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# Turkic Languages

Edited by Lars Johanson

Volume 13, 2009      Number 2

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Johanson: 50th anniversary of “Fundamenta 1” • Turan: Turkic grammar books in Mughal India • Arslan-Kechriotis: Syntactic issues in Karamanlidika texts • Güven & Gilanlıoğlu: Greek loans in Cypriot Turkish • Karakoç: Subject markers and copular forms • Chen Zongzheng: Two copulas in Western Yugur • Ragagnin: A lowland Tofan variety • Yagmur & Konak: Proficiency in bilingual children • Zakharova: Olonxo, a masterpiece of cultural heritage • Menz & Schroeder: A reply • Csató: Two conferences • Reviews

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# Turkic Languages

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The journal **TURKIC LANGUAGES** is devoted to linguistic Turcology. It addresses descriptive, comparative, synchronic, diachronic, theoretical and methodological problems of the study of Turkic languages including questions of genealogical, typological and areal relations, linguistic variation and language acquisition. The journal aims at presenting work of current interest on a variety of subjects and thus welcomes contributions on all aspects of Turkic linguistics. It contains articles, review articles, reviews, discussions, reports, and surveys of publications. It is published in one volume of two issues per year with approximately 300 pages.

Manuscripts for publication, books for review, and all correspondence concerning editorial matters should be sent to Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. Lars Johanson, Turkic Languages, Institute of Oriental Studies, University of Mainz, 55099 Mainz, Germany. The e-mail address [johanson@uni-mainz.de](mailto:johanson@uni-mainz.de) may also be used for communication.

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## Contents

### Turkic Languages, Volume 13, 2009, Number 2

Editorial note by Lars Johanson ..... 153

#### Articles

Lars Johanson: “Fundamenta 1” and its 50th anniversary ..... 155

Fikret Turan: Turkic grammar books written in Mughal India during the 18th  
and 19th centuries ..... 163

Z. Ceyda Arslan-Kechriotis: Some syntactic issues in Karamanlidika texts ..... 172

Mine Güven & İlkey Gilanloğlu: On segmental deletion in the phonological  
adaptation of Greek loanwords in Cypriot Turkish ..... 188

Birsel Karakoç: Notes on subject markers and copular forms in Turkish and in  
some Turkic varieties of Iran: A comparative study ..... 208

Elisabetta Ragagnin: A rediscovered lowland Tofan variety in northern  
Mongolia ..... 225

Zongzheng Chen: Modal meanings of two copulas in Western Yugur ..... 246

Agafia Zakharova: *Olonxo* as a masterpiece of cultural heritage ..... 256

Astrid Menz & Christoph Schroeder: The reviewer punishes the messenger:  
A reply to Mark Kirchner’s review of *Türkiye’de dil tartışmaları* ..... 269

Kutlay Yagmur & Ömer Ahmet Konak: Assessment of language proficiency  
in bilingual children: How valid is the interdependence hypothesis? ..... 274

#### Report

Éva Á. Csató: Two conferences in Northern Cyprus ..... 285

#### Reviews

Juha Janhunen: Review of Arienne M. Dwyer, *Salar: A study in Inner Asian  
language contact processes. Part 1: Phonology* ..... 288

László Károly: Review of P. A. Slepcev (ed.), *(Bol’šoj) tolkovyj slovar’  
jakutskogo jazyka* ..... 291

Gerjan van Schaaik: Review of Esin İleri, *Lehrbuch der türkischen Sprache* .... 296





## Editorial note

*Turkic Languages, Volume 13, 2009, Number 2*

The present issue of *TURKIC LANGUAGES* contains contributions on a wide variety of topics.

The first article celebrates the 50th anniversary of the publication of the Turcological compendium *Philologiae turcicae fundamenta 1*, outlining the preparatory process that started at the 22nd International Congress of Orientalists in 1951.

Four articles deal with questions concerning the eastern parts of the Turkic-speaking area.

Elisabetta Ragagnin provides a short preliminary description, based on own fieldwork, of Tukhan, a Sayan Turkic dialect spoken east of Lake Kubsugul in northern Mongolia. Some features of this variety, formerly referred to as Uyghur-Uryankhay, differ from the rest of Sayan Turkic whereas some are shared with Tofan (Karagas).

Chen Zongzheng, China's leading expert on Yellow Uyghur (Western Yugur), investigates the modal meanings of two copulas in this language, arguing that *er* signals assertion, whereas *dro* signals presumption.

Agafia Zahkarova's article is devoted to the Yakut (Sakha) Olonkho tradition. In 2005, this heroic epos was recognized by UNESCO as a "Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity". The present contribution deals with the characteristics of Olonkho, its history, and its current status.

Fikret Turan analyzes two interesting Turkic comparative grammar books written in Mughal India in the 18th and 19th centuries. It is clear that a school of Turkic linguistics existed in Mughal India, strongly supported by the members of the ruling class, which was of Turkic and Mongolian origin.

A number of articles focus on the westernmost part of the Turkic-speaking area.

Mine Güven and İlkey Gilanlioğlu analyze deletion of segments in the phonological adaptation of lexical copies from Greek in Cypriot Turkish. The deletion is governed by an attempt to achieve maximal perceptual similarity between models and copies. The results of the study seem to support a synthetic approach to loanword adaptation according to which phonological and perceptual factors interact. The adaptation is likely to be structure-sensitive in the sense that a phonological strategy is selected in certain cases and a perceptual one in other cases.

Z. Ceyda Arslan-Kechriotis deals with a number of syntactic phenomena found in Karamanlid texts. She stresses that her results are tentative, since knowledge of older Ottoman Turkish, dialectology, historical and comparative data are necessary in order to present a thorough analysis.

Birsel Karakoç compares subject markers and copular forms in Turkish and some Turkic varieties of Iran, particularly the use of 3rd person markers. Her discussion

focuses on the issue of to what extent similarities with Persian are contact-induced or results of language-internal development.

Kutlay Yağmur and Ömer Konak deal with the assessment of language proficiency in bilingual immigrant children. They present the empirical results of multi-level proficiency tests carried out with German and Turkish children in multilingual schools in Duisburg, Germany. The initial results indicate that balanced bilingual children have much higher skills in both German and Turkish. The results of the Turkish component of the tests will be compared to the situation obtaining in monolingual Turkish children in Turkey.

Astrid Menz and Christoph Schroeder articulate their reaction to Mark Kirchner's review of their book *Türkiye'de dil tartışmaları*, published in *TURKIC LANGUAGES* 12, in which the reviewer criticizes Nurettin Demir for his alleged opinions on the use of the Turkish terms *dil*, *lehçe*, and *ağız* for the various Turkic languages and varieties.

Éva Á. Csató reports on two conferences convened in Northern Cyprus, both with the aim of discussing issues of teaching Turkish as a foreign language.

The issue concludes with reviews by Juha Janhunen, László Károly, and Gerjan van Schaaik.

\*

An internationally leading scholar in linguistic Turcology, Lija Sergeevna Levickaja, passed away on October 2, 2009. She was born in 1931, began her studies in the philological faculty of Moscow State University in 1948, where she became one of the most brilliant pupils of Nikolaj K. Dmitriev. She graduated from the same university in 1953. In 1966 she defended her candidate thesis *Istoričeskaja fonetika čuvaškogo jazyka* (Historical phonetics of Chuvash), a still unpublished work written under the guidance of Boris A. Serebrennikov. Her seminal monograph *Istoričeskaja morfologija čuvaškogo jazyka* (Historical morphology of Chuvash) appeared in Moscow in 1976. After the demise of Ėrvand V. Sevortjan, Lija Levickaja led the collective work on the Turkic etymological dictionary *Ėtimologičeskij slovar' tjurkskix jazykov*. She was also one of the main contributors to the lexical volume of the comparative grammar *Sravnitel'no-istoričeskaja grammatika tjurkskix jazykov*, which appeared in Moscow in 2000. Up to her death she was working on an etymological dictionary of Kumyk. Lija Levickaja was a great scholar, an outstanding specialist with invaluable contributions to the comparative-historical study of Turkic, Turkic etymology, and especially the historical phonetics and morphology of Chuvash.

*Lars Johanson*

# “Fundamenta 1” and its 50th anniversary

**Lars Johanson**

Johanson, Lars 2009. “Fundamenta 1” and its 50th anniversary. *Turkic Languages* 13, 155-162.

The article deals with the preparations for the compendium *Philologiae turcicae fundamenta*, which began in 1951 and resulted in an impressive first volume published in 1959.

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## Introduction

In 1959, half a century ago, a remarkable volume on Turkic languages was published, a linguistic compendium that is a milestone in the study of Turkic:

Deny, Jean & Grønbech, Kaare & Scheel, Helmuth & Togan, Zeki Velidi (eds) *Philologiae turcicae fundamenta* 1. Aquis Mattiacis [Wiesbaden]: Franz Steiner Verlag.

It was the first volume of the handbook *Philologiae turcicae fundamenta*, edited by four internationally renowned scholars and published with the support of Unesco. It provided careful and reliable descriptions of all Turkic languages known in the 1950s. The contributors were all leading representatives of linguistic Turcology. Since the publication of the book, the Turkic-speaking world has certainly been investigated in more detail, but “Fundamenta 1” is a highly valuable summary of the state of the art at the time and still an excellent standard work.

The book was published at a time when English was not yet the only viable international language of scholarship. It thus contained articles in three languages, German, French and English. The title page was even entirely in Latin:

PHILOGIAE  
TURCICAE FUNDAMENTA  
IUSSU ET AUCTORITATE  
UNIONIS UNIVERSAE STUDIOSORUM RERUM ORIENTALIUM  
AUXILIO ET OPERA  
UNITARUM NATIONUM EDUCATIONIS SCIENTIAE CULTURAE ORDINIS  
UNA CUM PRAESTANTIBUS TURCOLOGIS  
EDIDERUNT  
JEAN DENY  
KAARE GRØNBECHE †  
HELMUTH SCHEEL  
ZEKI VELIDI TOGAN  
TOMUS PRIMUS  
AQVIS MATTIACIS APUD FRANCISCUM STEINER  
A.D. MCMLIX

### **Preliminary discussions**

“Fundamenta 1” was the result of thorough and careful preparations. In August 1951, a group of Turcologists had met in Istanbul, at the invitation of the Turkish government, to discuss various plans for the creation of a “Grundriss der türkischen Sprache”. The initiator of this project was the distinguished Turcologist Zeki Velidi Togan.

Some months before the beginning of the 22nd International Congress of Orientalists (Istanbul, September 16-22, 1951), its president, Professor Togan, announced that the organizing committee had decided, after discussions with the Turkish government, to prepare proposals regarding scholarly activities in the domain of Turcology. The most important task of the plenary session of the congress would be to decide on the publication of a compendium (“Grundriss”) of Turkic philology and cultural history.

The Turkish participants included famous scholars such as Rahmeti Arat, Saadettin Buluç and Mehmet Fuad Köprülü. But not only Turkish scholars were to be involved in the discussions. Thus the following foreign experts were invited to participate: Jean Deny, France, Herbert Duda, Austria, Annemarie von Gabain, Germany, Kaare Grønbech, Denmark, Karl Heinrich Menges, USA, Gyula Németh, Hungary, Nicholaus Poppe, USA, Ettore Rossi, Italy, Helmuth Scheel, Germany, Berthold Spuler, Germany, Ali Toptchibachy, France, Paul Wittek, Great Britain, and Ananiasz Zajaczkowski, Poland.

The Turkish government had invited Deny and Scheel to Istanbul 15 days ahead of the congress to make the necessary preparations together with its president Togan. They submitted a project plan, formulated with the assistance of Hans Robert Roemer, to serve as a basis for the preliminary discussions.

A provisional committee was established, in whose discussions the following scholars took part: Deny (Paris), Buluç (Istanbul), Clauson (London), Grønbech (Copenhagen), Arat (Istanbul), Spuler (Hamburg), and Scheel (Mainz). Some members doubted that the project in question would be practicable at the present stage of development, arguing that the time was not ripe for a “definitive” work on the Turkic languages. Nevertheless, it was finally agreed that the next few years would probably not yield results that would essentially change the present state of knowledge. It was thus proposed to embark upon the project and to plan it in a way that would reflect the recent state of research as closely as possible.

The provisional committee formulated a report that was approved on September 21, 1951, at the closing session of the 22nd International Congress of Orientalists. It was decided that a “Grundriss” of Turkish philology and cultural history should be prepared by a committee of international scholars.

A definitive decision on the structure of this compendium could not be reached at the congress, but it was suggested that the “philological section” should comprise a classification of the Turkic languages (including Chuvash and Yakut) as well as descriptions of their general grammatical features.

The following scholars were elected members of a “comité de direction”: Jean Deny (president), Kaare Grønbech, Fahir İz, Johannes H. Kramers, Helmuth Scheel, Zeki Velidi Togan and Paul Wittek. Two additional members were to be appointed by the Faculty of Letters of the Universities of Istanbul and Ankara.

The result of the discussions in Istanbul were summarized by Deny in a circular of Januar 7, 1952. In a complementary circular of Februar 2, 1952, he reported that the “comité de direction” now only consisted of himself, Grønbech, Scheel, Togan and Wittek.

### **Further preparations**

In the last session of the provisional committee, Togan had suggested the preparation of a general overview that could form the basis for further discussions. This overview was compiled and distributed to the members of the committee under the title *Rapport présenté par le comité provisoire de direction d'un «Grundriss» de philologie et d'histoire turques (Philologiae turcicae fundamenta)*, 21 aout 1954.

The report contained an introductory article on “La turcologie, son domaine et ses travaux”, which gave an outline of the Turkic-speaking world and warned against “Schmalspur-Turkologie”, represented by scholars exclusively dealing with data concerning the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey.

It included comments by a number of scholars on the organization of the project, classificatory questions and other topics. Karl Heinrich Menges (USA) presented an “Outline for a compendium of Turkic philology and cultural history”. Other comments that had reached the committee in January-February 1952 were cited, letters signed by Sir Gerard Clauson, Saadet Çagatay, Walther Björkman, Fehim Bajraktarević, Bertold Spuler, Louis Bazin, Claude Cahen and Kaare Grønbech.

### **The Paris meeting**

The Fundamenta project had been adopted by the International Union of Orientalists, which had been established in 1952 in Paris. It had decided to apply to Unesco for financial support from the “International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies”.

The editorial committee met in Paris for four days in September 1953. Deny, Grønbech, Scheel and Togan participated as members; Paul Wittek had resigned his membership. A number of scholars took part “à titre consultatif”: Johannes Benzing, Sir Gerard Clauson, Herbert Duda, Karl Heinrich Menges, Hans Robert Roemer, Simon Szyszman and Ali Toptchibachy. Louis Bazin acted as the secretary of the meeting.

This composition of the meeting is evident from the above-mentioned report of August 21, 1954. According to information given in “Fundamenta 1” (page XIII), Bazin, Roemer and İz “were named as auxiliary members” at the Paris meeting.

At the Paris meeting, the committee accepted a preliminary synopsis formulated by Johannes Benzing.

### **Editorial principles**

Kaare Grønbech had formulated a number of recommendations for the linguistic volume of *Fundamenta*. They will be quoted here because they provide a good characterization of the general editorial principles observed.

### **Empfehlungen für die linguistischen Abschnitte der «Fundamenta»**

Bei der Abfassung der einzelnen Abschnitte des linguistischen Teils der "Fundamenta" soll es nicht die Aufgabe sein, vollständige Grammatiken zu verfassen. Erstens würde dafür der Raum nicht ausreichen, und zweitens hätte es kaum Sinn, die allgemein bekannten Grundeigentümlichkeiten des Türkischen, die sich überall auf dem ganzen Sprachgebiet mit nur leiser Modifikation wiederfinden, bei jedem neuen Dialekt in ihrer ganzen Breite nochmals vorzuführen. Die grundlegenden Charakterzüge sind als bekannt vorauszusetzen und brauchen nur kurz angedeutet zu werden; was breiter dargestellt werden sollte, sind lediglich die Variationen und Abweichungen, welche den Einzelsprachen ihr besonderes Gepräge verleihen. Es ist dabei auch im Auge zu behalten, daß die überwiegende Mehrzahl der Leser mit dem Osmanisch-Türkischen am besten vertraut sein dürfte.

Um das Gesagte durch einige Beispiele zu verdeutlichen: Es ist überflüssig, jedesmal das Vokalsystem von neuem zu erörtern, aber wichtig, anzugeben, ob das geschlossene *e* noch erhalten geblieben oder mit *ä* und *i* vermennt worden ist. Auf dem Gebiete der Kasuslehre haben die Formen des Genitivs, Akkusativs und des Ablativs, zum Teil auch des Dativs, Interesse. Man hat also Grund, die Formen der sechs klassischen Kasus anzugeben nebst den eventuell neu hinzugekommenen; dagegen ist eine eingehende Besprechung ihrer syntaktischen Anwendung in den meisten Fällen überflüssig. Wichtig ist natürlich der Formenbestand des Verbuns, besonders wichtig vielleicht die gegenseitige bedeutungsmäßige Abgrenzung der verschiedenen finiten Formen gegeneinander, aber bei nahe verwandten Dialekten und Sprachen, z.B. Kasantatarisch und Baschkirisch oder Kasachisch und Kirgisisch, genügt für zahlreiche Einheiten bei der zuletzt zu behandelnden Sprache ein Hinweis auf die vorhergehende.

Die Einzelkapitel brauchen nicht nach einem straffen Schema eingerichtet zu sein. Im allgemeinen wird es sich indessen empfehlen, zunächst nach herkömmlicher Art die lautliche und nachher die formalgrammatikalische Seite des Dialekts darzustellen, und zwar mit besonderer Hervorhebung derjenigen lautlichen, formalen und (eventuell) syntaktischen Sondermerkmale, welche die Stellung des betreffenden Dialekts innerhalb der Sprachfamilie charakterisieren.

Dann können einige kürzere Textproben mit Übersetzung folgen. Ein Glossar ist tunlichst zu vermeiden; die nötigsten Einzelaufschlüsse lexikalischer Art lassen sich in der Regel als Fußnoten oder eingeklammerte Erläuterungen anbringen, außer bei den sehr entlegenen Sprachen.

Eingangs ist es nützlich und aufschlußreich, die wesentlichen Hauptzüge der Erforschungsgeschichte des betreffenden Dialektes zu schildern. Bei lebenden Sprachen wären also aufzuführen die erste wissenschaftlich noch brauchbare größere Veröffentlichung (nicht verzelte Worte oder primitive Glossare in alten Reisewerken u.ä.) sowie die wichtigsten der

später folgenden, wodurch in manchen Fällen die nötige Bibliographie gleich erledigt ist. In anderen Fällen wird eine besondere Bibliographie angebracht sein; diese soll sich auf das Grundsätzliche beschränken und also bloß eine Übersicht über alle Hauptquellen (ob groß oder klein) zum Studium des Gegenstandes bieten (wichtigste Textveröffentlichungen, Grammatiken, Wörterbücher sowie sprachgeschichtliche Arbeiten fundamentalen Charakters). Eine so gestaltete Bibliographie erübrigt sich nicht durch das Vorhandensein moderner bibliographischer Werke oder in Fachwerken enthaltener ausführlicher Bibliographien, obwohl ein Hinweis auf solche selbstverständlich ist.

Translation by Vanessa Karam:

### **Recommendations for the linguistic sections of the “Fundamenta”**

In compiling the individual linguistic sections of the Fundamenta, the task at hand is not to create comprehensive grammars. First, there is not sufficient space for this; and second, it would hardly make sense when describing each dialect to expand in detail on the commonly known basic characteristics of Turkish, which are repeated with only slight modifications over the entire linguistic area. The basic features can be taken as known and only need to be briefly mentioned; what needs to be illustrated in more detail are the variations and deviations that give the individual languages their characteristic traits. It should also be kept in mind that the vast majority of readers will be most familiar with Ottoman Turkish.

Some examples that illustrate the above: It would be superfluous each time to describe the vowel system anew, but it is important to indicate whether closed *e* is still preserved or whether it has merged with *ä* and *i*. When describing the case system, the forms of the genitive, accusative, and ablative, and sometimes also the dative, are of interest. Thus, there is good cause to indicate the six classic cases along with any additional new ones; in contrast, a detailed discussion of their syntactic usage would for the most part be superfluous.

Of course, the forms of the verb are of importance; it is perhaps especially important to differentiate among the meanings of the various finite forms in the different languages; however, with closely related dialects and languages, e.g. Kazan Tatar and Bashkir or Kazakh and Kirghiz, a brief reference to the previously discussed language will suffice in the discussion of many a linguistic unit.

The individual chapters do not have to be organized according to a strict pattern. In general, it will be advisable to adhere to the traditional manner of describing first the phonological and next the grammatical features of the dialect at hand, with special emphasis on those phonological, formal and (where relevant) syntactic particularities that characterize the respective dialect within the linguistic family.

Next, several short text samples with translation can follow. A glossary should most certainly be avoided; as a rule, the most necessary lexical information can be given in footnotes or parenthetical explanations, except in the case of the very peripheral languages.

Initially, it will be quite useful and informative to depict the essential points of the research history of the respective dialect; in the case of living languages the first larger publication of scientific merit (not random words or primitive glossaries in older travel literature and



the like) as well as the most important subsequent treatments, which in some instances will take care of the bibliography at the same time. In other cases, a separate bibliography will be necessary; the bibliography should be limited to the basics and just provide an overview of all major works (large or small) on the subject (most important publications of texts, grammars, dictionaries as well as fundamental works of linguistic history). A bibliography of this kind is not replaced by the existence of modern bibliographical works or by detailed bibliographies contained in specialized studies, although reference to such works is a matter of course.

### **The harmonious Mainz meeting**

In 1956, the editorial committee met in Mainz, at the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, whose president was Helmuth Scheel. It was the last meeting attended by the original members Deny, Grønbech, Scheel and Togan. Deny was still active, Grønbech was still alive, and Togan was still willing to take part in the work of the committee. Seven years later, in 1963, Togan would write in a polemic pamphlet: “/.../ nous travaillions à Mayence, et nos travaux se faisaient dans un esprit démocratique et dans un climat de sincérité”.

Our photo documents this last harmonious meeting of the committee. It was taken by the well-known photo reporter Karin Eckert, who at that time worked for the local newspaper “Allgemeine Zeitung”. It depicts (together with other participants), Helmuth Scheel (1), Gerhard Doerfer (2), Zeki Velidi Togan (3), Hans Robert Roemer (4), Johannes Benzing (5), Jean Deny (6), Louis Bazin (7), Kaare Grønbech (8), and Jean d’Ormesson (9).

The latter, Jean Lefèvre, comte d’Ormesson, was the Unesco representative, the Secretary-General of the “International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic



Studies”, a person who later became known as a novelist and a leading French intellectual. He was born in 1925 and had grown up in Bavaria. In 1973, he was elected a member of the Académie française, taking seat 12, following the death of Jules Romains. From 1974 to 1979, he was the director of the French newspaper “Le Figaro”.

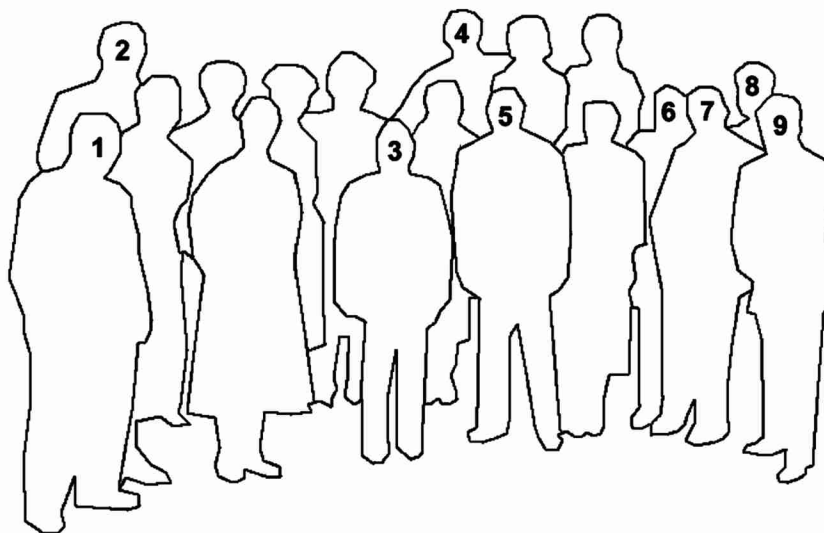
This was the time when the Institute of Oriental Studies at the Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz, under the directorship of Helmuth Scheel, began to develop into an important center of Turcology. A few years later, in December 1963, Johannes Benzing, the famous specialist in Turcology, Tungusology, etc., was appointed Scheel’s successor.

