstan. Bulag (1998: 99) describes the sentiments: "A Kazakh National Unity Movement was inaugurated in October 1990 in Bayan Өlgii *aimag*, to 'promote Kazakh autonomy in Mongolia, adoption of Kazakh as the national official language, and the appointment of a Kazakh to the post of vice-president of Mongolia.'"

According to the Tuvan shaman and writer Galsan Chinag, the main proponent for the incorporation of Bayan-Өlgii was the linguist Qaržaubaj. Thereby, the Tuvans felt threatened not only as Tuvans, but also as Mongols, and in 1990, Galsan Chinag wrote an open letter to Qaržaubaj, in which he accused him of wanting to bereave the Tuvans of the Altai. After writing the letter, he went to the provincial capital, bringing a few bottles of homemade vodka, which could no longer be bought in Өlgii after the collapse of the Mongolian economy. During one day of talks and drinking together he told Qaržaubaj, according to his own words, that his head was undoubtedly much bigger than that of a marmot, a target which a Tuvan hunter rarely fails to hit. This would, according to Chinag, be his fate in case he proceeded with his plans for an incorporation of Bayan-Өlgii with Kazakhstan (Chinag, Galsan: interview). This event is, however, not confirmed by Professor Qaržaubaj, who since 1999 has been, Professor at Evrazijskij University in the capital of Kazakhstan, Astana (Qaržaubaj: interview). However, this version of the events is widespread among the Tuvan population of Bayan-Өlgii and strongly influences their view on the relations between Tuvans and Kazakhs.

Bulag (1998: 100-101) also writes about the inter-ethnic relations and points to further problems in the ethnic definitions:

As mentioned, Bayan Өlgii was founded for two ethnic groups, the Kazakh and the Altai Urianghai, the latter allegedly being a Turkic people. However, this is disputed by the Urianghai, who always think of themselves as Mongols. The increasing Kazakh domination in Bayan Өlgii has brought about much inconvenience to the Urianghai, and I heard that many of them have moved away. Their emigration from Bayan Өlgii [sic!] started in the 1960s, when the state farms were set up in central Mongolian provinces. In recent years, some Urianghai Mongolian scholars have protested about the fact that they were treated as Turkic people, both by the state and by anthropologists. They have begun to reclaim Mongolian identity. In fact, they say that they are the original Mongols, the ancestors of the Oirat Mongols, and they even claim that the majority of the Khalkha were originally Urianghai.

Certainly, there are many mistakes regarding historical facts contained in this passage, but, nonetheless, they play an important role in the inter-ethnic relations between Uriankhai, Tuvans, Kazakhs and Mongols. The main problem regarding Bulag's description is that he makes no distinction between Mongolian-speaking Uriankhai and Turkic-speaking Tuvans.

4. Ethnic classification theory in Mongolia

In Mongolia two different terms are used to classify ethnic groups, *üнденsten* and *yastan*.²⁴ These terms are used in the official discourse as translation for the Russian concepts *nacija* and *narodnost'* respectively,²⁵ but the original Russian meaning was strongly shifted, as also the Kazakhs were considered as a *yastan* until 1991-1992.²⁶ The official Mongolian view on the ethnic groups in the country can be analyzed as the result of a traditional view on the matter as contained in the *Secret history of the Mongols* (*Mongolyn nuuts товчоо*; written in 1240) combined with a partly adapted terminology from the Soviet theory on ethnic groups. The basic notion was that those groups which had made up the empire of Genghis Khan belonged to the same tribal confederation and thus, politically, constituted one people, although among these groups there were both Mongolian-speaking and Turkic-speaking groups. At the same time, the Kazakhs of Mongolia were most conscious that the Kazakhs in the Soviet Union were classified as a separate nation, and this created discontent with the official classification among the Kazakhs in Mongolia. According to this view, there was only one *ündersten* in Mongolia, namely Mongols, and a great number of *yastans*, which were regarded as subgroups of the Mongols. Officially, there were no Tuvans in Mongolia, which resulted in a situation where the Tuvans *de facto* living in Mongolia were registered either as Uriankhai, in case they lived in western Mongolia, or as Tsaatan (reindeer people), if they lived near the Tsagaan nuur lake, near the Hövs-göl nuur lake in northern Mongolia. Hence, the Tuvans were indirectly classified under the concept of *yastan*, although they are speakers of a Turkic language. This study does not treat the question of the Dukha/Tsaatan,²⁷ but focuses only on the Tuvans of western Mongolia, whose self-designation is *diva/tiva* in Tuvan and *tuvaa* in Mongolian.

The question of the Tuvans is even more complex than that of the Kazakhs, as the Tuvans of Bayan-Ölgii have not even had the status of *yastan*, but have been considered part of the Uriankhai, a Mongolian-speaking group, which has, nevertheless, preserved religious practices of Tuvan origin, although the Uriankhai, unlike the

²⁴ For a further discussion of this classification, see Bulag 1998.

²⁵ Thus, *ündersten* corresponds to 'nation', while *yastan* corresponds to 'nationality' in the traditional translation of the Soviet terminology.

²⁶ "In the 1991-1992 Congress, they finally managed to elevate their status to a full *ündersten* as opposed to Mongol" (Bulag 1998: 96).

²⁷ A research project on the language of the Dukha is now being carried out by Elisabetta Ragagnin, see Ragagnin (2000: 276-277).

Tuvans of Bayan-Ölgii, traditionally define themselves as Buddhists. According to Professor Qaržaubaj (interview) the Tuvans are rather to be seen as a Mongolized Turkic people.

5. The Tuvans as *ethnie* in Bayan-Ölgii

If we take Smith's definitions of an *ethnie* as a basis for analyzing the situation of the Tuvans in Bayan-Ölgii, it is possible to see the following:

- A collective name. A collective name for group-internal use has been there since time immemorial, and there is no tendency to identify with the Kazakhs. The use of the term Mongol is more problematic, but it is, in my view, rather to be seen as a social marker and does not affect the group-internal use of the self-designation Tuvan.
- A common myth of descent. The Tuvan myths about the origin of the Tuvan people as well as other Tuvan mythology are still very much part of the cultural heritage in Tsengel and are transferred from generation to generation by more or less professional storytellers in the area.²⁸
- A shared history. The memory of non-mythological history stretches back at least to the beginning of the 19th century, as there are stories from this time about how the Tuvans allowed the first Kazakhs to come to the area of Tsengel for their summer pasture.
- A distinctive shared culture. The Tuvans have a particular kind of yurt, clearly distinctive from that of the Kazakhs. Furthermore, they have their own variety within the nomadic culture of breeding yaks, preparing marmot skins and making yak milk vodka. In the sphere of religion, the adherence to strict Tengrism, without acknowledgment of Buddhism, distinguishes the Tuvans of Bayan-Ölgii not only from the surrounding peoples in Mongolia, who are either Buddhists (albeit with Shamanist influence) or Muslims, but also from the Tuvans of the republic of Tuva, who generally practice a mixed form of Buddhism and Shamanism.
- An association with a specific territory. The Altai (which is nowadays divided between Mongolia, China and Russia) as the homeland of the Tuvans and with Tsengel hairhan uul as its symbolic centre.
- A sense of solidarity. This sentiment was already present previously, as a strategy of protecting their own culture against Kazakh influence, but it has recently been strengthened by Galsan Chinag's work on making the Tsengel Tuvans conscious of their value as an ethnic group.

²⁸ The myths of the Tuvans in Tsengel have been recorded, analyzed and published by Erika Taube in a large number of publications, see, e.g., Taube (1992: 112-162).

Furthermore, Smith regards the following factors as fundamental for the forming of an *ethnie*:

- Sedentariness and nostalgia. Of course, sedentarization is not a valid concept when discussing traditionally nomadic populations, but in practice the nomadic life in Tsengel only means moving around within the homeland and coming back to the same places each year according to the seasons.
- Organized religion. The Tuvans of Tsengel have their own Shamanist religion, which traditionally has no higher level of organization than the village level. It is clearly distinct from Mongolian Buddhism and Kazakh Islam, and during the last decades also more organized, as Galsan Chinag became the central shaman, who also organizes common rituals for all the Tuvans of Tsengel at the *ovoo* of Kunshkunnug.
- Inter-state warfare. Concrete inter-state warfare is clearly lacking, as the Tuvans in Bayan-Ölgii have never constituted anything even remotely similar to a state, but there still is a strong feeling that a potential conflict was ward-off, as Galsan Chinag and Qaržaubaj agreed on the future of Bayan-Ölgii.

6. Towards a theory of sub-minority—majority ethnic identification

The different levels of ethnicity among the Tuvans is most clearly analyzed as a strategy of increasing their own autonomy in the ethnic sense, in the same way as the Basques generally have been much in favour of the EU Project in order to be able to be Basques and Europeans (a vague, and hence harmless identity), but avoid being classified as either French or Spanish.²⁹ By adopting the Mongolian ethnicity parallel to their own, an ethnicity which was both more prestigious and more neutral than the Kazakh ethnicity, the Tuvans were even able to strengthen their own ethnic consciousness as Tuvans. As the number of Mongols (Khalkha Mongols) in the local area, i.e. the province of Bayan-Ölgii is only around 0.4%, they are not perceived as a threat by the Tuvans, whereas the Kazakhs, who constitute 86% of the population, could easily by mere strength of numbers force the Tuvans to leave their focal places, like the valley of Hargant, near the holy mountain of Tsengel hairhan. After the return of a relatively large group of Tuvans from other parts of Mongolia, the group once again gained the critical mass necessary for maintaining a more developed ethnic consciousness. Due to the strengthened position of the Kazakhs in the 1950s and 1960s, a significant part of the Tuvans had moved to other parts of Mongolia,

²⁹ A similar case is found among all the various peoples in the former Soviet Union, who still, explicitly or implicitly, prefer to identify themselves as Soviet, rather than subjugating themselves to the local requirements for ethnic adaptation. This is particularly clear among many of the Mingrelians living in Abkhazia, who prefer to join the Russian Federation (as the successor state of the Soviet Union) instead of identifying themselves as Georgians.

where the possibilities for supporting their families were much better, but thanks to the strong dedication of Galsan Chinag this exodus trend was changed, and hence his personal role in this development can hardly be overestimated. Thus, the prerequisites for a sufficiently large ethnic group could be fulfilled, a group comprising at least more than one thousand persons, and, as many of them had received their education in other parts of Mongolia, they possessed a better command of the Mongolian language and a stronger connection to the Mongolian majority society than the local Kazakh population, who had fostered their ties to Kazakhstan already during Soviet times.

As a conclusion, the following criteria can be advanced as fundamental for a situation where this type of ethnic identification levels appear:

- A population which at least at a low administrative level could constitute the majority (village, county).
- Language skills, education and religion which link this particular group closer to the country's majority population than the regional majority population.
- Perceived advantages of acting in the name of the country's majority population.
- Real or perceived negative treatment from the part of the regional majority population.

Acknowledgment

I am most indebted to the Tuvans and Kazakhs of Bayan-Ölgii, who readily accepted to be interviewed on short notice, and also to my hosts Mr. Khompaj in Ölgii and to Ms. Mөндөр in Kushkunnug, Tsengel *sum*. Furthermore, I received much help from my Uyghur host in Hovd, Mr. Yura, and last, but not least, from Prof. Sumiabaatar and Dr. Xurmetxan Muxamadi at the Mongolian Academy of Sciences in Ulaanbaatar.

References

Printed publications³⁰

- A. Saraj 1992. *Revolyciyadan buriny Monyoliya qazaqtari* [The Kazakhs of Mongolia before the revolution]. Ölgii: Monyoliya G'ilim Akademiyasiniñ tarix institutı [The Institute of History, Mongolian Academy of Sciences].
- A. Saraj 1999. *Töñkeristen keyingi Bayan-Ölgey qazaq, uryanxylari (1921-1940)* [The Kazakhs and the Uriankhai after the revolution (1921-1940)]. Erdenet: Bayan-Ölgiy aymayı-

³⁰ Mongols, as well as Kazakhs and Tuvans living in Mongolia, are usually known only under their personal name. In case the patronymic is known, in the following list of sources, it is indicated in the form of an initial before the personal name in accordance with the Mongolian practice.

- nij qoyamdıq ʔilimdar ortalıyı [The Centre for Social Sciences of the Province Bayan-Ölgii].
- A. Saraj 2001. *Revolyciyadan burınǵı Monǵolya qazaqtarı attı kitapıǵı (1993 ǵ.) qosımǵası* [Supplement to the book "The Kazakhs of Mongolia before the revolution" (1993)]. Ölgii: Bayan-Ölgiy aymayı qoyamdıq, ekonomikalıq ʔilimdar zertew ortalıyı [The Science Center for Society and Economy of Bayan-Ölgii province].
- Anderson, Gregory D. S. & Harrison K. David 2003. *Tuvan dictionary*. (Languages of the World/Dictionaries 28). Unterschleissheim/München: Lincom Europa.
- Aydemir, Ahmet 2002. Attributive Nebensätze im Altai-Tuwinischen. In: Demir, Nurettin & Turan, Fikret (eds.) *Scholarly depth and accuracy. A Festschrift to Lars Johanson*. Ankara. 39-50.
- B. Baabar (Batbayar) 1999. *History of Mongolia*. Cambridge: The White Horse Press.
- Balci, Bayram 2003. *Missionnaires de l'Islam en Asie centrale—Les écoles turques de Fetullah Gülen*. Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose.
- Baian-Ölgii aimgiin statistikiin heltes [Department of Statistics of the Province Bayan-Ölgii] 2001. *Baian-Ölgii aimgiin ediin zasag, niigmiin baidlyn tuhai taniltsuulga 2000* [Introduction to the economy and society of Bayan-Ölgii for the year 2000]. Ölgii.
- Benson, Linda 1988. Osman Batur: The Kazaks' Golden Legend. In: Benson, Linda & Svanberg, Ingvar (eds.) *The Kazaks of China: Essays on an ethnic minority*. (Studia Multiethnica Upsaliensia 5.) Uppsala. 141-187.
- Bulag, Uradyn E. 1998. *Nationalism and hybridity in Mongolia*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Enwall, Joakim 1992. Some remarks on the language debate in the Mingrelian newspaper. Qazaqıǵı Gazeti. In: Hewitt, George (ed.) *Caucasian perspectives*. Unterschleissheim/München: Lincom Europa. 278-284.
- Enwall, Joakim 1999. Towards a sociolinguistic history of Sinkiang. In: Juntunen, Mirja & Schlyter, Birgit N. (eds.) *Return to the Silk Routes: current Scandinavian research on Central Asia*. London et al.: Kegan Paul International. 119-131.
- Enwall, Joakim 2000. Gräshoppornas anfall: En studie av kinesiska lånord i mongoliska. [The attack of the grasshoppers: A study of Chinese loanwords in Mongolian], *Orientaliska studier* 103-4, 63-80.
- Enwall, Joakim (forthcoming). *The Mingrelian factor in the Abkhaz-Georgian conflict*.
- Finke, Peter 1999. The Kazaks of Western Mongolia. In: Svanberg, Ingvar (ed.) *Contemporary Kazaks: cultural and social perspectives*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press. 103-139.
- Hashimoto, Masaru & Pürevjav, Erdene 1999. Baruun Mongol dax' tuva, uigur helnii ügsiin tuhaj. In: Fujishiro, Setsu & Shögaito, Masahiro (eds.) *Issues in Turkic languages: description and language contact*. Kyoto: Department of Linguistics, Faculty of Letters. 145-155.
- Mandelstam Balzer, Marjorie 1999. Dilemmas of federalism in Siberia. In: Alexseev, Mikhail A. (ed.) *Center-periphery conflict in post-Soviet Russia: a federation imperiled*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 131-166.
- Mawkanuli, Talant 1999. *The phonology and morphology of Jungar Tuva*. Bloomington: Indiana University.
- Mongush, Marina V. 1996a. Tuvans of Mongolia and China. *International Journal of Central Asian Studies* 1, 225-243.
- Mongush, Marina V 1996b. The Tuvinians in China: aspects of their history, language and culture. In: Humphrey, Caroline & Sneath, David (eds.) *Culture and environment in Inner Asia, 2: Society and Culture*. Cambridge: The White Horse Press. 116-135.

- Potantin, G. N. 1881. *Očerki severo-zapadnoj Mongolii*, 2. Sankt-Peterburg.
- Ragagnin, Elisabetta 2000. The Turkic Dukha of northern Mongolia. *Turkic Languages* 4:2, 276-277.
- Rešetov, A. M. 1983. *Ėtničeskij sostav naselenija severo-zapadnogo Kitaja*. Novosibirsk.
- Rešetov, A. M. 1990. Tuvincy i altajskie urjanxajcy v Kitae: problemy istorii, ėtnosa i jazykovoj situacii. In: *Obščestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae*. (XXI naučnaja konferencija. Tezisy dokladov 2.) Moskva.
- Sanders, Alan J. K. 2003². *Historical dictionary of Mongolia*. Lanham: The Scarecrow Press.
- Sat, Sh. Ch. & Doržu, L. Ju. 1989. K izuženiju tuvinskogo jazyka v KNR. *Sovetskaja tjurkologija* 5, 93-96.
- Schubert, Johannes 1971. *Paralipomena mongolica*. (Veröffentlichungen des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, 19.) Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Smith, Anthony D. 1986. *The ethnic origins of nations*. Oxford & Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- Taube, Erika 1992. Zur ursprünglich magischen Funktion von Volksdichtung. *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher* 11, 112-162.
- Taube, Erika 1996. Zur gegenwärtigen Situation der Tuwiner im westmongolischen Altai. In: Árpád Berta et al. (eds.) *Symbolae Turcologicae: Studies in honour of Lars Johanson on his sixtieth birthday 8 March 1996*. (Transactions 6.) Stockholm: Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul. 213-225.
- Tschinag, Galsan 2000. *Der weiße Berg*. Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag.
- Vladimircov, B. J. 1923. O dvux smežannyx jazykax Zapadnoj Mongolii. In: *Jafetišeskij sbornik* 2: 2.

Map

- Map of Tsengel *sum*, from Mongolia Road Map, Avto zamyn zurag, Ulaanbaatar: Cartographic Enterprise of State Administration of Geodesy and Cartography, s.a.

Unpublished written sources

- Čislennost' naličnogo naselenija i kazakov proživajužžix v Mongolii (po predvaritel'nym itogam perepisi naselenija 2000 g.), na 15 nojabrja 2000 g. [Population figures and number of Kazakhs living in Mongolia (according to the preliminary results of the 2000 census), for Nov. 15, 2000]. Document provided by the Ambassador of Kazakhstan to Mongolia, Mr. Kajrat Isagaliev, June 18, 2001.

Internet materials

- <http://www.swartmore.edu/SocSci/Linguistics/aslep/tsengel.php>
<http://www.ufmts.org>

Interviews

- A. Saraj. Former governor of Bajan-Ölgij province. Ölgij, July 27, 2001.
- Ariunaa. Director of the Mongolian School. Ölgij, July 29, 2001.
- Batırbek. Imam of the Abu Bakr Mosque. Ölgij, July 28, 2001.
- Činag [Tschinag], Galsan. Shaman and writer. Kuskunnug, Cengel sum, Bajan-Ölgij, July 30, 2001.
- Isagaliev, Kajrat Isagalievič. Ambassador of Kazakhstan to Mongolia. Ulaanbaatar, June 18, 2001.

Lašyn. Entrepreneur and owner of the Ölgii printing office. Ölgij, August 2, 2001.

Mizamxan. Bajan-Ölgij representative of the World Association of Kazakhs. Ölgij, July 28, 2001.

Raxat, Q. Editor of *Žaŋa ömir* 1955-1969. Ölgij, August 1, 2001.

Qaržaubaj. Professor of Turkology, Evrazijskij University. Astana, February 8, 2002.

Selahattin. Educator, Mongolian Turkish School. Ölgij, July 27, 2001.

Šynaj, R. Writer and journalist. Ölgij, July 27, 2001.

Tau. Executive director of the Bayan-Ölgij branch of the East Kazakhstan University. July 28, 2001.