**The editorial work**

Most manuscripts for “Fundamenta 1” were submitted in 1955. The editorial work was essentially carried out by Gerhard Doerfer, who had been appointed editorial research fellow at the Mainzer Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur. He invested an immense amount of competent work in order to create a relatively homogeneous volume. Well-informed Turcologists agree that the important part played by Doerfer in the final practical implementation of the project (as distinct from the preliminary versions) needs to be stressed even more.

The members of the editorial committee did not always agree with the views expressed by the individual contributors, but they did not attempt to impose their own opinions on them. For example, it was not possible to agree upon one single article on the classification of the Turkic languages. The solution was that Benzing wrote one article, and Menges another article.

The outcome of the editorial work differed somewhat from the original plans.



Grønbech passed away before the volume was published. According to the plans, he would have written the sections "Classification des langues turques. Parenté avec d'autres groupes" and "Structure de la langue: Phonétique, morphologie, syntaxe" as well the section on Tuvan and Tofan. Deny retired from his duties due to his advanced age. The Orientalist Carl Brockelmann, who died in 1956, would have written the chapters on Karakhanid and Chaghatay. Originally, Martti Räsänen and Saadet Çagatay should have dealt with Turkish dialects, Ahmet Temir with Tatar and Bashkir, and Gunnar Jarring with modern Uyghur and Yellow Uyghur. The bulk of contributions was ultimately written by Omeljan Pritsak, Johannes Benzing, Karl Heinrich Menges, Stephan Wurm, Annemarie von Gabain, Kaare Thomsen and Louis Bazin. The latter is the only contributor still alive today.

### **Conflicts**

The further fate of the *Fundamenta* project was, for a while, somewhat less successful. The volume on the history of literature gave rise to political conflicts. Zeki Velidi Togan refused to take part in the work of the editorial committee. He attacked Pertev Naili Boratav and Louis Bazin as "leftists", who had altered the essence of the project, and he regretted that Helmuth Scheel in 1958 had given these two scholars the responsibility for the second volume of *Fundamenta*.

Luckily, the work on "*Fundamenta 1*" had not been impeded by disagreements of this kind.

# Turkic grammar books written in Mughal India during the 18th and 19th centuries

**Fikret Turan**

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A corpus of handwritten manuscripts on Turkic languages written in India during the 18th and 19th centuries provides rich linguistic materials in comparative approaches. Among them, two comparative grammars *Qānūn u Qavā'id-i Ruz-marra-i Zabān-i Turkī* and *Şarf u Naḥv Ma'ā Luyāt-i Turkī*, which are critically analysed here, put forward original linguistic data and terminology in explaining various grammatical and lexicological problems. Thus, these works open up an area of scholarly investigation with a strong potential to contribute to historical Turkic linguistics in terms of fresh data and methodology.

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## Introduction

A group of manuscripts of Indian origin on the grammar and lexicon of the Turkic languages written in Persian during the 18th and 19th centuries present rich linguistic materials of their times, creating an area of scholarly studies not only in Turkic linguistics but also in cultural studies concerning the cultural identity and worldview of the Mughals of India. These works make up an important part of a wider body of manuscripts on historical, literary and religious subjects that were produced in India and kept mostly in Indian and British libraries.<sup>1</sup> These lexical and grammatical works often demonstrate the most current varieties of lexical items and grammatical forms of their time of production in a comparative approach explaining each case with a number of sample words, phrases and sentences. They often yield such a degree of detailed information that helps explain various problematic issues in Turkic linguistics and philology. From the number of the grammatical and lexicological works produced and the highly rich and advanced degree of scholarship presented in them, it is clear that a school of Turkic linguistics existed in Mughal India and that it

<sup>1</sup> So far only a few number of limited handlists, catalogues and studies have been produced on these manuscripts. Among them see especially Bodrogligeti (1981), Schimmel (1981), Türkmen (1985) and Bilkan (2006).

was widely supported by the members of the ruling class that were mainly of Turko-Mongolian origin until the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

### **General features of the linguistic works on Turkic written in India**

One of the main characteristics of these grammar and lexicography works is that almost all these works are explained in Persian, as the Persian language had become the official language of the Mughals after about the mid-16th century.<sup>3</sup> As it had happened in the Mamluk State in Arabic-speaking Egypt and Syria between the 14th and early 16th centuries, where the rulers supported scholars working on grammatical and lexical works of Oghuz and Kipchak Turkic in Arabic, the rulers in Mughal India used their Turkic idioms among themselves as the idiom of the ruling class, and sponsored the scholars who produced linguistic works on Turkic languages, which, in this case, predominantly concern Eastern Turkic, namely Chaghatay.

The second characteristic of these works is that they are mostly written in such combinations of linguistic subjects that include sections on grammar, lexicon, everyday conversation and dialogs, and proverbs of one or more Turkic languages and dialects. In these works the authors prefer comparative approaches explaining linguistic elements by comparing and contrasting between two or more Turkic lan-

<sup>2</sup> From these comparative linguistic and literary works it is clear that the members of the Mughal ruling class and the scholars at their courts kept close contacts and identified themselves with the wider Islamo-Persian and Turko-Mongolian cultural system of the values of the time. On most recent discourses about the multi-dimensional cultural identity politics of the Mughals, see Balabanlilar (2007). That these scholars produced works on Turkic languages up until the latest years of the Mughal rulership in the mid-nineteenth century shows clearly that the Mughals learned, used and showed the Turkic languages as an important aspect of their identity. This fact has clearly been observed by Hadi (1995: 218), the author of the *Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature*, who states that “[t]he Mughals entertained deep attachment toward the language of their ancestors, and all the princes including ladies of the imperial palace assiduously developed proficiency in Turkish idiom and speech.” However, although the Mughals produced, copied and circulated many linguistic, literary and artistic works in and about Turkic languages, not many comprehensive modern studies of the literature and cultures have been carried out. New studies on these works will not only explore and explain the features of Turkic languages treated in these works but also extend our current knowledge on the degree of Turkish contribution to the modern languages and the cultures of the South Asia such as Urdu and Hindi.

<sup>3</sup> The acceptance of Persian by the Mughals as cultural and literary language and its contribution to the birth of Indian Persian have been analysed in several studies by Muzaffar Alam. Although these studies consciously or unconsciously do not touch upon the Turkic idioms used by the ruling elites and the works written in and about Turkic languages by them, they yield important insights into the linguistic policies of the Mughals. See Alam (1998 and 2004).

guages and dialects in terms of their grammatical, lexical and semantic features. They also occasionally put forward hypotheses on the etymology and historical developments of certain lexical units, and speculate on the correctness of their usages, occasionally suggesting “more correct” alternative forms.

In comparing the grammatical and lexical features of the Turkic languages, the authors often express their views about which one or two of those idioms are more literary, advanced and correct (*faṣīḥ*) and which ones are less advanced, and unrefined (*saqīl*). In these works almost all authors agree that Chaghatay is more literary and advanced than the others. The fact that authors were writing their works for the Chaghatay-speaking Turko-Mongol leaders must have played an important role in their upholding Chaghatay over the other Turkic languages and dialects compared.<sup>4</sup>

#### General characteristics of *Qānūn u Qavā'id-i Ruz-marra-i Zabān-i Turkī*

Two comparative grammars from among these works stand out as highly methodical and informative. Because they yield both new and original information on various aspects of the Turkic languages and dialects of the time as well as the grammar methodology for the Turkic languages, they demand a scholarly investigation. One of these two works is entitled *Qānūn u Qavā'id-i Ruz-marra-i Zabān-i Turkī*, running between the folios 9b and 27b of a bound handwritten manuscript collection numbered Or. 404 and kept in the British Library. As it appears in the beginning of the work, the author is a certain “Ārşūr veled-i Niyāz Bēg ibni Dost Bēg” who completed the work in 1837 (Hijri 1253, 6 Rabi'-al-Awwal) in Puthi near the city of Meerut. The manuscript is penned in the *nasta'lik* style with 17 lines per page, each measuring 29 x16 cm.

In the Introduction, the author talks about those Turkic languages, the grammatical and lexical features of which he compares, contrasts and explains in his work. He names the subject languages as the most current (*ruz-marra*) forms of *Tūrānī*, *Uzbekī*, *Īrānī*, *Rūmī*, *Qızılbaşī*, *Kāşyarī* and *Nogoy*.<sup>5</sup> Although the author doesn't discuss the geographical areas where *Tūrānī*, *Uzbekī*, *Īrānī*, *Rūmī* and *Qızılbaşī* are spoken, we can deduce from various data in the work that *Tūrānī* is used for Chaghatay (probably the version used in and around Transoxiana), *Qızılbaşī* for the Türkmen spoken in parts of Afghanistan, Iran, Azerbaijan and Eastern Anatolia, and *Rūmī* for Ottoman Turkish. According to the author, among these Turkic languages,

<sup>4</sup> Kāşyarī had a similar prescriptive approach in his *Dīvānu Luḡāti't-Türk* earlier in the 11th century claiming a dialect of Eastern Turkic namely the Karakhanid Turkic (Uighur) as the most correct one among Turkic languages of his time. See Dankoff & Kelly (1982: 83).

<sup>5</sup> This last Turkic language is explained as *el-i Noyo ki išānrā Noyoy miguyand* ‘the people of Nogho that are called Nogho’. Same manuscript, Folio 11a.

Tūrānī and Uzbekī are the most correct and literary (*afṣaḥ*), and the other ones are vulgar and unrefined.<sup>6</sup>

The author describes the formal grammatical differences between Turkic languages and dialects and often provides unique information on the differences between their literary and spoken idioms. For instance, while explaining the compound perfect tense 3rd person suffix *-ibtur*, he points out that this form is used only in writing, and the final /r/ in this form is dropped in spoken Türkmen, turning into *-ibtu* as it occurs in words like *kelibtu / kelibtular* ‘he has come / they have come’.

In this introductory part the author briefly talks about his methodology also. Here he states that he investigates the Turkic grammar under the rubrics of *ism* (noun), *fi‘l* (verb) and *harf* (suffixes, postpositions, prepositions, conjunctions and some adverbs), explaining each concept with examples, which was the common way of linguistic analysis designed according to the Arabic grammar tradition in Islamic societies in pre-modern times. In exemplifying the noun, he employs words like *at* (‘name’), *ay* (‘Moon’), *quyaş* (‘Sun’). The author then describes the class of verb in more detail, giving the samples of verbal paradigms organised the same way as in Arabic grammars, running from the 3rd person singular to the 1st person plural inflection. In this context he shows the paradigms of the verbs *keldi* ‘he came’, *bardi* ‘he went’, *olturdi* ‘he sat down’. He then talks about transitive and intransitive verbs in Turkic, and so on. As for the class of *harf*, he enumerates 10 suffixes of *mute‘addi* (factitive, causative), which are *dur*, *tur*, *γuz*, *güz*, *γur*, *gür*, *t*, *r*, *z*, *s*, and gives the following words as examples: *yügürdürmeγ* ‘have someone run or hurry’, *saγlaturmeγ* ‘have someone tend to somebody/something’, *olturγuzmeγ* ‘have someone sit, seat someone’, *ötgüzmeγ* ‘have someone pass, show someone to somewhere’, *yétgürmeγ* ‘have someone/something reach, to deliver’, *yaγurmeγ* ‘have something fall like rain, shower’, *oqutmeγ* ‘have someone read something, have a book, etc. read’, *içürmeγ* ‘have someone drink something’, *émizmeγ* ‘have someone suck something, suckle/breastfeed a baby’, *görsetmeγ* ‘have someone see something, show’.

Explaining the Turkic *masdar* (verbal noun) *-maq*, the author demonstrates the variants of the suffix each individual Turkic language uses. On this, the author states that this suffix appears in four forms, which are *-maγ*, *-maq*, *-maç*, *-mek*, with Tūrānī people using *-maγ*, the Özbeks and Turks of Iran *-maq*, the Kāşγarīs *-maç*, and the Qızılbaş, Rūm and Nogay people *-mek*. (Folio 11a)

The less common verbal conjugations are introduced by the phrase *gāh bāşad ki* ‘at times, sometimes’ after the common paradigm forms are shown. For instance, the *māzī* (past tense) is explained as follows: *Ol keldi* ‘he/she came’, *olar keldiler* ‘they came’, *Sen keldiñ* ‘you [singular] came’, *siz keldiñiz* ‘you [plural] came’, *Men keldim* ‘I came’, *biz keldük* ‘we came’.

<sup>6</sup> “Turkī-yi Tūrān u Özbek faṣḥ u afṣaḥ ast, u digarān saqil u γalīz...” (Folio 11a).

*Wa gāh bāšed ki keldinizler, siz keldinizler, sizler keldiniz* ‘you came’, singular or plural in a courteous talk, *sizler kedinizler* ‘you go, you may go’, *keldim mēn* ‘I came’, and so on.

*Maḥḥūl* (passive): *kelinmay* ‘to be arrived, reached’, *qılınmay* ‘to be done, made’, *oqulmay* ‘to be read’, *bilinmay* ‘to be known’, and so on. (Folio 12a)

*Nafy* (negative): *kēlmedi* ‘he/she didn’t come’, *kēlmediler* ‘they didn’t come’, *kēlmediniz* ‘you didn’t come’, and so on. (Folio 13a)

The author sometimes coins grammatical terms that demonstrate the semantic attributes of the subject matter in a clear way. These terms usually do not exist in the classical terminology of the Arabic grammar tradition, and thus, they are formed specifically for the grammatical forms found in Turkic languages. For instance, the past perfect tense form *-ibidi* is classified with the term *fīʿl-i māzī-i maʿrūf-i baʿīd* meaning ‘the verb of past known for long, a verbal form indicating an already known event’ which has some similar characteristics with the past perfect *-mišti* in Modern Turkish. The basic paradigms of the verbal forms and their variants demonstrated in the work are as follows:

*Fīʿl-i māzī-i maʿrūf-i baʿīd* (Past Perfect):

*ol kēlibidi* ‘he/she had come’, *olar kēlibidiler* ‘they had come’, *sēn kēlibidiñ* ‘you had come, singular’, *siz kēlibidiniz* ‘you had come, plural’, *mēn kēlibidim* ‘I had come’, *biz kēlibidük* ‘we had come’.

*Nafy* (negative): *Kēlmebidi* ‘he hadn’t come’, *kēlmebidiler* ‘they hadn’t come’, *kēlmebidiniñ* ‘you hadn’t come’, *kēlmebidim* ‘I hadn’t come’, *biz kēlmebidük* ‘we hadn’t come’ (Folio 13a-b)

The inferential past forms are mostly made with the converbial *-b* (*b / ib / ib / ub / üb*) and the personal suffixes, which is the common form in Chaghatay and other Eastern Turkic languages as opposed to the *-miş* forms in Oghuz languages: *olturub* ‘he/she has sat’, *sanab* ‘he/she has counted’. However, the 3rd persons often appear with the copular *-tur*: *kēlibtur* ‘he/she has come’, *kēlibtur* ‘he/she has gone’, *aḡtarabtur* ‘he/she has searched’, *kēlibturlar* ‘they have gone’, and the final *-r* of the *-tur* may be dropped: *kēlibtular* ‘they have come’, *kēlibsēn*, *sēn kēlibsēn*, *sēn kēlibsēn*, *sē kēlibsēn*, *sē kēlibsēndur*, *sē kēlibsēn* ‘you have come, singular’, *siz kēlibsiz*, *sizler kēlibsiz*, *sizler kēlibsizler* ‘you have come, plural’, *kēlib mēn*, *kēlib tur mēn*, *kēlibtü mēn* ‘I have come’, *kēlibtü*, *barıbtük*, *bizler kēlibtü*, *kēlibtübiz* ‘we have come’. (Folio 17a)

The author makes clear distinctions between simple present and present continuous tenses. These are shown under the term *ḥāl* (present time):

Simple Present Tenses: *kēler* ‘he comes’, *kēlerler* ‘they come’, *kēlersen ve kēlersēn* ‘you come, singular’, *kēlersiz* ‘you come, plural’; or *kēlesēn* ‘you come, singular’, *kēlesiz* ‘you come, plural’, and so on.

Present Continuous Tense: *kēleysēn* ‘you are coming, singular’, *kēleysiz* ‘you are coming, plural’, and so on (Folio 13b).

Although it is traditionally used for the non-past tenses as a generic term in Arabic grammar writing, the term *muzāriʿ* is used specifically for the future tense in this



work: *kəlgey* ‘he will come’, *olar kəlgeyler* ‘they will come’, *kəlgeysən* ‘you will come, singular’, and so on; *kəlmegeysiz* ‘you won’t come, plural’, *kəlmegeymən* ‘I won’t come’, and so on.

The paradigms of the imperative are in general widely used variants in Turkic. However, among all the variants the form with the word *ušan* is unique: *kəl*, *kəlgil*, *kəlgin* ‘come you, singular’, *kəlseŋ*, *sən kəlseŋ* ‘come you’, ‘you should come, singular’, *kəliŋiz*, *kəliŋizler* ‘come you, plural’, *kəlseŋiz*, *siz kəlseŋiz* ‘come you, plural’, ‘you should come, plural’, *olar kəlsünler*, *olar kəlsünler ušan* ‘let them come’, ‘they should come’, *kəlmesün* ‘let him not come’, ‘he shouldn’t come’, *kəlmesəŋ* ‘you don’t come, singular’, ‘you shouldn’t come, singular’, *kəlmesem* ‘I don’t come’, ‘I shouldn’t come’, and so on.

The author employs the term *ism-i fā’il* (active participle, agent) in a wider sense, adding to it the attributes of agent nouns. Thus, according to him the following sets of suffixes make *ism-i fā’il*: *gü / yuçı / quçı / güçi / yuç*: *kəlgü*, *kəlyusı*, *kəlyuçı*, *kəlqıçı*, *kəlgüçi*, *kəlyuç* ‘coming’, ‘comer’; *maçı*: *kəlmaçı* ‘coming one’, ‘comer’; *+çı/çi*: *yayçı* ‘bowman’, *oqçı* ‘arrowman’, ‘archer’, *öyçi* ‘wise man’, *söyçi* ‘teaser’, ‘insulting one’.

The author provides a rich catalogue of variants of the pronouns used in Turkic languages without much specific information on their usages in the dialects. Some of these samples are rare and archaic:

#### *Žamir* (Pronoun)

##### Personal Pronouns:

<i>men, mən, mē</i> ‘I’	<i>biz</i> ‘we’
<i>sen, sən, sé</i> ‘you, singular’	<i>siz</i> ‘you, plural’
<i>o, vo, ol, ušol</i> ‘he/she/it’	<i>olar, ollar, vollar, ušollar</i> ‘they’

##### Demonstrative Pronouns:

<i>o, vo, ol, ušo, ušol, ušal, uša</i> ‘that, it, he, she’
<i>olar, volar, ollar, vollar, ušallar, ušollar, ušalar, ušolar</i> ‘those, they’
<i>bu, mu, bol, mol</i> ‘this’
<i>bular, mular, bullar, mullar</i> ‘these’
<i>šu, šol, ušo, ušol, ušbu, ušbol, šolbu</i> ‘that’
<i>ušbulo, šolar, šollar, ušolar, ušollar, ušbular, ušbullar, šolbular, ušbulbular</i> ‘those’.

(Folio 20b)

The author occasionally shows the variants of the pronouns in the dialects:

*Rümiyân guyand* “*bene vér*”. ‘Ottoman Turks say “give [it] to me.”’

This work elaborates on denominal and deverbal noun suffixes, converbial and participial suffixes, and the varieties of phrase structures in Turkic. It also puts forward new grammatical terms for certain structures in Turkic, uses some Arabic grammatical terms in different meanings, and explains grammatical classes with rich examples drawn from the Turkic languages and dialects in question.

#### General characteristics of *Şarf u Nahv Ma'û Lugât-i Turkî*

The work *Şarf u Nahv Ma'û Lugât-i Turkî* is another Turkic grammar book in Persian in this tradition that contributes highly to our knowledge of Turkic languages and dialects. It is between the folios 199b and 236a in a bound book of manuscripts measuring 16x10.5 cm, and, like the previous work described above, it is kept in the British Library, call number Or. 1912. Although the name of the author and the date of completion are not mentioned in the work, there are indications that Muhammad Ya'qûb Jangî, the author of the following lexical work entitled *Kitâb-i Zabân-i Turkî* in the same collection is also the author of this work, which leads us to the early 18th century as the possible approximate date of its completion.

Even though this grammar work also includes the parts *ism*, *fi'l* and *harf* organised according to the Arabic grammar tradition, the author often makes original approaches to the elucidation of certain morphological and syntactic constructions. For instance, when describing appearances of the morphological models of the imperatives in Turkic languages, he demonstrates the phonological peculiarities of certain suffixes as well, stating that the people of Tûrân pronounce the formal imperative suffixes *-yl/gil* and *-qil/kil* as *-qin* in speaking, and the Iranian Turks and Türkmens as *-qil* (*urqil* 'hit you'), the Nogays as *-yin* (*kêlyin*), and the Özbeks as *kin* (*ÿlkin*). On this last point concerning the Özbek example *ÿlkin*, he adds that the Özbek people use the consonant /j/ very often, changing most word-initial consonants into /j/ as they pronounce the word *yok* ('no', 'not', 'there is not') as *ÿok*, and *neme* ('what', 'why') as *ÿeme*. (Folio 213b) Although this last piece of information is more relevant for the Kazak language, it is clear that the author sees this linguistic phenomenon as a dialectic feature of Özbekî in that period.

Following up on the same subject, he says that the first person singular and plural forms of the imperative have the following variants: *kêlsem*, *kêlsem mên*, *kêlsün mên*, *kêlinsem* 'I should come', *kêtsemizler* 'we should go', which covers not only the imperative but also the voluntative mood. The work also shows phrasal structures that are encountered in Chaghatay dialects, such as *ÿytkinem kêlelsin* 'tell you "come"', 'please come', *ÿytkinem kêl* 'tell him "come"', 'let him come', *ÿytkinem kêtlenise* 'be gone', 'let him go', and so on.

In a similar way, while explaining the comparative adjective (*ism-i tafzîl*), the author shows the variants and the usages of *+raq* in Turkic, providing unique information on its use with verbal roots. According to him, the people of Tûrân (*ahl-i Tûrân*) employ the variant *+ray*, Iranian Turks *+raq*, and Kâşyarîs, Türkmens, Nogays, Khazaras, Machinis (people of Eastern Turkistan) and the Ottomans

+/*rağ/rek*. The examples provided for these variants are *yaxşıray* ‘better’, *yamanray* ‘worse’, *kêlraylar* ‘those who come more?’, and *kêtraylar* ‘those who go more?’. Although the author does not give any specific information about its frequency and spread in the dialects, the use of this suffix with the verbal roots must have been very rare, being limited to only a few verbs in some dialects as this usage is not encountered in other linguistic materials.

The author mentions the variants of grammatical forms used for formal and informal registers preferred by the educated and privileged class (*havâşş*) and the uneducated commoners (*avâm*). On this point, for instance, while explaining the *ism-i fâ'il* (active participle, agent) he mentions the existence of two forms for this class one *-jî* (*kêljî* ‘coming one, comer,’ *kêtjî* ‘going one, goer’), and the other *-güjî* (*urgüjî* ‘striking one, striker’) adding that both forms are widely known (*muta'arif*) and used (*munşaraf*) in everyday speech both by the common people (*avâm*) and the elite (*havâşş*), whether they are educated (*ahl-i kitâb*) or not (*yayr-i kitâb*).