Tömör-uyal. Director of the Department of Education at the provincial administration of Bajan-Ölgij. Former director of the Tuvan school in Tsengel. Ölgij, July 28, 2001.

Zu den Benennungsmotiven türkischer Pilznamen

Ingeborg Hauenschild

Hauenschild, Ingeborg 2005. Zu den Benennungsmotiven türkischer Pilznamen. *Turkish Languages* 9, 116-157.

The present paper deals with motives for designating mushrooms in Turkish. It is concluded that the name-giving is based on optical perception and experience in dealing with mushrooms. More general designations are motivated by specific external characteristics, processes of growth and efficiency. The dominant method uses figurative metaphors, analogizing mushroom structures with animal and human features. More specific designations depart from the form of the whole mushroom or parts of it, the colour of its skin, flesh and milk, or its smell, toxicity, nutritional value, time of occurrence, etc. The method includes the use of figurative metaphors, explanatory metaphors and antitheses.

Ingeborg Hauenschild, Am Tiergarten 28, DE-60316 Frankfurt am Main, Germany.

Einführung

Als Pilz bezeichnet man den Fruchtkörper des blattgrünlosen Pilzgeflechtes, das im Erdreich oder auf lebenden bzw. toten organischen Substraten gedeiht. Unter der Erde besteht zwischen dem Pilzgeflecht und den Wurzeln grüner Pflanzen, insbesondere Baumwurzeln, eine symbiotische Beziehung, das sogenannte Mykorrhiza-Verhältnis. Über der Erde schmarotzen Pilzgeflechte auf lebenden grünen Pflanzen, die sie durch Nahrungsentzug schwächen und häufig zum Absterben bringen, oder sie siedeln sich als Saprophyten auf toter organischer Materie an, z.B. auf morschen Baumstümpfen und Dungablagerungen. Pilze sind in lichten Nadel- und Laubwäldern, auf Äckern, Wiesen und Ödland verbreitet. Sie kommen aber auch im Bereich menschlicher Siedlungen auf Ruderalstellen und Misthaufen sowie in Gärten vor. Ihr postskiz Wachstum wird durch kurze Trockenperioden, denen kräftige Niederschläge folgen, begünstigt; jeweils nach Spezies erscheinen sie vom zeitigen Frühjahr bis zum späten Herbst.

Die zentralasiatischen Wüsten bieten naturgemäß keine Lebensbedingungen für Pilze, aber die angrenzenden humiden Steppen- und Gebirgszonen sowie die sibirische Taiga sind der Standort zahlreicher Pilzarten. Im Westen und Südwesten der Turcia, wo sich Waldgebiete mit steppenartigen Landschaften und Agrarflächen abwechseln, ist das gesamte Areal reich an Pilzen. Dem Pilzvorkommen entspricht allerdings nur selten die lexikalische Erfassung von Pilznamen; so erwähnt z.B. Golomb (1959: 130–139) für die Nadelwaldregion Ostturkestans elf Pilzarten; doch kei-

ne einzige dieser Spezies ist in modernen uigurischen Quellen nachweisbar. Eine bemerkenswerte Anzahl von Belegen findet sich lediglich im Türkeitürkischen, Tatarischen, Krimtatarischen, Baschkirischen, Kasachischen, Chakassischen, Jakutischen und Tschuwaschischen. Die spärliche Zitierung von Pilznamen in den übrigen Türk-sprachen kann durch die Quellenlage bedingt sein; sie läßt jedoch auch auf eine distanzierte bis ablehnende Haltung gegenüber Pilzen schließen. Aufschlußreich ist hierzu die Anmerkung von Pröhle (1909: 103), daß die Karatschaier den Genuß von Schwämmen verschmähen.

Weder aus den alttürkischen Texten noch aus den Schriften zur uigurischen Volksmedizin haben sich bisher Hinweise auf Pilze bzw. Pilznamen ergeben. Ein früher osmanischer Beleg findet sich im *Müntahab-ı şifâ* des Celâlüddin Hızır (14. Jh.), wo der Ausdruck *tomalan* 'Trüffel' erwähnt wird. Zum Vorkommen des Trüffels heißt es dort f. 27a, 11 „... *tomalan ki kırlarda ve arı yèrlerde biter*“ '... der Trüffel, der in unbebauten Feldern und in unberührten Böden entsteht' und f. 27a, 12–13 „... *tomalan ki gölgelerde ya encîr ya zeytûn ağacı dibinde ya terslü yèrde bite*“ '... der Trüffel, der im Dunkeln und an den Wurzeln von Feigen- und Ölbäumen und in Misthaufen entsteht'. Die heute im Südwesten der Turcia gebräuchliche generelle Pilzbenennung *mantar* ist erstmals in der aus dem Jahre 1402 stammenden Istanbul Handschrift des *Kitâb al-idrâk li-lisân al-atrâk* als Marginalie nachweisbar (İdH 34).

Kāşygarî zitiert in seinem 1072/73 abgeschlossenen *Divân luyât at-turk* den Begriff *yawa* ~ *yava* 'turtūt' (DLT 454, 455), der nach dem heutigen Wissensstand als ältestes Zeugnis für einen türksprachigen Pilznamen zu betrachten ist, obgleich es sich nach botanischen Kriterien um keinen Pilz, sondern um eine pilzähnliche Pflanze handelt. Der arabische Terminus *turtūt* bezeichnet den zur Familie der Orobanchaceen gehörigen Hundskolben, *Cynomorium coccineum* und dient bei Kāşygarî vermutlich zur Definition der zentralasiatischen Spezies *Cynomorium songaricum*. Wie viele Pilze schmarotzt auch der blattgrünlose Hundskolben auf einem pflanzlichen Substrat; er bildet einen morchelähnlichen Blütenkolben, dessen Stengel—in Entsprechung zu milchenden Pilzen—einen blutroten Saft abgibt (cf. Hauenschild 1994: 84–85). Bei Redh (1236) wird *yava* mit 'a species of fungus, phallus or orobanche (?)' erklärt, d.h., daß Redhouse *yava* für einen Pilz hält, und zwar für die Stinkmorchel, *Phallus impudicus* oder für die mit dem Hundskolben verwandte Sommerwurz, *Orobanche* sp., die er gleichfalls zu den Pilzen zählt.

Seit alters her werden die Pilze, die Nahrung und Medizin, ebenso jedoch Gift und Zaubermittel sind, von den Menschen mit Ehrfurcht oder Furcht betrachtet. Dies hat dazu geführt, daß Pilze häufig nicht nur mit einem Berührungsverbot, sondern auch mit einem Sprachtabu belegt worden sind (Rätsch 1992: 121). Tryjarski vermerkt in der Einleitung zu *Turkic names for mushrooms* (1977), dem bisher einzigen Beitrag zur gesamt türkischen Pilzlexik, daß die frühen Türken den Pilzen wegen der tödlichen Effizienz, die oft mit ihrem Verzehr verbunden war, wahrscheinlich den Spitzenplatz unter den giftigen Pflanzen eingeräumt und sie aufgrund dieser Einschätzung unter ein Tabu gestellt haben. Es ist allerdings fraglich, ob Pilzvergif-

tungen der alleinige Auslöser eines Sprachverbots waren. Da nur wenige Pilze toxische Ingredienzien enthalten, dürften derlei Vorkommnisse relativ selten gewesen sein; sie haben aber wohl eine gewisse Aversion gegen Pilze ausgelöst. Aus Kāṣyārī's Glosse zu *yava* geht jedenfalls hervor, daß mit dem Saft dieses vermeintlichen Pilzes eine Soße für das Nudelgericht *tutmāč* zubereitet worden ist.

Im allgemeinen verdanken Pilze das ihnen vielerorts anhaftende unheimliche Image primär ihrer außergewöhnlichen Gestalt und gewissen Wachstumserscheinungen wie Schleimabsonderungen oder widerliche Geruchsbildungen. Hinzu kommt zweifellos die begründete Angst vor der potentiellen Gefährdung von Mensch und Tier durch toxische Wirkstoffe, aber auch die abergläubische Furcht vor den psychedelischen Eigenschaften mancher Pilze. Sie ist vermutlich ein wesentlicher Anlaß für die Tabuierung von Pilznamen; beispielhaft hierfür erscheint das Verhalten der Jakuten gegenüber dem Fliegenpilz, *Amanita muscaria*, der im geheimen sowohl von den Schamanen wie von der Bevölkerung als berauschende Droge verwendet wird, dessen jakutischer Name sich aber in keinem Wörterbuch belegen läßt (cf. Hauenschild 2001: 79–80). Der Gebrauch von Lehnwörtern ist bei einheimischen Giftpflanzen oft ein Indiz für deren Tabuierung; desgleichen sind Benennungen, die in verbrämter Form auf schädliche pflanzliche Eigenschaften hinweisen, als Ersatzwörter zu betrachten. Beide Möglichkeiten zur Umgehung eines Sprachverbots sind bei Pilzen, die als giftig oder zumindest anrücklich gelten, zu beobachten.

Generelle Pilzbenennungen

Im Bereich der Turcia gibt es keinen gemeintürkischen Gruppenbegriff für Pilze, obgleich im gesamten Gebiet—mit Ausnahme der Wüsten—Pilze vorkommen. Türk-völker, die an den Rändern des Areals ansässig sind, verwenden vornehmlich Lehnwörter, während die Türk-völker der inneren Region die Pilze mit diversen eigenständigen Bezeichnungen metaphorisch umschreiben. Unter den generellen Pilznamen gibt es griechische, slavische, finno-ugrische, chinesische und persische Entlehnungen. Im Türkei-türkischen, Krimtatarischen, Krimkaraimischen, Tatarischen, Baschkirischen, Karakalpakischen, Altaitürkischen, Chakassischen und Tschuwaschischen sind in der Regel nur Lehnwörter oder Bezeichnungen mit einer Lehnwortbasis gebräuchlich. Originär türkische Ausdrücke finden sich im Aserbaidschanischen, Türkmenischen, Karatschai-Balkarischen, Kumükischen, Kasachischen, Kirgisischen und Jakutischen. Sowohl Entlehnungen wie türkische Begriffe lassen sich bei den Gagausen, Nogaiern, Usbeken, Uiguren und Tuvinern nachweisen. Auffällig ist, daß die Uiguren drei Lehnwörter und zugleich einen eigenständigen Terminus benutzen.

In der oghusischen Gruppe—ausschließlich der Aserbaidschaner und Türkmenen—wird der Pilz mit *mantar* < gr. *manitári* 'Pilz' benannt, cf. ttü. *mantar* (Stw 607), gag. *mantar(a)* (GRMS 325), krt. *mantar* (KrtRS 89), kkar. *mantar* (KRPS 403). Das vulgärgriechische *manitári* leitet sich von *amanitáron* her, einer Bezeichnung für Blätterpilze, speziell für Champignons. Der von den Tuvinern und Uiguren

als generelle Pilzbenennung übernommene chinesische Terminus *mógu* (s.u.) ist gleichfalls eine Champignonbezeichnung. Ebenso geht deutsch *Pilz* < lateinisch *boletus* auf einen insbesondere für den Champignon gebräuchlichen Ausdruck zurück.

Das russische Wort *grib* 'Pilz' ist als Entlehnung im Nogaischen mit *grib* (RNS 138) und im Neuuigurischen mit *girib* (XUL 1088) belegbar. Die Tschuwaschen benutzen für Pilze den Namen *kämpa* (ČRS 149), der nach ESTJa V: 101 auf r. *guba* 'Baumpilz', nach Egorov (1964: 99) auf ein ostslavisches *konba* 'Pilz' zurückgeht. Außerdem gibt es den Terminus *kărăś* (ČRS 152) < r. *gruzd* 'Milchpilz', der häufig als zweite Komponente in Benennungen für die Gattung *Lactarius*, d.h., für milchende Pilze, auftritt. Bei den Kasantataren wird als genereller Pilzname *gömbä* (TaRS 121) verwendet, das dieselbe Herkunft wie tsch. *kämpa* hat, und bei den Mischärtataren das mordwinische Lehnwort *paŋgi* (TTDS 335).

Im Baschkirischen findet sich die Pilzbezeichnung *bäšmäk* (BRS 136), im Dialekt *bäškäk* (SBJa I: 207) und *mäškä* ~ *mäškäk* (BRS 39), von den Uraltataren mit *mäškä* (TTDS 315) übernommen. Sie läßt sich gleichfalls mit alt. *meške* (ORS 110) ~ *päškä* (WB IV: 1258) und chak. *miske* (XRS 108) sowie in diversen südsibirischen Dialekten nachweisen. Joki (1952: 90–91) hält *meške* < **beške* für ein urtürkisches Wort, das ins Kalmückische entlehnt worden ist. Nach KW (43) wird kalm. *beškä* ~ *böškä* für 'Zunderschwamm, Baumpilz' verwendet; in sekundärer Bedeutung bezeichnen auch alt. *meške* und chak. *miske* die Baumschwämme.

Stachowski (1998: 110) vermutet, daß ba. *bäšmäk* und alt. *päškä* als zwei alte, nur noch in Randgebieten vorkommende Derivate von einer nichttürkischen Wurzel **päš* zu betrachten sind. Da Pilze häufig am Baumansatz wachsen, sieht er einen semantischen Zusammenhang mit osm. *päš* 'der untere Teil' (WB IV: 1256) und nuig. *päs* '1. unten, unterhalb; 2. niedrig, gering, platt; 3. die Base' (WB IV: 1253) < pers. *past* 'unten befindlich, niedrig, tief'. Denkbar wäre auch eine Ableitung von pers. *pes* ~ *pis* 'Aussatz', denn die Form der Pilze wird manchmal mit einer Deformation der Haut verglichen, wie as. *göbäläk*, tkm. *kömelek* und kum. *qolqotur* zeigen (s.u.). Umgekehrt kann eine Mißbildung der Haut als pilzartige Erscheinung definiert werden; Tryjarski (1977: 248) merkt an, daß tsch. *kämpa* 'Pilz' zudem eine Warze am Kopf bezeichnet. Einer eventuellen Assoziation von Pilzen mit Leprabeulen entspricht im Baraba-Dialekt der Gebrauch von *mäškä* im Sinne von 'Zapfen (der Nadelbäume); Eichel' (Dmitrieva 1981: 165).

Bei den Karakalpaken, Usbeken und Uiguren hat sich als generelle Pilzbenennung das persische Lehnwort *zamārüg* 'Pilz, Giftpilz' eingebürgert, das bereits im Tschagataischen (PdC 332) mit *zamaruq* 'sorte de champignon' belegt ist; cf. kkp. *zamarrıq* (KkRS 280), usb. *zamburuy* (UzRS 162), nuig. *zämburuy* (XUL 1088). Der chinesische Pilzname *mógu* 'Champignon' wurde von den Tuvinern mit *möögü* (TuvRS 287), von den Uiguren mit *mogu* (URL 250) ~ *mögü* (URL 711) als allgemeine Pilzbezeichnung übernommen; cf. mong. *möögä* 'Pilz'.

Unter den generellen türksprachigen Pilznamen gibt es deverbale Nomina, die entweder den Wachstumsprozeß oder die Effizienz des Pilzes betreffen, Determinativkomposita mit qualifizierender Funktion und Possessivkomposita, die den Pilz

nach einem markanten äußeren Merkmal erfassen. Vorherrschend ist die bildliche Metapher, die pilzliche Strukturen mit analogen Bildungen im tierischen und menschlichen Bereich verknüpft. Der häufige Vergleich mit Körperteilen oder Körpermerkmalen könnte von animistischen Vorstellungen bestimmt sein.

Aserbaidshaner und Türkmeneu umschreiben den Pilz als eine Art Geschwulst, cf. as. *göbäläk* (ARS 223) und tkm. *kömelek* (TuRS 413) < *göp-/ köp-* ‘schwollen’ (ESTJa V: 101). Im Osmanischen ist *göbelek* in einer Quelle des 18. Jahrhunderts belegt (TS III: 1714), allerdings auf bestimmte Pilze bezogen. Zum einen erklärt der Autor pers. *hāya-des* mit „*mantar dedikleri nebatın me’kül nev’i-dir, göbelek ta’bir olunur, yumurtaya şebih olmakla bu isimle tesmiye olundu*“ ‘eine eßbare Art von den *mantar* genannten Gewächsen, sie heißt *göbelek*, mit diesem Namen wird sie wegen der Ähnlichkeit mit einem Ei benannt’; zum andern erläutert er gr. *karxan* mit „*Yunanide mantarın ak ve küçük nev’ine denir ki Türkide göbelek ve ak mantar ve yelli mantar ta’bir olunur*“ ‘So wird im Griechischen eine weiße und kleine Pilzart benannt, die im Türkischen *göbelek* und *ak mantar* [weißer Pilz] und *yelli mantar* [Pilz mit Fürzen] heißt’. Beide Beschreibungen erfassen die Boviste, *Lycoperdon*, deren im Jugendzustand genießbarer eiförmiger Fruchtkörper bei der Reife an der Spitze mit einem zischenden Geräusch aufplatzt. Der Pilzname *göbelek* findet sich mit zahlreichen Varianten noch heute in den meisten anatolischen Dialekten.

Die Gleichsetzung der Pilzform mit Hautauswüchsen liegt ebenso bei der kumükischen Pilzbezeichnung *qolqotur* (KuRS 199) vor, wörtlich ‘Armschorf’. Tryjarski (1977: 251) schlägt die Übersetzung ‘a pimple (or crust) of the valley’ vor, die aber nur bedingt mit den üblichen Pilzstandorten zu vereinbaren ist und außerdem kaum den physischen Widerwillen zum Ausdruck bringt, der zu der Assoziation von Pilzen mit einer lästigen Krustenbildung am Arm geführt hat. Auch ist nicht auszuschließen, daß *qolqotur* primär die Baumpilze erfaßt, die sich wie Wülste von den Stämmen abheben.

Bei den Kasachen, Uiguren und Nogaiern ist das Benennungsmotiv ‘Ohr’ verbreitet, das sich auf den Hut der Pilze bezieht. Im Kasachischen wird ein Pilz generell mit *sağırawqulaq* (KaRS 295), wörtlich ‘taubes Ohr’, bezeichnet. Das Attribut ‘taub’ entlarvt den Pilzhut als scheinbare Ohrmuschel; es macht aber zudem deutlich, daß dieses ‘Ohr’ durch eine Schicht von Lamellen oder Poren verstopft ist. In spezieller Bedeutung benennt kas. *sağırawqulaq* den Samtfußkrempling, *Paxillus atroamentosus* und den Zuchtchampignon, *Agaricus bisporus*, die beide mit auffälligen Lamellen besetzt sind, sowie den Butterpilz, *Suillus luteus*, dessen dicke Porenschicht zum Stiel hin gewölbt ist. Die Uiguren gebrauchen für Pilze den Ausdruck *atqulaq* (URL 17), wörtlich ‘Pferdeohr’, während die Nogaier und Gagausen die Pilze—vermutlich aus Abscheu—mit *şaytanqulaq* (NRS 401) bzw. *şeytan kulaa* (GRMS 566), wörtlich ‘Teufelsohr’, bezeichnen, cf. den deutschen Dialektnamen M II: 522 *Düwelspannkoken* (Teufelspfannkuchen).

Kirgisen und Usbeken assoziieren den Pilzhut mit dem Blättermagen eines Lammes, cf. kirg. *qozu qarın* (RKiS 143), usb. *qozıqârin* (UzRS 634), wörtlich ‘Lämmermagen’. Das *tertium comparationis* stellen die Lamellen an der Unterseite des Pilz-

hutes dar, deren Anordnung der blattartigen Faltung des Blättermagens entspricht. Sowohl bei 'Lämmermagen' wie bei 'Ohr' dürfte das Benennungsmotiv mit der Herdenhaltung bzw. der Weidewirtschaft zusammenhängen; denn viele Pilze haben im Bereich der Sommerweiden, wo sich einschlägige Vergleiche anbieten, ihren Standort.

Um eine Tierkörperbezeichnung scheint es sich ebenfalls bei tuv. *asqir-čavaa* (TuvR 73) zu handeln. Da *asqir-čavaa* als derber Ausdruck gekennzeichnet ist, kann *čavaa* kaum im Sinne von 'Schwägerin' gebraucht sein. Es dürfte sich bei *asqir-čavaa* eher um eine hybride Wortformation aus tuv. *asqir* 'Hengst' + mong. *zahaa* 'Ho-den' handeln—in Anspielung auf den Habitus der Pilze. Ein analoger Terminus ist im Karatschaischen mit *ešék-goqqù* (Pröhle 1909: 103), wörtlich 'Eselshoden', belegt. Ansonsten wird im Karatschai-Balkarischen der Pilz allgemein mit *juwa* (KBRS 260) bezeichnet, einer in der westlichen und mittleren Turcia üblichen Benennung für wilde Zwiebeln, die Kāšyarī mit *yawa* ~ *yava* für den morchelähnlichen Hundskolben anführt (s.o.). Falls *juwa* auch im Karatschai-Balkarischen als Zwiebelbezeichnung gebräuchlich war, hat die Namensübertragung auf Pilze zur völligen Verdrängung von *juwa* in eigentlicher Bedeutung geführt.

Bei den Jakuten sind als generelle Pilzbenennungen *tälläy* (JaRS 425) und *kunaaχ* (JaRS 188) belegbar. Pekarskij (III: 2629) verweist s.v. *tälläy* 'Pilz' auf das Verb *tälläy-* 'eine dicke, herabhängende Unterlippe haben', d.h., daß *tälläy* den Pilzhut als eine wulstige Lippe definieren könnte. Mit *kunaaχ* wird primär der Zunderschwamm, *Fomes fomentarius* bezeichnet; als Sammelbegriff erscheint *kunaaχ* fast ausschließlich in Komposita, die Baumpilze erfassen. Da die Fruchtkörper dieser schmarotzenden Pilze vornehmlich konsolen- oder fladenförmig sind, könnte ein Zusammenhang zwischen *kunaaχ* 'Pilz' und *kunaaχ* 'Mist eines neugeborenen Kalbes' (DSJaJa 123) bestehen.

Für die Giftpilze (r. *poganka*) gibt es eine Reihe von Sammelnamen, die zum einen die Gefährlichkeit dieser Pilze, zum andern den ihnen gegenüber herrschenden Abscheu zum Ausdruck bringen. Die meisten Termini betreffen die toxische Effizienz; sie wird mehr oder weniger eindeutig angesprochen, cf. ttü. *delice mantar* 'Tollpilz' (Stw 210) und tsch. *usal kampa* 'böser Pilz' (ČRS 460), vor allem aber in verhüllender Form erläutert. Als Symbol für die Giftigkeit fungieren dabei Schlange und Frosch, die beide der dämonischen Sphäre angehören und deshalb als Zeichen des Bösen betrachtet werden; cf. tkm. *yilankömelek* 'Schlangpilz' (TuRS 377), tat. *yilan gömbäse* 'Schlangpilz' (TaRS 121) sowie usb. *qurbaqasalla* 'Froschturban' (RUzS II: 76), dem im deutschen Dialekt (M II: 522) *Poggenhoot* (Froschhut) entspricht. Eine euphemistische Benennung ist auch nuig. *qoziqeris̄* (URL 603), wörtlich 'einer, der die Lämmer alt macht (d.h. zum Sterben bringt)'; sie verweist auf die gravierenden Folgen, die der Verzehr von Giftpilzen bei Lämmern bewirken kann. Ebenso dürfte sich schor. *qoj̄ir̄iq* (WB II: 649), das vermutlich ein Derivat von *qoš-* 'beimischen' ist, auf Giftpilze beziehen. Ein Zusammenhang mit mong. *qužir* 'Salz' bzw. kalm. *χudžr* 'soda- und salzhaltige Erde, Salzerde', den Tryjarski (1977: 250)

für möglich hält, erscheint unwahrscheinlich, denn Pilze sind weder salzhaltige noch salzliebende Gewächse.

Der Abscheu vor Giftpilzen äußert sich in der Einbeziehung von Hund und Esel, die—obgleich sie für den Menschen äußerst nützlich sind—von den Türkvölkern mit Verachtung bedacht werden; cf. gag. *ešek mantarası* 'Eselspilz' und *köpek mantarası* 'Hundspilz' (GRMS 325), k.b. *ešek juwala* 'Eselspilze' (KBRS 779), kkp. *ešek zamarrıq* 'Eselspilz' (RKkS 683). Beim Esel spielt zudem sein störrisches Verhalten, das mit den rauschhaften Erscheinungen einer Pilzvergiftung assoziiert wird, eine gewisse Rolle. Die Abneigung gegen Giftpilze ist ebenfalls daran erkennbar, daß sie dem Bereich der Fäulnis zugeordnet werden, cf. gag. *fiški mantarası* (GRMS 503), tsch. *navus kãmpi* (ČRS 242) und *tislěk kãmpi* 'Mistpilz' (ČRS 432) sowie jak. *sitiġan tãllã* 'Fäulnispilz' (JaRS 425).

Da einige Sammelbegriffe mitunter auch eine bestimmte Pilzart benennen, ist es möglich, daß der Name eines regional häufig vorkommenden oder habituell auffälligen Pilzes jeweils als Bezeichnung für die gesamte Klasse übernommen wurde.

Spezielle Pilzbenennungen

Unter den Gattungs- und Artnamen gibt es regional bzw. in einzelnen Dialekten gebräuchliche arabische, chinesische, finno-ugrische, iranische und slavische Entlehnungen, deren Anzahl jedoch äußerst gering ist. Die türkischen Ausdrücke erfassen als bildhafte Metapher einen Pilz nach seinem Habitus und weisen als erläuternde Metapher bzw. als Antithese auf Toxizität, Standort oder Erscheinungszeit hin. Es handelt sich dabei gleichfalls um deverbale Nomina, Determinationskomposita und Possessivkomposita, deren Aussagewert sich mit dem der analogen Formen unter den generellen Pilzbenennungen deckt, zudem aber um denominalen Nomina, Rektionskomposita und Satznamen.

Die denominalen Nomina beziehen sich auf eine bestimmte Eigenschaft des Pilzes—as. *sariġa* 'der Gelbliche'—oder auf seine scheinbare Ähnlichkeit mit Tieren bzw. Gegenständen—*tülkiše* 'wie ein Fuchs' und ttü. *duvaklıca* 'wie mit einem Brautschleier'. Eine gewisse Distanz zum Denotat ist unverkennbar; noch deutlicher zeigt sich dies bei den Rektionskomposita, die stets auf die unangenehme oder tödliche Wirkung eines Pilzes anspielen. Sie sind eine syntaktische Fügung aus einem Objekt und einem Nominalverb; das eigentliche Subjekt, nämlich der Pilz, wird jedoch nicht genannt, cf. ttü. *dilburan* 'Zungenzusammenzieher' und *köygöçüren* 'der ein Dorf zum Sterben bringt'. Ein verhüllendes Moment haftet ebenso den Satznamen an, sie gleichen einem Rätsel, dessen Lösung nur dem Kundigen vorbehalten ist, wie z.B. bei tuv. *çigge-çiiir* 'es glüht in der Senke'.

Spezielle Bezeichnungen, die das Äußere eines Pilzes aufgreifen, können die Form des gesamten Fruchtkörpers bzw. des Hutes beschreiben oder sich auf markante Merkmale an Hut und Stiel beschränken. Zu letzteren gehören die an der Hutunterseite vieler Pilze angeordneten Lamellen, Poren und stachelartigen Auswüchse, die als Träger der sporenbildenden Fruchtschicht dienen, sowie Reste des Velums.

Das häutige Velum umhüllt bei manchen Pilzarten den jungen Fruchtkörper; beim Zerreißen hinterläßt es auf der Oberseite des Hutes flockige, am Stiel ring- oder scheidenförmige Überbleibsel.

Termini, die sich auf die Farbe beziehen, verweisen zum einen auf die äußerliche Färbung des Pilzes, zum andern auf die Tönung von Milch und Fleisch, die erst beim Anschnitt sichtbar wird. Die Milch behält fast immer ihre Färbung bei, während das Fleisch häufig dunkel anläuft. Einige Benennungen betreffen Beschaffenheit und Schmackhaftigkeit des Pilzfleisches sowie die für bestimmte Pilze typische Entwicklung von widerlichen Gerüchen und Schleimabsonderungen. Die giftige Effizienz eines Pilzes wird bei den meisten Türkvölkern in euphemistischer Form ausgedrückt; in der oghusischen Gruppe scheint dies nur bei einer für den Menschen tödlichen Wirkung zu gelten.

Auffällig häufig sind Namen, die den Pilz entweder einem Baum, mit dem er im Mykorrhiza-Verhältnis lebt, oder einem für sein Gedeihen unabdingbaren Substrat zuordnen. Daneben gibt es auch Bezeichnungen, die Pilze mit ihrer Erscheinungszeit verbinden.

In Entsprechung zu den generellen Pilzbenennungen finden sich unter den Gattungs- bzw. Artnamen diverse Termini, die einen Zusammenhang zwischen Tier und Pilz herstellen. Sie assoziieren Größe, Färbung und Körpermerkmale gewisser Tiere mit den analogen Eigenschaften eines Pilzes oder deuten durch die Tierkomponente auf das lokale und zeitliche Vorkommen des Pilzes sowie auf seine toxische Wirkung hin.

Wie bereits in der Einführung festgehalten wurde, ist die Quellenlage sehr unterschiedlich gewichtet. Gleichwohl haben die lexikalischen Recherchen eine erstaunlich große Anzahl von speziellen türkischen Pilznamen erbracht. Ihre Benennungsmodelle sind im allgemeinen für den Bereich einer einzigen Türkische Sprache oder für das Areal einer Sprachgruppe einschließlich angrenzender Türkischer Sprachen repräsentativ. Sie spiegeln eigenständige Vorstellungen wider, die mit Mentalität und Lebensweise der Türkischen Völker eng verquickt sind. Es gibt aber auch universale Modelle, die sowohl im Türkischen wie in Sprachen mit anderen Sprachsystemen vorkommen und als Lehnübersetzungen—meist aus dem Russischen—ins Türkische gelangten. Bei einer Reihe von deutschen Pilzbezeichnungen—vornehmlich Dialektausdrücken—liegen ebenfalls semantische Parallelen vor. Die mit M (= Marzell) markierten Termini scheinen allerdings universale Benennungsmodelle zu vertreten, die nicht durch Lehnübersetzungen transportiert wurden, sondern unabhängig von Sprachkontakten in verschiedenen Sprachräumen entstanden sind.

Die Gattungs- und Artnamen werden unter der entsprechenden wissenschaftlichen Benennung, die durch die deutschen und—gegebenenfalls—russischen Pendants ergänzt ist, angeführt. Den türkischen Zitaten schließt sich die wörtliche Übersetzung bzw. ein Interpretationsversuch an. Ein Pfeil verweist auf das für ein Benennungsmotiv relevante Merkmal des Pilzes; dazu wurden folgende Abkürzungen gewählt:

E	Erscheinungszeit	H	Hut	S	Stiel
F	Fleisch	L	Lamellen	TW	Toxische Wirkung
FrK	Fruchtkörper	M	Milch	V	Vorkommen
G	Geruch	P	Poren	W	Wert

Beschreibt der Name den gesamten Fruchtkörper eines in Hut und Stiel gegliederten Pilzes, so wird dies mit H+S (Hut+Stiel) angezeigt; FrK bezieht sich auf ungestielte bzw. verzweigte Pilze wie z.B. Baumschwämme oder Korallenpilze.

Agaricus (= Psalliota), Champignon, r. *pečerica*, *šampin'on*

F Im Schnitt rötend.

H Konvex; seidig-faserige weißliche Haut.

L Dichtstehend; blaßrosa.

S Zylindrisch; weißlich; mit hängendem häutigem Ring.

V Auf Wiesen, Weiden, Feldern, Misthaufen, in Gärten.

ttü. *adi mantar* 'Allerweltpilz' (Ak Nr. 7991) → V

ak mantar 'weißer Pilz' (B 104) → H

çayır mantarı 'Wiesepilz' (B 104) → V

— Cf. M III: 1162 *Wiesenschwamm*.

duvaklıca 'wie mit einem Brautschleier' (B 104) → S

— Cf. DS IV: 1614 *duvaklıca* 'yenebilen, lezzetli bir çeşit mantar' (Bolu). Der am Stiel hängende Ring entspricht dem kurzen weißen Schleier, den die Braut in der Henna nacht trägt.

duvaklı mantar 'Pilz mit Brautschleier' (B 104) → S

evlek mantarı 'Ackerfurchenpilz' (B 104) → V

— Cf. M III: 1162 *Feldschwamm*.

göbekmantarı 'Nabelpilz' (Stw 332) → H

guguvak (B 104)

— < südslavisch *kukmak* 'Champignon; Pfeffermilchling'. Cf. DS VI: 2190

guguvak 'yenebilen mantar' (Trabzon). Der Ausdruck *kukmak* findet sich auch als Entlehnung in österreichischen Dialekten, u.a. mit M III: 1165 *Gugemuke*.

içikızıl 'sein Inneres ist rot' (B 104) → F

— Cf. DS VII: 2505 *içikızıl* 'bir çeşit mantar' (Kastamonu).

keçi mantarı 'Ziegenpilz' (B 104) → S

— Die Velumreste am Stiel werden vermutlich mit einem Ziegenbart assoziiert.

koyun göbeği 'Schafnabel' (B 104) → H

— Cf. DS VIII: 2944 *koyun göbeği* 'bir çeşit mantar' (Kocaeli).

koyun mantarı 'Schafpilz' (B 104) → V

— Cf. DS VIII: 2944 *koyun mantarı* 'bir çeşit mantar' (Bolu); M: III: 1163

Schafegerling für *Agaricus arvensis*.

köy mantarı 'Dorfpilz' (B 104) → V

kuzugöbeği 'Lämmernabel' (Stw 572) → H

— Cf. DS VIII: 3022 *kuzugöbeği* 'bir çeşit mantar' (Denizli, Tokat, Ankara).

küp evliği 'Napfgehäuse' (B 104) → H

mıkbaşı 'Nagelkopf' (B 104) → H

- Cf. DS IX: 3182 *mik* 'çivi' (weit verbreitet).
şagrak mantarı 'Glanzpilz' (B 104) → H
 — Cf. DS X: 3737 *şakrak* 'parlak' (Niğde).
tarla mantarı 'Feldpilz' (B 104) → V
yazı mantarı 'Feldpilz' (B 104) → V
- as. *ay göbäläk* 'weißer Pilz' (RAL II: 459) → H
guzugarnı göbäläyi 'Lämmermagen-Pilz' (RAL II: 459) → L
 — Cf. unter den generellen Pilzbenennungen kirg. *qozu qarın* und usb. *qoziqarin*.
- tkm. *gelinkömelek* 'Brautpilz' (RTuS II: 660) → S
 — Der Name bezieht sich auf den schleierartigen Ring am Stiel.
- kkar. *eben kömeč* 'Großmuttersemmel' (KRPS 653) → H
 — Cf. M III: 1163 *Brotschwamm*; der Ausdruck *eben kömeč* ist im Türkei-türkischen, Aserbaidzhanischen und Krimtatarischen für die Malve, *Malva* gebräuchlich, deren flache, rundliche Früchte einem Brötchen ähneln.
- ba. *aq köläpä* 'weißer Schirm' (TSB 82) → H
- kas. *qoziqulaq* 'Lämmerohr' (XQBS 169) → H
qoziqyriq 'Lämmerschwanz' (DKF 80 'agaric champêtre') → H+S
 — Die Fettsteißschafe haben einen halblangen Schwanz, dessen Fett am Schwanzansatz, d.h., in der Steißgegend, eingebettet ist. Beim Pilz entspricht der Stiel dem Schwanz eines Lammes und der Hut den Fetteinlagerungen am Steiß.
taqtaqulaq 'Feldohr' (XQBS 156) → H und V
- usb. *qozidumba* 'Lämmerfettschwanz' (UzRS 634) → H+S
- chak. *tizek miskezi* 'Mistpilz' (RXS 938) → V
 — Cf. M III: 1162 *Adelpilz* (Stalljauchepilz).
- jak. *ötöx tälläyä* 'Trümmerpilz' (JaRS 425) → V
 — Cf. M III: 1162 *Brachpilz*.
- tsch. *ana kämpi* 'Ackerfurchenpilz' (RČS 28) → V
navos kämpi 'Mistpilz' (Ašm IX: 5) → V
šerem kämpi 'Graspilz' (ČRS 355) → V
šér kämpi 'Erdepilz' (Ašm VII: 143) → V
tislëk kämpi 'Mistpilz' (RČS 28) → V

Agaricus bisporus, Zuchtchampignon

- H Konvex.
 kas. *sañirawqulaq* 'taubes Ohr' (XQBS 147) → H
 nuig. *mogu* (UXL 250)
 — < chin. *mógu* 'Champignon'.

Albatrellus ovinus (= Polyporus ovinus), Schafeuter

- H Konvex, Rand wellig verbogen; weißliche bis gelblichweiße Haut.
 ttü. *koyun mantarı* 'Schafpilz' (B 183) → H
 — Cf. M III: 958 *Schafschwamm*, *Schafporling* sowie *Schafeuter*, *Goaßeuter*, *Kuheuter*; der lappige Hut erinnert an die Euter von Weidetieren.

Amanita caesarea, Kaiserling

- H Halbkugelig; orangerote Haut.
 W Vorzüglicher Speisepilz.
 ttü. *altın mantar* 'goldener Pilz' (Ok IV, Abb. 99) → H
altın yumurta mantarı 'Goldeipilz' (B 30) → H
 — Cf. M I: 236 *Eierschwamm*.
imparator mantarı 'Kaiserpilz' (B 30) → W

Amanita citrina, Gelber Knollenblätterpilz

- H Gelbe Haut.
 ttü. *sarı mantar* 'gelber Pilz' (B 290) → H

Amanita muscaria, Fliegenpilz, r. *muxomor*

- H Blutrote Haut, mit konzentrisch angeordneten weißen Flöckchen besetzt.
 TW Rauschartige Erregungs- und Verwirrungszustände; fliegentötend.
 ttü. *deli mantar* 'Tollpilz' (B 290) → TW
gelin mantarı 'Brautpilz' (B 290) → H
 — Der Ausdruck assoziiert den Pilzhut mit dem roten Hochzeitschleier der Braut.
kızıl mantar 'roter Pilz' (B 290) → H
sinek mantarı 'Fliegenpilz' (B 290) → TW
 tkm. *siyek ğıran* 'Fliegentöter' (RTuS 332) → TW
 — Die giftige Wirkung bei Fliegen beruht nicht auf dem für Menschen gefährlichen Muscaridin, sondern auf einer flüchtigen Substanz, die nur in frischen Pilzen enthalten ist.
 tat. *čeben gömbäse* 'Fliegenpilz' (TaRS 632) → TW
ežt gömbäse 'Hundspilz' (TTDS 537) → TW
 — < mordwinisch *ežt* 'Hund' + tat. *gömbä*.
 ba. *min-tırqış* 'Muttermalscheusal' (TSB 107) → H und TW
 krt. *čibni mantarı* 'Fliegenpilz' (HKr 156) → TW
 kum. *itqičriv* 'Hundekratzer' (RKuS 418) → TW
 — Der Name ist nicht eindeutig erklärbar; er kann sich—in Entsprechung zu kas. *šibin qırıš* 'Fliegenschabeisen'—aus *it* 'Hund' + *qičitiv* 'Kratzen' zusammensetzen, aber auch aus *it* + *qičriv* 'Schreien' gebildet sein und auf die Symptome der Hundetollwut anspielen.
 kas. *šibin qırıš* 'Fliegenschabeisen' (OQS I: 430) → TW
 kirg. *čimın qırıč* 'Fliegenschabeisen' (RKiS 372) → TW
 chak. *ooxčan ot* 'Giftnehmerkraut' (XRS 128) → TW
 — Die Benennung bezieht sich auf die besonders von den Schamanen praktizierte Verwendung des Fliegenpilzes als Droge.
seek ödirjeŋ 'Fliegentöter' (RXS 383) → TW
 tsch. *šelen kămpi* 'Schlangpilz' (Egorov 1960: 193) → TW
šăna kămpi 'Fliegenpilz' (ČRS 557) → TW
usal kămpa 'böser Pilz' (Ašm III: 298) → TW

Amanita pantherina, Pantherpilz

TW Ähnlich wie bei *Amanita muscaria*, aber häufig mit tödlichem Verlauf.

ttü. *köygöçüren* 'der ein Dorf zum Sterben bringt' (B 290) → TW

Amanita phalloides (= *Amanita bulbosa*), Grüner Knollenblätterpilz, r. *blednaja poganka*

H Grünliche bis gelbliche Haut.