In addition to grammatical matters, the work occasionally discusses etymological developments of certain words, discrediting popular usages and offering correct and literary forms in a prescriptive linguistic understanding. For example, explaining the meaning and the etymology of the word *piçaq* ‘knife’, the author states that “the word *piçaq*, which is widely used among people, is [originally] an incorrect word (*yalat*), but it has become correct (*faşh*) [later]. The original word for knife is *kesek*, derived from the verb *kesmek* [‘to cut’] while the original word for the sickle is *piçaq*, stemming from the verb *piçmek* [‘to mow, reap’]. Similarly the word *qıçaq* is the derivation of the verb *qıçmaq* [‘to shear, clip, cut with scissors’], but people call it *qıçı* [‘scissors’]”. (Folio 206b)

Based on these data it is clear that although this work puts forward a number of linguistic materials within the traditional Arabic grammatical classes, like the previous work, it does not demonstrate in a strictly systematic way in which dialect or geographical area each variant of grammatical units is commonly used. Yet, it is a rich source with regard to the use and appropriation of grammatical terms, invention of new terms for certain Turkic grammatical constructions, exemplification of grammatical concepts, etymological explanations of certain lexical units, and detailed information on under-investigated elements of colloquial dialects.

### Conclusion

A group of linguistic works on Turkic languages written in Persian in India during the 18th and 19th centuries demonstrate such similarities in their grammatical method and comparative approach, and provide such rich language materials drawn from both formal and colloquial dialects of Turkic languages that they translate into a linguistic school exploring various aspects of the Turkic languages analysed. Two of these works, namely *Qânûn u Qavâ'id-i Ruz-marra-i Zabân-i Turkî* and *Şarf u Nahv Ma'û Luyât-i Turkî*, described here, represent this new body of comparative studies putting forward original linguistic data and terminology in explaining gram-

matical problems. Thus, these works open up an area of scholarly investigation with a strong potential to contribute to historical Turkic linguistics.

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# Some syntactic issues in Karamanlidika texts

Z. Ceyda Arslan-Kechriotis

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The aim of this paper is to address a limited number of texts in Karamanlidika from a synchronic syntactic point of view. To this aim, 10-25 pages of six original Karamanlidika publications from Boğaziçi University Library are used as samples. The discussion illustrates that a pure synchronic syntactic look fails at addressing the issue comprehensively. The outcome of such an attempt to analyze Karamanlidika is only tentative and completely inadequate, since in order to present a thorough analysis, knowledge of the (Ottoman) Turkish of the time, knowledge of dialectology, a historical linguistic point of view and a comparative linguistic point of view are necessary.

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The aim of my paper is to address Karamanlidika texts from a linguistic point of view. The approach is of a pure *synchronic* syntactician, the inadequacy and the problems of which will eventually be evident in addressing Karamanli texts in a sufficient and efficient manner. The selection of the Karamanli texts has been arbitrary in the sense that the original Karamanli publications in the library of Boğaziçi University have been used. I have only selected the first 10-25 pages of the books in order to attempt a tentative syntactic study. Four of these publications are religious, two of which are in verse, and thus are excluded (g & h).<sup>1, 2</sup>

- a) *Psaltirion yani nebi us-sultan Davidin Mezmuru* (1895; Salaville & Dalleggio 1974: nr. 304)
- b) *Hristiyan Yolculığı* (1879; Salaville & Dalleggio 1974: nr. 204)
- c) *Çingane Kızı* (1894; Salaville & Dalleggio 1974: nr. 291)
- d) *Kurd Yovan*
- e) *Hevelnak Hata*
- f) *Masaliye* (1867; Salaville & Dalleggio 1974: nr. 155) (in the volume of *Hevelnak Hata*)

<sup>1</sup> The works *d*, *e* and *g* (which lack title pages and survive only in fragmentary form) have recently been tracked down in Boğaziçi University Library and hence have not been included in the Karamanlidika bibliographies.

<sup>2</sup> The works *f*, *g* and *h* are bound in the same volume *Hevelnak Hata*; the relevant reference number in the catalogue of the Boğaziçi University Library is: rare PL198.K37 M37 1900z. The catalogue number of *Kurd Yovan* is: rare PL198.K37 K35 1860.

g) *Hazret-i Yakobun oğlu [...] İosifin methiyesidir* (in the volume of *Hevelnak Hata*)

h) *Ierusalimin Ziyaretnamesidir* (1862; Salaville & Dalleggio 1966: nr. 139) (in the volume of *Hevelnak Hata*)

What does the term *Karamanlidika*, or *Karamanli* mean in reference to texts? As pointed out by Kappler (2006), the implications of the term *Karamanlidika* are as various as the authors who have written about it. It started to be used in connection to the geographical region (Karaman) in Central Anatolia signifying the religious identity of the Turkophone Orthodox population in the era of the Ottoman Empire. With the publication of the *Karamanlidika* bibliography (by Salaville and Dalleggio, and later on continued by Balta), the use of the term *Karamanli* referring to a text started to be used for any publication of a Turkish text in Greek characters (see Balta 1987a: xvi).<sup>3</sup> I quote Kappler's (2006: 665) description: "‘Karamanlı’ is not a homogeneous literary language, nor a linguistically definable dialect, it is not ‘pure’ Turkish nor is it ‘corrupted Greek’. It is a multicolored and dynamic expression of a syncretic community with the characteristic and typical combination of writing and religion vs. language, with a multitude of linguistic variants and contact phenomena, conceived to be a practical means of communication and not an ‘ethnic’ symbol." (Kappler 2006: 665)

Taking the works cited above as corpus, I will try to provide a tentative syntactic analysis in the next section without going into the phonological, morphological, and/or lexical aspects. I would like to underline preliminarily that I do not intend to give the "correct" transcription but rather give a broad transcription of the relevant texts in the examples below.<sup>4</sup>

### 1. Syntactic analysis

In terms of synchronic syntax, the following points are striking in these works:

- Use of plurality; more specifically, plural agreement in the verbal and nominal domain
- Use of *-mAkIik* as a verbal noun
- Use of *-mAsI* instead of the bare *-mA* or *-mAK*
- Use of *-DIkDA* as a time-denoting gerund
- Word order differences from the neutral SOV order
- Some miscellaneous points

<sup>3</sup> I refer the reader to Kappler (2006) for a detailed discussion and critique of the definitions of the term *Karamanlidika* (or "Karamanlı" as he refers to it).

<sup>4</sup> Due to space restrictions, a limited number of examples will be given. The title of the book together with the relevant page number are given in parentheses right after the translation.

## 1.1. The use of plurality

### 1.1.1. Plural verbal agreement

In Turkish, there is a general tendency not to use plural agreement on the predicate when the subject is an inanimate plural nominal unless the subject is being personified (Sezer 1978, Göksel 1987 among others).<sup>5</sup> In the following, plural agreement is observed with an inanimate plural subject, where one can argue that either the subject is being personified or there is an attempt to reflect a poetic reading:

- (1) ... *enfes menzare-ler bulun-duk-ları halde...*  
 marvelous view-PL exist-NMN-3PL.POSS although  
 ‘... even though there are marvelous views...’ (lit.) (*Kurd Yovan* 8)
- (2) ... *bunlar Binyan-a binlerce altun-dan ziyade kıymetli ol-du-lar.*  
 these Binyan-DAT thousands gold-ABL more valuable be-PAST-3PL  
 ‘... these became/were more valuable to Binyan than thousands of gold.’ (*Hristiyan Yol-culuğu* 4)
- (3) ... *bakire-nin parmak-lar-ı nafile kithara tel-ler-i-nin*  
 virgin-GEN finger-PL-3SG.POSS in.vain guitar chord-PL-3SG.POSS-GEN  
*üzerinde dolaş-ır-lar*  
 on wander-AOR-3PL  
 ‘the virgin’s fingers are touching the chords of the guitar in vain’ (*Hevelnak Hata* 10)

Another point is that the verb in Turkish cannot be marked with the plural morpheme when the subject is a noun modified by a quantifier or a numeral (cf. Kornfilt 1997):

- (4) *İki/çok çocuk(\*lar) gel-di-(\*ler).*  
 two/many child-PL come-PAST-PL  
 ‘Two/many children came.’

Even though the subject is semantically plural because of the occurrence of *iki* ‘two’ or *çok* ‘many’, it behaves syntactically singular, or rather [-plural].<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> See the discussion in Sezer (1978) for a distinction among the inanimate plural nouns as *eylemlî* and *eylemsiz*.

<sup>6</sup> The syntactic agreement between a predicate and a noun modified by a numeral or a number denoting quantifier is possible in the following where there is a difference in interpretation as seen in the gloss and signalled also by a pause after the noun phrase:

*İki arkadaş gel-di-ler.*  
 two friend come-PAST-3PL  
 ‘They came as two friends.’

The plural agreement between a noun modified by a numeral/quantifier and the verb is, however, observed in some Karamanli texts:

- (5) ... *iki kişi yol-u[n] orta-sın-da dur-muş-lar.*  
 two person road-GEN middle-3SG.POSS-LOC stop-EVID-3PL  
 ‘Two people stopped in the middle of the road.’ (*Kurd Yovan* 10)
- (6) ... *iki kişi yekdiğer-in-e bak-dı-lar.*  
 two person each.other-3SG.POSS-DAT look-PAST-3PL  
 ‘Two people looked at each other.’ (*Kurd Yovan* 13–14)
- (7) ... *iki Çingane sazende ve hanende girdiler.*  
 two gypsy musician and dancer enter-PAST-3PL  
 ‘Two gypsies, a musician and a dancer, entered.’ (*Çingane Kızı* 13)

It is worth noting that in all the examples, the subject nominal is modified by the numeral *iki* ‘two’. Occurrences of other numerals have not been observed at least in the selection I have studied.

### 1.1.2. Plural in the nominal domain

There is a constraint on the occurrence of the plural marker on the noun in Turkish. In those cases in which the head noun is modified by a numeral denoting more than one in quantity such as *iki* ‘two’, *üç* ‘three’, etc., or a quantifier such as *çok* ‘many’, *az* ‘few’, *birkaç* ‘several’, the head noun cannot be marked with the plural suffix (cf. Göksel and Kerslake 2005):

- (8) *iki çocuk-(\*lar)*  
 two child-(\*PL)  
 ‘two children’
- (9) *çok çocuk-(\*lar)*<sup>7</sup>  
 many child-(\*PL)  
 ‘many children’

In some of the Karamanli texts, however, overt plural agreement with a modifier of plurality is attested:

Another exception is proper names like *yedi cüceler* ‘seven dwarfs’ as in *Pamuk Prenses ve Yedi Cüceler* ‘Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs’.

<sup>7</sup> I leave aside the group of exceptions like the following:

- (i) *çok teşekkür-ler* (ii) *çok sevgi-ler*  
 many thank-PL many love-PL  
 ‘many thanks’ ‘much love’



- (10) *birçok gölgeli orman-lar*  
 several shadowy forest-PL  
 ‘several shadowy forests’ (*Kurd Yovan* 8)
- (11) *birkaç defa-lar*  
 several time-PL  
 ‘several times’ (*Hristiyan Yolculığı* 2)
- (12) *dört çeşit meyva-lar*  
 four type fruit-PL  
 ‘four types of fruits’ (*Masaliye* 16)

An unexpected use of the plural morpheme is also seen in one example with the modifier *her bir* ‘each’:

- (13) *evlad-ı-nın her bir hareket-ler-i için*  
 son-3SG.POSS-GEN each one move-PL-3SG.POSS for  
 ‘for each (and every) move of his son’ (*Masaliye* 18)

## 1.2. The use of *-mAklık*

The verbal noun *-mAklık* is not used in standard modern Turkish. However, it is used extensively in Karamanlidika texts:

- (14) ... *Binyan-ı ikna ed-ip an-ı mezkur kitab-ı*  
 Binyan-ACC persuasion do-CONV he-ACC aforementioned book-ACC  
*oku-mak-liğ-a mecburet-ti.*  
 read-INF-DERIV-DAT oblige do-PAST  
 ‘... he persuaded Binyan and obliged him to read the aforementioned book.’ (*Hristiyan Yolculığı* 4)
- (15) *Siz-in bu teklif-iniz-i kabul et-mek-liğ-im mümkün*  
 your-GEN this offer-2PL.POSS-ACC accept do-INF-DERIV-1SG.POSS possible  
*ol-a-ma-z.*  
 be-ABIL-NEG-AOR  
 ‘It is not possible for me to accept this offer of yours.’ (*Hristiyan Yolculığı* 18)
- (16) ... *esrar-lar-ımız-ı öğren-diğ-im-i siz-e haber*  
 secret-PL-2PL.POSS-ACC learn-NMN-1SG.POSS-ACC you-DAT news  
*ver-mek-liğ-im için gel-di-niz.*  
 give-INF-DERIV-1SG.POSS for come-PAST-2PL  
 ‘You have arrived in order for me to tell you that I found out about your secrets.’ (*Hevelnak Hata* 20)
- (17) *Şim[di]-den sonra ben bu dünya-da bu rezalet ile*  
 now-ABL after I this world-LOC this disgrace with

*yaşa-mak-lığ-ım*                      *ban-a*    *haram-dir.*<sup>8</sup>  
 live-INF-DERIV-1SG.POSS    I-DAT    forbidden-MOD  
 ‘From now on, it is forbidden for me to live on earth with this disgrace.’ (*Masaliye* 26)

Synchronic syntax fails at this point in the sense that looking at these data from the point of view of modern standard Turkish, one could fall into the trap of categorizing these structures as belonging particularly to Karamanli. However, as pointed out by Deny (1941: 424), this form is attested in Ottoman Turkish of the time, albeit with a less frequent usage than *-mA*.

### 1.3. The use of *-mAsI* instead of *-mA/-mAK*

Another interesting point is that in a couple of examples from *Masaliye* only, the use of the third person possessive on the verbal noun marker is observed where a bare *-mA* or the infinitive *-mAK* would be used in modern standard Turkish:

(18) *Ben yedi gün-e dek ağz-ım-ı*                      *aç-ma-ma-sın-ın*  
 I    seven day-DAT until mouth-1SG.POSS-ACC    open-NEG-VN-3SG.POSS-GEN  
*çare-sin-i*                      *bul-ur-um.*  
 remedy-3SG.POSS-ACC find-AOR-1SG  
 ‘I will find a way not to open my mouth for seven days.’ (*Masaliye* 15)

(19) ... *mezkur kağıd-ı oku-r oku-ma-z [...] başla-dı ne kadar*  
 mentioned paper-ACC read-AOR read-NEG-AOR start-PAST what much  
*ses-i var-ısa çıkar-ıp çağır-ıp bağır-ıp*  
 voice-3SG.POSS exist-COND take.out-CONV call-CONV shout-CONV  
*şamata et-me-sin-e.*  
 noise do-VN-3SG.POSS-DAT  
 ‘As soon as reading the aforementioned paper, she started yelling and shouting and making as much noise as possible.’ (*Masaliye* 22–23)

(20) ... *benim yüz-üm-den ve göz-ler-im-den*  
 my face-1SG.POSS-ABL and eye-PL-1SG.POSS-ABL  
*öp-me-sin-e sarıl-dı ve dahi çok adepsiz hareket-ler*  
 kiss-VN-3SG.POSS-DAT embrace-PAST and too very obscene move-PL  
*et-me-ye başla-dı ki, lisan-ım-a al-ma-sın-a*  
 do-VN-DAT start-PAST that language-1SG.POSS-DAT take-VN-3SG.POSS-DAT  
*hicap ed-er-im.*  
 be.ashamed.AOR-1SG  
 ‘He attempted to kiss my face and eyes, and made much more obscene moves that I am ashamed to tell.’ (*Masaliye* 24)

<sup>8</sup> Prescriptively speaking, this sentence is in fact ungrammatical.

It is noted in Eckmann (1958: 82) that *-mAsInA* gerundial structure is used in Karamanlidika in the final position. Interestingly, in the examples above it is not always attested in the final position.

#### 1.4. The use of *-DIkDA*

The *-DIkDA* form as a time-denoting gerund is also not used in modern standard Turkish. A possessive marked form *-DIK+poss+DA* is used instead. The *-DIkDA* form is very frequently attested in the texts I have looked at.

- (21) *Sabah ol-duk-da zevce-si ve evlad-ı nasıl*  
 morning be-NMN-LOC wife-3SG.POSS and son-3SG.POSS how  
*ol-diğ-im-i sual et-tik-lerin-de ...*  
 be-NMN-3SG.POSS-ACC question do-NMN-3PL.POSS-LOC  
 ‘In the morning when his wife and son asked him how he was...’ (*Hristiyan Yolculuğu* 13)

- (22) *Fransız dahi teşekkür id-er-im zahmet-e hacet yok*  
 French too thank do-AOR-1SG trouble-DAT need exist.NEG  
*kendi-m al-ır-ım, fakat altun-lar-ı şu yağlığ-a*  
 self-1SG.POSS take-AOR-1SG but gold-PL-ACC this oil.pot-DAT  
*vaz eyle-yin de-dik-de, emr-i icra ol-đu.*  
 put-IMP say-NMN-LOC order-3SG.POSS perform be-PAST  
 ‘When the French said “Thank you, no need for trouble, I can take it myself, but put these gold (coins) to the vase”, his order was carried out.’ (*Çingane Kızı* 13)

- (23) *Menelaos ... “Ah Dorothea! Sen-i sev-iyor-um” deye*  
 Menelaos INTERJ Dorothea you-ACC love-IMP-1SG as  
*bağır-dık-ta kızcığaz dahi titrer bir seda ile “Ah*  
 shout-NMN-LOC girl too shaking one sound with INTERJ  
*Menelae! ben de sen-i sev-iyor-um” de-di.*  
 Menelae I too you-ACC love-IMP-1SG say-PAST  
 ‘When Menelaos said “Ah Dorothea, I love you!”, the little girl with a trembling voice said “Ah Menelaos, I love you too”.’ (*Hevelnak Hata* 11)

- (24) *ilim sahib-i ol-duk-ta her iş-e kadir ol-ur.*  
 science owner-3SG.POSS be-NMN-LOC every job-DAT capable be-AOR  
 ‘...when he becomes knowledgeable he will be capable of anything.’ (*Masaliye* 6)

This is another point where synchronic syntax fails. From a historical linguistic point of view, this form is, in fact, attested in Ottoman Turkish as a time-denoting gerund as noted in Deny (1941: 925ff). A note concerning consonant harmony is in order. Only in the examples in *Masaliye* have I witnessed that the dental stop of the locative suffix is voiceless harmonizing with the velar stop of the nominalizing suffix *-DIK* unlike the occurrences of this form in other works.

### 1.5. Word order

The most interesting issue regarding the syntactic analysis of Karamanlidika texts concerns the order of the constituents of a sentence. In most of the books, the neutral SOV order is attested. There are, however, interesting structures where the neutral order is altered.

#### 1.5.1. *-Dir ... ise* structures

The following structure occurs in *Çingane Kızı*:

- (25) *Kız-dır bir reftar ile sala orta-sın-a gel-ip*  
 girl-MOD one walking with hall middle-3SG.POSS come-CONV  
*Mantolino-ya nazik ve kına-lı parmak-lar-ı ile çekidüzen*  
 mandolin-DAT kind and henna-COM finger-PL-3SG.POSS with order  
*vir-me-ye başla-dı ise, Fransız delikanlı . . . di-me-ye başla-dı.*  
 give-VN-DAT start-PAST COND French young.man . . . say-VN-DAT start-PAST  
 ‘As the girl walked into the center of the room and started tuning up the mandolin with her delicate fingers, the young Frenchman started saying ...’ (*Çingane Kızı* 15)<sup>9</sup>

- (26) *Kız-dır bun-u eşid-ip, esteğfurullah deyu pençe-sin-den*  
 girl-MOD this-ACC hear-CONV please saying claw-3SG.POSS-ABL  
*kurtul-mak iste-di ise.*  
 save-INF want-PAST COND  
 ‘As the girl heard this, she wanted to detach herself from his claws saying “Please!”’<sup>10</sup>  
 (*Çingane Kızı* 20)

Note that in both of the structures the sentence ends with *ise*. A thorough analysis of this structure awaits further research. Kappler (p.c.) has noted that these sentences may be examples of cleft structures. I leave the issue for further research.

#### 1.5.2. Use of *ki*

Another interesting point in terms of constituent order concerns the use of the complementizer *ki* ‘that’ borrowed from Persian. Consider first the examples below:

<sup>9</sup> This is an attempt, not a direct translation. The complete sentence is as follows:  
 (i) Kızdır bir reftar ile sala ortasına gelip, Mantolinoya nazik ve kınalı parmakları ile çeki düzen virmeye başladı ise, Fransız deli kanlının gözleri birden ol perinin vücudü nazikine reks olunarak tehayyürle bir müddet tepeden tırnağa kadar nazar itdikden sonra, vallahil Azim billahil Kerim şimdiedeyin hayalimden geçen güzellerin serfirazı budur; deyup birde refiki tek gözlü sepek suratlı Çinganeye dönüp bakdı ise, kerhinden tüyleri ürperip, Aman ya Rabbim acep bu hikmet ne ola, böyle bir meymun ile mulakatine sebep ne ola, ve bu maskaranın uzun kılıçla bunda işi ne ola! dimeye başladı. (*Çingane Kızı* 15)

<sup>10</sup> Tentative translation, since it is not clear if *ise* heads a main clause.

- (27) ... *kız-cağaz kuş gibi uç-up karşı taraf-da ... bir adem*  
 girl-DIMIN bird like fly-CONV across side-LOC one man  
*yan-in-da bulun-dı, o ki kız Fransız-in*  
 side-3SG.POSS-LOC be.found-PAST he that girl French-GEN  
*el-in-i öp-er-ken haset id-erek, gazubane*  
 hand-3SG.POSS-ACC kiss-AOR-ADV envy do-CONV badly  
*bak-ma-ya başla-mış i-di.*  
 look-VN-DAT start-EVID COP-PAST  
 ... the girl, flying like a bird, came by a stranger at the other side, who had started  
 looking badly while she kissed the Frenchman's hand.' (*Çingane Kızı* 19)

- (28) *Mutlu-dur o adem ki kafir-ler-in meclis-in-e*  
 happy-MOD that man that nonbeliever-PL-GEN assembly-3SG.POSS-DAT  
*var-ma-dı ...*  
 arrive-NEG-PAST  
 'Happy is the man who avoided the company of the infidels...' (*Psaltirion* 5)

- (29) *Ve Şahzade gör-dü ki peder-i Padişah*  
 and crown.prince see-PAST that father-3SG.POSS king  
*gel-iyor, de-di üstat-lar-in-a; işte peder-im gel-iyor ...*  
 come-IMPF say-PAST master-PL-3SG.POSS-DAT here father-1SG.POSS come-IMPF  
 'And the crown prince saw that his father, the King, was coming, and told his masters,  
 here comes my father...' (*Masaliye* 17)

The first two examples above exemplify the use of *ki* introducing a relative clause. The last example, however, presents the use of *ki* as a complementizer introducing a subordinate clause. The use of *ki* is attested also in standard Turkish with a less frequent usage than relativizing strategies and nominalizers.