S An der Basis knollig.

TW Schwere Stoffwechsel- und Kreislaufstörungen mit tödlichem Verlauf.

ttü. *evcikkıran* 'der die Familie erwürgt' (B 290) → TW

köygöçüren 'der ein Dorf zum Sterben bringt' (B 290) → TW

yumru mantar 'Knollenpilz' (Ak Nr. 438) → S

nuiğ. *eşäk mädigi* 'Eselsstrunk' (URL 146) → TW

tsch. *usal şupka kampa* 'böser bleicher Pilz' (RČS 28) → H und TW

Amanita rubescens, Perlpilz

H Mit Warzen besetzte rotbraune Haut.

ttü. *inci mantarı* 'Perlenpilz' (B 30) → H

Amanita vaginata, Grauer Streifling

S Am Fuß in einer häutigen Scheide steckend.

ttü. *kılıçkı mantarı* 'Säbelscheidenpilz' (B 30) → S

— Cf. M I: 239 *Scheidenschwamm*.

Amanita verna, Frühlingsknollenblätterpilz

E Frühjahr und Sommer.

TW Schwere Stoffwechsel- und Kreislaufstörungen mit tödlichem Verlauf.

ttü. *evcikkıran* 'der die Familienangehörigen erwürgt' (DS V: 1801) → TW

— Der in Denizli gebräuchliche Terminus wird mit 'çok zehirli, beyaz renkli bir çeşit mantar' erklärt und kann nur den Frühlingsknollenblätterpilz betreffen, der mitunter als weiße Variation des *evcikkıran* genannten Grünen Knollenblätterpilzes, *Amanita phalloides* gilt.

ilk bahar mantarı 'Frühlingspilz' (B 290) → E

Armillaria mellea, Hallimasch, r. *opënok osennij*

E Frühjahr bis Herbst, am häufigsten Ende September nach Regenfällen.

H Kugelig bis niedergedrückt, mit brustwarzenförmigen Buckeln; honiggelbe Haut.

V Büschelig auf lebendem und totem Holz.

ttü. *bal mantarı* 'Honigpilz' (B 43) → H

— Cf. M I: 396 *Honigpilz*.

as. *çoruzgöbäläyi* 'Hahnenpilz' (RAL II: 304) → H

payız kötükjäsi 'Herbstbaumstümpfchen' (ASE VI: 102) → E und V

— Cf. M I: 396 *Michaelisschwamm*—St. Michael wird am 29. September gefeiert—und *Stuakschwammala* (Stockschwämmlein).

tat. *balli gömbä* 'Pilz mit Honig' (TaRS 56) → H

ba. *balli bäsümäk* 'Pilz mit Honig' (BRS 136) → H

- krt. *balli mantar* 'Pilz mit Honig' (HKr 154) → H
 tsch. *šumār kămpi* 'Regenpilz' (ČRS 368) → E
tunkata kămpi 'Baumstumpfpilz' (Ašm VII: 143) → V
upljunkka (ČRS 457)
 — < r. *opěnok* 'Hallimasch'.

Armillaria matsutake, Krokodilritterling

V Unter Kiefern.

- kas. *qarayay sañirawqulayı* 'Kieferpilz' (XQBS 185) → V
 nuig. *qariyay mogusi* 'Kieferpilz' (XUL 791) → V

Auricularia auricula, Ohrappenpilz

FrK Ohrförmig; filzig, gräulich.

- nuig. *išäk mädiği* 'Eselsstrunk' (XUS 62) → FrK

Auricularia auricula-judae (= *Auricularia sambucina*), Judasohr

V Auf feuchtem Holz, speziell auf Holunder.

- ttü. *mürver mantarı* 'Holunderpilz' (Stw 672) → V

Boletus aereus, Bronzeröhrling

S Keulenförmig; bräunlich.

- ttü. *baston mantarı* 'Spazierstockpilz' (B 38) → S

Boletus aurianticus (= *Boletus rufus*), Rotkappe, r. *osinovnik*, *podosinovik*

H Fast kugelig bis konvex; orange- oder braunrote Haut.

V Unter Espen.

- ttü. *taş mantarı* 'Steinpilz' (B 38) → H
 as. *ğürmizibaş göbäläk* 'Rotkopfpilz' (RAL II: 508) → H
ğürmizi göbäläk 'roter Pilz' (RAL II: 320) → H
 tkm. *ğüzil kömelek* 'roter Pilz' (RTuS II: 97) → H
 tat. *qüzil gömbä* 'roter Pilz' (TaRS 307) → H
usaq gömbäse 'Espenpilz' (TaRS 594) → V
 — Cf. M I: 621 *Espenpilz*.
 ba. *uŝaq bäšmäge* 'Espenpilz' (BRS 136) → V
 kas. *qüzil sañirawqulaq* 'roter Pilz' (RKaS 548) → H
qüzgilt sarı sañirawqulaq 'rötlichgelber Pilz' (OQS II: 107) → H
 kkp. *qüzil zamarrıq* 'roter Pilz' (RKkS 698) → H
 usb. *qüzil qoziqärin* 'roter Pilz' (RUzS II: 96) → H
 chak. *os miskezi* 'Espenpilz' (XRS 108) → V
 jak. *kihil tälläy* 'roter Pilz' (RJaS 439) → H
tätij tälläyä 'Espenpilz' (RJaS 373) → V
 tsch. *äväs kămpi* 'Espenpilz' (ČRS 46) → V
hěrlě pılě něrtěkke 'rotbäckiger Pilz' (Dmitr 147) → H
 — Der tschuwaschische Ausdruck *něrtěkke* 'grib' < *něrtte* ~ *něrkki* 'polnyj, tučnyj' (beleibt, dick) ist nur in Enklaven nachweisbar (Dmitr 151).

Boletus edulis, Steinpilz, r. *belyj grib, borovik*

- E Im späten Frühjahr.
 F Fest, im Schnitt unveränderlich weiß.
 H Bis 25 cm breit, halbkugelig; hell- bis kastanienbraune Haut.
 S Bauchig oder zylindrisch.
 V Speziell unter Fichten und Birken.
 W Sehr guter Speisepilz.
- ttü. *ayköşkü mantarı* 'Bärensommerhauspilz' (B 38) → H+S
et mantarı 'Fleischpilz' (B 38) → W
göbek mantarı 'Nabelpilz' (B 38) → H
kesekek mantarı 'Erdschollenpilz' (Stw 518) → H°
kuzu mantarı 'Lämmerpilz' (Ok IV, Abb. 99) → E
 — Das Erscheinen des Pilzes fällt mit der Wurfzeit bei den Schafen zusammen.
taşmantarı 'Steinpilz' (Stw 903) → H
 — Cf. M I: 612 *Steinkopf*.
- as. *aq göbäläk* 'weißer Pilz' (RAL I: 95) → F
 tkm. *aq kömelek* 'weißer Pilz' (TuRS 413) → F
 ba. *aq başmäk* 'weißer Pilz' (BRS 136) → F
 tat. *aq gömbä* 'weißer Pilz' (TaRS 121) → F
qatı gömbä 'fester Pilz' (TaRS 121) → F
narat gömbäse 'Fichtenpilz' (TaRS 394) → V
 — Cf. M I: 613 *Tonpelz* (Tannenpilz).
simez gömbä 'dicker Pilz' (RTa 130) → H+S
- krt. *aq mantar* 'weißer Pilz' (HKr 151) → F
taş mantarı 'Steinpilz' (HKr 173) → H
- kas. *aq sañırawqulaq* 'weißer Pilz' (OQS I: 53) → F
qozı quyrıq 'Lämmerschwanz' (XQBS 151) → H+S
 — Cf. kas. *qozıquyrıq* s.v. *Agaricus*.
oqşanbırıq 'weißer Pilz' (OQS I: 67) → F
 — < usb. *âq zamburuy*.
- kirg. *aq qozu qarın* 'weißer Pilz' (RKiS 55) → F
 kkp. *aq zamarrıq* 'weißer Pilz' (RKkS 169) → F
 usb. *âq zamburuy* 'weißer Pilz' (RUzS I: 82) → F
 alt. *aq meške* 'weißer Pilz' (RAS 117) → F
 chak. *aç miske* 'weißer Pilz' (XRS 108) → F
 jak. *ürüñ tälläy* 'weißer Pilz' (RJaS 44) → F
 tsch. *hyrä nörtëkki* 'Kieferpilz' (Dmitr 148) → V
şar nörtëkke 'weißer Pilz' (Dmitr 149) → F
şura kâmpa 'weißer Pilz' (RĈS 27) → F
şur küpçeme 'der weiße Dicke' (ĈR 200) → F und H+S

Boletus luridus, Hexenpilz, r. *dubovik, poddubovnik*

- E Im Juni.
 H Bis 25 cm breit, halbkugelig; samtig-filzige bräunliche Haut.
 P Karminrot.
 V Unter Eichen.

- ttü. *ayı mantarı* 'Bärenpilz' (B 38) → H+S
kuzu mantarı 'Lämmerpilz' (Ok IV, Abb. 99) → E
 — Der Pilz erscheint, wenn es viele neugeborene Lämmer gibt.
- as. *palid köbäläyi* 'Eichenpilz' (RAL I: 338) → V
papağlı göbäläk 'Pilz mit Kalpak' (RAL II: 494) → H
 — Der Hut wird wegen seiner Form und seiner filzigen Haut mit einer Lammfellmütze assoziiert.
- tat. *imän gömbäse* 'Eichenpilz' (TaRS 168) → V
- ba. *imän bāšmäge* 'Eichenpilz' (TSB 95) → V
- kas. *emenqulaq* 'Eichenohr' (OQS II: 101) → H und V
- usb. *qizil qoziqârin* 'roter Pilz' (RUzS I: 222) → P
 — Cf. M I: 616 *Blutpilz*.
- chak. *χizil miske* 'roter Pilz' (XRS 108) → P

Boletus satanas, Satanspilz

- H Halbkugelig bis konvex; weißliche Haut.
- ttü. *çörek mantarı* 'çörek-Pilz' (B 38) → H
 — Der Hut gleicht *çörek*, einem runden, mit Eigelb bestrichenen Gebäck.
- tat. *şaytan gömbäse* 'Teufelspilz' (TRLS 60) → TW

Boletus scaber, Birkenpilz, r. *berezovik*, *podberezovik*

- H Konvex; dunkelgraubraune Haut.
- V Unter Birken.
- as. *ğara göbäläk* 'schwarzer Pilz' (RAL I: 72) → H
 — Cf. M I: 622 *Graukappe*.
- tkm. *bereza kömelegi* 'Birkenpilz' (RTuS II: 83) → V
 — < r. *bereza* 'Birke' + tkm. *kömelek*.
- tat. *qayın gömbäse* 'Birkenpilz' (TaRS 206) → V
- ba. *qayın bāšmäge* 'Birkenpilz' (TSB 101) → V
- kas. *qara sañırawqulaq* 'schwarzer Pilz' (XQBS 129) → H
qayıñqulaq 'Birkenohr' (XQBS 129) → H und V
qayıñ sañırawqulaq 'Birkenpilz' (OQS I: 54) → V
qoñır sañırawqulaq 'dunkelgrauer Pilz' (OQS II: 97) → H
- usb. *qayinzâr qoziqâri* 'Birkenwaldpilz' (RUzS I: 62) → V
- alt. *qara-küreñ meške* 'schwarzbrauner Pilz' (RAS 25) → H
- chak. *χazıñ miskezi* 'Birkenpilz' (XRS 108) → V
- jak. *čarañ tälläyä* 'Birkenwaldpilz' (RJaS 432) → V
- tsch. *hurän aj* 'Birkenfuß' (Ašm XVI: 222) → V
hurän kâmpi 'Birkenpilz' (ČRS 509) → V

Cantharellus cibarius, Pfifferling, r. *lisička*

- H Konvex bis trichterförmig, mit welligem Rand; dotter- oder rotgelbe Haut.
- S Abwärts verjüngt; fest, voll.
- V In Laubwäldern.
- ttü. *cücekız* 'Zwergentochter' (B 263) → H+S
horoz mantarı 'Hahnenpilz' (B 263) → H
 — Cf. M I: 783 *Hahnekämmcher*.

- meşe mantarı* 'Eichenpilz' (B 263) → V
tavukbacağı mantarı 'Hühnerbeinpilz' (B 263) → H+S
 — Cf. M I: 784 *Hühnerbäänlä* (Hühnerbeinlein); der Pilz wird umgekehrt, d.h., mit dem Stiel nach oben, gesehen.
tavuk mantarı 'Hühnerpilz' (B 263) → H
 — Cf. M I: 784 *Hühnerpilz*; der Vergleich bezieht sich auf die gelbbeflaumten Küken.
yumurta mantarı 'Eierpilz' (B 263) → H
 — Cf. DS XI: 4318 *yumurtamantarı* 'çok lezzetli bir mantar çeşidi' (Bolu); M I: 785 *Eierschwamm*.
- as. *sarıja* 'der Gelbliche' (ASE VI: 102) → H
 — Cf. M I: 783 *Gelbchen*.
sarı göbäläk 'gelber Pilz' (RAL II: 25) → H
 — Cf. M I: 784 *Gelbe Schwämm*.
- tat. *ätäç gömbäse* 'Hahnenpilz' (TaRS 733) → H
- ba. *hari bäsämäk* 'gelber Pilz' (TSB 123) → H
- kas. *tülkişe* 'wie ein Fuchs' (RKaS 317) → H
tülkişek 'Füchlein' (OQS I: 383) → H
 — Cf. M I: 785 *Füchserl*.
- kkp. *tülki zamarrıq* 'Fuchspilz' (RKkS 396) → H
 — Cf. M I: 785 *Fuchsschwammerl*.
- chak. *tülgü miskezi* 'Fuchspilz' (XRS 108) → H
- tsch. *sar kampa* 'gelber Pilz' (RČS 28) → H

Cantharellus lutescens, Goldstieliger Leistling

H Konvex bis trichterförmig, mit welligem Rand; orangebraune bis gelbe Haut.

W Sehr guter Speisepilz.

ttü. *et mantarı* 'Fleischpilz' (B 263) → W*tavuk mantarı* 'Hühnerpilz' (B 263) → H**Choiromyces meandriformis** (= *Tuber album*), Mäandertrüffel

FrK Schmutzig-weiß.

ttü. *beyaz keme* 'weiße Trüffel' (Stw 111) → FrK— < ar. *kam'a* 'Trüffel'.**Chroogomphus rutilus**, Kupferroter Gelbfuß

H Kupferrote Haut.

S Gelb, später kupferrot.

ttü. *geyik mantarı* 'Hirschpilz' (B 116) → H*sariyak mantarı* 'Gelbfußpilz' (B 235) → S**Clavariadelphus pistillaris** (= *Clavaria pistillaris*), Herkuleskeule

FrK Keulenförmig.

ttü. *halsaçığı* 'Teppichfranse' (B 232) → FrK— Cf. DS VII: 2260 *halsaçığı* 'etrafı saçaklı mantar' (Sinop); dieser Pilzname dürfte sich jedoch auf einen Vertreter der Gattung *Ramaria* beziehen.

Clitocybe geotropa, Mönchskopf

H Niedergedrückt, mit zentralem Buckel; blaßledergelbe Haut.

ttü. *koç mantarı* 'Widderpilz' (B 180) → H

— Der Pilz wird wegen seines gebuckelten Hutes mit dem Kopf eines Widders verglichen.

Clitocybe nebularis, Nebelgrauer Trichterling

H Konkav, in der Mitte niedergedrückt; graue Haut mit weißlicher Bereifung.

ttü. *dumanlı mantar* 'Pilz mit Nebel' (B 180) → H

hunili mantar 'Pilz mit Trichter' (B 180) → H

Clitocybe squamulosa, Schuppiger Trichterling

V In Laub- und Nadelwäldern.

ttü. *çınar mantarı* 'Platanenpilz' (B 70) → V

Clitopilus prunulus, Mehrläsling, r. *ivišen*'

G Wie frisches Mehl.

H Konkav, später niedergedrückt oder wellig geschweift, weißliche oder hellgraue matte Haut.

V In Wäldern und Parkanlagen.

ttü. *beyaz mantar* 'weißer Pilz' (B 272) → H

toz mantarı 'Staubpilz' (B 272) → H

un mantarı 'Mehlpilz' (B 272) → G

— Cf. M I: 1061 *Mehlschwamm*.

tat. *tires gömbäse* 'Mistpilz' (TRLS 51) → L

tsch. *hurama kămpi* 'Ulmenpilz' (ČRS 509) → V

kaska kămpi 'Hackklotzpilz' (ČRS 140) → H

Coprinus, Tintling, r. *navoznik*

E Bereits im Frühjahr.

L Im Alter zu einem schwärzlichen Brei zerfließend.

ttü. *gübre mantarı* 'Mistpilz' (B 248) → L

— Cf. M I: 1156 *Mistschwamm*, *Dreckschwamm*.

as. *garanğuş göbäläyi* 'Schwalbenpilz' (ASE VII: 493) → E

— Das Erscheinen des Pilzes fällt mit der Ankunft der Schwalben zusammen.

peyinär 'Mistling' (ASE VII: 493) → L

tsch. *navus kămpi* 'Mistpilz' (ČR 250) → L

tislěk kămpi 'Mistpilz' (RČS 28) → L

Coprinus atramentarius, Grauer Tintling

L Weißlich, später schwärzlich und zerfließend.

ttü. *mürekkep mantarı* 'Tintenpilz' (Stw 671) → L

Coprinus comatus, Schopftintling

H Zylindrisch-ellipsoid; weiße allmählich in Schuppen aufgelöste Haut.

L Weißlich, später schwärzlich und zerfließend.

ttü. *söbelek* 'eiförmig' (B 248) → H

- Cf. DS X: 3672 *söbelek* 'tarlada biten bir çeşit mantar' (Denizli, Kastamonu, Çankırı) sowie DS X: 3673 *söbelmek* 'yumurta biçimi olmak' (Bolu).
söbelen mantarı 'Pilz in Eiform' (B 248) → H
 — Cf. DS X: 3672 *söbelen* 'yenilen bir cins sivrice mantar' (Bolu, Amasya),
 DS XII: 4704 *söbelen* 'kır ve dağlarda biten iri, yumurta biçiminde bir çeşit mantar' (Çorum).
söbüsüleک 'eiförmiger Schlamper' (B 248) → H und L
 — Cf. DS X: 3672 *söbüsüleک* 'yenilen bir cins sivrice mantar' (Denizli).

Cordyceps sinensis, Chinesische Kernkeule

- V Schmarotzt auf Raupen.
 kas. *qurtşöp* 'Wurmkraut' (XQBS 39) → V
 nuig. *qurut ot* 'Raupenkraut' (XUL 102) → V

Craterellus cornucopioides, Totentrompete

- H Trompetenförmig; schwarz- bis graubraune Haut.
 ttü. *borazan mantarı* 'Trompetenpilz' (B 50) → H
siyah tirit 'schwarzer tirit' (B 50) → H
 — Mit *tirit* wird der Brätling, *Lactarius volemus* bezeichnet, der einen ähnlich gestalteten, aber rotbraun gefärbten Hut hat.

Elaphomyces granulatus, Warzige Hirschtrüffel

- W Verwendung als Aphrodisiakum.
 ttü. *sığırmantarı* 'Rinderpilz' (Stw 821) → W
 — Der Pilz soll bei Rindern die Paarungsbereitschaft anregen; cf. M II: 197
Bullenlust, Rinderlust, Kuhbrunst.