### 1.5.3. *dedi* structures with and without *ki*

*Masaliye* presents an overwhelming amount of the use of reported structures where the word order would be the non-canonical one. Consider the following:

- (30) ... *Mogolos padişah de-di Ponsianos-a; işte ben*  
 M king say-PAST P-DAT here I  
*vakt-im-i geçir-ip ihtiyar ol-du-m...*  
 time-1SG.POSS-ACC spend-CONV old become-PAST-1SG  
 '... King M said to Ponsianos, I spent my time and got old.' (*Masaliye* 4)
- (31) *İmdi bu isim-ler-i tahrir et-tik-den sonra, de-di padişah*  
 now this name-PL-ACC writing do-NMN-ABL after say-PAST king  
*üstad-lar-a; işte evlad-ım siz-ler-e Tanrı emanet-i-dir...*  
 master-PL-DAT here son-1SG.POSS you-PL-DAT god trust-3SG.POSS-MOD  
 'After writing down these names, the king said to the masters, my son is in your trust...'  
 (*Masaliye* 7)

- (32) *Üstad-lar-ı dahi de-di-ler; ay oğul! niçun aşağı yukarı bak-ar-sın?*  
 master-PL-3SG.POSS too say-PAST-3PL exc son why down up  
 look-AOR-2SG  
 ‘And his masters said: Son, why do you look up and down?’ (*Masaliye 8*)
- (33) *Haseki sultan de-di Padişah-a; Padişah-ım! belki Şahzade hazret-ler-iniz-den hicap et-tiğ-in-den sohbet et-me-z.*  
 H. sultan say-PAST king-DAT king-1SG.POSS maybe crown.prince  
 excellency-PL-2PL.POSS-ABL be.ashamed-NMN-3SG.POSS-ABL chat  
 do-NEG-AOR.3SG  
 ‘Haseki Sultan told the King: My king, maybe the prince does not talk because he is ashamed of you.’ (*Masaliye 20*)
- (34) ... *Vergileios... de-di kusur üstad-lar-a ki; biz bir sene-dir Şahzade-ye ilim talim ed-er-iz...*  
 Vergileios say-PAST other master-PL-DAT that we one year-ADV  
 prince-DAT science teach make-AOR-1PL  
 ‘... Vergileios told the other masters: We have been educating the prince for a year.’  
 (*Masaliye 8*)
- (35) ... *üstad-lar... de-di-ler bir birlerin-e ki; eğer Haktaale bu cocuğ-a sağlık ve ömür ver-ir-se, Platon ve Aristotelis filosofos-lar-ı dahi geç-ecek-tir.*  
 master-PL say-PAST-3PL each.other-DAT that if God this  
 child-DAT health and life give-AOR-COND Plato and Aristotle  
 philosopher-PL-ACC too pass-FUT-MOD  
 ‘... the masters said to each other: If God gives this child a healthy life he will definitely be a better philosopher than Plato and Aristotle.’ (*Masaliye 8*)
- (36) ... *muhabbet esnasında de-di Padişah sultan-a ki; benim sevgili sultan-ım san-a derun-im-de ol-an-ı haber ver-e-yim mi?*  
 conversation during say-PAST king sultan-DAT that  
 my dear sultan-1SG.POSS you-DAT heart-1SG.POSS-LOC be-SP-ACC  
 news give-OPT-1SG Q  
 ‘... during the conversation the king told his wife: my dear sultan, shall I tell you what I have in my heart?’ (*Masaliye 11*)

The structures exemplified above (with the use of the complementizer *ki* or not) usually have the subject-verb-dative object-object order. The object is the direct

speech part. In (31) and (36), however, the word order is verb-subject-dative object-object.<sup>11</sup>

#### 1.5.4. *ki* and *deyu*

*Masaliye* presents another interesting syntactic structure with the old form of *diye*:

- (37) ... *saç-lar-ın-ı* *yol-arak* *çağırış-ma-ya* *başla-dı* *ki; can*  
 hair-PL-3SG.POSS-ACC tear.out-CONV shout-VN-DAT start-PAST that life  
*kultar-an* *yok* *mu!* ... *deyu.*  
 save-SP NEG.EXIST Q as  
 ‘... tearing out her hair, she started shouting: Help, help...’ (*Masaliye* 23)

- (38) *Padişah* ... *sor-up* *sıval* *et-me-ye* *başla-dı* *ki; a*  
 king ask-CONV question make-VN-DAT start-PAST that exc  
*sevgili Sultan-ım,* *ne* *ol-du* *san-a!* .. *deyu.*  
 dear sultan-1SG.POSS what be-PAST you-DAT as  
 ‘The king /.../ started questioning: my dear Sultan, what happened to you!’ (*Masaliye* 23)

Note that in both of the structures, the subordinate clause of the main verb (*diye*-clause) occurs in final position.

#### 1.5.5. Purpose clauses with *içün*

It is again in *Masaliye* that we come across purpose clauses with *için* in the final position, two examples of which are given below:

- (39) *Bun-dan* *sonra* ... *hazırla-n-dı-lar,* *ertesi gün* *yol-a* *çık-mak* *içün.*  
 this-ABL after prepare-REFL-PAST-3PL next day way-DAT go.out-INF for  
 ‘After that they got ready in order to set out the following day.’ (*Masaliye* 16)
- (40) ... *bir* *tane* *evlad-ım* *var-dır,* ... , *mirad-ım* *bu-dur* *ki,*  
 one unit son-1SG.POSS exist-MOD wish-1SG.POSS this-MOD that  
*siz-ler-e* *teslim* *ed-e-yim* *ilim* *tahsil* *et-tir-mek* *içün.*  
 you-PL-DAT submit do-OPT-1SG science educate do-CAUS-INF for  
 ‘I have one son, ..., my wish is that I give (him) to you in order for you to educate him.’  
 (*Masaliye* 6)

#### 1.5.6. *başladı* structures

*Masaliye* also has a number of interesting structures where the complement of the verb *başla-* ‘start’ occurs sentence finally:

<sup>11</sup> For the sake of this paper, I leave aside the question whether Turkish has *real* ditransitive structures, i.e. structures that have both accusative and dative objects. The constituent that I labeled dative object is the addressee in this case.

- (41) ... *Şahzade uyan-ıp yatağ-in-in iç-in-de*  
 prince wake.up-CONV bed-3SG.POSS-GEN inside-3SG.POSS-LOC  
*otur-ur-kan, başla-dı bir yer-e bak-ıp bir yukarı bak-ma-da.*<sup>12</sup>  
 sit-AOR-ADV start-PAST one floor-DAT look-CONV one up look-VN-LOC/DAT  
 ‘... when the prince woke up and sat in his bed, he started looking up and down.’ (*Masaliye* 8)

- (42) *İmdi başla-dı Padişah-a de-me-ye ...*  
 Now start-PAST king-DAT say-VN-DAT  
 ‘Now she started telling the King ...’ (*Masaliye* 11-12)

- (43) ... *ve başla-dı hal hatır sor-arak, ... sıval-lar sor-ma-ya.*  
 and start-PAST well-being ask-CONV question-PL ask-VN-DAT  
 ‘... and she started asking questions inquiring about his health.’ (*Masaliye* 19)

These structures, where the complement of the verb *başla-* ‘start’ occurs postverbally, could be analyzed as a contact-induced phenomenon bearing the right-branching syntax as in Greek.

#### 1.5.7. *Nice ki ... ise*

Another interesting use of a temporal clause is attested again in *Masaliye*. The temporal clause starts with *nice ki* and ends in the conditional *ise*:

- (44) *Ol dem üstad-lar nice ki bu cevab-ı eşit-ti-ler-ise,*  
 that time master-PL many that this answer-ACC hear-PAST-3PL-COND  
*de-di-ler birbirlerin-e ki...*  
 say-PAST-3PL each.other-DAT that  
 ‘When the masters heard this reply, they told each other that...’ (*Masaliye* 8)
- (45) *Nice ki Haseki sultan Padişah-tan ... eşit-miş ise, fırsat*  
 many that H. S. King-ABL hear-EVID COND opportunity  
*bul-du fikr-in-de ol-an melanetliğ-i icra et-me-sin-e.*  
 find-PAST mind-3SG.POSS-LOC be-SP badness-ACC perform do-VN-3SG.POSS-DAT  
 ‘When Haseki Sultan heard ... from the King, she found the opportunity to perform the very bad act she had on her mind.’ (*Masaliye* 11)
- (46) ... *nice ki sultaneşit-miş ise ki, Şahzade-yi katlet-tir-me-yüp*  
 many that sultan hear-EVID cond that prince-ACC kill-CAUS-NEG-CONV  
*hapis et-tik-lerin-i... başla-dı deli divane gibi... savaş-ma-ya.*  
 jail make-NMN-3PL.POSS-ACC start-PAST mad crazy like fight-VN-DAT  
 ‘... when the sultan heard that they did not kill the prince but put him in jail, she started fighting madly.’ (*Masaliye* 25-26)

<sup>12</sup> I believe the occurrence of the locative suffix in this example is a typographical error. In the other examples from the same book, the dative-marked verbal noun is used correctly.



It is noteworthy that the verbs occurring in the *nice ki ... ise* temporal clause are all the same, namely *işit-* ‘hear’. I leave aside the exact analysis of this structure but point out that this is not a usual temporal clause in standard modern Turkish.

### 1.5.8. *çünkü* structures

Two structures use a clause starting with *çünkü* ‘because’ where the meaning would be more of a *madem* ‘since, seeing that’ clause. I give one of the examples below:

- (47) ... *çünkü ben-i çok sev-er-im de-r-sin...; eğer niyaz-ım-ı*  
 because I-ACC very love-AOR-1SG say-AOR-2SG if wish-1SG.POSS-ACC  
*kabul ed-er-se-n ol vakit inan-ır-ım ki vaka*  
 accept do-AOR-COND-2SG that time believe-AOR-1SG that really  
*ben-i candan sev-er-sin.*  
 I-ACC sincerely love-AOR-2SG  
 ‘... since you say that you love me, if you accept my wish, then I will believe that you really sincerely love me.’ (*Masaliye* 11-12)

This use of *çünkü*, which has the form of *çünkü* in the modern standard language, is not attested in other works aside from *Masaliye*.

## 1.6. Miscellaneous

In this section, some minor points will be discussed focusing on their difference from the standard modern language.

### 1.6.1. The use of a different case ending

In some of the works, a case ending is attested that is different than what the verb assigns. In (48) accusative instead of dative, in (49-53) dative instead of accusative is observed:

- (48) *Bu bizim iş-imiz-i sekte vir-me-z. (işimize)*  
 this our job-1PL.POSS-ACC pause give-NEG-AOR  
 ‘This does not prevent our business.’ (*Kurd Yovan* 13)
- (49) *Anler-e bul-mak için her şey-i feda id-eceğ-im. (onları)*  
 they-DAT find-INF for every thing-ACC sacrifice do-FUT-1SG  
 ‘I will sacrifice everything in order to find them.’ (*Kurd Yovan* 17)
- (50) ... *günah sebeb-i-yle ol-an hastalığ-ımız-a cismanice*  
 sin reason-3SG.POSS-COM be-SP sickness-1PL.POSS-DAT physically  
*tedavi et-me-ye çalış-ır-lar. (hastalığımızı)*  
 cure do-VN-DAT work-AOR-3PL  
 ‘... they try to cure physically the sickness of ours which is the result of sin.’ (*Hristiyan Yolculığı* 13)

- (51) *Ya Rabbi ne aman çoğal-dı ban-a rencide id-en-ler? (beni)*  
 EXC god what EXC increase-PAST I-DAT offend do-SP-PL  
 ‘Oh God, how many have become those who offend me.’ (*Psaltirion* 7)
- (52) *Avaz-ım ile Rabbi-ye çağır-dı-m. (Rabbiyi)*  
 shout-1SG.POSS with God-DAT call-PAST-1SG  
 ‘I called God with all my voice.’ (*Psaltirion* 7)
- (53) *Rabbi on-a çağır-dığ-ım-da ben-i eşid-ecek-dir. (omu)*  
 god he-DAT call-NMN-1SG.POSS-LOC I-ACC hear-FUT-MOD  
 ‘God will hear me when I call him.’ (*Psaltirion* 8)

### 1.6.2. No use of genitive

In *Hristiyan Yolculığı*, the non-occurrence of a genitive case ending in the following examples is striking from a syntactic point of view:

- (54) ... *rüya-lar-ın-da sema tutuş-muş ol-dığ-ın-ı ve*  
 dream-PL-3SG.POSS-LOC sky burn-PERF be-NMN-3SG.POSS-ACC and  
*bulut-lar-ın dehşetli seda-ler ile yırt-ıl-ıp*  
 cloud-PL-GEN terrible sound-PL with tear-PASS-CONV  
*dağ-ıl-dığ-ın-ı gör-ür i-di.*  
 scatter-NMN-3SG.POSS-ACC see-AOR cop-PAST  
 ‘... in his dreams, he used to see that the sky has burned and the clouds are torn apart and scattered with terrible sounds.’ (*Hristiyan Yolculığı* 2)
- (55) ... *ol esna-de yer-ler yarıl-ma-si-le ...*  
 that moment-LOC ground-PL cleave-VN-3SG.POSS-COM  
 ‘... in that moment with the ground cracking...’ (*Hristiyan Yolculığı* 2)
- (56) ... *çümlemiz birden helak ol-acağ-ımız-ı pek iyi*  
 all.of.us suddenly perish be-NMN-1PL.POSS-ACC very well  
*bil-iyor i-se-m de...*  
 know-IMPF cop-COND-1SG too  
 ‘... even though I very well know that we will all perish...’ (*Hristiyan Yolculığı* 13)

In the first and last example above, the subject of the nominalized clause, and in the second one, the subject of the verbal noun lack genitive case.

### 1.6.3. The use of passive

In one instance, the unnecessary use of passive is observed, which results in an ungrammatical form in modern standard Turkish:

- (57) ... *o zaman-lar geç-di, bu gün vakit-lar adet-ler*  
 that time-PL pass-PAST this day time-PL custom-PL  
*değiş-il-di-ler.*  
 change-PASS-PAST-3PL  
 ‘Those times are over; nowadays times and customs have changed.’ (*Hevelnak Hata* 24)

#### 1.6.4. A different matrix predicate with *-(y)All*

Lastly, the following exemplifies an interesting structure containing an adverbial clause with *-(y)All*:

- (58) *Ben sen-i gör-me-yeli yedi senedir.*  
 I you-ACC see-NEG-CONV seven year-MOD  
 ‘It has been seven years that I haven’t seen you.’ (*Masaliye* 18)

In the modern standard language, the temporal phrase *yedi sene* ‘seven years’ cannot act as a matrix predicate. The use of *ol-* ‘be’ is needed, i.e. “Ben seni görmeyeli yedi sene *oldu*.” This structure could be a direct adaptation from Greek “Εἶναι ἐφτά χρόνια (από τότε) που δεν σε έχω δει.” An exact analysis, however, awaits further examples and research, which would shed light on the use of *-Dir* in the structures given in 1.5.1.

## 2. Concluding remarks

My aim in this paper has been to show if a synchronic syntactic point of view could shed light on the linguistic study of Karamanlidika texts. As mentioned at the beginning, the selection of the material has been arbitrary. I have looked at the first 10-25 pages of the Karamanlidika books in the Boğaziçi University Library. The discussion above has clearly illustrated that a look at Karamanlidika texts from a pure synchronic syntactic point of view fails to address the issue comprehensively. The outcome of such an attempt to analyze Karamanlidika is only tentative and completely inadequate, since in order to present a thorough analysis, knowledge of the (Ottoman) Turkish of the time, knowledge of dialectology, a historical linguistic point of view and a comparative linguistic point of view are necessary. In concluding, I would like to point out that the most interesting structures for a syntactician have been observed in *Masaliye* published in 1867. Keeping Kappler’s (2006) claim in mind that a more efficient linguistic analysis can be done by selecting a specific book, or related books with common features, and then by analyzing and comparing them, I would like to end by suggesting that the next step could be to study *Masaliye* in detail and discover what the whole work offers for linguistic analysis.

### Abbreviations

1	1st person	3	3rd person	ABL	ablative
2	2nd person	ABIL	abilitative	ACC	accusative

ADV	adverbial suffix	EVID	evidential	NEG	negation
AOR	aurist	EXC	exclamation	NMN	nominalizing suffix
CAUS	causative	EXIST	existential	PASS	passive
COM	comitative	FUT	future	PAST	past
COND	conditional	GEN	genitive	PL	plural
CONV	converb	IMPF	imperfective	POSS	possessive
COP	copula	INF	infinitive	REFL	reflexive
DAT	dative	INTERJ	interjection	SG	singular
DERIV	derivational suffix	LOC	locative	SP	subject participle
DIMIN	diminutive	MOD	modality marker	VN	verbal noun

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# On segmental deletion in the phonological adaptation of Greek loanwords in Cypriot Turkish

**Mine Güven & İlkay Gilanliođlu**

Mine Güven & İlkay Gilanliođlu 2009. On segmental deletion in the phonological adaptation of Greek loanwords in Cypriot Turkish. *Turkic Languages* 13, 188-207.

This paper discusses segmental deletion as a simplification strategy in the phonological adaptation of Greek loanwords in Cypriot Turkish based on a 906-word corpus compiled from Saracođlu (2004) and Kabataş (2007) and checked against the intuitions of a number of Turkish-Greek bilingual Cypriot Turks. It is argued that segmental deletion is governed by an attempt to achieve maximal perceptual similarity between input (Cypriot Greek/L2) and output (Cypriot Turkish/L1) forms provided that L1 phonological constraints are satisfied. In that respect, Cypriot Turkish seems to provide support for the synthetic approach to loanword adaptation where both phonological and perceptual factors interact to yield the optimal output.

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## 1. Introduction

There seems to be a current interest in loanword adaptation with an emphasis on a constraints and repair model of sound change. The phonological adaptation of a loanword involves the speaker's attempt to conform not only to the phonological constraints of the donor/source language (L2) but also to those of the recipient/target language (L1) such as the inventory of sounds, stress patterns and phonotactics. There seem to be three major lines of thought in the literature with respect to the nature and locus of the process of adaptation and repair. Peperkamp et al. (2008) among others believe that a speech perception module based on acoustic similarities regulates the mapping of surface forms of loanwords to the phonological categories of the recipient language. According to this view, all sorts of foreign phonological structures are distorted during perception because L1 speakers do not have access to L2 phonology and thus are perceptually "deaf" to non-native sounds. Paradis & LaCharité (2008) among others, on the other hand, argue that, in adapting loanwords, bilinguals who are competent in both the donor and recipient languages establish equivalences based on the phonological rather than phonetic aspects of categories and structures. Finally, Yip (2006) and Shinohara (2006) among others de-

find a view that may be considered a synthesis of the phonological and the perceptual views mentioned above. The proponents of the synthetic view believe that the process of adaptation involves a number of factors such as phonetics and orthography in an attempt to yield the best counterpart for the source word. The speaker, as an active participant in the process of adaptation, does not simply perceive the phonetic input but manipulates the recipient grammar in determining the phonetic form of the loanword by making recourse to what s/he unconsciously knows about phonetic similarity. In fact, adaptations may involve unprecedented phonological and/or phonetic properties in the native language. Other scholars such as Kang (2003) and Kenstowicz (2007) have further emphasized perceptual salience as a factor in loanword adaptation such that speakers seek an output which is not only perceptually similar to the L2 input but also obeys the phonological constraints of L1.

In this paper, our aim is to focus on segmental deletion as a simplification strategy in the phonological adaptation process of Greek loanwords in Cypriot Turkish (henceforth CT) based on a 906-word corpus compiled from Saracoğlu (2004) and Kabataş (2007) and checked against the intuitions of a number of Turkish-Greek bilingual Cypriot Turks. In the light of our data, which exhibit deletion of various segments within illicit sequences in word-initial and medial positions in addition to word-final vowel + /s, n/ sequences, we will argue that segmental deletion is governed by an attempt to achieve maximal perceptual similarity between input (Cypriot Greek/L2) and output (CT/L1) forms provided that Turkish phonological constraints, especially in the case of illicit consonant clusters in the onset position, are fully satisfied and the perceptually salient segments of the source words are preserved. We will also try to show that CT data can best be accounted for provided that both phonological and perceptual properties are taken into consideration as suggested in the synthetic view mentioned above.

The paper is organised as follows: In Section 2, we will provide some background information on Turkish and Greek phonology and morphology, followed by an analysis of major instances of deletion in Section 3. The final section will summarize the empirical findings and discuss the theoretical implications thereof.

## 2. Background on Turkish and Greek phonology and morphology

The phonological systems of Turkish and Greek are distinct in terms of not only the inventory of sounds but also the phonotactics. Cypriot Greek (henceforth CG) is a South Eastern dialect of Modern Greek but usually unintelligible to speakers of Standard Modern Greek (henceforth SMG) (Arvaniti 1999: 173) because of its distinct properties as described by Newton (1967, 1972), Terkourafi (2001) and Arvaniti (2006) among others. There are two major varieties of the dialect: (i) urban Cypriot or local Cypriot Koine (*cipriaka*), which may be considered the acrolectal standard speech of educated people from the capital Nicosia, and (ii) village Cypriot or village speech (*xorkatika*), which may be regarded as the basilectal patois speech mainly spoken in rural areas (Terkourafi 2001: 65-66, Arvaniti 2006: 4).

In addition to those in SMG described by Holton et al. (2004: 3), CG has three other consonant phonemes, namely the postalveolar voiceless affricate /tʃ/, the postalveolar voiceless fricative /ʃ/ and the postalveolar voiced fricative /ʒ/ as shown in Table 1 below (Newton 1967, Arvaniti 1999). Geminate consonants contrast with singletons in CG unlike in SMG (Newton (1972: 90, et passim), Arvaniti (1999: 174)). CG has the same vowel phoneme inventory as SMG with slight differences in vowel quality, as given in 1 below (Arvaniti 1999: 176). In both CG and SMG, vowel length is not phonemic.

(1) /i, ε, e, ə, u/

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Velar
Stop	p		t			k
Nasal	m		n			
Affricate					tʃ	
Fricative		f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ	χ ʁ
Tap				r		
Lateral approximant				l		

Table 1: Consonant phonemes in Cypriot Greek after Arvaniti (1999: 174)

CT is an oral variety of Anatolian Turkish which exhibits a number of morphological, syntactic, lexical and phonological differences from Standard Turkish (henceforth ST), which is used only in formal written discourse in North Cyprus. In terms of phonology, in particular, CT is notably distinct from ST in that sentence intonation and word stress often require a short period of adaptation for those ST speakers who hear the dialect for the first time. However, the phonetics and phonology of CT have not, to our knowledge, been described so far within a formal linguistic framework.

CT shares the same phonetic inventory with ST as described by Zimmer & Orgun (1999: 154-156) (see Table 2 below). CT differs from SMG and CG in the following respects: It has neither the interdental (voiceless and voiced) fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ nor the velar voiceless fricative /χ/. On the other hand, it has the voiced stops /b/, /d/, /g/ as independent phonemes which are allophones of /p/, /t/, /k/ in Greek respectively. CT has the following phonemes which do not exist as independent phonemes in CG: the glottal voiceless fricative /h/, the palatal glide /j/ and the postalveolar voiced affricate /dʒ/. In addition to differences in vowel quality, CT has three additional vowel phonemes which are not part of the CG vowel inventory given in 1 above: the high back unrounded /u/, the high front rounded /y/ and the low front rounded /œ/, as listed in 2 below. Vowel length is not phonemic in CT either, except in a few loanwords, e.g. *mali* /ma.li/ 'financial' vs. *Mali* /ma.li/ 'The Republic of Mali'. The allophonic distribution of phonemes in CG and CT and other

assimilatory/dissimilatory processes will be mentioned where relevant to the analysis.

(2) /i, ε, a, o, u, y, œ, w/

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	p b		t d			c ɟ	k g	
Nasal	m		n					
Affricate					tʃ dʒ			
Fricative		f v	s z		ʃ ʒ		ɣ	h
Tap				r				
Approximant						j		
Lateral approximant			ɫ		l			

Table 2: Consonant sounds in ST after Zimmer & Orgun (1999: 154)

As far as phonotactics is concerned, Greek words do not end in consonants other than /s/ and /n/ except for rare cases that end in /r/ (Holton et al. 2004: 8). In all other cases, Greek words end in vowels, i.e. open syllables. Consonant clusters in the coda position are not allowed, but almost all consonants can co-occur within (two- or three-member) consonant clusters in the onset position and word-medially (Holton et al. 2004: 8-14). On the other hand, in Turkish, consonant clusters in the onset position are not allowed. Such clusters are resolved through epenthesis or deletion of one of the consonants. Two-member consonant clusters in the coda position do occur as long as they consist of a sonorant and an obstruent or two non-identical obstruents (Kabak & Vogel 2001: 345). Turkish allows both open and closed syllables.

Word stress in Greek is contrastive. The syllable on which primary stress falls is unpredictable. However, primary stress is found in one of the three final syllables, namely the final, the penult and the antepenult in SMG, while in CG it may also be found in the fourth syllable from the end of the word. Unlike in SMG, no secondary stress is added when a word with antepenultimate stress is followed by an enclitic in CG (Arvaniti 1999: 177). Word stress is contrastive in Turkish as well. However, unlike Greek, Turkish stress is largely predictable. Turkish usually places primary stress on the final syllable of a regular word regardless of the length of the word or the weight of the syllables. The stress remains in the final syllable even when non-enclitic suffixes are added. On the other hand, the irregular roots have unpredictable stress assignment and the originally stressed syllable remains the same when followed by suffixes (Kabak & Vogel 2001).