Fistulina hepatica, Leberreischling, r. *pečenočnik*

- FrK Halbkreis- bis spatelförmig; blutrot oder rotbraun.
 ttü. *sığır dili* 'Rinderzunge' (Ok IV, Abb. 99) → FrK
 — Cf. M II: 452 *Ochsenszunge, Rindszunge, Hirschzunge.*
 as. *ğovlar göbäläyi* 'Zunderpilz' (RAL II: 459) → FrK
 — Der Leberreischling schmarotzt wie der Zunderpilz, *Fomes fomentarius*, der im Aserbaidzhanischen *ğov göbäläyi* heißt, an Baumstämmen, wird aber nicht als Zunder verwendet. Möglicherweise zeigt der Plural *ğovlar* an, daß der rote Leberreischling einer Ansammlung von glimmenden Zunderstücken gleicht.
 ba. *bawır başmāk* 'Leberpilz' (TSB 85) → FrK
 — Cf. M II: 452 *Leberpilz.*
 kas. *bawır sañırawqulaq* 'Leberpilz' (XQBS 61) → FrK

Flammulina velutipes (= *Collybia velutipes*), Samtfußröbling

- E Im Spätherbst und in milden Wintern.
 H 5–10 cm breit, flach; orangefarbene Haut.
 S 5–10 cm lang, sehr dünn.
 V An Baumstämmen und auf Baumstümpfen.
 ttü. *ağaç mantarı* 'Baumpilz' (B 22) → V
cücül 'Zwerg' (B 22) → H+S

— Cf. DS III: 1024 *cücül* (Ordu), *cücele* (Tokat), *cücüle mantarı* (Sinop) ‘yenilen bir mantar’.

kış mantarı ‘Winterpilz’ (B 22) → E

Fomes fomentarius (= Polyporus fomentarius), Zunderschwamm, r. *guba*, *gubka*
drevesnaja, *trutnik*, *trutovik*

FrK Konsolen- oder hufförmig, halbkreisartig zoniert; Unterseite mit Poren besetzt; graubraun.

V An Laubbäumen.

W Verwendung als Zunder.

ttü. *ağaç mantarı* ‘Baumpilz’ (B 163) → V

ateş mantarı ‘Feuerpilz’ (Ak Nr. 7752) → W

kav mantarı ‘Zunderpilz’ (B 163) → W

as. *ayağöbäläyi* ‘Baumpilz’ (RAL III: 353) → V

gov göbäläyi ‘Zunderpilz’ (RAL I: 274) → W

tat. *ayaç gömbäse* ‘Baumpilz’ (RTa 133) → V

amaq ‘Schamlippen’ (TDDS 37) → FrK

— Nach Tryjarski (1977: 248) kann tsch. *kämpa* ‘Pilz’ auch für das Geschlechtsorgan der Kuh benutzt werden .

qu gömbäse ‘Zunderpilz’ (TaRS 291) → W

sula gömbäse ‘sula-Pilz’ (TTDS 122) → FrK

— Mit tsch. (ČRS 337) *sula* wird eine speziell bei Pferden auftretende Infektionskrankheit bezeichnet, in deren Verlauf es zu geschwulstartigen Mißbildungen kommt, die dem Zunderschwamm ähneln; cf. ba. (BRS 637) *hula* ‘anglijskaja bolezn’ (Rachitis) sowie die Anmerkung von Tryjarski (1977: 248), daß tsch. *kämpa* ‘Pilz’ zudem eine Kälberkrankheit benennen kann.

tösläw gömbäse ‘Räucherpilz’ (RTa 722) → W

— In manchen Gegenden Deutschlands ist es üblich, mit Zunderschwämmen, die am Osterfeuer angekohlt worden sind, im Haus zu räuchern, cf. M III: 955 *Osterschwamm*. Auch beim Herannahen von Gewittern wird mit diesen geweihten Schwämmen geräuchert (HDA VII: 33). Auf einen ähnlichen Brauch bei den Tschuwaschen verweist Tryjarski (1977: 242): ‘The Chuvash employ some kinds of mushrooms to fumigate livestock, rooms and people during a smallpox epidemic.’

krt. *qav* ‘Zunder’ (HKr 164) → W

ba. *ayas bäšmäge* ‘Baumpilz’ (TSB 81) → V

qiw bäšmäk ‘Zunderpilz’ (BRS 364) → W

kas. *ayaš quı* ‘Baumzunder’ (OQS II: 439) → W

ayaš sañırawqulayı ‘Baumpilz’ (OQS II: 439) → V

köp kewekti sañırawqulaq ‘Pilz mit vielen Schwämmen’ (XQBS 61) → FrK

— Der in Zonen eingeteilte Fruchtkörper vermittelt den Eindruck von aufeinandergesetzten Schwämmen.

quw ‘Zunder’ (XQBS 2) → W

kirg. *burjuq* ‘Türmchen’ (KiRS 161) → FrK

— < pers. *burj* ‘Turm, Taubenschlag’ + *-aq*— in Entsprechung zur konsolenartigen Form des Fruchtkörpers.

usb. *daraxt buqâyi* ‘Baumbeule’ (RUzS II: 599) → FrK und V

- daraxt zamburuvi* 'Baumpilz' (RUzS II: 599) → V
dub zamburuvi 'Eichenpilz' (RUzS II: 599) → V
eman zamburuvi 'Eichenpilz' (RUzS II: 599) → V
tut buqâyi 'Maulbeerbaumbeule' (RUzS II: 599) → FrK und V
 chak. *miske* (XRS 108) 'Beule (?)' → FrK
 jak. *kunaax* (Pek I: 1216) → FrK
 — Cf. *kunaax* 'Mist eines neugeborenen Kalbes' (DSJaJa 123).
 tsch. *ävã kãmpi* 'Zunderpilz' (ČRS 46) → W
jyvãs kãmpi 'Baumpilz' (ČR 159) → V
šätãklã kãmpa 'löcheriger Pilz' (ČRS 562) → FrK

Fomes officinalis (= Polyporus officinalis), Lärchenschwamm, r. *listvenničnaja guba*

FrK Hufförmig, konzentrisch gefurcht; weißlich.

V An Nadelbäumen.

ttü. *çam mantarı* 'Kiefern-pilz' (Stw 166) → V

katran köpüğü 'Teerschaum' (Stw 502) → FrK

In der Türkei wird aus dem harzhaltigen Holz bestimmter Kiefern eine teerartige Masse, *kara katran*, gewonnen. Ein Gemisch aus *kara katran* und Wasser bildet beim Durchschütteln einen Schaum, der in der Volksmedizin unter dem Namen *katran köpüğü* Anwendung findet. Der Vergleich mit *katran köpüğü* bezieht sich auf Form und Farbe des Lärchenschwamms.

katran mantarı 'Teerpilz' (Stw 502) → FrK

nuiğ. *γariqun* (UXL 634)

— < ar. *ğārīqūn* < gr. *agarikon* 'Lärchenschwamm'.

jak. *tüt kunaaya* 'Lärchenpilz' (Pek I: 1217) → V

Gomphidius glutinosus, Großer Schmierling

H Schleimige Haut.

ttü. *sümüklü mantar* 'Pilz mit Schleim' (B 235) → H

Gyromitra esculenta, Frühjahrsorchel

H Halbkugelig, unregelmäßig gewunden und verbogen.

ttü. *kıvrık mantar* 'gekräuselter Pilz' (Ak Nr. 4381) → H

Gyroporus cyanescens, Kornblumenröhrling, r. *sinjak*

F Weiß, bei Verletzung tiefblau verfärbend.

ba. *kük bāšmāk* 'blauer Pilz' (TSB 99) → F

Helvella, Lorchel, r. *stročok*

H Häufig aus welligen Lappen gebildet; weißliche oder bräunliche Haut.

S Bei einigen Arten längsgerippt oder -gefurcht.

as. *guzugöbäläyi* 'Lämmerpilz' (RAL III: 280) → H

— Cf. M II: 815 *Katzenöhrlein*; der lappige Hut wird mit Tierohren assoziiert.

tat. *käjä gömbäse* 'Ziegenpilz' (RTaS 147) → H

tsch. *šěvë kãmpi* 'Nahtpilz' (RČS 28) → S

Heridium flagellum (= *Heridium coralloides*), Tannenstachelbart

FrK Korallenartig verästelt, Unterseite der Äste mit langen weißlichen Stacheln besetzt.

ttü. *dedesakalı mantarı* 'Großvaterbartpilz' (B 86) → FrK

gelinteli mantarı 'Brautdrähtepilz' (B 86) → FrK

— Die langen Stacheln vergleicht man mit den Silberdrähten des weißen Schleiertuchs, das die Braut in der Hennenacht trägt.

tellice 'wie mit Drähten' (B 86) → FrK

— Cf. DS X: 3872 *tellice* 'küçük taneli mantar' (Sivas, Ankara).

Hydnum, Stoppelpilz, r. *ežovik*

H Konvex bis flach, an der Unterseite mit langen Stacheln besetzt.

ba. *terpe bāšmāk* 'Igelpilz' (BRS 136) → H

— Cf. M II: 913 *Igelschwamm*.

Hydnum imbricatum, Habichtspilz

H Mit breiten, felderig angeordneten dunklen Schuppen besetzt.

ttü. *balaban mantarı* 'Habichtspilz' (B 41) → H

— Die Schuppen des Pilzhutes werden mit der ähnlichen Fleckung auf der Bauchseite des Habichts verknüpft.

Hydnum repandum, Semmelstoppelpilz

H Unregelmäßig gelappt, auf der Unterseite mit dünnen Stacheln besetzt; gelbliche bis rotbraune Haut.

ttü. *dil mantarı* 'Zungenpilz' (B 42) → H

geyik mantarı 'Hirschkopf' (B 42) → H

— Cf. M II: 914 *Hirschling*; die Hutunterseite entspricht in Farbe und Beschaffenheit einem Hirschfell.

sığır dili mantarı 'Rinderzungenpilz' (B 42) → H

Hygrophorus, Schneckling

H Schleimige Haut.

ttü. *parlak mantar* 'glänzender Pilz' (B 222) → H

Hypholoma fasciculare, Grünblättriger Schwefelkopf

TW Krampfartige Beschwerden im Magen-Darm-Trakt.

ttü. *deli mantar* 'Tollpilz' (B 291) → TW

Lactarius acerrimus (= *Lactarius insulsus*), Queraderiger Trichtermilchling, r. *gruzd'*

dubovyj

M Bei Verletzung des Fleisches Absonderung einer milchartigen Flüssigkeit.

V Unter Eichen.

as. *palüd südlüjesi* 'Eichenmilchling' (ASE VI: 102) → M und V

tsch. *juman kâmpi* 'Eichenpilz' (RČS 28) → V

jumanaj kâmpi 'Eichenpilz' (RČS 28) → V

juman kârâše 'Eichenmilchling' (RČS 28) → M und V

Lactarius aurantiofulvus (= *Lactarius mitissimus*), Orangebrauner Milchling

- M Bei Verletzung des Fleisches Absonderung einer milchartigen Flüssigkeit.
 ttü. *sütlü mantar* 'Pilz mit Milch' (B 151) → M

Lactarius blennius, Graugrüner Milchling

- F Scharf schmeckend.
 ttü. *acı mantar* 'scharfer Pilz' (B 151) → F
biberli mantar 'Pilz mit Pfeffer' (B 151) → F
dilburan ~ *dirbalan* 'Zungenzusammenzieher' (B 151) → F
 — Cf. DS IV: 1491 *dilburan* 'yerken insanın dilini yakan, mavimsi renkli bir çeşit mantar' (Kütahya, Bolu, Trabzon).

Lactarius controversus, Rosascheckiger Milchling, r. *gruzd' osinovyj*

- M Bei Verletzung des Fleisches Absonderung einer milchartigen Flüssigkeit.
 V Unter Espen in Auwäldern.
 tsch. *äväs kârâše* 'Esenmilchling' (RČS 28) → M und V

Lactarius deliciosus, Edelreizker, r. *ryžik*

- E Im Herbst nach Regenfällen.
 H Ockerfarbene Haut mit konzentrisch angeordneten dunkleren Flecken.
 M Bei Verletzung des Fleisches Absonderung einer orange- bis blutroten Flüssigkeit.
 V In Nadelwäldern, vorwiegend unter Kiefern.
 W Guter Speisepilz.
 ttü. *çam mantarı* 'Kiefern-pilz' (B 151) → V
çintar 'Kerbenmacher' (B 151) → H
 — Cf. DS III: 1183 *çintar* 'yenilen bir çeşit mantar' (Denizli, Aydın, Muğla). Der Ausdruck könnte sich von *çintmek* ~ *çintmak* 'bir şeyin kenarında keserek kertik açmak, kermek' (DS III: 1230) herleiten, denn der Hut hat mitunter eine vom Rand bis zur Mitte hin verlaufende Kerbe, so daß er wie geteilt erscheint.
kanlıca 'wie mit Blut' (B 151) → M
 — Cf. DS VIII: 2626 *kanlıca* 'kırmızı renkli, yenilen bir çeşit mantar' (Kocaeli, Istanbul, Çankırı, Samsun, Trabzon, Ankara); M II: 1135 *Blut-Reizker*, M II: 1136 *Blütling*, *Rötling*.
kuzu mantarı 'Lämmerpilz' (Stw 572) → M
 — Der Name bezieht sich auf ein Lamm, das noch gesäugt wird.
melki ~ *merki* 'der Königliche' (B 151) → W
 — < *meliki* 'königlich'. Cf. DS IX: 3157 *melki* (Balıkesir, Çanakkale, Kütahya) ~ *meliki* (Manisa) 'çam ve çalı diplerinde biten, kırmızı renkli, yenilen bir çeşit mantar', DS IX: 3170 *merki* 'yenilen zehirsiz bir çeşit mantar' (Kütahya); M II: 1137 *Herrenschwamm*.
süt mantarı 'Milchpilz' (Stw 860) → M
 — Cf. M II: 1136 *Milchschwamm*.
 as. *sarı göbäläk* 'gelber Pilz' (RAL III: 108) → H
 tat. *çirşi gömbäse* 'Tannenpilz' (TaRS 121) → V
 — Cf. M II: 1137 *Tännling*.
jirän gömbä 'roter Pilz' (TaRS 766) → M

- görež* ~ *göražnäj* ~ *görežä* (TTDS 122)
 — < r. *gruzd* 'Milchpilz'.
narat gömbäse 'Fichtenpilz' (RTaS 479) → V
sari gömbä 'gelber Pilz' (TaRS 470) → H
 — Tryjarski (1977: 251) führt als tatarische Bezeichnung für den Edelreizker den WB IV: 1094 zitierten Ausdruck *šipkän* 'ryžik (grib)—ein Pilz' an. Radloff hat jedoch r. *ryžik* falsch interpretiert, denn *ryžik* ist hier im Sinne von 'Leindotter, *Camelina*' gebraucht. Dieselbe Verwechslung unterlief Indjoudjian mit der Übersetzung 'lactaire délicieux' für kas. *ariš* ~ *ariš* 'Leindotter' (DKF 10).
- ba. *bizäkle bäšmäk* 'gemusterter Pilz' (BRS 136) → H
erän bäšmäk 'rotbrauner Pilz' (TSB 93) → H
- krt. *narat mantari* 'Fichtenpilz' (HKr 168) → V
- usb. *malla qoziqârin* 'hellbrauner Pilz' (RUzS II: 370) → H
- chak. *çaraya miskezi* 'Fichtenpilz' (XRS 108) → V
- jak. *arayas tälläy* 'rötlicher Pilz' (JaRS 44) → H
ardax tälläy 'Regenpilz' (Pek III: 2629) → E
kähil tälläy ~ *kähil kunaax* 'roter Pilz' (Pek III: 2629) → M
- tsch. *čäräš kâmpi* 'Fichtenpilz' (RČS 28) → V
hërlë kâmpa 'roter Pilz' (ČRS 498) → M
hërlë kâräš 'roter Milchling' (ČRS 498) → M
hyr kâmpi 'Kiefern-pilz' (ČRS 149) → V
sëtlë kâmpa 'Pilz mit Milch' (RČS 28) → M

Lactarius piperatus, Pfeffermilchling, r. *gruzd*, *gruzd* 'perečnyj

- F Brennend-scharf schmeckend.
 H Weiße Haut.
 M Bei Verletzung des Fleisches Absonderung einer milchartigen Flüssigkeit.
 V In Laub- und Nadelwäldern.
- ttü. *acı mantar* 'scharfer Pilz' (B 48) → F
 — Cf. M II: 1140 *Bitterschwamm*.
biberlice 'wie gepfeffert' (B 48) → F
 — Cf. M II: 1139 *Pfefferling*.
biberli mantar 'Pilz mit Pfeffer' (B 48) → F
dilburan ~ *dirbalan* 'Zungenzusammenzieher' (B 48) → F
- as. *aγ göbäläk* 'weißer Pilz' (RAL I: 272) → H
- tkm. *aq kömelek* 'weißer Pilz' (RTS 47) → H
- tat. *göraž* ~ *göraždä* ~ *göražlä* ~ *göraž* (TTDS 122)
 — < r. *gruzd* 'Milchpilz'
görežde (TaRS 122)
 — < r. *gruzd* 'Milchpilz'.
käjä gömbäse 'Ziegenpilz' (RTaS 212) → M
 — Der Name vergleicht den milchenden Pilz mit einer Ziege; cf. M II: 1140 *Kuhschwamm*.
narat gömbäse 'Fichtenpilz' (TaRS 394) → V
- krt. *ulaqmantar* 'Zickleinpilz' (HKr 174) → M
 — Die Bezeichnung bezieht sich auf ein Zicklein, das noch gesäugt wird.

- ba. *gruzdä* (TSB 90)
— < r. *gruzd* 'Milchpilz'.
chak. *χazüj miskezi* 'Birkenpilz' (RXS 167) → V
jak. *ürüj kunaax* 'weißer Pilz' (Pek III: 2629) → H
tsch. *šurä kampa* 'weißer Pilz' (ČRS 152) → H
šurä kārās 'weißer Milchling' (ČRS 152) → H und M

Lactarius pubescens, Blasser Zottenreizker, r. *beljanka*

- H Konvex, Oberseite wollig behaart; weißliche Haut.
M Bei Verletzung des Fleisches Absonderung einer milchartigen Flüssigkeit.
S Kurz, stämmig.
V Unter Birken.
as. *aγ göbäläk* 'weißer Pilz' (RAL I: 71) → H
tat. *bilänke* (TTDS 86)
— < r. *beljanka* 'Blasser Zottenreizker'. Cf. WB IV: 1763 *bilänkä* 'beljanka (grib)—der weisse Pilz'.
qayın paᅅᅅisi 'Birkenpilz' (TTDS 335) → V
yöntäs gömbä 'behaarter Pilz' (RTa 80) → H
ba. *aq bāšmāk* 'weißer Pilz' (TSB 82) → H
kas. *aq qalpaqtı saᅅᅅrawqulaq* 'Pilz mit weißem Kalpak' (OQS I: 54) → H
— Der behaarte weiße Hut wird mit einer Lämmerfellmütze assoziiert.
tsch. *horän kampi* 'Birkenpilz' (Ašm XVI: 223) → V
lutra tuna 'untersetzter Stengel' (RČS 27) → S
sēt kampi 'Milchpilz' (RČS 27) → M
šēr kampi 'Erdpilz' (RČS 27) → H
— Wegen des kurzen Stiels scheint der Pilzhut fast dem Erdboden aufzuliegen.
šurä kampa 'weißer Pilz' (ČRS 149) → H

Lactarius rufus, Rotbrauner Milchling, r. *gor'kuxa*

- F Scharf schmeckend.
M Bei Verletzung des Fleisches Absonderung einer milchartigen Flüssigkeit.
V In Laubwäldern.
ba. *äse bāšmāk* 'bitterer Pilz' (TSB 127) → F
kas. *sütti saᅅᅅrawqulaq* 'Pilz mit Milch' (XQBS 185) → M
tsch. *šěškē kampi* 'Haselpilz' (RČS 27) → V

Lactarius torminosus, Birkenreizker, r. *volnuška, volžanka*

- F Brennend-scharf schmeckend.
H Oberseite wollig behaart.
M Bei Verletzung des Fleisches Absonderung einer milchartigen Flüssigkeit.
V In Laub- und Nadelwäldern.
as. *aᅅᅅögöbäläk* 'Bitterpilz' (RAL I: 163) → F
jak. *tüläy tälläy* 'Pilz mit Haaren' (Pek III: 2629) → H
— Bei Pekarskij mit 'ryžik' (Edelreizker) definiert; der Edelreizker, *Lactarius deliciosus* ist jedoch nicht behaart. Es dürfte sich daher um den ähnlich gefärbten und gemusterten Birkenreizker handeln.

- tsch. *hurän aj* 'Birkenfuß' (Ašm XVI: 222) → V
hurän kămpi 'Birkenpilz' (ČRS 149) → V
hurän kărăšě 'Birkenmilchling' (RČS 27) → M und V
hyr aj 'Kieferfuß' (Ašm XVI: 94) → V
hyr kămpi 'Kiefern-pilz' (ČR 159) → V
těklě kărăs 'Milchling mit Haaren' (RČS 27) → H und M

Lactarius turpis, Olivbrauner Milchling, r. *gruzd' černyj, černuška*

- H Schleimige, im Alter fast schwarze Haut.
M Bei Verletzung des Fleisches Absonderung einer milchartigen Flüssigkeit.
as. *gara göbäläk* 'schwarzer Pilz' (RAL III: 489) → H
tsch. *hura kămpa* 'schwarzer Pilz' (ČRS 508) → H
hura kărăs 'schwarzer Milchling' (ČR 565) → H und M
ut tuti 'Pferdelefze' (RČS 28) → H

Lactarius vellereus, Wolliger Milchling, r. *dupljanka, podgruzd', skripica*

- F Fest, sehr scharf schmeckend.
H Konvex bis trichterförmig; samtige weiße Haut.
L Bogig; sehr entfernt stehend.
M Bei Verletzung des Fleisches Absonderung einer milchartigen Flüssigkeit.
S Ziemlich kurz; samtige weiße Haut.
V In Laub- und Nadelwäldern.
tat. *narat gömbäse* 'Fichtenpilz' (TaRS 394) → V
sÿÿrdawiq gömbä 'Knirschpilz' (TRLS 62) → F
ba. *šÿÿrzaq bäsämäk* 'Knirschpilz' (BRS 136) → F
kas. *goziqarın* 'Lämmerschwanz' (OQS II: 100) → L
goziqyriq 'Lämmerschwanz' (OQS II: 100) → H+S
— Cf. kas. *goziqyriq* s.v. *Agaricus*.
tsch. *hytä kărăs* 'harter Milchling' (ČRS 152) → F und M
jumanaj 'Eichenfuß' (ČRS 582) → V
juman kămpi 'Eichenpilz' (ČRS 149) → V
juman kărăšě 'Eichenmilchling' (Ašm VII: 178) → V

Lactarius volemus, Brätling, r. *podorešnik*

- H Niedergedrückt; rötlichbraune Haut.
V In Laub- und Nadelwäldern.
ttü. *findık mantarı* 'Haselpilz' (DS X: 3939) → V
koç mantarı 'Widderpilz' (B 151) → H
— Der Hut des Pilzes wird mit dem Kopf eines Widders verknüpft.
tirmit ~ tirimit ~ kirmit (B 151)
— < arm. *tirmit* 'bitter mushroom' (Dankoff 1995: E187). Cf. DS X: 3939
tirmit 'findık mantarı' (Ordu, Giresun), DS VIII: 2881 *kirmit* 'ağaçların arasın-
da biten, yenilen bir çeşit mantar' (Ordu).
tat. *sötläč gömbä* 'milchender Pilz' (TRLS 61) → M
šoma gömbä 'glatter Pilz' (TRLS 61) → H
tsch. *šěškě kămpi* 'Haselpilz' (ČRS 565) → V

Lentinus edodes, Shiitake

G Penetrant nach Knoblauch.

kas. *župar sañırawqulaq* 'Moschuspilz' (XQBS 206) → G**Lepiota procera**, Riesenschirmling, r. *grib-zontik*

H Bis 30 cm breit, glockig; weißliche Haut, mit bräunlichen Schuppen besetzt.

ttü. *dedebört* 'Großvater Ungeziefer' (B 86) → H

— Die Schuppen auf dem Hut entsprechen den Läusen im weißen Haar des Großvaters.

höbelen 'Gartenhütte' (B 257) → H— Cf. DS VII: 2426 *höbelen* (Sinop) ~ *höbelek* (Kastamonu, Çorum, Sinop) 'bir çeşit mantar'; vermutlich ist *höbelen* eine Abwandlung von *höbelek* ~ *hölek* 'Gartenhütte' < arm. *xüläk* 'hut' (Dankoff 1995: 281).*şemsiye mantarı* 'Schirmpilz' (B 257) → Has. *hündür çätir göbäläk* 'hoher Schirmpilz' (ASE VI: 102) → Hba. *sañır bäsümäk* 'Zeltpilz' (TSB 111) → Hkas. *sañırşa sañırawqulaq* 'zeltartiger Pilz' (XQBS 210) → H**Lycoperdon**, Bovist, r. *doždevik*

FrK a) In der Jugend mit einer käsig-markigen Masse gefüllt, die später in dunkles Sporenpulver zerfällt.

b) Im Reifezustand reißt die Außenhülle an der Spitze mit einem zischenden Geräusch auf.

c) Der Sporenstaub entweicht in Form einer Rauchfahne bzw. eines Sprühregens.

d) Die leere Hülle verfärbt sich bräunlich und verfault.

ttü. *foskulak* 'hohles Ohr' (B 228) → FrK b

— Da der Bovist einen kugel- oder birnenförmigen Fruchtkörper hat, kann 'Ohr' nicht die Form betreffen; alle Namen mit der Komponente 'Ohr' oder 'taub' beziehen sich beim Bovist auf die ohrenbetäubende Wirkung, d.h., auf die Taubheit, die das Platzgeräusch des Pilzes verursachen soll.

keçi mantarı 'Ziegenpilz' (B 228) → FrK b

— Der Name verbindet wahrscheinlich den Laut, der beim Aufreißen der Pilzhülle entsteht, mit der Blähfreudigkeit der Ziegen.

kurtmantarı 'Wolfspilz' (Stw 567) → FrK b— Die Benennung dürfte mit dem Gattungsnamen *Lycoperdon*, wörtlich 'Wolfsfuz', zusammenhängen; cf. M II: 1465 *Wolfsfist* (Wolfsfuz).*posalak* 'Aufplatzer' (B 228) → FrK b— Cf. DS IX: 3472 *posalak* 'kuruyunca toz gibi ufalanan bir çeşit mantar' (Kastamonu) und DS V: 1877 *fosalmak* 'patlamak' (Niğde).*pos mantarı* ~ *fos mantarı* 'Schwelbrandpilz' (B 228) → FrK c— Cf. DS IX: 3471 *pos* 'ara ara ve azar azar yakılan ateş' (Erzincan); M II: 1470 *Rauchpilz*, *Rauchafaaß* (Rauchfaß).*puf mantarı* 'pff!-Pilz' (B 228) → FrK b— Cf. M II: 1468 *Puffschwamm*; das beim Aufplatzen des Pilzes hörbare zischende Geräusch wird mit der Lautmalerei *puf* umschrieben.*tozlu mantar* 'Pilz mit Staub' (Stw 949) → FrK a

- yelli mantar* 'Pilz mit Fürzen' (Stw 1019) → FrK b
 — Cf. M II: 1462 *Fistling* (Furzer), M II: 1466 *Kuhfist* (Kuhfurz), *Eselsfurz*, *Roßfurz* u.a.
- as. *tozanağ* 'Verstäuber' (RAL I: 313) → FrK c
 — Cf. M II: 1469 *Stäubling*, *Staubmacher*.
- tkm. *yayış göbäläyi* 'Regenpilz' (RAL I: 313) → FrK c
yayış kömelegi 'Regenpilz' (TuRS 806) → FrK c
- tat. *čuqraq gömbä* 'tauber Pilz' (TTDS 122) → FrK b
 — Cf. M II: 1475 *Tauber Schwamm*.
qolaq paŋğisi 'Ohrenpilz' (TTDS 335) → FrK b
quıq gömbä 'Blasenpilz' (RTaS 250) → FrK b
 — Cf. M II: 1471 *Herestblós* (Herbstblase).
sañıraw gömbä 'tauber Pilz' (TaRS 472) → FrK b
tuz gömbä 'Verstäuberpilz' (TTDS 122) → FrK c
- ba. *yamyır bäsmağe* 'Regenpilz' (BRS 722) → FrK c
- k.b. *sañıraw qulaq* 'taubes Ohr' (RKBS 145) → FrK b
- kas. *žañbirsı* 'wie Regen' (OQS I: 197) → FrK c
žañbirsöp 'Regenkraut' (XQBS 104) → FrK c
kereñqulaq 'taubes Ohr' (DKF 63 'vesse-de-loup') → FrK b
 — Der Gebrauch des Synonyms *kereñ* anstelle von *sañıraw* dient offenbar zur Unterscheidung des Namens von der generellen Pilzbenennung *sañırawqulaq*.
tuzyan 'Verstäuber' (WB III: 1506) → FrK c
- kirg. *žer dülöy* 'die Erde [macht] taub' (RKiS 168) → FrK b
- kkp. *žañbirsı* 'wie Regen' (RKkS 198) → FrK c
- chak. *nañmir miskezi* 'Regenpilz' (RXS 189) → FrK c
- tuv. *ča's möögüzü* 'Regenpilz' (RTuv 139) → FrK c
- jak. *tañara saaya* 'Gottesscheiße' (RJaS 140) → FrK d
 — Cf. M II: 1473 *Düvelsdreck* (Teufelsdreck) und M II: 1475 *Kuihtotschen* (Kuhfladen).
- tsch. *hālha kǎmpi* 'Ohrenpilz' (ČRS 149) → FrK b
holhana pitėreken kǎmpa 'Pilz, der die Ohren taub macht' (Ašm XVI: 154) → FrK b
hulhana huplakan kǎmpa 'Pilz, der die Ohren zumacht' (Ašm XVI: 154) → FrK b
sǎvǎr kǎmpi 'Murmeltierpilz' (ČRS 318) → FrK b
 — Der Name assoziiert das Platzgeräusch des Pilzes mit dem Pfiff eines Murmeltieres.
sukkǎrlatakan kǎmpa 'Pilz, der blind macht' (Dmitr 146) → FrK c
 — Cf. M II: 1474 *Blindschwammerl* und *Blinnewel* (blindmachender Nebel); angeblich verursacht der Sporenstaub Blindheit.
syr kǎmpi 'Käsepilz' (ČRS 343) → FrK a
 — Cf. M II: 1473 *Teufelskaas* (Teufelskäse), *Hexenquark*. Egorov (1964: 200) vermutet einen Zusammenhang von *syr* mit kas., kirg. *sız* 'Feuchtigkeit'; hier ist aber das russische Lehnwort *syr* 'Käse' gebraucht, d.h., daß sich der Pilzname auf den käseähnlichen Inhalt des jungen Fruchtkörpers bezieht.
šėr kǎmpi 'Erdpilz' (ČRS 359) → FrK a
šėr sǎvė 'Erdfett' (ČR 412) → FrK a

şumär kâmpî 'Regenpilz' (RČS 28) → FrK c
tislêk kâmpî 'Mistpilz' (ČRS 149) → FrK d
tusan kâmpî 'Staubpilz' (RČS 28) → FrK a
 — Cf. M II: 1469 *Staubschwamm*.
usal kâmpa 'böser Pilz' (RČS 28) → FrK b

Lycoperdon giganteum, Riesenbovist

FrK Enthält bei der Reife rostbraunes Sporenpulver.
 krt. *qîna mantarî* 'Hennapilz' (HKr 165) → FrK
 — Die rostbraunen Sporen werden mit dem zur Rotfärbung benutzten Hennapulver gleichgesetzt.

Marasmius oreades, Nelkenschwindling, r. *opënok lugovoj*

H Bei trockenem Wetter stark zusammengeschrumpft.
 S Sehr lang und dünn, biegsam.
 V In Ringen oder Reihen auf Wiesen und Weiden.
 ttü. *mehtepesi mantarî* 'Reisighaufenpilz' (B 208) → H
 — Cf. DS IX: 3182 *mehtepesi* 'bir çeşit mantar' (Bolu, Ankara) sowie DS IX: 3180 *mih* 'odun' (Bolu). Der Name bezieht sich auf die Eigenart des Pilzes, bei Trockenheit einzuschumpfen, cf. M III: 55 *Dürrbeindl* (Dürrbeinlein) und *Großes Dürrbein*.
saplı mantar 'Pilz mit Stiel' (B 208) → S
 — Cf. M III: 55 *Häufojßl* (Hochfüßlein); die Hervorhebung des Pilzstiels erklärt sich aus dessen ungewöhnlicher Höhe.
 tsch. *hur kajäk kâmpî* 'Wildganspilz' (RČS 28) → V
 — Die sogenannten Hexenringe, die der Pilz im Gras bildet, werden mit der Flugformation von Wildgänsen verglichen.
karta kâmpî 'Kreisilz' (ČRS 138) → V
 — Cf. M III: 55 *Kreisling*.
şerem kâmpî 'Graspilz' (ČRS 149) → V
 — Cf. M III: 55 *Grâsschwâm*, *Wisnschwâm*.

Merulius lacrymans, Hausschwamm, r. *domovoj grib*

V Auf verbautem Holz in Häusern.
 ba. *öy bâşmäge* 'Hauspilz' (BRS 136) → V

Morchella, Morchel, r. *smorčok*

E Im Frühjahr.
 H Ellipsoid oder kegelförmig, durch Längs- und Querleisten grubig gefeldert; gelb- bis graubraune Haut.
 S Zylindrisch.
 V Unter Gebüsch und auf lichten Waldstellen.
 ttü. *dedebörtü* 'Großvaterungeziefer' (B 192) → H
 — Als Ungeziefer werden die dunkleren Grübchen betrachtet.
göbek mantarî 'Nabelpilz' (B 192) → H
göbelek ~ köbelek 'Beule' (B 192) → H

- Cf. DS VI: 2115 *göbelek* (allgemein) ~ *göbek* (allgemein) ~ *göfêk* (Malatya) ~ *gömelek* (Sivas) ~ *gövelek* (Elâzığ) ~ *göven* (Çorum) ‘yenilen bir çeşit mantar’ sowie *göbelek* ‘şişkin, kabarik’ (Çorum, Ordu, Ankara).
kuzugöbeği ‘Lämmernabel’ (B 192) → H
 — Cf. DS VIII: 3022 *kuzugöbeği* ‘bir çeşit mantar’ (Denizli, Tokat, Ankara).
kuzu mantarı ‘Lämmerpilz’ (B 192) → E
 — Die Morcheln erscheinen zur Zeit des Lämmwurfes.
- as. *guzugöbäläyi* ‘Lämmerpilz’ (ARS 112) → E
 tat. *käjä gömbäse* ‘Ziegenpilz’ (TaRS 321) → V
 — Ziegen halten sich mit Vorliebe bei niedrigen Gehölzen auf, um das Blattwerk abzuknabbern.
- ba. *bürkbaş* ‘Börkkopf’ (TSB 88) → H
 — Der Hut wird mit einem *börk*, einer hohen Kopfbedeckung aus Filz oder Tuch, assoziiert.
- kirg. *gozu qarın* ‘Lämmermagen’ (KiRS 392) → H
 — Die Felderung des Hutes entspricht der blattartigen Faltung des Blättermagens. Bei anderen Hutpilzen werden die Lamellen dem Blättermagen eines Lammes gleichgesetzt.
- jak. *miččüstayas tälläy* ‘Pfeifhasenpilz’ (RJaS 589) → H+S
 — Der Fruchtkörper erinnert offenbar an einen aufgerichteten Pfeifhasen.
- tsch. *aka kâmpi* ‘Ackerpilz’ (ČRS 149) → H
 — Der bräunliche gefelderte Hut ähnelt einem frisch gepflügten Acker.
kâtra kâmpa ‘lockiger Pilz’ (ČRS 154) → H
 — Die Felderung des Pilzhutes wird mit einem Lockenkopf verknüpft.
sělë kâmpi ‘Haferpilz’ (ČRS 325) → H+S
 — Der Fruchtkörper der Morchel gleicht im Umriß dem rispenartigen Fruchtstand des Hafers, seine Felderung dessen Ährchen.

Morchella elata var. deliciosa, Hohe Morchel

- H Spitzbogenförmig.
 ttü. *yeryaran* ‘Erdspalter’ (B 192) → H
 — Cf. DS XI: 4254 *yeryaran* (Bolu, Çorum, Sinop, Amasya, Sivas, Antalya, Muğla) ~ *yeryara* (Amasya) ‘bir çeşit mantar’. Der Name bezieht sich auf den aus der Erde hervorbrechenden spitzigen Hut.

Morchella esculenta, Graubraune Speisemorchel

- H Ellipsoid, durch Längs- und Querleisten grubig gefeldert; dunkelgraubraune Haut.
 ttü. *siyah mantar* ‘schwarzer Pilz’ (Stw 835) → H
 as. *guzuğarni* ‘Lämmermagen’ (ASE VI: 102) → H

Paxillus atrotomentosus, Samtfußkrempling, r. *svinuxa tolstaja*

- F Bitter schmeckend.
 G Unangenehm.
 H Konvex bis spatelförmig, mit eingerolltem Rand; dunkel- oder rotbraune Haut.
 as. *aĵi göbäläk* ‘bitterer Pilz’ (RAL III: 136) → F
 tat. *al gömbä* ‘purpurroter Pilz’ (RTa 640) → H

- ba. *duŋyız bāšmäge* 'Schweinepilz' (BRS 136) → G
 kas. *qaban qulaq* 'Eberohr' (OQS II: 309) → H
saŋirawqulaq 'taubes Ohr' (OQS II: 309) → H
sasiq saŋirawqulaq 'Stinkpilz' (XQBS 70) → G

Paxillus involutus, Kahler Krempling, r. *svinuxa tonkaja*

- H Olivbraune Haut, in der Mitte schmierig.
 tsch. *ut tuti* 'Pferdelefeze' (ČR 519) → H

Phallus impudicus, Stinkmorchel, r. *veselka, vyskočka*

- FrK Im Jugendstadium eiförmig; im Reifezustand stielartig, mit schleimiger grünlicher Kappe.
 G Durchdringend nach Aas.
 ba. *šaytan yomortqahı* 'Teufelsei' (BRS 652) → FrK
 — Cf. M III: 660 *Teufelsei, Hexenei*.
 chak. *aday miskezi* 'Hundspilz' (XRS 108) → G
 — Mit dem Gestank des Pilzes wird der scharfe Geruch von Hundeharn assoziiert, cf. M III: 661 *Hunsmorchel*; der Terminus *aday miskezi* ist mit 'smor-čok' (Morchel) definiert, kann sich jedoch nur auf die nicht verwandte, aber ähnliche Stinkmorchel beziehen.
 tsch. *šěr šu* 'Erdöl' (RČS 28) → FrK
 — Cf. M III: 661–662 *Schmiahöitl* (Schmierhütlein), *Erdschmeer* (Erdschmiere).