Since most of the loanwords in our corpus (757 out of 906 (83.6%)) are nouns, some information on nominal morphology is in order here. Greek nominal morphology is inflexional while that of Turkish is agglutinative. As can be seen in Table 3 below, when inflected for case and number, the masculine singular Nominative form [ɛ̃n.θrɔ.pɔs] ‘man’ appears in six other phonological instantiations which involve changes in word-final (V)(C) sequences and the place of stress. Moreover, in the so-called imparisyllabic words, an extra syllable is added in the plural. In fact, given the entire set of paradigms, it is possible to hear up to forty-four endings in total in the singular and plural forms of the four cases with the masculine, feminine, common and neuter genders (Holton et al. 2004: 48-72).<sup>1</sup> Greek adjectives also are inflected for gender, case and number.

Cases	Noun (definite, singular)		Noun (definite, plural)	
Nominative	o	ɛ̃n.θrɔ.pɔs	i	ɛ̃n.θrɔ.pi
	adam-∅ → a.dam		adam-lAr-∅ → a.dam.ɫar	
Accusative	ton	ɛ̃n.θrɔ.pɔ	tus	ɛ̃n.θrɔ.pus
	adam-(y)I → a.da.muɯ		adam-lAr-(y)I → a.dam.ɫa.ruɯ	
Genitive	tu	ɛ̃n.θrɔ.pu	ton	ɛ̃n.θrɔ.pɔn
	adam-(n)In → a.da.muɯn		adam-lAr-(n)In → a.dam.ɫa.ruɯn	
Vocative	--	ɛ̃n.θrɔ.pɛ	--	ɛ̃n.θrɔ.pi
	--	--	--	--

Table 3: The inflectional paradigm of a parisyllabic word that ends in *-os* (*anthropos* ‘man’) adapted from Holton et al. (2004: 51) compared with that of the Turkish counterpart (*adam*)

In contrast, Turkish nominal inflection is much simpler and highly regular, and adjectives are not inflected. Case and number (but not gender) are marked in Turkish by adding to the noun stem the relevant suffixes, whose nuclear vowel(s) harmonize with the preceding nuclear vowel in backness/frontness, and rounding if the suffix contains a high vowel because Turkish has palatal harmony in all vowels and labial harmony in high vowels both within most native stems and in most suffixes. The

<sup>1</sup> These segmental sequences are /i, e, a, o, u, is, es, as, os, us, ia, iu, ea, on, ion, eas, eos, ades, edes, ides, udes, adon, idon, edon, udon, ma, mata, matos, maton, imo, imata, imatos, imaton, atos, ata, ton, ta, tos, ros, ra, ron, ndos, nda, ndon/ (Holton et al. 2004: 48-72). Note that most of these endings are composed of a vowel followed by either /s/ or /n/, which seems to add to the confusion they may already have created in the mind of a learner of Greek as a foreign/second language who has to learn all of these mostly unpredictable forms by heart.

output is resyllabified after each suffix is added, and the stress moves to the final syllable (except in the case of a number of enclitic suffixes) as illustrated in Table 3 above.<sup>2</sup>

### 3. Data analysis

In this section we will discuss segmental deletion as a phonological adaptation strategy for Greek loanwords in CT before attempting to examine in Section 4 the theoretical implications of the data for the aforementioned accounts of loanword adaptation. Although the discussion will mainly focus on deletion, we will also refer to other processes such as epenthesis and assimilation for purposes of comparison and/or exposition. Deletion is a process where the original phonological content of a word is lost (Brasington 1997). In our corpus, the typical target of deletion at word-initial position (aphaeresis) seems to be a single consonantal segment within an onset consonant cluster, while at word-final position (apocope) it may be (i) a vowel, (ii) a consonant (either /s/ or /n/) or (iii) a combination of a vowel and one of the consonants /s/ or /n/. Deletion at word-medial position (syncope) is much less frequent than that at the other two positions and the target of deletion is often a single segment such as an unstressed vowel or a non-native consonant within an onset consonant cluster, though heterosyllabic sequences of segments may be deleted as well.

#### 3.1. Deletion of word-initial segments

In our corpus there are no vowels which are deleted word-initially, but the following Greek consonant phonemes may be deleted in prevocalic word-initial position when they are not members of a consonant cluster: /ð/ (*oksari*)<sup>3</sup> as in 3, /ɣ/ (*organi, horgani*)<sup>4</sup> as in 4 and /ɣ/ (*alina, galina*) as in 5.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Table 3 includes only three of the Turkish Cases for purposes of comparison with Greek. The remaining Cases of Turkish are Dative *-(y)A*, Locative *-DA*, Ablative *-DAn* and Comitative *-(y)LA*.

<sup>3</sup> The conventions of Turkish orthography roughly correspond to the following sounds. The orthographic dotless 'i' (*ı*) is the high back unrounded vowel (IPA: [ɯ]). The symbols *ü* and *ö* represent the high front rounded vowel and the non-high front rounded vowel (IPA: [y] and [ø], respectively). The symbols *y*, *ş*, *j*, *ç*, and *c* indicate the palatal glide, the voiceless and voiced palato-alveolar fricatives, and the voiceless and voiced palatal affricates (IPA: [j], [ʃ], [ʒ] and [dʒ]), respectively. The letter called 'soft g' (*ğ*) usually lengthens the preceding vowel and is generally not pronounced in Standard Turkish.

<sup>4</sup> The existence of multiple variants in many of the examples to be discussed below might be linked to various factors such as (i) regional variation, as neither CG nor CT is monolithic, (ii) different degrees of Turkish-Greek bilingualism, (iii) possible lexical strata in the sense of Broselow (2003), which may reflect diachronic variation in adaptation strategies, (iv) earlier pronunciations of the source words (Paradis & LaCharité 2008: 121), (v)

- (3) [ðə.kss.rin] > [ok.sa.ri]<sup>6</sup>      δοξάριον<sup>7</sup>      ‘bow, fiddlestick’<sup>8</sup>  
 (4) [χər.gə.ni] > [or.ga.ni, hor.ga.ni]      χωρική<sup>7</sup>      ‘villager woman’  
 (5) [yɐ.li.nə] > [a.li.na]      γαλίνα      ‘a female turkey’

The majority of consonantal segments deleted word-initially are the first members of onset consonant clusters. Among the many possible combinations in Greek, only the following two-member consonant clusters in the onset position in 6-7 are exemplified in our corpus.<sup>9</sup> There is only one example of a three-member cluster as in 8.

- (6) a. stop + fricative (/s/)      /ps, ts, ks/  
      b. stop + liquid (/l, r/)      /pr, tr, kr, kl/  
 (7) a. fricative + liquid (/l, r/)      /θr, ðr, vr, vl, γr, γl, χr/  
      b. fricative (/s/) + fricative      /sf/  
      c. fricative (/s/) + stop      /sp, st, sk, sm/  
 (8) /s/ + stop + C      /str/

Vowel epenthesis (both anaptyctic and prothetic) seems to be the major consonant cluster resolution strategy in CT.<sup>10</sup> Most clusters are resolved through epenthesis as

native (CT-internal) assimilatory processes which the initial borrowed form may have undergone through time (Paradis & LaCharité 2008:117).

- <sup>5</sup> Although the phonological status of the so-called “soft g” is much debated, [ɣ] seems to be one of its phonetic realizations along with the velar glide [ɰ] (Kabak 2007: 1381, fn. 2). This sound may appear in the onset position word-medially as in *dağa* ‘to the mountain’ [da.ɣa], but it does not appear word-initially. Therefore, it is deleted or replaced by [g] as in 5 to obey the phonotactic constraints of Turkish.
- <sup>6</sup> Primary stress is indicated by underlining the relevant syllable in the transcriptions.
- <sup>7</sup> The spelling, variants, and meaning of Greek words mostly come from Kabataş (2007) and Yangullis (2002). Two Cypriot Greek informants who do not speak Turkish but who are well aware of the differences among SMG, *cipriaka* and *xorkatika* have been consulted in a number of unclear cases, especially on the authentic syllabification and pronunciation of the relevant words in *xorkatika*.
- <sup>8</sup> The CT words, their variants and current meaning in CT come from Saracoğlu (2004), Kabataş (2007) and the native speaker knowledge of our Turkish Cypriot informants. The various meaning changes that these loanwords have undergone will be ignored in this study. See Yangullis (2002) for the original meanings of the CG words.
- <sup>9</sup> Although it is not agreed whether the sounds /ts/ and /dz/ are affricates or consonant clusters (Holton et al. 2004:6), they will be considered as consonant clusters for the sake of simplicity in this study.
- <sup>10</sup> The following onset clusters in our corpus exhibit deletion of one of the consonants to a certain extent: /ts/ 6 cases out of 8 (75%), /ks/ 2/2 (100%), /kl/ 1/7 (14%), /sf/ 2/3 (67%), /sk/ 1/12 (0.8%), /θr/ 1/1 (100%), /ðr/ 1/4 (25%), /vl/ 2/2 (100%), /γr/ 1/2 (50%), /γl/ 3/3 (100%), /χr/ 1/1 (100%) and /str/ 1/1 (100%). The remaining instances of these clusters have been resolved through epenthesis except for /ts/ which has been assimilated to /tʃ/

in 9-11: /sp/ (*ispaho*, *isbaho*, *isbaho*) in 9, (*usburdulla*) in 10, and /pr/ (*bruncollos*, *buroncolas*, *boroncoles*) in 11a-b. The inserted segment is always a high vowel whose backness/frontness and roundedness features are determined by the nearest nuclear vowel in accordance with palatal and labial harmony, as in the prothetic [ʊ] in 10. Vowel harmony in CT seems to be less strict than in ST since the disharmonic prothetic vowel [i] is acceptable in two of the variants in 9 along with the harmonic [u]. The epenthetic vowel in 11b (*boroncoles*) seems to have undergone further assimilation where the initial epenthetic /u/ has been regressively assimilated to /o/ in the following syllable. Interestingly, the /pr/ cluster has been kept intact in one of the variants of 11a, namely, *bruncollos*. The insertion of a vowel to resolve a cluster necessarily involves resyllabification, which may or may not affect the position of stress. In 9 and 11 the original stressed vowel seems to be retained while in 10 the position of the stress has moved from the antepenult to the penult.

- |      |  |             |                   |
|------|--|-------------|-------------------|
| (9)  | [spɛ.ɔs] > [is.pa.ho, is.ba.ho, us.ba.ho]            | σπάος       | ‘string/twine’    |
| (10) | [spur.te.l:ɔs] > [us.bur.dul.la]                     | σπούρτελλος | ‘a kind of plant’ |
| (11) | a. [brin.dʒɔ.l:ɔs] > [brun.dʒɔl.los, bu.ron.dʒɔ.las] | πριντζόλλος | ‘a kind of plant’ |
|      | b. [brin.dʒɔ.l:ɔs] > [bo.ron.dʒɔ.les]                |             |                   |

Among the stop + C clusters, only the /kl/ (*logga*, *loggo*, *lokko*), /ts/ (*samarella*), and /ks/ (*sisdira*) clusters in 12-14 respectively exhibit deletion of the initial stop member of the cluster while the sonorant segment is retained.

- |      |                                  |            |                  |
|------|----------------------------------|------------|------------------|
| (12) | [gɫ.g:ɔ] > [log.go]              | κλόκκο     | ‘a raw fig’      |
| (13) | [tsɛ.mɛ.rɛ.l:v] > [sa.ma.rɛl.la] | τσαμαρέλλα | ‘salted meat’    |
| (14) | [ksj.strɛ] > [sis.di.ra]         | ξύστρα     | ‘a kind of tool’ |

In the fricative + /r, l/ clusters, the fricative member is deleted: /ɣl/ (*lindo*) in 15, /ɣr/ (*rammi*) in 16 and (*rumbi*) in 20, /vl/ (*langara*) in 17, /vr/ (*raga*, *viraga*, *diraga*) in 18 and /ɣr/ (*ruso*) in 19. As for /ðr/ and /θr/, whose initial fricatives do not exist in the Turkish phonetic inventory, deletion is a favorable resolution strategy as in 20 with (*rumbi*, *frumbi*, *firumbi*, *firumbi*) and (*tülümbe*) in 21. 21 is interesting in that both /r/ and /θ/ have been deleted to be replaced by /t/. In fact, the resultant word does not sound foreign at all, especially with /y/ and final stress.

- |      |                                    |         |                     |
|------|------------------------------------|---------|---------------------|
| (15) | [ɣli. <sup>h</sup> dɔs] > [lin.do] | γλίντος | ‘a kind of plant’   |
| (16) | [ɣrɛ.m:i] > [ram.mi]               | γραμμή  | ‘a shuttle service’ |

and /dʒ/ in 2 cases (25%). Other word-initial onset clusters that do not allow deletion are the following: /ps/ (0/2), /pr/ (0/6), /tr/ (0/16), /kr/ (0/2), /sp/ (0/10), /st/ (0/7), /sm/ (0/1) and /vr/ (0/2). The total number of cases of deletion is 22 (24%) against 62 (67%) cases of epenthesis (30 cases of anaptyxis vs. 32 cases of prothesis) out of 92 word-initial onset consonant clusters.

- |  |                    |                             |
|--|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| (17) [vl̥. <sup>n</sup> g̥e.r̥e] > [lan.ga.ra]                 | βλαγκάρα           | ‘a raging thirst’           |
| (18) [vr̥e.g̥e] > [ra.ga, vu.ra.ga, du.ra.ga]                  | βράκα              | ‘baggy ankle-length shorts’ |
| (19) [χru.s̥s̥] > [ru.so]                                      | χρυσός             | ‘red-haired’                |
| (20) [ðru. <sup>m</sup> bin, γru. <sup>m</sup> bin] > [rum.bi] | δρουμπίν, γρουμπίν | ‘bush’                      |
| (21) [θru. <sup>m</sup> bin] > [ty.lym.be]                     | θρουμπίν           | ‘a kind of plant’           |

In the fricative (/s/) + stop clusters, deletion is rarely preferred to epenthesis as with the /sk/ cluster in 22 (*guli*). In our corpus, there are only three Greek source words with a /sf/ onset cluster given in (23-25) below. Epenthesis is preferred in the first two variants of 23 (*isvina*, *sifina*, *sina*). Unlike the rest of the onset clusters in 12-21 above where the initial member is deleted, the /sf/ sequence in 23 (*sina*), 24 (*sünger*) and 25 (*sigā*, *sici*) is simplified through deletion of the second member of the cluster.<sup>11</sup>

- |   |           |                  |
|---|-----------|------------------|
| (22) [sci.li, f:i.li:] > [gu.li]              | σκυλί     | ‘puppy’          |
| (23) [sf̥i.n̥e] > [is.vi.na, si.fi.na, si.na] | σφήνα     | ‘a kind of tool’ |
| (24) [sf̥un.ɣ̥e.ri] > [syŋ.ɟ̥eɾ]              | σφουγγάρι | ‘sponge’         |
| (25) [sf̥i.ge] > [si.ga, si.dʒi]              | σφήκα     | ‘wasp’           |

The only three-member cluster in our corpus is /str/ as in 26 (*ısladır*, *ısladır*, *ısdadır*). In the [is.da.duɾ] version of 26, the /r/ has been deleted and the /t/ has been voiced. In the other two variants, /t/ has been replaced by /l/. Prothesis before /s/, word-final /a/ deletion, resyllabification and unrounding of /u/ are other adaptation processes that have applied.

- |                                   |           |          |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|----------|
| (26) [str̥e.du.r̥e] > [us.ta.duɾ] | στρατούρα | ‘saddle’ |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|----------|

### 3.2. Deletion of word-medial segments

Our corpus contains a number of loanwords which have lost vocal and consonantal segments word-medially, sometimes for no obvious reason at all. For example, in 27 (*simit*) the penultimate and ultimate syllables of the source word have disappeared, while the foreign segment /ð/ has been replaced by /t/ in the target CT word.

- |                                 |          |            |
|---------------------------------|----------|------------|
| (27) [si.mi.ɣ̥ð̥.li] > [si.mit] | σμιγδάλι | ‘semolina’ |
|---------------------------------|----------|------------|

Deleted word-medial vowels are either unstressed vowels elided in fast speech or heterosyllabic vowel sequences causing hiatus. For example, in 28 (*publa*) the un-

<sup>11</sup> As our anonymous reviewer has pointed out, it is not clear whether *sünger* has been borrowed directly from CG into CT or indirectly from ST because the same form exists in ST as well.

stressed vowel in the penultimate syllable has been deleted leading to resyllabification such that the onset consonant of the penult of the source word has become the coda consonant of the antepenultimate. In 29-30, heterosyllabic vowel sequences have been resolved through deletion of one of the vowels. In 29 (*appiduri*), the second of the two identical vowels has been deleted without affecting the position of the stress, or lengthening the preceding vowel. On the other hand, in 30 (*gukkuri*) the heterosyllabic /u.i/ sequence has been resolved by the deletion of the first member /u/ despite the fact that it is the nucleus of the syllable bearing primary stress. The onset consonant /r/ of /u/ then becomes the onset of /i/ in the following syllable. Interestingly, in spite of deletion and resyllabification, both the source and the target word have penultimate stress. In 31 (*sellos*), the /ad/ sequence, which does not constitute an independent syllable, has been deleted. In fact, in 31, the originally stressed nuclear vowel has changed as well, contrary to the general tendency to retain it, which we will illustrate in §3.3 below.

- |                                       |              |                   |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|-------------------|
| (28) [pu.pu.lɛ] > [pub.la]            | πούπουλα     | ‘cushion, pillow’ |
| (29) [ɐ.p.i.i.du.rin] > [ap.pi.du.ri] | απιπητούριν  | ‘a kind of worm’  |
| (30) [gu.g.u.ru.in] > [guk.ku.ri]     | κουκκουρούιν | ‘cracker’         |
| (31) [se.l:ɐ.dɔs] > [sel.los]         | σελλάτος     | ‘curved, bent’    |

Deletion of word-medial consonants seems to involve the foreign sounds /ð/, /θ/ and /χ/, which are either deleted or replaced by a native phone. For example, in 32 (*istiyayi*), /ð/ disappears from the onset position, as was the case in 3 above as well. Here, there is prothesis to resolve the /st/ cluster followed by resyllabification and palatal glide (/j/) epenthesis to resolve the heterosyllabic vowel hiatus /i.a/. The palatal glide replaces the /ð/ in the onset of the ultimate syllable of the source word as well. In 33 (*corçolikya, çörçöludya, çörcöllikya, çerçelli*) the orthographic -δκια sequence is pronounced as [θcɛ] as part of the conventions of CG: word-medial obstruent clusters must agree in voicing and consist of a fricative and a stop (Arvaniti 1999: 176). In the CT output, the /θ/ is deleted while the palatal feature of the sequence is retained by /j/ and the palatal allophone of /k/, i.e. [c]. The CT variants of 33 clearly show different stages of the adaptation process where even the native /œ/ has appeared in two of the variants. However, it is not clear whether such drastic changes may be attributed to native processes in the sense of Paradis & LaCharité (2008: 117), either. This is because /o, œ/ are usually found only in the first syllable of native stems, e.g. \**köpök* vs. *köpek* ‘dog’ and *köpük* ‘foam/froth’, or \**solok* vs. *solak* ‘left-handed’ and *soluk* ‘breath’ (§2 above for vowel harmony in Turkish), while loanwords may include such sequences, e.g. *otobüs* ‘bus,’ *römork* ‘trailer’ and *şoför* ‘driver’.

- |  |                |                       |
|--|----------------|-----------------------|
| (32) [sti.g.ðin] > [is.ti.ja.ji]             | στάδιν         | ‘shelter for animals’ |
| (33) [dʒɛr.dʒɛ.l.u.θcɛ] > [tʃor.tʃo.li.c.ja] | τσερσελλούδκια | ‘a kind of dessert’   |

In 34a (*arakti*), 34b (*arahti*), 34c (*ahreddi*) and 34d (*ahretti*), /χ/ in the onset of the final syllable of the source word is deleted, leading to heterosyllabic /dd/ and /tt/ sequences in two of the CT variants in 34c-d.<sup>12</sup> In the other two variants, /χ/ is replaced by /h/ as in 34b or /k/ as in 34a, which then become the coda consonant of the preceding syllable. The Greek phoneme /γ/, which is not an independent phoneme and phonotactically constrained in Turkish, is deleted in two of the CT variants in 34a-b and replaced by /h/ in the other two in 34c-d.

- (34) a. [e.yrɛ.χtin] > [a.rak.ti]      αράχτιν ‘a kind of tool’  
 b. [e.yrɛ.χtin] > [a.rah.ti]  
 c. [e.yrɛ.χtin] > [ah.red.di]  
 d. [e.yrɛ.χtin] > [ah.ret.ti]

### 3.3. Deletion of word-final segments

As was mentioned above, Greek words either end in vowels or one of the following consonants, /s/, /n/ and rarely /t/. In general, it is observed that word-final V, C or VC sequences in Greek nouns and adjectives may be deleted as long as the syllable affected does not bear primary stress.

#### 3.3.1. Deletion of word-final vowels

In our corpus there are no Greek source words that end in /e/ or /u/, but those with a word-final /i/, /a/ and /o/ seem to pattern together in the following manner. For example, in 35 (*anıhdar*), first, the word-final /i/ which constitutes the nucleus of the final syllable is lost. Then, the word undergoes resyllabification so that the remaining onset consonant of the final syllable—now without a nucleus—can be attached to the former syllable as the coda.<sup>13</sup> In fact, this move not only satisfies the syllable structure constraints of Turkish but also obeys the final stress rule in regular roots.

<sup>12</sup> There seems to be no obvious reason for the gemination in 34c-d. To speculate, according to the so-called “Sezer stress rule” formulated on the basis of the Latin stress rule to account for irregularly stressed words, the antepenultimate syllable is stressed if the antepenult is heavy and the penult is light. Otherwise, the penult is stressed. There is also some statistical evidence suggesting that penultimate stress is more frequent than antepenultimate stress even when the antepenult is heavy (Kabak & Vogel 2001: 317-318). Therefore, gemination in 34c-d may be an attempt to make the penultimate syllable heavy because it would help preserve the original penultimate stress in spite of the heavy antepenultimate syllable which has become /ah/ after resyllabification to resolve the /χt/ cluster. Alternatively, the /t/ and /d/ might be simply assimilated forms deriving from the other adapted CT variants in 34a-b.

<sup>13</sup> There is another instance of resyllabification in 35 for the illicit consonant sequence /χt/ in the penultimate syllable of the source word, further suggesting the strength of the phonotactic constraints of Turkish.

As a result, the vowel in the penultimate syllable of the source word still bears the primary stress in the target word incorporated into CT although the source word has lost the final /i/ segment. Similarly, deletion of the word-final /a/ leads to resyllabification and preservation of the original stressed nucleus as in 36 (*valvid*). Moreover, 37 (*sürdis*, *surdis*) with a word-final /o/ and penultimate stress shows resyllabification, devoicing of the final fricative and even fronting of the initial back vowel. The result no longer sounds “foreign” except for the second high vowel which does not agree in rounding with the preceding rounded high vowel. A totally nativized version would have been /syr.dys/ due to labial harmony mentioned above in §2.

- (35) [e.ni.χtɛ.ri] > [a.nuɰh.dɑɾ]    ανοιχτάρι    ‘(door)key’  
 (36) [vɛl.vi.ðɛ] > [val.vid]    βαλβίδα    ‘valve’  
 (37) [sur.di.zɔ] > [syr.dis]    σουρτίζω    ‘diarrhea’

Looking at 35-37, we can say that the adaptation process satisfies the constraints of both L1 and L2. The originally perceptually salient segments—including the stressed nuclear vowels—have been retained, thus producing an acoustically more faithful output, while the phonotactic constraints of L1 apply without exception. Moreover, deletion of the final unstressed and thus less salient vowel in L2 words with penultimate stress has the additional benefit of creating an output with a final stress, which seems to be the optimal choice in regular Turkish roots. However, there are also rare cases such as 38 (*biham*) where a stressed final /i/ has been deleted even though it does not seem to violate any L1 constraints. Interestingly, the resultant CT word still has primary stress in the ultimate syllable although the nuclear vowel has changed.