Phellinus ignarius (= *Polyporus ignarius*), Falscher Zunderschwamm, r. *ivovaja guba, trutnik ivovyj*

- FrK Hufeisenförmig.
 V An Weiden.
 usb. *tāl buqāgi* 'Weidenbeule' (RUzS II: 599) → Frk und V
tāl zamburuyi 'Weidenpilz' (RUzS II: 599) → V
 jak. *üüöt kunaaga* 'Weidenpilz' (Pek I: 1217) → V

Pholiota mutabilis, Stockschwämmchen, r. *opėnok letnij*

- V Auf Baumstümpfen.
 ttü. *ağaç mantarı* 'Baumpilz' (B 194) → V
kütük mantarı 'Baumstumpfpilz' (B 194) → V
 usb. *tonka zamburuyi* 'Baumstumpfpilz' (RUzS I: 732) → V
 jak. *čöñčök tälläyä* 'Baumstumpfpilz' (RJaS 366) → V
 tsch. *tunkata kămpi* 'Baumstumpfpilz' (RČS 28) → V

Piptoporus betulinus (= *Polyporus betulinus*), Birkenporling, r. *berėzovaja guba, berėzovyj narost, čaga, trutvik berėzoyj*

- FrK Rundlich oder nierenförmig.
 V An Birkenstämmen.
 W Verwendung als Zunder.
 tat. *qayın quı* 'Birkenzunder' (TaRS 206) → V und W
qayın mäškäse 'Birkenpilz' (TaRS 206) → V

- kas. *ayaštij süyeli* 'Baumwarze' (OQS II: 510) → FrK und V
 — Tryjarski (1977: 248) verweist darauf, daß tsch. *kämpa* 'Pilz' auch eine Warze am Kopf eines Menschen bezeichnen kann.
- usb. *qayin buqâyi* 'Birkenbeule' (RUzS II: 599) → FrK und V
qayin zamburuyi 'Birkenpilz' (RUzS II: 599) → V
- alt. *meške* (ORS 110) 'Beule (?)' → FrK
- jak. *χatij kunaaya* 'Birkenpilz' (Pek I: 1217) → V

Pleurotus eryngii, Kräuterseitling

- V Auf Trockenrasen.
- ttü. *koyun mantarı* 'Schafpilz' (B 164) → V
 — Der Pilz parasitiert auf Mannstreu, *Eryngium campestre*, einer distelartigen Pflanze, die vornehmlich auf Schafweiden wächst und von Schafen gerne gefressen wird.

Pleurotus ostreatus, Austernseitling, r. *vešenka*

- H Muschelförmig, mit lateralem Stiel; glänzende graublaue bis schiefergraue Haut.
- V An Laubholzstämmen dachziegelartig angeordnet.
- W Guter Speisepilz.
- ttü. *ipek mantarı* 'Seidenpilz' (B 164) → H
kabakulak mantarı 'Mumpspilz' (B 164) → H
 — Die gewölbten, an einem seitlichen Stiel sitzenden Hüte heben sich wie ein geschwollenes Ohr vom Baumstamm ab.
karacaoğlan mantarı 'Karacaoğlan-Pilz' (B 164) → H
 — Der Volkssänger Karacaoğlan, dessen Name wörtlich 'schwärzlicher Junge' bedeutet, stammte aus Südanatolien und hatte den für diese Region typischen dunklen Teint.
karakulak mantarı 'Schwarzohrpilz' (B 164) → H
kara mantar 'schwarzer Pilz' (B 164) → H
kayın mantarı 'Birkenpilz' (B 164) → V
kulak mantarı 'Ohrenpilz' (B 164) → H
yaprak mantarı 'Blattpilz' (B 164) → H
 — Durch den seitlichen Stiel hat der Pilz ein blattartiges Aussehen.
- as. *asılğal* 'Aufhängter' (ASE VI: 102) → H
 — Der Pilzhut scheint mittels des Stiels am Baum aufgehängt zu sein.
- tsch. *aš kämpi* 'Fleischpilz' (RČS 27) → W

Polyporus destructor, Holzschwamm, r. *drevesnyj grib*

- V Auf feuchtem Gebälk.
- tat. *büränä gömbäse* 'Balkenpilz' (TaRS 121) → V

Polyporus frondosus, Klapperschwamm, r. *baran-grib*

- H Spatelförmig; braune, am Rand weißliche Haut.
- tsch. *taka kämpi* 'Widderpilz' (RČS 27) → H

— Die dachziegelartig angeordneten Hüte bilden am Grund alter Laubbäume einen Rasen, der dem Vlies eines Widders entspricht; cf. M III: 956 *Gluckhenne* und *Graue Gans*.

Polyporus squamosus, Schuppiger Porling, r. *pestrec*

H Mit braunen Schuppen bedeckt.

V An Laubbäumen.

ttü. *kara mantar* 'schwarzer Pilz' (B 157) → H

tsch. *hěrhi kămpa* 'Eulenpilz' (Ašm XVI: 133) → H

— Die braunen Schuppen des Hutes werden mit den dunklen Flecken des Eulengefieders verglichen.

horama kămpi 'Ulmenpilz' (Ašm XVI: 215) → V

Ramaria, Ziegenbart, r. *rogatik*

FrK Strauchartig verzweigt.

ttü. *çullukça ~ çulluca* 'wie eine Matte aus Ziegenhaar' (B 232) → FrK

— Cf. DS III: 1303 *culluk* 'kıldan yapılmış yaygı' (Istanbul).

saçak mantarı 'Fransenpilz' (B 232) → FrK

— Cf. DS VII: 2260 *halusaçağı* 'etrafi saçaklı mantar' (Sinope).

tsch. *sělě kămpi* 'Haferpilz' (RČS 28) → FrK

— Der Vergleich bezieht sich auf den rispenartigen Fruchtstand des Hafers.

turatlı kămpa 'Pilz mit Zweigen' (RČS 28) → FrK

Ramaria aurea, Goldgelbe Koralle

FrK Strauchartig verzweigt; goldgelb.

ttü. *kadınparmağı* 'Frauenfinger' (B 232) → FrK

— Cf. M I: 1036 *Fingerlischwamm*.

Ramaria condensata, eine Ziegenbart-Art

FrK Strauchartig verzweigt; gelbrot.

ttü. *civciv ayağı mantarı* 'Kükenfußpilz' (B 232) → FrK

— Cf. M I: 1036 *Hinkelchesfuß* (Hühnchenfuß).

erişte mantarı 'Fadennudelpilz' (B 232) → FrK

— Cf. M I: 1039 *Zatzerling* (Faserling).

keditırnağı mantarı 'Katzenkrallenpilz' (B 232) → FrK

— Cf. M I: 1036 *Katzentappen*.

Ramaria flava, Zitronengelbe Koralle

FrK Strauchartig verzweigt; schwefel- oder zitronengelb.

ttü. *pirpirim* 'Portulak' (B 232) → FrK

— Cf. DS IX: 3459 *pirpirim* 'semizotu' (mit vielen Varianten) < arm. *p^crp^crem* ~ *pirpirim* < pers. *parparam* 'purslain' (Dankoff 1995: E202). Die Namensübertragung assoziiert offenbar die verzweigten rötlich überlaufenen Stengel des Portulaks, *Portulaca oleracea* mit den ebenfalls verzweigten gelben Ästchen des Pilzes.

tellige 'wie mit Drähten' (B 232) → FrK

Russula, Täubling, r. *syroežka*

- H Niedergedrückt, Rand häufig gerieft; glatte bräunliche oder rötliche Haut, in der Mitte dunkel getönt.
- ttü. *kızılca* 'der Rötliche' (B 180) → H
koçlama mantarı 'Pilz, der auf Widder macht' (B 180) → H
 — Der Name scheint den gerieften Hutrand mit dem gedrehten, an den Kanten geriffelten Gehörn eines Widders gleichzusetzen.
- as. *zol-zol papağlı göbäläk* 'Pilz mit gestreiftem Kalpak' (RAL III: 300) → H
 — Die Benennung bezieht sich auf die Form des Hutes sowie auf die Riefen am Hutrand.
- tat. *al gömbä* 'purpurroter Pilz' (RTaS 164) → H
- ba. *hariq bāšmäge* 'Schafpilz' (TSB 123) → H
- tuv. *čigge-čür* 'es glüht in der Senke' (RTuvS 593) → H
 — Die niedergedrückte Hutmitte hebt sich insbesondere bei den rötlichen Arten durch ihre dunklere Färbung wie eine Feuerstelle ab.
- tsch. *jaka kampa* 'glatter Pilz' (ČRS 587) → H

Russula adusta, Rauchbrauner Schwarztäubling, r. *podgruzdok černyj*

- H Rauchgraue Haut.
- tsch. *hura kampa* 'schwarzer Pilz' (RČS 28) → H

Russula chloroides, Schmalblättriger Täubling

- V Auf kalkhaltigem Boden.
- ttü. *kayıskaran mantarı* 'Hauhechelpilz' (B 180) → V
 — Der Pilz wächst in Gemeinschaft mit der Hauhechel, *Ononis spinosa*, die ebenfalls kalkhaltige Böden bevorzugt.

Russula cyanoxantha, Frauentäubling, r. *syroežka sine-želtaja*

- H Niedergedrückt; stahlblaue, mitunter schiefergraue Haut, in der Mitte grün.
- W Vorzüglicher Speisepilz.
- ttü. *kara kuş mantarı* 'Adlerpilz' (B 180) → H
 — Vermutlich wird die Farbe des Pilzhutes mit dem dunklen Gefieder des Adlers assoziiert.
kara mantar 'schwarzer Pilz' (Ok IV, Abb. 99) → H
- tsch. *majra kampa* 'Frauenpilz' (ČR 224) → W
 — Das Benennungsmotiv 'Herrenpilz' oder 'Herrinnen- bzw. Frauenpilz' für exzellente Speisepilze findet sich in vielen europäischen Sprachen; der tschuwachische Name *majra kampa* ist wahrscheinlich eine Lehnübersetzung.

Russula delica, Weißtäubling, r. *podgruzdok belyj*

- F Hart und spröde, bei Verletzung nicht milchend.
- V Unter Laubbäumen.
- tsch. *äväs kārāšē* 'Eспенmilchling' (ČRS 152) → V
hytā kārās 'harter Milchling' (ČRS 429) → F
tip kārās 'trockener Milchling' (ČRS 152) → F
 — Die Einordnung des Weißtäublings als 'Milchling' erklärt sich aus seiner Ähnlichkeit mit dem Pfeffermilchling, *Lactarius piperatus*.

Russula foetens, Stinktäubling, r. *valuj*

- F Brüchig.
 H Gelbbraune Haut.
 V Auf feuchten Böden.
 as. *čayirköbäläyi* 'Wiesenpilz' (RAL I: 113) → V
 tat. *sargilt-aq başlı gömbä* 'Pilz mit gelblichweißem Kopf' (RTa 56) → H
 kas. *sarıış sañırawqulaq* 'gelblicher Pilz' (OQS I: 79) → H
 tsch. *śemśe kămpa* 'brüchiger Pilz' (RCS 27) → F

Russula lepida, Harter Zinnobertäubling

- E Im Frühsommer.
 F Bei Verletzung nicht milchend.
 ttü. *sütsüz mantar* 'milchloser Pilz' (B 180) → F
 — Der Zinnobertäubling wird zur Unterscheidung von dem sehr ähnlichen, aber milchenden Brätling, *Lactarius volemus* als milchlos bezeichnet.
yaz mantarı 'Sommerpilz' (B 180) → E
yaz tirmiti 'Sommer-tirmit' (B 180) → E
 — Der mit *tirmit* benannte Brätling erscheint erst gegen den Herbst hin.

Russula melliolens (= *Tricholoma russula*), Honigtäubling, r. *golubnik*

- H Karminrote Haut.
 ba. *al bāšmāk* 'purpurroter Pilz' (TSB 82) → H

Russula virescens, Grünfelderiger Täubling

- H Grau- oder blaugrüne Haut.
 kas. *kökbas sañırawqulaq* 'Blaukopfpilz' (XQBS 163) → H
kök sañırawqulaq 'blauer Pilz' (XQBS 163) → H
 tel. *sälänsä* (WB IV: 479)
 — < r. *zelenčak*, wörtlich 'Grünling', das bei Radloff *Russula virescens* definiert. Cf. M III: 1551 *Grünling*.

Russula xerampelina, Heringstäubling

- H Purpurrote Haut.
 ttü. *üstükzıl mantarı* 'Außen-rot-Pilz' (B 180) → H

Suillus bovinus (= *Boletus bovinus*), Kuhröhrling, r. *kozljak*

- H Konvex; schmierige rötlichbraune Haut.
 V Unter Kiefern.
 ba. *käzä bāšmäge* 'Ziegenpilz' (TSB 100) → H
 — Der schmierige Hut des Pilzes erinnert an das feuchte Maul von Wiederkäuern.
 kas. *samırsın sañırawqulayı* 'Kiefern-pilz' (XQBS 185) → V
 tsch. *kačaka kămpi* 'Ziegenpilz' (RCS 28) → H
taka kămpi 'Widderpilz' (CRS 382) → H

Suillus luteus (= *Boletus luteus*), Butterpilz, r. *maslënok, masljanik, želtik*

- E Im späten Frühjahr.
H Bis 18 cm breit; halbkugelig bis konvex; schmierige schokoladen- bis rostbraune Haut.
P Schwefelgelb.
S Zylindrisch; voll, hart.
- ttü. *ayıca mantarı* 'bärenartiger Pilz' (B 38) → H+S
ayı mantarı 'Bärenpilz' (B 38) → H+S
kaypak mantar 'glitschiger Pilz' (B 38) → H
— Cf. M I: 617 *Schmierling, Schlabberpilz, Rotzling.*
kuzu mantarı 'Lämmerpilz' (Ok IV, Abb. 99) → E
— Der Pilz erscheint zur Zeit des Lämmerwurfs.
- as. *sarı yaylıja* 'der gelbe Fettige' (ASE VI: 102) → H und P
yaylı göbbäläk 'Pilz mit Fett' (RAL II: 58) → H
— Cf. M I: 617 *Schmalzschwamm.*
- tat. *maylı gömbä* 'Pilz mit Fett' (TaRS 358) → H
may mäškä 'Fettpilz' (TTDS 315) → H
sarı gömbä 'gelber Pilz' (TaRS 470) → P
— Cf. M I: 617 *Eierpilz.*
süyür pangisi 'Rinderpilz' (TTDS 335) → H
— Cf. M I: 617 *Kuhbültz* (Kuhpilz); der Name scheint den schmierigen Schleim des Pilzhutes mit dem Geifer von Rindern zu assoziieren.
urıs mäškä 'Russenpilz' (TTDS 315) → H+S
— Vermutlich auf den stämmigen Körperbau der Russen bezogen.
- ba. *maylı bäsämäk* 'Pilz mit Fett' (BRS 136) → H
kas. *sañırawqulaq* 'taubes Ohr' (OQS I: 402) → H
chak. *sarıy mıske* 'gelber Pilz' (RXS 363) → P
jak. *arıılaax tälläy* 'fettiger Pilz' (RJaS 269) → H
saharçay tälläy 'gelbroter Pilz' (Pek III: 2629) → H
tsch. *küpčeme kämpa* 'dicker Pilz' (ČRS 185) → H+S
majra kämpi 'Russinnenpilz' (Dmitr 145) → H+S
— Mit *mayra* 'Frau' werden keine Tschuwaschinnen, sondern speziell Russinnen bezeichnet; der Vergleich orientiert sich an deren üppigen Formen.
masla kämpa 'fettiger Pilz' (ČRS 224) → H
mäntär kämpa 'dicker Pilz' (ČRS 229) → H+S
šulä kämpa 'fettiger Pilz' (Ašm VII: 143) → H
tačka kämpa 'feuchter Pilz' (RČS 28) → H
ut toti 'Pferdelefze' (Ašm III: 320) → H

Terfezia arenaria, Sandtrüffel

- FrK Bräunlich.
V Nordafrika und Mittlerer Osten.
- ttü. *Arap mantarı* 'Araberpilz' (B 169) → FrK und V
— Der Name greift die dunkle Hautfarbe der Araber auf, verweist aber zugleich auf die Herkunft der Sandtrüffel.

Tremella fuciformes, Weißer Zitterling

Frk Hirnartig gewunden; weiß.

nuig. *aq mu'er* 'weißer *mu'er*' (XUL 1016) → FrK— Mit chin. *mu'er*, wörtlich 'Baumohr', wird der gräuliche Ohrslappenpilz, *Auricularia auricula* bezeichnet.**Tricholoma georgii**, Mairitterling

H Halbkugelig, später konvex; zartflaumige cremefarbene Haut.

ttü. *sarı kız mantarı* 'Gelbe-Tochter-Pilz' (B 60) → H— Der Ausdruck assoziiert die helle Haut des drallen Pilzes mit dem blühenden Teint einer schönen Tochter. Cf. hingegen *kara kız mantarı* für den Erdritterling, *Tricholoma terreum*.**Tricholoma pardinum** (= *Tricholoma tigrinum*), Tigerritterling

H Mit seidigen bräunlichen Schuppen besetzte silbergraue Haut.

ttü. *cincile* 'mit Splittern?' (B 60) → H— Cf. DS III: 976 *cincile* 'iyi cins mantar' (Bolu, Istanbul, Samsun, Sinop, Trabzon, Ankara), DS III: 919 *cincula* 'zehirsiz mantar' (Kütahya), DS III: 959 *cicil* 'bir çeşit mantar' (Istanbul, Samsun, Tokat). Der Terminus bezieht sich wahrscheinlich auf die Schuppen des Hutes, cf. DS III: 976 *cinci* 'cam parçası' (Denizli) sowie *cincilemek* 'tahılların arasında karışmış çöpleri el yordamıyla ayırmak' (Kerkük). Im Aserbajdschanischen bezeichnet *jinjile* die Schuppenmiere, *Spergularia* sp.**Tricholoma sulphureum**, Schwefelritterling

H Schwefelgelbe Haut.

ttü. *kükürt mantarı* 'Schwefelpilz' (B 60) → H**Tricholoma terreum**, Erdritterling

H Kegelförmig, später flach und gebuckelt; graubeschuppte Haut.

ttü. *kara kız mantarı* 'Schwarze-Tochter-Pilz' (B 60) → H— Mit *qara qız* wird bei vielen Türkvölkern eine unansehnliche Tochter, d.h., eine alte Jungfer, bezeichnet; cf. aber *sarı kız mantarı* für den Mairitterling, *Tricholoma georgii*.**Tricholoma ustaloides** (= *Tricholoma albobrunneum*), Bitterer Eichenritterling

H Rotbraune Haut.

S Weißlich, rotbraun gezont.

ttü. *sığır mantarı* 'Rinderpilz' (B 60) → H+S

— Insbesondere der gescheckte Stiel erinnert an das Fell von Rindern.

Tuber (= *Terfezia* sp.), Trüffel, r. *trjufel'*

FrK Kugelig.

V Unterirdisch, unter Laubbäumen.

ttü. *domalan* ~ *tomalan* ~ *dolaman* 'Geschwulst' (B 169) → FrK— Cf. DS IV: 1543–1544 *dolaman* (allgemein) ~ *dolman* (Denizli) ~ *doluman* (Burdur, Aydın) ~ *domalak* (Niğde) ~ *domalan* (allgemein) ~ *dombala* (Di-

yarbakır) ~ *dombalak* (Diyarbakır) ~ *dombalan* (Bilecik, Bursa, Diyarbakır) ~ *dölemen* (Zonguldak) ~ *duluman* (Isparta) ‘patatose benzeyen ve yenilebilen bir çeşit mantar’.

domuz elması ‘Schweineapfel’ (B 169) → FrK

— Zur Trüffelsuche werden neben Hunden auch Schweine benutzt.

keme ~ *kemi* (B 169)

— < ar. *kam* ‘a ‘Trüffel’. Cf. DS VIII: 2738 *keme* ‘patatose benzeyen bir çeşit mantar’ (Urfa, Gaziantep, Yozgat, Nevşehir).

yermantarı ‘Erdpilz’ (Stw 1025) → V

— Cf. M IV: 843 *Erdschwamm*, *Erdnuß*.

as. *yerdombalanı* ‘Erdgeschwulst’ (RAL III: 353) → FrK und V

— Cf. M IV: 844 *Erd-Beulen*.

tkm. *domalan* ‘Geschwulst’ (TuRS 278) → FrK

tat. *tomalan* ‘Geschwulst’ (TaRS 544) → FrK

tsch. *topol’ kâmpi* ‘Pappelpilz’ (Dmitr 147) → V

Tuber magnatum, Lauchtrüffel

FrK Ockergelb oder gräulich mit grünlichen Sprenkeln.

ttü. *alaca keme* ‘gesprenkelte Trüffel’ (Stw 27) → FrK

Tuber rufum, Rote Trüffel

FrK Rotbraun.