- (38) [bi.θɛ.mi] > [bi.ham]    πιθαμό    ‘span’

### 3.3.2. Deletion of word-final consonants

Deletion of word-final /s/ in 39-41 (*solina*), (*gavro*), (*dirifti*) leaves /a/, /o/ and /i/ behind as the final sounds, but does not seem to affect stress. Although an epenthetic high vowel is added in 41 to resolve the /tr/ cluster in the onset position, resulting in an extra syllable and resyllabification, the original vowel bearing primary stress is retained. In 40 the heterosyllabic /a.u/ sequence has been resolved by labial glide (/w/) formation. Again, the original stress-bearing vowel still bears primary stress in the resyllabified target form.

- (39) [sɔ.li.nɛs] > [so.li.na]    σωλήνας    ‘metal water pipe’  
 (40) [gɛ.u.rɔs] > [gaw.ro]    κάουρος    ‘wrench’  
 (41) [dri.ftis] > [di.rif.ti]    τρίφτης    ‘grater’



Similarly, the words whose final /n/ has been deleted usually remain with a final /a/, /o/ or /i/ as in 42–44 (*epsima*), (*porto*), (*angoni*). Deletion of /n/ does not move the stress or cause resyllabification, either. In fact, this seems to be a faithful preservation of the input rather than deletion because, as Holton et al. (2004: 8) note, word-final /n/ is conventionally deleted in Greek.

- |                               |         |                         |
|-------------------------------|---------|-------------------------|
| (42) [ɛ.psi.mən] > [ɛp.si.ma] | ἐψημαν  | ‘late(-season)’         |
| (43) [bɔr.tɔn] > [por.tɔ]     | πόρτον  | ‘a kind of jam/dessert’ |
| (44) [ɐŋ.ɣɔ.nin] > [aŋ.gɔ.ni] | αγγόνιν | ‘grandchild’            |

### 3.3.3. Deletion of word-final vowel + C sequences

The only word-final vowel + C sequences exhibited by the Greek source words found in our corpus are /os/, /is/, /in/ and /on/, and they all exhibit deletion of word-final sequences, leading to resyllabification and a change in the position of stress, as exemplified in 45 (*vardiyan*) and 46 (*ergat*, *ergad*).<sup>14</sup> The onset clusters /tr/ in 47 (*andros*) and /χl/ (*mahlz*) in 48 have been resolved by resyllabification. Since sonorant + obstruent consonant clusters in the coda position are allowed in Turkish, /d/ felicitously becomes the obstruent member of the coda cluster /nd/ in 47. Thus, 47 and 48 seem to further suggest that deletion of final segments in CG words with penultimate stress serves the purpose of achieving a more “native-sounding” form with final stress with no illicit consonant clusters.

- |   |                      |                        |
|---|----------------------|------------------------|
| (45) [vɛr.jɛ.nɔs, vɛr.ðjɛ.nɔs] > [var.di.jan] | βαργιάνος, βαρδιάνος | ‘prison guard’         |
| (46) [ɛr.ɣɛ.dis] > [ɛr.gat]                   | εργάτης              | ‘worker’               |
| (47) [ɐn.dɔr.jin] > [and.rof]                 | αντρόςιν             | ‘wooden/stone stopper’ |
| (48) [mɛ.χlu.zin] > [mah.tuz]                 | μαχλούζιν            | ‘seedless cotton’      |

However, it is not clear whether the possibility of obtaining final stress is the only motivation for such deletions. For example, the final /in/ sequence in 49 (*gullap*) has been deleted although the source word already has ultimate stress, making stress-motivated deletion redundant. 49 seems to have undergone (i) epenthesis of /w/ to resolve the /kl/ cluster in the onset position, (ii) doubling of the original singleton /l/ and their heterosyllabic resyllabification, (iii) degemination of /p:/ and (iv) deletion of final /in/. Not surprisingly, the result is a perfectly “Turkish” word.

- |                             |         |               |
|-----------------------------|---------|---------------|
| (49) [gɫɛ.p.in] > [gɫɫ.tap] | κλαππίν | ‘door handle’ |
|-----------------------------|---------|---------------|

<sup>14</sup> In SMG, no declension class ends in /-in/. This must be a property specific to CG.

### 3.3.4. Deletion of other word-final segments

Our corpus contains a few words which seem to have lost word-final sequences for no obvious reason. Some of them may be reflecting a simplification strategy similar to the deletion of final vowels discussed above, e.g. /io/ as in 50 (*anavador*, *anavado*), while some of them seem to be deleting a combination of a consonant followed by a vowel: C + /a/ as in 51 (*milingidi*) and 52 (*isten*), C + /o/ as in 53 (*gavlo*) and C + /i/ as in 54 (*oro*, *orofi*). Other deleted sequences are the following: /nos/ as in 55 (*ruva*) and /onin/ in 56 (*mirt*).

(50) [v.nv.vɛ.ɔ.ri.ɔ] > [a.na.va.ɔ]	αναβατόριο	‘a kind of tool’
(51) [mi.ni.ɰi.di.ðe] > [mi.lin.ɰi.di]	μηνιγγίτιδα	‘ailing’
(52) [stɛ.ɰgɛ] > [is.tɛn]	στέγκα	‘Sten gun’
(53) [gɛw.ɔ.n:ɔ] > [gaw.ɔ]	καυλώννω	‘sexual desire’
(54) [ɔ.ɔ.fi] > [o.ɔ.fi, o.ɔ]	ορόφι	‘juice of Cyprus cheese’
(55) [ru.vɛ.nɔs] > [ru.wa]	ρούβανος	‘origan’
(56) [mir.ɔ.nin] > [mirt]	μυρτόνιν	‘a kind of bug’

## 4. Discussion and conclusion

This paper has focused on segmental deletion at word-initial, word-medial and word-final positions in Cypriot Greek loanwords in Cypriot Turkish (see Table 4 for the overall frequency of deletions at each position).<sup>15</sup> Out of the 906 entries, 412/906 (45.5%) seem to have undergone deletion of some segment(s) or sequences. Aphaeresis (2.9%) and syncope (1.9%) are much less frequent in the data in comparison to apocope (40.6%). There are no single vowels deleted at initial position, while there are 7 instances of vocal deletion at medial position (2 cases of /e/ and 1 case of /u/ deletion due to hiatus and 2 cases each of elision of /i/ and /u/). At word-final position, there are 14 cases of /a/ deletion (in 11/14 (78.5%) cases the source word has penultimate stress), 2 cases of /o/ deletion (2/2 (100%) with penultimate stress), and 28 cases of /i/ deletion (26/28 (92.9%) with penultimate stress). As for single consonants deleted at word-initial position, there are 22/27 (81.4%) cases within an onset consonant cluster (see fn. 10 above for their distribution with respect to types of consonant clusters) and 5/27 (18.5%) prevocalic ones. There are only 8 cases of deletion within word-medial onset consonant clusters, while there are 169 cases of /s/ and 100 cases of /n/ deleted word-finally. With respect to vowel + consonant sequences discussed in §3.3.3, all cases occur word-finally: 5 cases of /os/ (5/5 (100%) with penultimate stress in the source word), 7 cases of /is/ (7/7 (100%) with penul-

<sup>15</sup> The figures given in Table 4 include only those cases where the source segment has totally disappeared and not many other cases where source segments have undergone place, manner or voicing assimilation to native phones. In addition, each instance is counted only once, e.g. cases of vowel + /s/ are not counted within the cases of /s/ deletion.

ultimate stress), 3 cases of /on/ (1/3 (33.3%) with penultimate stress), and 17 cases of /in/ (15/17 (88.2%) with penultimate stress). There are also 3 cases of deletion of various ((non)-syllabic) sequences word-medially and 23 word-finally.

Type of segment(s)	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
Single vowel	0	7	44
Single consonant	27	8	269
Vowel + consonant	0	0	32
Other sequences	0	3	23
Total	27/906 (2.9%)	18/906 (1.9%)	368/906 (40.6%)

Table 4: The frequency of deletions at initial, medial and final positions in the corpus

The data have revealed various adjustments at segmental, phonotactic and prosodic levels at each position. Deletion at word-initial position seems to be governed by both segmental, e.g. CG phonemes which are not part of the Turkish phonemic inventory, and phonotactic constraints, e.g. illicit onset consonant clusters. At word-medial position, hiatus resolution through deletion is a consequence of the phonotactic constraints as well, while elision of unstressed vowels is an adjustment at prosodic level. On the other hand, deletion at word-final position seems to be perceptually and arguably morphologically motivated (see below). In that respect, our data seem to lend support for the synthetic view which assumes the cooperation of both perceptual and phonological factors in loanword adaptation such that in many cases the particular adaptation strategy chosen may reflect the effects of both factors.

The significance of auditory factors seems evident in the target forms of the loanwords, where subphonemic properties are also reflected as long as there is no violation of an L1 constraint. For example, the target forms in 33 (*çorçolıkya*, *çörçöludya*, *çörcöllikya*, *çerçelli*) retain the palatal feature that arises due to the CG conventions where the orthographic *-δκια* sequence is pronounced as [θce] (Arvaniti 1999: 176) even though the foreign segment has been deleted. The most important feature in adapting foreign segments seems to be voicing, while the target phones may either share manner or place of articulation. For example, the palatal fricative in 45 (*vardiyan*) is adapted as the palatal glide, whereas the interdental (voiceless) fricative in 38 (*biham*) has been replaced by the glottal (voiceless) fricative. Greek consonant phonemes which are not part of the CT inventory may also be deleted word-initially as in 3 (*oksari*), 4 (*organi*, *horgani*) and 5 (*alina*, *galina*) or word-medially as in 32 (*istiyayi*), 33 (*çorçolıkya*, *çörçöludya*, *çörcöllikya*, *çerçelli*) and 34a-d (*arakti*, *arahti*, *ahreddi*, *ahretti*). However, in most cases, the foreign phonemes are substituted by similar native phones, e.g. /d/, /t/, /h/ and /g/ seem to be frequent substitutes for /ð/, /θ/, /χ/ and /ɣ/ respectively.

The effect of phonology is mainly illustrated by how the phonotactic constraints of Turkish seem to apply without exception not only in cases of hiatus resolution but

also in the resolution of onset consonant clusters. However, the actual application of possible resolution strategies may involve perceptual factors as well. For example, epenthesis and deletion seem to be the two complementary strategies of consonant cluster resolution in CT (see fn 10 above). When compared to the Marshallese figures provided in Brasington (1997: 3), (5/106 (4.7%) cases of deletion against 101/106 (95.3%) cases of epenthesis at word-initial position), CT has a higher percentage of word-initial deletion (22/92 (23.9%) cases of deletion against 63/92 (68.5%) cases of epenthesis). A possible phonological explanation could be as follows: If indeed there exists a “cost threshold” for repairs in the sense of Paradis & LaCharité (2008: 92, fn. 4), then the cost of epenthesis exceeds that of deletion because vowel epenthesis in Turkish involves three steps: (i) insertion of a high vowel, (ii) the spread of frontness/backness and roundedness features from the nearest nucleus to the inserted segment and (iii) resyllabification, while deletion involves two: (i) deletion of the illicit segment and (ii) resyllabification. In fact, consonantal deletion does not even involve resyllabification if the deleted segment appears (i) within a consonant cluster, (ii) prevocally at word-initial (onset) position or (iii) postvocally at word-final position. Therefore, although it leads to a less faithful preservation of the input, deletion cannot just be a last resort mechanism in CT, especially if the deleted segment is a single consonant: Indeed, 304/412 (73.8%) of all instances of deletion in our corpus are single consonants.

Furthermore, as noted by Brasington (1997: 6), the choice between epenthesis and deletion seems to depend not only on the position but also the type of segments involved. In fact, this is where auditory factors come into the otherwise phonological picture. With respect to the type of segments, the much noted salience of /s/ is evident in CT data. Morelli (1999: 49) has noted that fricative + stop clusters are the least marked, while stop + fricative clusters are more marked although they do not violate the Sonority Sequencing Principle. Consequently, most of the fricative (/s/) + stop clusters in our corpus have been resolved through epenthesis (25/28 cases (89.3%)), while stop + fricative (/s/) clusters such as /ts/, /ks/ have undergone deletion of the less salient stop member (8/10 cases (80%)). The significance of a relative difference in sonority between the two members of the cluster is further emphasized in the case of /sf/. Moreover, Fleischhacker (2005: 41-42) notes that maximal perceptual similarity between the input and the output is obtained when anaptyxis is used in obstruent + sonorant clusters and prothesis in /s/ + stop ones. This finding is well supported by CT data: 29/33 (87.9%) of all /s/ + stop clusters exhibit prothesis, while there are 30/46 (65.2%) cases of anaptyxis in obstruent + sonorant clusters (26/31 (83.9%) in stop + sonorant clusters (/pr, tr, kl, kr/) and 4/15 (26.7%) in fricative + sonorant clusters (/θr, ðr, vr, vl, yr, yl, χr/). The remaining cases of obstruent + sonorant clusters have undergone either deletion or substitution, along with three unexpected cases of prothesis: 1 /yr/ and 2 /ps/).

Returning to the effects of position on deletion, we should note the following: Although it does not preserve the complete input melody faithfully, deletion seems to be preferable at word-final position also because word-final segments are less

perceptually salient than word-initial ones, and thus more prone to deletion due to their auditory weakness (Brasington 1997: 2, Lass 1998: 187).<sup>16</sup> This is especially true for the final deletion of /s/ and /n/, which are perhaps not true cases of deletion but preservation of the input: /n/ is often left unpronounced, i.e. productively weak (Holton et al. 2004: 8) and /s/ seems to have a low frequency, e.g. only 2/8 (25%) forms (Nom/sg. and Acc/pl.) end in /s/ in the example paradigm in Table 3 above. The deletion of post-stress vowels (39/44 (88.6%) and vowel + consonant sequences (28/32 (87.5%)), i.e. in source words with penultimate stress, is not surprising in that respect, either. They are probably deleted not only because they are perceptually weak but also because they naturally lead to final stress in the target form after re-syllabification. Broselow (2003: 5) mentions a similar behavior in Huave (which prefers final stress like Turkish), where the material after the stressed segments in Spanish input forms is deleted, e.g. /kardúmen/ ‘flock’ becomes /kardúm/ among the most nativized stratum of loanwords. In other words, deletion at word-final position in CT seems to be aimed at maximal perceptual similarity – despite segmental unfaithfulness – with the additional advantage of obtaining resultant final stress out of input forms with penultimate stress.

In sum, the analysis of our corpus suggests that CT speakers do perceive the exact phonetic shape of the L2 words in fast or connected speech including allophonic variation and various articulatory conventions and tend to imitate what they hear as faithfully as possible as long as the result does not violate any L1 constraints. This shows that subphonemic details *are* relevant contra Paradis & LaCharité (2008). The fact that foreign phonemes undergo segmental and/or featural adjustment instead of being deleted at all positions seems to suggest that adaptation does not arise from the non-perception of L1 speakers with no access to L2 phonology contra the perception-only approach in Peperkamp et al. (2008).

In contrast, CT data provide support for the synthetic view. For example, there is some evidence for an “unprecedented phonetic property” which might have been introduced into CT through contact with CG. The clear /l/ sometimes occurs in the environment of back vowels, thus violating palatal vowel harmony: In 10 (*usburdulla*), 12 (*loggo*), 17 (*langara*), 28 (*publa*) and 53 (*gavlo*), the unmarked allophone would have been the dark /l/, i.e. [ɫ].<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Auditory weakness is probably the reason behind the elision of unstressed vowels as well. However, there seems to be no apparent auditory reason for the deletion of various heterosyllabic sequences which might be considered unnecessary adaptations probably arising from CT-internal assimilatory processes such as vowel and consonant harmony, intervocalic voicing, or palatalization which might have affected the established loanwords (Paradis & LaCharité 2008: 117), which possibly exist in different strata, obeying distinct constraints (Broselow 2003).

<sup>17</sup> In ST also there are a few loanwords where the clear /l/ occurs unexpectedly, e.g. *gol-ler* /gol.ɫɛ/ ‘\*gol-lar’ ‘goals’, *depyou ful-le-* /ful.ɫɛ/ ‘\*ful-la-’ ‘make the petrol tank full.’ Further

Furthermore, CT speakers seem to aim at maximal perceptual similarity in the sense of Kang (2003) and Kenstowicz (2007) by retaining the perceptually salient input segments. As noted by Kang (2003), phonemic, phonetic and morphophonemic factors seem to interact in loanword adaptation. In fact, the following speculative comments are suggestive of the possible effect of a morphological factor in our data: As was mentioned above, there are many (vowel +) /s, n/ sequences deleted at word-final position. It turns out that these sequences are often declension markers. Here, the constraints of Turkish and Greek languages seem to be converging in a sense. Turkish looks for a base form to which nominal suffixes may be added agglutinatively. As for Greek declension, it is not only highly irregular in comparison to the Turkish morphology but also functionally redundant in a target language like Turkish (§2 above). With respect to nominal morphology, deletion seems a way to treat inflectional Greek nouns agglutinatively.<sup>18</sup> The same tendency is observed in Greek verbal morphology as well. For example, in 37 (*sürdis*, *surdis*) and 53 (*gavlo*), the final /o/ in the source words, which is the verbal inflection marker (first person singular, present imperfective tense), has been deleted during category change from a verb to a noun despite the lack of any obvious phonological motivation.<sup>19</sup>

In conclusion, the data discussed above have shown that segmental deletion is a common strategy in the phonological adaptation of CG loanwords in CT, which has affected 45.5% of the corpus. Segmental deletion in CT seems to be governed by an

research is required both in ST and CT to determine whether this behavior is idiosyncratic or it possibly correlates with the speakers' familiarity with L2 phonology.

<sup>18</sup> While the first author of the present paper (who did not know a word of Greek then) was in Cyprus, she kept hearing [cip.ro, cip.ri, cip.ru], etc. on TV or the radio, knowing that the sequence [cipr-] referred to 'Cyprus' and naively wondering which one of those was the base form listed in the dictionary. What she had done was to impose Turkish assumptions about morphology on Greek: There is a (Nominative) base form to which regular suffixes are added to show case and number. We believe that CT speakers with no formal Greek instruction might similarly have constructed a mental representation of Greek words reduced to the barest possible distinctive form. On the other hand, bilingual CT speakers who were well aware of the morphological differences between the two languages may have reinforced this naive tendency by consciously stripping off Greek declensional morphology and adding Turkish suffixes when they used them in Turkish sentences. Therefore, we cannot talk about the inability of CT speakers to perceive the Greek speech signals but about an attempt to reach a base form to inflect in the Turkish way by simply eliminating morphological redundancy.

<sup>19</sup> Brasington (1997: 14) suggests that deletion may be preferred "either when costs exceed the cost threshold or when benefits drop below the benefit threshold." In CG loanwords in CT, deletion at word-final position is not costly because such sequences are not perceptually salient anyway, and it is also very beneficial because in this way the redundancy in borrowing foreign inflectional morphology is avoided.

attempt to achieve maximal perceptual similarity between the input and output forms provided that L1 phonological constraints, especially in the case of illicit consonant clusters in the onset position, are fully satisfied and the perceptually salient segments of the source words are preserved.

Theoretically, this suggests that loanword adaptation in CT is an attempt to “match the non-native percept of the L2 input within the confines of the L1 grammar” (Yip 2006: 950), in support of the synthetic approach mentioned above. The actual production of target forms seems to be governed by a hierarchy of L1 grammar constraints whereby some contrasts may be prioritized over others (Yip 2006: 971). In CT, syllable structure constraints seem to rank higher than segmental, featural and sometimes prosodic constraints. However, the actual details of such a hierarchy of constraints require an exhaustive analysis of the data with focus on adaptation strategies other than deletion and thus are beyond the scope of the present paper.

Another unresolved issue is the influence of the sociolinguistic situation in Cyprus. In a four-century-long contact, it is hard to test the argument that bilinguals rather than monolinguals are responsible for phonological adaptation (Paradis & LaCharité 2008). We suggest that in cases like that of CT, it would be more interesting to turn to the actual phonological and acoustic characteristics of the adapted structures rather than to the linguistic competence of the initial borrowers to account for some “mysterious” adjustments. It is highly likely that loanword adaptation is “structure-sensitive” such that borrowers select a phonological strategy in one case and a perceptual one in another based on the relative strength of constraints involved in each case. For example, in CT /pr/ clusters are resolved through epenthesis but not deletion. In fact, they may even be left intact (e.g. 11a-b (*bruncollos*, *buroncolas*, *boroncoles*)). On the other hand, /ts/ clusters only allow deletion or substitution but no “importation” of the source form (e.g. 13 (*samarella*)). It would be hard to account for this difference just by the level of bilingualism or “naive” vs. “intentional” approximation in the sense of Paradis & LaCharité (2008). In fact, it is also highly likely that the relative strength of constraints is determined by universal acoustic properties. In a similar vein, Shinohara (2006) suggests that deletion patterns are linked to relative acoustic and auditory salience of certain segments and that universal perceptibility scales interact with the grammar of each language. Further research is required to determine the nature of such scales in CT specifically, along with loanword adaptation strategies in general in other varieties of Anatolian Turkish or other Turkic languages.

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# Notes on subject markers and copular forms in Turkish and in some Turkic varieties of Iran: A comparative study

**Birsel Karakoç**

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This study investigates various typological aspects of subject markers and copular forms in Turkish and in some Turkic varieties spoken in Iran from a comparative point of view. The structural properties of corresponding Persian elements which might be expected to be copied into the systems of Turkic varieties of Iran are investigated as well. The following phenomena in the respective Turkic varieties of Iran have been found: (1) the obligatory use of 3rd person copular forms, (2) the use of 3rd person copular forms in the meaning of 'being existent or present somewhere', (3) the use of markers of existence/presence as copular markers. The paper concludes with a discussion of whether these phenomena might be interpreted as results of contact-induced change or of language-internal development.

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## 1. Introduction

This article is concerned with various typological aspects of subject markers and copular forms in Turkish and in several Turkic varieties spoken in Iran from a comparative point of view. In order to be able to assess the properties and their variation, comparisons with some other older and modern Turkic languages will also be made.

I will first describe typological properties of the respective markers in Turkish. As is well known, Turkic languages and dialects of Iran have been in long and intensive interaction with Iranian languages and exhibit language contact phenomena in different linguistic domains (see Johanson & Bulut 2006). With this in mind, I will then describe the structural properties of corresponding constructions in Persian, which might be expected to be copied into the systems of these Turkic varieties. Finally, I will present the phenomena found in the data of Turkic varieties of Iran and consider the question of to what extent these phenomena might be regarded as results of contact-induced change.

## 2. Subject markers and copular morpheme {-D<sup>2</sup>T<sup>4</sup>r} with nominal predicates in Turkish

Subject markers link a subject with its predicate. They denote subject agreement indicating the person and the number of the subject. A nominal predicate can be an adjective, a noun phrase (in any grammatical case except the accusative), a personal or demonstrative pronoun (in any case except the accusative), an absolute possessive pronoun, a verbal noun or a participle. Semantically, a wide range of aspects of identification, characterisation or specification can be expressed by linking the subject with the nominal predicate. Subject markers in Turkic languages correspond to the non-past forms of static copular verbs in some other languages, such as ‘to be’ in English or ‘sein’ in German. In Turkish, they are unaccented cliticised morphemes that can possess different allomorphs depending on the phonological quality of the preceding lexeme. See, for example, the markers and the examples<sup>1</sup> in Table 1.

Singular			
1.	{-(y)I <sup>4</sup> m}	(Ben) öğretmen-im. (I) teacher-1SG	‘I am a teacher.’
2.	{-sI <sup>4</sup> n}	(Sen) öğretmen-sin. (you) teacher-2SG	‘You are a teacher.’
3.	{-Ø}	(O) öğretmen. ((s)he) teacher-Ø	‘(S)he is a teacher.’
Plural			
1.	{-(y)I <sup>4</sup> z}	(Biz) öğretmen-iz. (we) teacher-1PL	‘We are teachers.’
2.	{-sI <sup>4</sup> nI <sup>4</sup> z}	(Siz) öğretmen-siniz. (you) teacher-2PL	‘You are teachers.’
3.	{-Ø}, {-lA <sup>2</sup> r}	Onlar öğretmen. they teacher-Ø (Onlar) öğretmen-ler. (they) teacher-3PL	‘They are teachers.’