V Unterirdisch.

ttü. *karmızı yermantarı* ‘roter Erdpilz’ (Stw 528) → FrK und V

Xerocomus subtomentosus (= *Boletus subtomentosus*), Ziegenlippe, r. *gluxoj grib*, *moxovik zelenyj*

H Konvex; feinfilzige hellolivbraune Haut.

as. *keçigöbälâyi* ‘Ziegenpilz’ (RAL II: 103) → H

— Der samtig-filzige Hut wird offenbar mit der Maulpartie von Ziegen verglichen.

tat. *mük gömbäse* ‘Moospilz’ (TRLS 39) → H

— Cf. M I: 624 *Moosheedl* (Mooshäuptlein).

tsch. *mäk kâmpi* ‘Moospilz’ (RCS 28) → H

Zusammenfassung

Die Benennungsmotive der türkischsprachigen Pilznamen greifen zum einen optische Wahrnehmungen, zum anderen individuelle Erfahrungen im Umgang mit Pilzen auf. Wesentliche visuelle Momente sind die Form bzw. ein spezielles Merkmal des Fruchtkörpers, Färbung und Musterung der Haut sowie die Beschaffenheit von Fleisch und Milch. Eine wichtige Rolle spielt ebenso der an bestimmte Bäume oder Substrate gebundene Standort der Pilze, d.h., die Benennung nach dem Mykorrhiza-Verhältnis bzw. einer saprophytischen Lebensweise; manchmal wird auch die Erscheinungszeit zur Kennzeichnung des Pilzes verwendet. Motive, die in guten oder

schlechten Erfahrungen mit Pilzen begründet sind, beziehen sich auf deren Verwertbarkeit, auf den Geschmack des Fleisches sowie auf die toxische Effizienz.

Zur metaphorischen Umschreibung eines Pilzes werden oft Bilder gewählt, die dem täglichen Leben entnommen sind. Häufig ist eine Assoziation mit Gegenständen aus dem menschlichen Bereich wie z.B. Hausrat und Kleidung. Daneben gibt es eine Vielzahl von Bezeichnungen, die das Aussehen eines Pilzes mit Körperteilen von Haustieren, insbesondere von Weidevieh, verknüpfen und damit indirekt auch auf sein Vorkommen hindeuten. Die Einbeziehung von Tieren, die als giftig gelten oder in einem schlechten Ruf stehen, verweist euphemistisch auf Giftpilze. Eine ähnliche Funktion kommt Hüllwörtern zu, die ohne Nennung des Verursachers toxisch bedingte Wahnzustände bzw. tödliche Ereignisse festhalten.

Tryjarski (1977: 242) geht von einem bereits für die frühen Türken verbindlichen Sprachtabu bei Pilznamen aus, das nicht nur die mangelhaften Pilzkenntnisse der Türkvölker, sondern zudem ihre spärliche einschlägige Terminologie erklären könnte. Er fügt hinzu: "In this connection it seems natural that almost all generic and some specific Turkic names for mushrooms, both ancient and new, should have been borrowed." Betrachtet man die türkische Pilzlexik unter diesem Aspekt, so wird anhand des hier vorgelegten Materials deutlich, daß generelle Pilzbezeichnungen in den Randbezirken der Turcia vornehmlich aus Lehnwörtern, in der inneren Region hingegen aus türkischen Termini bestehen; zwischen Rand und Mitte sind sowohl Entlehnungen wie originäre Begriffe gebräuchlich. Die Anzahl der türkischen Benennungen ist aber wesentlich höher als die der Lehnwörter. Bei den speziellen Pilzbezeichnungen sind—abgesehen von einigen regionalen oder dialektalen Einsprengseln—für das gesamte Areal türkischer Wortformationen belegt. Da die meisten Gattungs- und Artnamen Komposita darstellen, deren zweite Komponente den Begriff 'Pilz' einbringt, gibt es zwangsläufig Zusammensetzungen mit entsprechenden Lehnwörtern. Abgesehen von den Lehnübersetzungen bringen die Benennungsmotive jedoch immer eigene Vorstellungen zum Ausdruck.

Die Annahme von Tryjarski, daß Pilze anscheinend noch heute einem Sprachtabu unterliegen, ist zweifellos berechtigt. Eine solche Tabuierung dürfte sich aber kaum in einem terminologischen Defizit, sondern vielmehr in den zahlreichen Hüllwörtern niederschlagen. Zu der mitunter mangelhaften lexikalischen Erfassung von Pilzbezeichnungen bleibt anzumerken, daß sie aus der bei einigen Türkvölkern herrschenden Abneigung gegen Pilze und der damit verbundenen Zurückhaltung bei den Informanten resultieren kann. Sie ist wohl nicht zuletzt auch lexikographischen Tendenzen zuzuschreiben, denn in manchen türkischen Wörterbüchern aus der ehemaligen Sowjetunion finden sich nur wenige Benennungen für eßbare oder giftige Pilze, aber stets die Namen der Pilze, die auf Getreide bzw. Nahrungsmitteln schmarotzen und enorme Schäden verursachen können. Die Bezeichnungen für Mutterkorn, *Claviceps purpurea* sowie für Schimmel-, Brand- und Rostpilze wurden jedoch nicht in diese Untersuchung einbezogen.

Literatur

- Ak = Akalın, Şevki 1952. *Büyük bitkiler kılavuzu*. Ankara.
- ARS = Azizbekov, Ch. A. (Hrsg.) 1965. *Azerbajdžansko-russkij slovar'*. Baku: Azerbajdžanskoje gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo.
- ASE = *Azərbaycan sovet ensiklopediyası* 1–10. Bakı 1976–1987.
- Ašm = Ašmarin, N. I. 1928–1950. *Slovar' čuvaškogo jazyka* 1–17. Kazan' & Čeboksary.
- B = Baytop, T. 1994. *Türkçe bitki adları sözlüğü*. (Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları 578.) Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu.
- Bon, Marcel 1988. *Pareys Buch der Pilze*. Hamburg & Berlin: Parey.
- BRS = Axmerov, K. Z. & al. (Hrsg.) 1958. *Baškirsko-russkij slovar'*. Moskva: Inostrannyx i nacional'nyx slovarnej.
- ČR = Skvorcov, M. I. (Red.) 1982. *Čävašla-vyräšla slovar'*. Muskav: Russkij jazyk.
- ČRS = Sirotkin, M. Ja. (Hrsg.) 1961. *Čuvaško-russkij slovar'*. Moskva: Inostrannyx i nacional'nyx slovarnej.
- Dankoff, Robert 1995. *Armenian loanwords in Turkish*. (Turcologica 21.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- DKF = Indjoudjian, Dominique 1983. *Dictionnaire kazakh-français*. Paris: Publications orientalistes de France.
- DLT = Kâşgarlı Mahmud 1990. *Dīvānū lūgati't-Türk*. Tıpkıbasım. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı.
- Dmitr = Dmitrieva, Judit 2000. *Čuvašskie narodnye nazvanija dikorastuščix rastenij*. (Studies in linguistics of the Volga-Region 1.) Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó.
- Dmitrieva, L. V. 1981. *Jazyk barabinskix tatar*. Leningrad: Nauka.
- DS = *Türkiye'de halk ağızından derleme sözlüğü* 1–12. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu. 1963–1982.
- DSJaJa = Afanas'ev, P. S. & al. (Hrsg.) 1976. *Dialektologičeskij slovar' jakutskogo jazyka*. Moskva: Nauka.
- Egorov, V. G. 1960. *Russko-čuvaškij slovar'*. Čeboksary: Čuvašgosizdat.
- Egorov, V. G. 1964. *Ėtimologičeskij slovar' čuvaškogo jazyka*. Čeboksary: Čuvašskoe knižnoe izdatel'stvo.
- ESTJa V = Blagova, G. F. (Hrsg.) 1997. *Ėtimologičeskij slovar' tjurkskix jazykov*. Moskva: Nauka.
- Golomb, Ludwig 1959. *Die Bodenkultur in Ost-Turkestan. Oasenwirtschaft und Nomadentum*. (Studia Instituti Anthropolos 14.) Posieux & Freiburg: Anthropolos.
- GRMS = Gajdarži, G. A. & al. (Hrsg.) 1973. *Gagauzsko-russko-moldavskij slovar'*. Moskva: Sovetskaja ěnciklopedija.
- Hauenschild, Ingeborg 1994. Botanica im *Dīvān luġāt at-turk*. *Journal of Turkology* 2:1, 27–100.
- Hauenschild, Ingeborg 2001. Euphemismen in der türksprachigen Pflanzenlexik—eine Untersuchung anhand von Giftpflanzennamen. *Turkic Languages* 5, 68–83.
- HDA = Bächtold-Stäubli, Hanns (Hrsg.) 1987. *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*. 7. Berlin & New York: de Gruyter.
- HKr = Hauenschild, Ingeborg 1993. Krimtatarische Pflanzennamen. *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher*. N. F. 12, 147–178.
- İdH = İzbudak, Velet 1936. *El-idrāk haşiyesi*. İstanbul: T.D.K.
- JaRS = Slepcev, P. A. (Red.) 1972. *Jakutsko-russkij slovar'*. Moskva: Sovetskaja ěnciklopedija.

- Joki, A. J. 1952. *Die Lehnwörter des Sajansamojedischen*. (Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne 103.) Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura.
- KaRS = Maxmudov, X. & Musabaev, G. 1954. *Kazaxsko-russkij slovar'*. Alma-Ata: Akademiya nauk Kasaxskoj SSR.
- KBRS = Teniševa, È. R. & Cujunčeva, X. I. (Hrsg.) 1989. *Karačaevo-balkarsko-russkij slovar'*. Moskva: Russkij jazyk.
- KiRS = Judaxin, K. K. (Hrsg.) 1965. *Kirgizsko-russkij slovar'*. Moskva: Sovetskaja ènciklopedija.
- KkRS = Baskakov, N. A. (Hrsg.) 1958. *Karakalpaksko-russkij slovar'*. Moskva: Inostrannyx i nacional'nyx slovarej.
- KRPS = Baskakov, N. A. & al. (Hrsg.) 1974. *Karaimsko-russko-pol'skij slovar'*. Moskva: Russkij jazyk.
- KrtRS = Asanov, Š. A. & al. (Hrsg.) 1968. *Krymskotatarsko-russkij slovar'*. Kiev: Radjan'skaja škola.
- KuRS = Bamatov, Z. Z. (Red.) 1969. *Kumyksko-russkij slovar'*. Moskva: Sovetskaja ènciklopedija.
- KW = Ramstedt, G. J. 1935. *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch*. (Lexica Societas Fenno-Ugricae 3.) Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura.
- M = Marzell, Heinrich 1943–1979. *Wörterbuch der deutschen Pflanzennamen* 1-2. Leipzig 1943–1972; 3-4. Aus d. Nachlass hrsg. von Heinz Paul. Stuttgart & Wiesbaden 1977–1979.
- NRS = Baskakov, N. A. (Hrsg.) 1963. *Nogajsko-russkij slovar'*. Moskva: Inostrannyx i nacional'nyx slovarej.
- Ok = Tuğlacı, Pars (Hrsg.) 1971–1972. *Okyanus. 20. yüzyıl ansiklopedik Türkçe sözlük* 1–6. İstanbul: Pars Yayınevi.
- OQS = Musabaev, G. G. (Hrsg.) 1978–1981. *Orışša-qazaqša sözdik* 1-2. Almatı: Qazaq sovet enciklopediyası.
- ORS = Baskakov, N. A. & Toščakova, T. M. (Hrsg.) 1947. *Ojrotsko-russkij slovar'*. Moskva: Ogiz.
- Önler, Zafer (Hrsg.) 1990. Celâlüddin Hızır (Hacı Paşa). *Müntahab-ı şifâ*. Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu.
- Pacioni, Giovanni 1982. *Das neue BLV-Pilzbuch*. München-Wien & Zürich: BLV-Verlags-gesellschaft.
- PdC = Pavet de Courteille, Abel 1870. *Dictionnaire turk-oriental*. Paris: Imprimerie impériale.
- Pek = Pekarskij, È. K. 1907–1930 [1958–1959]. *Slovar' jakutskogo jazyka* 1–3. Moskva: Akademiya nauk SSSR.
- Pröhle, Wilhelm 1909. Karatschajisches Wörterverzeichnis. *Keleti Szemle* 10, 83–150.
- RAL = Oružuv, A. A. (Red.) 1971–1978. *Rusja-azärbayjanja lügät*. Düzeldilmiš vä artırlımiš 3. năšri. 1–3. Bakı: Elm.
- RAS = Baskakov, N. A. (Red.) 1964. *Russko-altajskij slovar'*. Moskva: Sovetskaja ènciklopedija.
- Rätsch, Christian 1988. *Lexikon der Zauberpflanzen aus ethnologischer Sicht*. Wiesbaden: VMA Verlag.
- RČS = Pletneva-Sokolova, A. D., L'vova, A. N. & Dimitrieva, K. S. 1963. *Russko-čuvašskij slovar' nazvanij rastenij, proizrastajuščix na territorii Čuvašii*. Čeboksary: Čuvašskoe knižnoe izdatel'stvo.

- Redh = Redhouse, Sir James W. 1974. *A Turkish and English lexicon*. Beirut: Librairie du Liban.
- RJaS = Afanas'ev, P. S. & Xaritonov, L. N. (Red.) 1968. *Russko-jakutskij slovar'*. Moskva: Sovetskaja ěnciklopedija.
- RKaS = Sauranbaev, N. T. (Red.) 1954. *Russko-kazaxskij slovar'*. Moskva: Inostrannyx i nacional'nyx slovar'ej.
- RKBS = Sujunčev, X. I. & al. (Hrsg.) 1965. *Russko-karačaevo-balkarskij slovar'*. Moskva: So-vetskaja ěnciklopedija.
- RKiS = Judaxin, K. K. (Red.) 1957. *Russko-kirgizskij slovar'*. Moskva: Inostrannyx i nacional'nyx slovar'ej.
- RKkS = Baskakov, N. A. (Red.) 1967. *Russko-karakalpaksij slovar'*. Moskva: Sovetskaja ěnciklopedija.
- RKuS = Bamatov, Z. Z. (Hrsg.) 1960. *Russko-kumyksij slovar'*. Moskva: Inostrannyx i nacional'nyx slovar'ej.
- RNS = Baskakov, N. A. (Red.) 1956. *Russko-nogajskij slovar'*. Moskva: Inostrannyx i nacional'nyx slovar'ej.
- RTa = Ganiev, F. A. (Red.) 1984. *Russko-tatarskij slovar'*. Moskva: Russkij jazyk.
- RTaS = Gazizov, R. S. & al. (Hrsg.) 1955–1959. *Rusča-tatarča süzlek*. 1–4. Kazan': Tatknigoizdat.
- RTS = Aliev, A. & Boriev, K. 1929². *Russko-turkmenskij slovar'*. Ašxabad: Turkmenskoe gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo.
- RTuS = Baskakov, N. A. & Xamzaev, M. Ja. (Red.) 1956. *Russko-turkmenskij slovar'*. Moskva: Inostrannyx i nacional'nyx slovar'ej.
- RTuv = Monguš, D. A. (Red.) 1980. *Russko-tuvinskij slovar'*. Moskva: Russkij jazyk.
- RTuvS = Pal'mbax, A. A. (Red.) 1953. *Russko-tuvinskij slovar'*. Moskva: Inostrannyx i nacional'nyx slovar'ej.
- RUS = Iliev, A. & al. (Hrsg.) 1956. *Russko-ujgurskij slovar'*. Moskva: Inostrannyx i nacional'nyx slovar'ej.
- RUzS = *Rusča-özbekčä luyat*. 1. 2. Tâškent 1983–1984.
- RXS = Čankov, D. I. (Hrsg.) 1961. *Russko-xakasskij slovar'*. Moskva: Inostrannyx i nacional'nyx slovar'ej.
- SBJa = *Slovar' baškirkogo jazyka*. 1. 2. 1993. Moskva: Russkij jazyk.
- Stachowski, Marek 1998. Notizen zur schorischen und tschulymischen Etymologie. *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* 3, 107–123.
- Stw = Steuerwald, K. 1972. *Türkisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- TRLS = Saberova, G. G. 2002. *Tatarsko-russko-latinskij slovar' nazvanij rastenij*. Kazan': Fiker.
- TaRS = *Tatarsko-russkij slovar'*. Moskva 1966: Sovetskaja ěnciklopedija.
- Tryjarski, Edward 1977. Turcic names for mushrooms. Native terms and loan words. *Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne* 158, 241–254.
- TS = *XIII. yüzyıldan beri Türkiye Türkçesiyle yazılmış kitaplardan toplanan tanıklarıyla tarama sözlüğü*. 1–8. Ankara 1963–1977.
- TSB = Urazmetov, N. (Hrsg.) 1952. *Terminologičeskij slovar' po botanike russko-baškirkij i baškirsko-russkij*. Ufa: Bašgosizdat.
- TTDS = Maxmutova, L. T. (Red.) 1969. *Tatar telenej dialektologik süzlege*. Kazan': İlim.
- TuRS = Baskakov, N. A. & al. (Hrsg.) 1968. *Turkmensko-russkij slovar'*. Moskva: Sovetskaja ěnciklopedija.

- TuvR = Tenišev, Ė. R. (Red.) 1968. *Tuvinsko-russkij slovar'*. Moskva: Sovetskaja ěnciklopedija.
- TuvRS = Pal'mbax, A. A. (Hrsg.) 1955. *Tuvinsko-russkij slovar'*. Moskva: Inostrannyx i nacional'nyx slovarej.
- URL = Nājib, Āmir (Hrsg.) 1968. *Uygurĉā-rusĉā luġāt*. Moskva: Sovetskaja ěnciklopedija.
- UXL = *Uygurĉā-xānzuĉā luġāt*. Ürtümĉi 1982.
- UzRS = Borovkov, A. K. (Hrsg.) 1959. *Uzbeksko-russkij slovar'*. Moskva: Inostrannyx i nacional'nyx slovarej.
- WB = Radloff, W. 1893–1911. *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*. Bd. 1–4. Sanktpeterburg: Akademija Nauk.
- Wrobel, M. & Creber, G. 1998. *Elsevier's Dictionary of fungi and fungal plant diseases*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- XQBS = Tüsipbek S. 1983–1984. *Xānzuĉa-qazaĉa biologialiq sözdik*. Ürtümĉi: Šinġiang Xalij Baspasi.
- XRS = Baskakov, N. A. & Inkižekova-Grekul, A. I. (Hrsg.) 1953. *Xakassko-russkij slovar'*. Moskva: Inostrannyx i nacional'nyx slovarej.
- XUL = *Xānzuĉā-uygurĉā luġāt*. (Sinaq nus'hisi.) Ürtümĉi 1974.
- XUS = *Hānzuĉā-uygurĉā addi sözlük*. Ürtümĉi 1980.
- XZhCSH = *Xinjiang Zhong-Caoyao Shouce*. Ürtümqi 1970.

Abkürzungen für Sprachen und Dialekte

alt.	altaitürkisch	kirg.	kirgisisch	schor.	schorisch
as.	aserbaidshanisch	kkar.	krimkaraimisch	tat.	tatarisch
ba.	baschkirisch	kkp.	karakalpakistanisch	tel.	teleutisch
chak.	chakassisch	krt.	krimtatarisch	tkm.	türkmenisch
gag.	gagausisch	kum.	kumükisch	tsch.	tschuwaschisch
gr.	griechisch	mong.	mongolisch	ttü.	türkeitürkisch
jak.	jakutisch	nuig.	neuuigurisch	tuv.	tuvinisch
kalm.	kalmückisch	osm.	osmanisch	usb.	usbekisch
kas.	kasachisch	pers.	persisch		
k.b.	karatschai-balkarisch	r.	russisch		