Table 1. Subject markers with nominal predicates in standard Turkish

As can be seen, there is no subject marker in the 3rd person. *Öğretmen* [teacher-Ø] ‘(s)he is a teacher’ can be a complete finite predication without any predicate marker. As is the case in Semitic and Slavic languages, the absence of the person-number clitic, especially in the 3rd person singular, is a very common typological

<sup>1</sup> Examples from Turkish are given in standard Turkish orthography. Examples from other Turkic varieties and Persian are given in a unified transcription.

characteristic of older and modern Turkic languages. Consider the following examples from the East Old Turkic period:

- Orkhon inscriptions
- (1) *Sü başi inäl karan.*  
 army chief-POSS3SG inäl kagan-Ø  
 'The commander-in-chief is Inäl Kagan.' (Tekin 1968: 208)
- (2) *Ilim amtī kani?*  
 state-POSS1SG now where-Ø  
 'Where is my own state now?' (Tekin 1968: 233, 264)
- Karakhanid
- (3) *Tübüm altun.*  
 ground-POSS1SG gold-Ø  
 'My ground is gold.' (Mansuroğlu 1959: 104)
- (4) *Yazukum üküš.*  
 sin-POSS1SG much-Ø  
 'My sins are numerous.' (Mansuroğlu 1959: 104)

The absence of the subject marker in the 3rd person is widespread in modern Turkic languages as well, e.g. Kazakh *arıstan tülkiden ülken* [lion fox-ABL big-Ø] 'the lion is bigger than the fox'; Karakalpak *olar oqıwşı* [they student-Ø] 'they are students'; Bashkir *işşı* [employee-Ø] '(s)he is an employee'; New Uyghur *u häkiqätän işčan kız* [really diligent girl-Ø] 'she is really a diligent girl' (Pritsak 1959b: 550); Yakut *kini uču:tal* [(s)he teacher-Ø] '(s)he is a teacher'; Khakas *ol ügretçi* [(s)he teacher-Ø] '(s)he is a teacher'.

In modern Turkish the copular morpheme {-D<sup>2</sup>I<sup>4</sup>r}, which historically goes back to the present form of the copular verb *tur-* 'to stand, to be' (*tur-ur*), can be used in the 3rd person, e.g. *(o) öğretmendir* [(s)he teacher-COP3]. The free morpheme *turur/durur* found in the older and middle Turkic written varieties became an unaccented enclitic suffix in the subsequent languages and is subject to syllabic harmony. In some modern Turkic varieties, it can also be found in more contracted shapes as {-DI} or {-t}. Khalaj, spoken in Central Iran, is the only Turkic language which does not employ copular forms developed from the lexeme *tur-*. Khalaj has enclitic markers that can be traced back to the old copular verb *är-* 'to be' (Doerfer 1988: 199).

In Turkish, the suffix {-D<sup>2</sup>I<sup>4</sup>r} has a special meaning, and its use is restricted to certain discourse or text types and depends on pragmatic conditions. It can denote 'confirmation of an assertion', which might be paraphrased in English by 'it is a fact that ...' (cf. Johanson 1971: 294). It should be pointed out that {-D<sup>2</sup>I<sup>4</sup>r} can also express 'presumptive modality'. Consequently, our example *öğretmendir* can be understood as 'it is a fact that (s)he is a teacher' or 'I assume that (s)he is a teacher'.

This morpheme can fulfil a presumptive function in some other Turkic languages as well; see, e.g., Boeschoten (2006: 374) for Uzbek.

### 3. Relationships between a subject and a nominal predicate

Relationships between a subject (s) and a nominal predicate linked by means of a subject marker or copular morpheme can be characterised as follows:

(1) A relationship of {s IS X} occurs if identification or characterisation of the person or thing being the subject (s) or first actant of the nominal clause is expressed. In the case of an identification, the nominal predicate refers to an entity, e.g. (*ben*) *öğretmenim* [(I) teacher-1SG] ‘I am a teacher’. Characterisation of the first actant or subject is expressed if the predicate consists of an adjective referring to a property, e.g. (*sen*) *güzelsin* [(you) beautiful-2SG] ‘you are beautiful’. Such an entity or property denoted by the nominal predicate is marked here as X.

(2) The relationship of {S IS SOMEWHERE} emerges if the nominal predicate consists of a noun phrase in locative case and refers to a location, e.g. *evdeyim* [home-LOC-1SG] ‘I am at home’. Such predicates can be termed ‘locative predicates’ (Hengeveld 1992: 94). As can be seen, subject markers are directly attached to locative predicates. It should be pointed out that, concerning the structuring of information, the subject, which is present or existent somewhere, is usually the ‘topic’ of this kind of sentences and the locative predicate is the ‘comment’ (or ‘focus’). I mark this relationship as {S<sup>TOP</sup> IS SOMEWHERE<sup>COM</sup>}. The term ‘topic’ refers here to information already established in a discourse unit in which the speaker says ‘something about something’. Thus, the topic can serve as an anchoring point for the new information which is called the ‘comment’ (see e.g. Kotschi 2006: 677). The following examples illustrate the relationship of {S<sup>TOP</sup> IS SOMEWHERE<sup>COM</sup>}:

Singular			
1.	{-(y)I <sup>4</sup> m}	(Ben) evde-yim. (I) home-LOC-1SG	‘I am <u>at home</u> .’
2.	{-sI <sup>4</sup> n}	(Sen) evde-sin. (you) home-LOC-2SG	‘You are <u>at home</u> .’
3.	{-Ø}	(O) evde. ((s)he) home-LOC-Ø	‘(S)he/it is <u>at home</u> .’
Plural			
1.	{-(y)I <sup>4</sup> z}	(Biz) evde-yiz. (we) home-LOC-1PL	‘We are <u>at home</u> .’
2.	{-sI <sup>4</sup> nI <sup>4</sup> z}	(Siz) evde-siniz. (you) home-LOC-2PL	‘You are <u>at home</u> .’

3.	{-Ø}, {-IA <sup>2</sup> r}	Onlar evde. they home-LOC-Ø (Onlar) evde-ler. (they) home-LOC-3PL	'They are <u>at home</u> .'
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Table 2. Subject markers with locative predicates in Turkish

Subject markers need to be used in combination with the adjective lexeme {var} meaning 'present, existent', if the subject indicates new information and, thus, is the 'comment' of the sentence. The locative predicate accordingly presents the 'topic' of the sentence. I denote this kind of relationship as {S<sup>COM</sup> IS SOMEWHERE<sup>TOP</sup>}. As can be seen in the following examples in Table 3, the word order changes as well. The locative predicate being the 'topic' of the sentence is in initial position while the subject being 'comment' follows. This principle of word order may necessitate the use of the lexeme {var}. In nominal clauses, the subject markers may usually be attached to the nominal predicates and not to the subjects. If, however, the subject as 'comment' immediately occupies the position in front of the subject markers, the use of a special element between them becomes syntactically necessary (syntactic constraints). The following examples illustrate the relationship:

Singular		
1.	Evde ben var-ım. home-LOC I present-1SG	' <u>I</u> am at home.'
2.	Evde sen var-sın. home-LOC you present-2SG	' <u>You</u> are at home.'
3.	Evde o var. home-LOC (s)he/it present-Ø	'(S)he/it is at home.'
Plural		
1.	Evde biz var-ız. home-LOC we present-1PL	' <u>We</u> are at home.'
2.	Evde siz var-sınız. home-LOC you present-2PL	' <u>You</u> are at home.'
3.	Evde onlar var-(lar) home-LOC they present-(3PL)	' <u>They</u> are at home.'

Table 3. Subject markers in combination with {var} in Turkish

In the 3rd person, there is the same functional distinction between the {-Ø} (zero-realisation) and the suffix {-D<sup>2</sup>I<sup>4</sup>r}, e.g.:

- (5) *Okulda öğretmenler var.*  
school-LOC teacher-PL present-Ø  
'There are teachers in the school.'

- (6) *Okulda öğretmenler vardır.*  
 school-LOC teacher-PL present-COP3  
 ‘It is a fact that there are teachers in the school.’  
 ‘There are probably teachers in the school.’

It should be mentioned here that Turkish has a further, elaborated structure which consists of the verbal lexeme *bulun-* ‘to be located, to be present somewhere’. This structure mostly occurs in formal registers and can indicate certain focal meanings. The verbal lexeme *bulun-* can be used for the relationship both of {S<sup>TOP</sup> IS SOMEWHERE<sup>COM</sup>} and of {S<sup>COM</sup> IS SOMEWHERE<sup>TOP</sup>}. The order of constituents plays a role in expressing different perspectives concerning the information. Consider the following examples:

- (7) *Evde bulunuyorum.*  
 home-LOC to be located-PRES-1SG  
 ‘I am (present) at home.’
- (8) *Kitap masada bulunuyor.*  
 book table-LOC to be located-PRES-Ø  
 ‘The book is (present) on the table.’
- (9) *Masada kitap bulunuyor.*  
 table-LOC book to be located-PRES-Ø  
 ‘There is a book (books) (present) on the table.’

As regards Turkic varieties spoken in Iran, we observe some variation in the use of the 3rd person copular marker and of the lexeme {var}. Before analysing this variation, I will briefly present corresponding constructions in Persian.

#### 4. Subject markers and copular forms with nominal predicates in Persian

In modern Persian, there are different sets of forms corresponding to the present tense of the static copular verb ‘to be’.<sup>2</sup> The first set consists of enclitic and unstressed subject markers:

<sup>2</sup> I would like to thank my colleagues Behrooz Barjasteh Delforoos and Forogh Hashabeiky for discussions about the use of these markers in modern Persian. I am also grateful to Mohammad Reza Ghelichkhani for a discussion about the realisation of the respective categories in Persian and in a Turkic dialect spoken in Hamedan. He denominates this dialect, of which he is a native speaker, *Şahseven Türkî*.

Singular			
1.	-am	(Man) mo'allem-am. (I) teacher-1SG	'I am a teacher.'
2.	-i	(To) mo'allem-i. (you) teacher-2SG	'You are a teacher.'
3.	ast <sup>3</sup>	(U:) mo'allem ast. ((s)he) teacher-3SG	'(S)he is a teacher.'
Plural			
1.	-im	(Ma:) mo'allem-im. (we) teacher-1PL	'We are teachers.'
2.	-id	(Šoma:) mo'allem-id. (you) teacher-2PL	'You are teachers.'
3.	-and	(Anha:) mo'allem-and. (they) teacher-3PL	'They are teachers.'

Table 4. Subject markers with nominal predicates in Persian<sup>4</sup>

In modern Persian, the use of an overt agreement marker for the 3rd person is obligatory. In Middle Persian, it was not required. The functional differences between nominal clauses with zero-marker and 3rd person copular marker *ast* in Middle Persian have been described in detail by Josephson (2003). Josephson claims that the nominal clause with zero-copular lost its special meanings and that the copular *ast* then took over in Early New Persian. She notes that the nominal clause without 3rd person copular marker still occurs as a stylistic variant of the clause with *ast* but on a rather modest scale when compared to its wide usage in Middle Persian (2003: 92).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> In colloquial language, the 3rd person marker *ast* when following a consonant is contracted to *-e*. After a vowel it is represented by *s* (< *st*) (Boyle 1966: 40), e.g. *mo'allem-e* '(s)he is a teacher, *zi:ba:s* '(s)he is beautiful'.

<sup>4</sup> The polite forms are as follows: *šoma: mo'allem-id* or *šoma: mo'allem-in* (more polite) instead of 2nd person singular *to mo'allem-i*; *i:ša:n mo'allem-and* or *i:ša:n mo'allem-an* (more polite) instead of 3rd person singular *u: mo'allem ast*; and *šoma: mo'allem-in* instead of 2nd person plural *šoma: mo'allem-id*.

<sup>5</sup> Zero-marker for 3rd person can occur in some archaic proverbs, for instance: *har ke ba:ma:š biš barfaš bištar* [every who roof-POSS3 more snow-POSS3 more] 'someone whose roof is more, his snow is more' (p.c. with Behrooz Barjasteh Delforooz). It should be pointed out that copular markers in such proverbs are especially omitted for stylistic purposes since proverbs should be short and sound rhythmic. The complete version of this proverb then would be: *har ke ba:ma:š biš ba:šed barfaš bištar ast*.

A further paradigm contains morphologically complex forms which consist of the existential verb *hast* and subject markers: *hastam* 'I am', *hasti* 'you are', *hast* '(s)he is', *hastim* 'we are', *hastid* 'you are', *hastand* 'they are'. These forms are not enclitic.

While the subject markers presented in Table 4 denote a relationship of {S IS X} the complex markers with *hast* especially express the relationship of {S IS SOMEWHERE}, e.g. *barf ast* 'it is snow' vs. *barf hast* 'the snow is there' (cf. Windfuhr 1979: 97). Fleischer (1875: 43-44) remarked that the subject markers denote abstract being while *hast* denotes concrete being 'be-there' (cited in Windfuhr 1979: 98). Although the forms with *hast* originally denote the meaning of presence and existence, they can also link a subject with a nominal predicate indicating the relationship of {S IS X}, e.g. (*man*) *ira:ni hastam* 'I am Persian', (*to*) *ira:ni hasti* 'you are Persian', *šoma: a:lma:ni hastid?* 'are you German?', *man Hasan hastam* 'I am Hasan', etc. Thus, the subject markers and forms with *hast* can be widely interchangeable in some context (cf. Amin-Madani & Lutz 1972: 76-77), e.g. *man mo'alle-m-am / man mo'alle-m hastam* 'I am a teacher', *man xune-am / man xune hastam* 'I am at home', *mo'alle-mha: dar madrese-and / mo'alle-mha: dar madrese hastand* 'the teachers are at the school', *doxtare madrese-ye / doxtare madrese hast* 'the girl is at the school'. The difference between these two sets of paradigms might be that they belong to different registers. Whereas the subject markers are especially used in colloquial language, the complex markers with *hast* mostly occur in written and more formal registers. Furthermore, forms with *hast* can express a certain emphasis within the question-answer patterns, e.g.:

- (10) *To mo'alle-mi?*  
'Are you a teacher?'  
*Bale, hastam.*  
'Yes, I am.'

Windfuhr (1979: 97-98) cites the following examples and notes that *hast* here has the function of a definite future:

- (11) *Man hastam.*  
'I am/will be here.'
- (12) *Bale, xub; to boro, ma: hastim.*  
'All right; you go, we will be/stay here.'

In the written language the subject markers cannot be easily attached to the subjects, if the 'locative predicate' (in Persian a prepositional phrase) is in the initial position of the sentence, and the subject is in the final position. Thus, the native speaker I consulted did not consider the following sentence to be well formed:



- (13) *?Dar madrese mo'allema:and.*  
'There are teachers at the school.'

With this word order, markers with *hast* would be more adequate:

- (14) *Dar madrese mo'allema: hastand.*  
'There are teachers at the school.'

Amin-Madani & Lutz (1972: 77) note the difference between the following sentences in which the order of subjects and locative predicates, and accordingly the predicate markers are different:

- (15) *Bara:daram dar ba:q ast.*  
'My brother is in the garden.'

- (16) *Dar xa:ne na:n hast.*  
'There is bread at the house.'

In the colloquial language, however, contracted subject markers can be appended to the subjects and express 'existence/presence of someone/something somewhere', e.g. *unja: ye(k) doxtar-e* 'there is a girl there' (Kıral 2001: 66). Thus, the sentence *tu madrese mo'allema:n* 'there are teachers at the school', which is the corresponding colloquial form of sentence (13), is evaluated as an adequate and well-formed sentence.

To sum up, the markers with *hast* can denote the relationship of {S IS X} and thus have taken on some of the functional domains of the enclitic subject markers, while the 'existence/presence of someone/something somewhere' may also be expressed by the enclitic subject markers in the colloquial language.

## 5. Turkic varieties of Iran

In Iran, there are various Oghuz (southwestern) Turkic varieties such as southern Azeri in the northwest, Khorasan Turkic with its dialects, Kashkay and the dialect Aynallu in the south, Sonqor Turkic and Turkmen dialects (see Doerfer 1998). On the other hand, another Turkic language, Khalaj, is spoken in Central Iran between Qum and Araq. Khalaj, which has maintained many archaic linguistic features, is genealogically not related to the Oghuz branch of Turkic. The present study concerning the above-mentioned dialects and languages is based on data from the following sources: Bozkurt (1975), Fázsy (1977), Doerfer (1988), Tulu (1989), Doerfer et al. (1990), Doerfer & Hesche (1998), Kıral (2001), Dolatkah (2006-2007) and Kuribayashi (2008).

## 6. Phenomena found in Turkic varieties of Iran

### 6.1. Obligatory use of copular markers at the 3rd person

As already mentioned, Turkish and other older and modern Turkic languages do not usually require subject markers in the 3rd person. The copular morpheme  $\{-D^2I^4r\}$  is used in certain discourse types to denote confirmation of an assertion. What can be observed in the data of Kashkay, Khorasan Turkic, Azeri and Khalaj is that these languages make more or less systematic use of the 3rd person markers. All Oghuz varieties use the non-past copular marker in the form of  $\{-DI\}$  /  $\{-Dir\}$ , which derives from *turur*. The non-Oghuz Turkic language Khalaj employs enclitic markers that can be traced back to the copular verb *är-* ‘to be’. Doerfer (1988: 201) points out that the lack of a copular form in Khalaj is rare and might be analysed as an ellipsis. Both  $\{-DI\}$  /  $\{-Dir\}$  in Oghuz varieties and forms which are historically related to the copular verb *är-* in Khalaj are mainly used as obligatory subject representatives for the 3rd person and do not indicate discourse-type-specific uses. It seems that the functional choice between the ‘zero-marker’  $\{-\emptyset\}$  and ‘copular marker’, a choice relevant in other Turkic languages, has disappeared in the Turkic varieties of Iran. As a consequence, a nominal predicate without any copular marker cannot represent a complete finite predication. Consider the following examples:

- Azeri  
 (17) *Mänim adım Häsändi.*  
 I-GEN name-POSS1SG Häsän-COP3  
 ‘My name is Hasan.’ (Kıral 2001: 140)
- Kashkay  
 (18) *Deyar heşna ir kummuca ca:nna:rdi.*  
 say-PRES nothing small animal-COP3  
 ‘She says, nothing, it is a small animal.’ (Dolatkhah 2006-2007: 54)
- Khalaj  
 (19) *Bizüm baluğ e.ydisi ho úlari.*  
 we-GEN village landowner-POSS3SG good-COP3  
 ‘Our landowner is good.’ (Doerfer 1988: 200)

### 6.2. Expression of the relationship of $\{S^{COM} \text{ IS SOMEWHERE}^{TOP}\}$

As already discussed, in Turkish, the use of the adjective lexeme  $\{var\}$  within a relationship of  $\{S \text{ IS SOMEWHERE}\}$  is obligatory if the first actant, the entity present, is the ‘comment’ of the sentence and occurs after the locative predicate, e.g. *masada kitap var* [table-LOC book present] ‘there is (a) book(s) on the table’. This is also a common construction in Turkic varieties of Iran. In addition to this construction, it can be observed in some varieties that the subject markers can be used without hav-

ing been appended to {var} (cf. Doerfer 1988: 203, Kırıl 2001: 66-67 and Kuribayashi 2008) even if the subject represents new information in the sentence and follows the locative predicate. In all of the following examples, the entities referring to the first actant or subject are in the final position of the sentences, following the locative predicates. Thus, they are immediately in front of the copular markers used obligatorily for the 3rd person. The fact that the copular markers are directly attached to the subjects makes these sentences, from the Turkish point of view, awkward:

Bojnurd dialect of Khorasan Turkic

- (20) *Gidiyā, gidiyā, jāḡalā yetişiyyā, jāḡalā ki*  
 go-PRES go-PRES3 forest-DAT reach-PRES forest-DAT ki  
*yetişiyyā, baxiyā, bir daraxtiḡ astında bir daşdı.*  
 reach-PRES see-PRES one tree-GEN under-POSS3-LOC one stone-COP3  
 'He goes and goes and comes to the forest. When he comes to the forest he sees: there is a stone under a tree.' (Fázsy 1977: 130, 134)

Azeri

- (21) *Orda bi(r) ğizdi.*  
 there one girl-COP3  
 'There is a girl there.' (Kırıl 2001: 66)

Kashkay

- (22) *Gerer bu rayiḡ a:ltinma bir ḡa:rpuz la:lasidi.*  
 see-PRES this stone-GEN under-POSS3-LOC one watermelon bush-POSS3-COP3  
 'He sees there is a watermelon bush under this rock.' (Dolatkhah 2006-2007: 43)

In the following examples, the past copular markers with the meaning 'was', 'were' in the 3rd person singular and plural are used without being combined with {var}:

Bojnurd dialect of Khorasan Turkic

- (23) *Gadim zamanda bir jāḡalidi.*  
 old time-LOC one forest-PCOP3  
 'In the old times there was a forest.' (Fázsy 1977: 165, 169)

Khalaj

- (24) *Bi: šā: 'rčā ākki la:lartilār.*  
 a city-LOC two brother-PCOP-3PL  
 'There were two brothers in a city.' (Doerfer 1988: 203)

### 6.3. Uses of {var}

In Turkish, the use of the marker {var} 'existent/present', is, as described above, not necessary in order to denote a relationship of {S<sup>TOP</sup> IS SOMEWHERE<sup>COM</sup>}. To express this relationship, subject markers are immediately attached to the locative predicates, e.g. *(ben) evdeyim* [house-LOC-1SG] 'I am at home'. What can be observed in

Turkic varieties of Iran is that the marker {var} can also occur in constructions expressing such a relationship. Consider the following examples with both variants:

Khorasan Turkic

- (25) *Evdäyäm. Evdä ba: 'ram.*  
 house-LOC-1SG house-LOC present-1SG  
 'I am at home.' (Bozkurt 1975: 182)

Khalaj

- (26) *Hä 'včäm. Hä 'včä va: 'ram.*  
 house-LOC-1SG house-LOC present-1SG  
 'I am at home.' (Doerfer 1988: 200)

- (27) *I:ra: 'nčäm. I:ra: 'nča va: 'ram.*  
 Iran-LOC-1SG Iran-LOC present-1SG  
 'I am in Iran.' (Doerfer 1989: 110)

Rahmati & Buğday (1998: 10) present the entire paradigm for Azeri: *män varam* 'I am here', *sän varsan* 'you are here', *o var* '(s)he/it is here', *biz (bizlär) varıķ* 'we are here', *siz (sizlär) varsınız (varsız)* 'you are here', *onlar vardırlar* 'they are here'. In his material from the Kabul Avshar dialect spoken in Afghanistan, Bozkurt (1977: 233) gives the following examples provided by native speakers as sentences corresponding to the Persian sentences *dar xa:na hastam* 'I am at home' and *dar i:ra:n hastam* 'I am in Iran'.

Kabul Avshar dialect

- (28) *Evdä varam.*  
 house-LOC present-1SG  
 'I am at home.'

- (29) *Iranda varam.*  
 Iran-LOC present-1SG  
 'I am in Iran.'

Doerfer & Hesche & Ravanyar (1990: 23) and Doerfer & Hesche (1998: 21) give examples with the same forms from the Galügäh and Lotfäbäd dialects of Azeri:

Galügäh dialect of Azeri

- (30) *Evdä va 'ram.*  
 house-LOC present-1SG  
 'I am at home.'

- (31) *Ira:nda va 'ram.*  
 Iran-LOC present-1SG  
 'I am in Iran.'

- Azeri from Lotfābād
- (32) *Övdä va řam.*  
house-LOC present-1SG  
'I am at home.'
- (33) *İra řnda varam.*  
Iran-LOC present-1SG  
'I am in Iran.'

Furthermore, Bozkurt (1977: 236) notes the following sentences which may correspond to the Persian sentence *i:n ha:ne az an daraxt boland tar ast* 'this house is higher than that tree':

- Kabul Avshar dialect
- (34) *Bu ev o daraxtan ucadır.*  
this house that tree-ABL high-COP3
- (35) *Bu ev o daraxtan yixaradır.*  
this house that tree-ABL high-COP3
- (36) *Bu ev o daraxtan yixari var.*  
this house that tree-ABL high present

In the last example, the marker {var} appears to denote a relationship of {S IS X}. Semantically, a characterisation of the first actant, 'this house', is expressed. The use of {var} in this example is very similar to the use of the copular marker {-Dir}. In this context it is important to mention that {var} is an element that also played a role in forming a new type of high-focal present in Abivardi, a Kashkay variety of Shiraz, and the Galūgāh dialect of Azeri. This type of renewal of the high-focal present represents code-copying from Persian; see Doerfer & Hesche & Ravanyar (1990: 28), Csató (2001: 119) and Csató (2005: 281-282) for further information about this construction and Johanson (1992) for the code-copying model.

## 7. Recapitulation and remaining questions

Table 5 is a comparative overview of the markers and constructions which are used to denote the relationships of {S IS X}, {S<sup>TOP</sup> IS SOMEWHERE<sup>COM</sup>} and {S<sup>COM</sup> IS SOMEWHERE<sup>TOP</sup>} in Turkish, Persian and Turkic varieties of Iran.

Since the use of an overt agreement marker on the 3rd person is obligatory in modern Persian, the obligation for a subject marker on the 3rd person may certainly represent a contact-induced phenomenon in Turkic varieties of Iran.

	{S IS X}	{S IS SOMEWHERE}	
		{S <sup>TOP</sup> IS SOMEWHERE <sup>COM</sup> }	{S <sup>COM</sup> IS SOMEWHERE <sup>TOP</sup> }
Turkish	(S) + nominal predicate + subject marker  in the 3rd person: 1. zero-marker 2. {-D <sup>2</sup> 1 <sup>r</sup> } is not obligatory, used only in certain discourse types	1. (S) + locative predicate + subject marker  2. (S) + locative predicate + <i>bulun-uyor</i> + subject marker	1. locative predicate + S + {var} + subject marker  2. locative predicate + S + <i>bulun-uyor</i> + subject marker
Irano-Turkic	(S) + nominal predicate + subject marker  in the 3rd person: 1. an obligatory subject marker 2. {var} can be used	1. (S) + locative predicate + subject marker  2. (S) + locative predicate + {var} + subject marker	1. locative predicate + S + {var} + subject marker  2. locative predicate + S + subject marker
Persian	(S) + nominal predicate + subject marker  in the 3rd person: 1. an obligatory subject marker 2. <i>hast</i> can be used	1. (S) + locative predicate + subject marker  2. (S) + locative predicate + <i>hast</i> + subject marker	1. locative predicate + S + <i>hast</i> + subject marker  2. locative predicate + S + contracted subject markers

Table 5: Comparison of markers and constructions in Turkish, Persian and Irano-Turkic

The phenomenon that {var} is used in front of subject markers even if the subject is the topic of the sentence (examples 25-33) needs to be considered from different points of view. Parallel to the more or less equivalent Persian constructions *man xune-am* 'I am at home' and *man xune hastam* 'I am at home', we find the constructions *evdäyäm* 'I am at home' and *evdä varam* 'I am at home' in Irano-Turkic. The use of {var} in this context resembles the use of *hast*. As already noted above, the difference between the two Persian constructions is that the construction with *hast* denotes the localisation of the psychological interest much more as 'being present somewhere'. In almost the same manner, the standard Turkish construction *evde bulunuyorum* 'I am (present) at home' is a focal and more formal variant of *evdeyim* 'I am at home' and has a more restricted use. The Irano-Turkic construction *evdä varam* 'I am at home' seems to be a comparable construction to Turkish *evde bulunuyorum* as well. We may be able to conclude that requirements to renew the markers in order to be able to denote focal meanings or different registers are given both in the Turkic and Persian linguistic systems. The use of {var} in Irano-Turkic

varieties is most likely the result of code-copying (Johanson 1992) of properties of *hast*, but nonetheless represents a process which is certainly in accordance with the developments in Turkic.

The absence of {var} in examples 20-24 is a phenomenon whose possible reasons are not easy to determine. There are two proposed explanations: (1) Copying of structural properties of the Persian subject marker *-e*. As mentioned, subject markers can express 'existence/presence of someone/something somewhere' in the colloquial language. This might have resulted in the patterning that Turkic varieties provide, in some corresponding constructions, showing 3rd person subject markers without {var}. (2) Language-internal reasons are also of course likely. Alongside {var}, Turkish provides a verbal construction with *bulun-* which can indicate focal meanings. The absence of {var} and the sole use of 3rd person markers in Turkic varieties of Iran can also represent a parallel development, i.e. the absence can be caused by the language-internal needs to express certain focal meanings. Dropping the element {var} and using solely the 3rd person subject marker may contribute, as far as I can judge, to localising psychological interest, such as 'there is (was) just now (at that moment) ...'.

The use of {var} as a copular marker within a relationship of {S IS X} may also be interpreted as a result of copying of the functional properties of Persian *hast*. However, it should be pointed out that the lexeme {var}/{bar} played/plays comparable roles in some other older and modern Turkic languages, e.g. Old Uyghur *kärgk sudurta ymä sözlämiš bar* 'in a sūtra it has been also said' (Kara & Zieme 1977: 59), Yakut *bu aan baar* 'this is a door' (Krueger 1962: 119), Karaim *men Karay barmin* 'I am a Karay' (Csató 2000); see also Pritsak (1959a: 360) for the use of *bar* as a copular marker in the dialects of Balkar. Therefore, we need to be cautious with an explanation about the possible reasons of the use of {var} as a copular marker.

Explanations of all these phenomena require solid, comparative research in order to reveal complex form-function relationships across older and modern Turkic languages. It is my hope that my investigation, concerned with the diachronic development and synchronic variation of subject markers and copular forms in Turkic languages from a contrastive perspective, will contribute to a better understanding of such questions.

### Abbreviations

1PL	1st person plural	ABL	Ablative	PCOP	Past copula
1SG	1st person singular	COM	Comment	PL	Plural
2PL	2nd person plural	COP	Copula	POSS	Possessive
2SG	2nd person singular	DAT	Dative	PRES	Present
3PL	3rd person plural	GEN	Genitive	TOP	Topic
3SG	3rd person singular	LOC	Locative	Ø	Zero-marker

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# A rediscovered lowland Tofan variety in northern Mongolia

**Elisabetta Ragagnin**

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The eastern territories of Kubsugul province in northern Mongolia, i.e. east of Lake Kubsugul, are home to a small group of Sayan Turkic speakers. Their self-designation is *tuha*, a phonetic variant of *tuva/tuba*. In the available literature they are referred to as Uyghur-Uriankhay. The present paper will present a first overview of this remarkable Sayan variety, focusing on its lexical, phonetic and morphological features. It will be shown that, on the one hand, Tuhan shows peculiarities that distinguish it from the rest of Sayan Turkic and that, on the other hand, it shares some salient isoglosses with Tofan. It will be argued that Tuhan represents a lowland or steppe variety as opposed to the taiga or highland variety of Tofan.

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## Introduction

Besides the Altai Tuvans of Bayan Ölgii and Khovd provinces in western Mongolia, and the Dukhan people of the northwestern Kubsugul region, yet another group of speakers of Sayan Turkic resides in Mongolia. The eastern territories of Kubsugul province in northern Mongolia, i.e. east of Lake Kubsugul, are home to a small group of Sayan Turkic speakers. Their lifestyle is based predominantly on the herding of cows, *hös* in their variety. Their self-designation is *tuha*, a phonetic variant of *tuva/tuba*. In the available literature they are referred to as Uyghur-Uriankhay.

My first encounter with Tuhan speakers dates back to October 2008 when, on the way back from my fieldwork trip in the Darkhat depression in the northwestern areas of the Kubsugul region, I had the good fortune to meet in the city of Mörön, the capital of Kubsugul province, two elderly Tuhan speakers, Dayanjalba, 72, and Marks, 68 years old. Thanks to them I could experience some of the unique features of their language not present in the other documented Sayan varieties. Back home, I presented a preliminary overview of some of these features in two talks at the universities of Szeged and Frankfurt, respectively. The uniqueness of these data was decisive for my plan to return to Mongolia as soon as possible. The following April, Dayanjalba was my guide and invaluable helper during my fieldwork experience in the eastern areas of Kubsugul Aimag. Besides learning much about the material culture of the Tuhan people, I recorded several hours of spontaneous conversations,

and I collected a corpus of texts including biographies, songs, cooking recipes and narratives.<sup>1</sup>

Below I present a first overview of this remarkable Sayan variety, focusing on its lexical, phonetic and morphological features. I will show that, on the one hand, Tuhān shows peculiarities that distinguish it from the rest of Sayan Turkic and that, on the other hand, it shares some salient isoglosses with Tofan. I will argue that Tuhān represents a lowland or steppe variety as opposed to the taiga or highland variety of Tofan, as described by Rassadin (1971, 1978, 1995, 1997, etc.). Tuhān linguistic and cultural data are surely of importance both for the synchronic classification of Sayan Turkic and for a better understanding of the evolution of Sayan Turkic with special reference to the Sayan-Lena Turkic connection.

### The speakers of Tuhān

Tuhān people are scattered over a territory encompassing the area between the counties of Tsagaan Üür and Khankh, lying, respectively, to the east and to the north of Lake Kubsugul in the Mongolian province of the same name. This area stretches from the eastern shores of Lake Kubsugul to the border with Buriatia. The village of Tsagaan Üür is situated 185 km north of Mörön. This area abounds in forests and river basins and is rich in lowland pastures that promote the raising of cattle, especially bovines.

The highest concentration of Tuhān families is found in the *sum* of Tsagaan Üür (personal information of my consultants). Officially, there are 2,400 inhabitants of this county, divided into three groups: 600 Uriankhay, 650 Buriat, and the remainder Khalkha.

As for the term Uriankhay, an old designation of this area,<sup>2</sup> it is applied to four different groups. The Övör Širkheten Uriankhay, literally the Uriankhay of the southern flea (Mongolian *övör* 'south' + *širxe* 'kind of flea' + the collective suffix *-tan*),<sup>3</sup> the Arig Uriankhay, from the name of the adjacent river Arig, and the Göröččin Uriankhay, literally the hunting Uriankhay (Mongolian *göröččin* 'hunter')

<sup>1</sup> The data which will be discussed in this article belong to the cultural heritage of the Tuhān people and were collected with the permission of the Tuhān community.

<sup>2</sup> The first occurrence of the term Uriankhay in eastern sources is in the dynastic history of the Liao dynasty. As for western sources, a population with the name Orengei is mentioned in the travel account of de Rubroek. Uriankhay also occurs in the Secret History several times without bearing any clear ethnic or linguistic connotation, but merely denoting people living north of the Mongols. Uriankhay is also one of the names in use to designate both Tuvans and other groups; see Schönig (2006: 234). According to Diószegi (1961: 197-199) the name Uriankhay is used in Mongolia to designate all the Turkic populations of the Mongolian territory who are animist, to distinguish them from the Kazakhs, who are Muslims. On the possible identification of Uriankhay with the Tungusic Jürčed, further see Wilhelm (1957: 174).

<sup>3</sup> This group is also mentioned in Sanders (1993: 182).

are speakers of western Mongol varieties. On our way from Mörön to Tsagaan Üür we stopped several times to visit Arig Uriankhay families, whose speech displays a noteworthy melody, reminiscent of that of the Darkhat of the western Kubsugul area. The designation Uyghur (or Uygur) Uriankhay refers to people who are or were speakers of Turkic. Besides Uyghur Uriankhay they are also called Soyit Uriankhay, Üürin Uriankhay, Ĵinkhene Uriankhay and Tuha Uriankhay. The term *Soyit* is a Mongolian plural form of the clan name Soyan, the most widespread among the Tuvan clan names. *Üür* is the name of the river that flows through the area and is part of the name of the village of Tsagaan *Üür*, named after it, and the term *Ĵinkhene* is a Khalkha Mongolian word meaning ‘real, full, genuine, true’. However, they identify themselves and their language as *tuha*. They say, for instance, *men tuha kiši men* ‘I am Tuhan’ and *men tuhaliir men* ‘I speak Tuhan’. The term *tuha* is a phonetic variant of *tuva/tuba*, an ancient name found in this area that is common across Sayan Turkic speakers and also various groups in the neighboring areas; for details, see Schönig (2006: 225-227).

Finally, it should also be noted that this same territory bears a special meaning for Mongols, since it is here, precisely at the river Arig that Činggis Khan’s ancestress Alan Goa ‘Alan the Fair’, was born. She belonged to the Qori Tumat tribe, who lived in northern Mongolia in the forest area stretching from the southwestern shore of Lake Baikal to Lake Kubsugul (de Rachewiltz 2006: 244-248, 857-858). Recently a three-meter statue dedicated to the worship of Alan Goa was erected near the small village of Chandaman Öndör, at a distance of approximately 40 km from Tsagaan Üür.

#### Language status and use

All Tuhan speakers are bilingual in Tuhan and Mongolian. Tuhan is both a non-dominant and a non-written variety and is only used as the in-group language. The status of Tuhan is rather low. It happened that I was able to meet some young Khalkha Mongolian inhabitants of the village who did not even know about the existence of the Tuhan people. The number of speakers with native competence of Tuhan does not exceed 50 individuals, all aged above 45. The number of passive and/or semi-speakers is difficult to estimate, and more research is needed to establish this. During my stay in the village of Tsagaan Üür, some 15 people came regularly to visit me, showing a vivid interest in Tuhan and asking me several questions concerning both language and history and expressing their wish to reactivate the language. A similar situation arose when I visited families in the countryside.

Tuhan has never been taught in the local boarding school nor are there presently any plans to do so. The situation is thus quite different than in the other Sayan Turkic-speaking areas of Mongolia, where some level of literacy in Tuvan, albeit in its standard form, i.e. the language of the Tuvan republic, has been achieved in recent decades. In the village of Tsengel, in the Bayan Ölgii region, Tuvan is currently taught in the local Tuvan boarding school as a result of a Mongolian-Tuvan educa-

tional project. Similarly, in the village of Tsagaan Nuur, in northwestern Kubsugul Aimag, some hours per week of Tuvan teaching are provided, even though not on a continuous basis. The teachers are locals who were trained in the Pedagogical Institute of Kyzyl.

### Previous research on Tuhan

The available scholarly material on Tuhan consists exclusively of the publications of the Mongolian scholar L. Bold dating back to the 1970s and 1980s (see references). Bold's scholarly work deals predominantly with topics related to the sound system such as pharyngealization, long vowels and the phonetic structure of Mongol loans; that research, however, was not supported by instrumental acoustic investigations. Bold also dealt with more general aspects of Mongol borrowings. In his work, Bold does not mention the name *tuha* but labels the variety under discussion "Uygar-Uriankhay". Except for these works, all in Mongolian and rather difficult to find in the libraries of Ulaan Baator, Tuhan—referred to as Uygar-Uriankhay, following Bold's designation—is merely mentioned in some publications dealing with Sayan varieties of Mongolia (e.g. Sugahara 1999). Sanders (1993: 181-182) does not mention this group among the varieties listed under "Urianhai or Tuva". Furthermore, information on this Sayan variety from the *Ethnologue online encyclopedia* is rather incorrect and misleading. The Ethnologue attaches the label "Khöwsögöl Uigur" to a group consisting of 1000 individuals in Northern Mongolia in Kubsugul Aimag. The same group is also linked both to Tuvan and to Uyghur. In the latter case they are also reported to be Muslim, maybe being confused with the Hotons.

Thus, Tuhan remains under-investigated and is poorly documented in terms of modern standards of language documentation, as outlined for instance in *Essentials of language documentation* (Gippert & Himmelmann & Mosel 2006).

### Unique linguistic features of Tuhan

Tuhan belongs to the Sayan branch of Northeastern or Siberian Turkic. It thus displays those features that characterize Sayan Turkic as a whole. Some of them are listed below:

- the sound changes CT  $*-\delta-$ ,  $*-\delta > -d-$ ,  $-t$ , e.g. *bedik* 'tall' <  $*be\delta\ddot{u}k$ , *bot* 'self' <  $*bo\delta$  'body'
- long vowels resulting from contractions in the sequence VCV, e.g. *ool* 'son' <  $*o\ddot{y}ul$
- reflexes of original vowel length on the following consonant, e.g.  $a^h t$  'horse' <  $*at$  vs.  $at$  <  $*aat$  'name'
- preservation of final  $-*g$  in both stems and suffixes, e.g. *bay* 'tie' <  $*ba\gamma$ , *ĵaraĵliĵ* 'nice' <  $*yara\ddot{y}li\ddot{y}$  'useful, suitable'
- occurrence of the sound alternation  $a \sim i$ , e.g. *giriin* 'stomach' <  $*karin$
- substitution of the privative suffix  $*siz$  with the analytical construction [noun-*ĵok*], e.g.  $a^h t\check{c}ok$  'horseless'

- preservation of the assertive verbal marker *-ČIk* < *\*yUk*, e.g. *barǰk* '(s)he has indeed gone'

At the same time, Tuhān has its own specific features. It exhibits, on the one hand, certain features which distinguish it from the rest of Sayan Turkic, while it shares, on the other hand, some specific isoglosses with Tofan. As will be shown in the following, some features represent archaic retentions, whereas others should be considered as innovations.

### Lexical features

Tuhān shows several lexical items that do not have formal correspondences in the other Sayan varieties or that display a different meaning. I will first comment on the following items: *toos* 'pig', *hös* 'cow', *gaška* 'white', *ǰirik* 'lip', *ingir* 'saddle', *mees* 'forest', *ǰilyǰ* 'very', *turaaǰer* 'tomorrow', *övökkey* 'bear', *bökčünə* 'wolf', *aldī* 'lynx'.

The lexeme *toos* 'wild boar' can be traced back to CT *\*toŋuz*. Correspondences of CT *\*toŋuz* are otherwise absent in the whole of Sayan Turkic. This term was generally substituted by a copy of the Mongolian item *qaban* (cf. Räsänen 1969: 216a and Hauenschild 2003: 221). On the other hand, to refer to the sow and to the suckling pig, Tuhāns employ the terms *megeǰe* and *toroy*, respectively. They both are copied from Mongolic; cf. Buryat *megeže* 'dikaja svin'ja (samka)' and *toroy* 'porosjonok (dikoj svin'i)' (Čeremisov 1973: 309b, 431a).

With regard to *bökčünə* 'wolf', a conceivable etymological hypothesis could put it in relationship with Mongolic *börte činua* 'blue-grey, or bluish wolf'. The fact that between the vowel and the plosive consonant of the first syllable there is some degree of disturbance in the airflow (which still requires instrumental verification) may lead to the assumption that this is the result of a dropped consonant (-r-?).

For 'cow', Tuhāns use the lexeme *hös*, which can be traced back to CT *\*(h)öküz* 'ox'. All other Sayan varieties, on the other hand, display cognates of CT *\*ingek*. Among Turkic languages, Yellow Uyghur displays a form close to Tuhān: *kus* 'bovine, ox' (M. Roos, personal communication).

*Gaška* is the term generally used for 'white', e.g. *gaška dit* 'white larch', *gaška don* 'white dress'. Close cognates of this lexeme are documented already in Old Turkic with reference to an animal 'with a white head and a darker body' or 'with a white blaze on the forehead' (Clauson 1972: 671b). In several modern Turkic languages close correspondents of *gaška* are similarly used in describing animals. Kirghiz, however, shows close semantic correspondences to Tuhān, displaying *gaška* in the meaning of 'white, light' (Laude-Cirtautas 1961: 112-113). The rest of Sayan Turkic, on the other hand, displays *aq*. Traces of *aq* are, however, found in Tuhān as well. I was told that the river *Gaška Gem*, literally 'White River', is also referred to as *Ak Gem*.

The word *ǰirik* refers to 'lip' and can be traced back to CT *\*yaruk* 'a split, crack, breach; cracked, split' (Clauson 1972: 962b). Tuvan, on the other hand, displays *erin*

(< CT \*erin ‘lip’), whereas Tofan shows the compound noun *aas qidīl* (mouth border-POSS3).

The item *ingir*, probably of Mongolic origin (cf. Räsänen 1969: 166a), is used to refer to the saddle and, within Sayan Turkic, is exclusively found in Tuhān. On the other hand, the word *ezer* ‘saddle’ < CT \*e $\delta$ er, common to all the other Sayan varieties, does not exist in Tuhān. Note, however, that the item *ezer* shows the development CT \* $\delta$  → z which is typical of Yenisey Turkic and not of Sayan Turkic (CT \* $\delta$  → d); cf. Khakas *izer*. Lena Turkic, on the other hand, is close to Tuhān in this respect, cf. Yakut *ijir* ~ *ijīr* ‘sedlo’, Dolgan *ijīr* ‘Rentierlastsattel’ (Stachowski 1993: 261). Common to all the Sayan varieties, including also Tuhān, is the occurrence of *ingiršak* ‘packsaddle’, a diminutive form of *ingir*.

The lexeme *mees* refers to ‘forest’ and shows close semantic correspondences and some formal similarities with Lena Turkic, e.g. Yakut *mas* and Dolgan *maas* ‘tree, wood’ (Stachowski 1993: 176). On the other hand, in Tuvan *mees* refers to ‘sunny side (of a mountain)’ and corresponding items in form and meaning are found in Altai and Teleut (Räsänen 1969: 336a). Tofan *mäs* refers to ‘grassy clearing on the southern slope of a mountain; the southern slope of a mountain without forest’.

As for the degree adverb *ǰylīy* ‘very’, e.g. *ǰylīy amdannīy* ‘very tasty’, its evolutionary trajectory might be viewed as follows: *ǰylīy* < \**ǰylīy* < CT \**yīy*- ‘to heap, to collect’ plus the deverbal nominal formant -(X)gIXg. On the Old Turkic form *yīyīlīy*, see Erdal (1991: 345).

The lexeme *turaaǰer* ‘tomorrow’ might be viewed as consisting of *turaa* (cf. Tofan *tura* ~ *turay* ‘tomorrow’), a nominal formation from the verb *tur*- ‘to stand up, to stand’, plus *ǰer*. This last element might be related to a CT nominal stem \**yar* which, although not documented, can be assumed to be the nominal base from which both the Turkish adverb *yarın* ‘tomorrow’ and the Old Turkic verbal stem *yaro*-/*yaru*- ‘to be, or to become bright’ derive (M. Erdal, personal communication).

To designate the bear, Tuhāns use the term *övökkey*, which likely goes back to the Mongolian form *övög* ‘ancestor, grandfather’ (WM *ebüge*, Lessing 1995: 290a) plus the Mongolian caritative suffix -*Kay*. Thus, this term belongs to the category of euphemisms, a category of lexemes particularly rich throughout Sayan Turkic. Unlike the rest of Sayan Turkic, traces of CT \**adiy* are not found in Tuhān.<sup>4</sup>

The term *aldī*, which means ‘lynx’ in Tuhān, differs from other Sayan varieties, like Tofan,<sup>5</sup> Dukhan and Toju Tuvan, where the same item *aldī* is used with reference to ‘sable’. This item evidently also belongs to the category of euphemisms in

<sup>4</sup> In this context, it is also worth noting that the lexeme *xayrexan*, a lexical copy from Mongolic (WM *qayiraqan* ‘merciful, gracious, beautiful’), which is a euphemism for ‘bear’ in many other Sayan varieties, occurs in Tuhān together with the adjective *uzun* ‘long’ as a euphemistic term for ‘snake’. This term also may be viewed as a mixed copy from Mongolic; cf. Khalkha Mongolian *urt xayrexan* ‘snake’ literally ‘long *xayrexan*’.

<sup>5</sup> Rassadin (1971: 153) derives this lexeme from *al*- ‘to take’.

Tuhan. To designate the sable, Tuhan people use a copy from Mongolic, namely *bulayan*; cf. WM *bulayan*. In standard Tuvan the Turkic term *kiš* is used to refer to this precious little animal, besides *aldī*.

Yet another set of lexemes displays in Tuhan a phonetic shape quite divergent from the other Sayan varieties. The items *pī šīlaq* ‘cheese’, *tengere* ‘sky’, *eše* ‘father’, *he* ‘mother’, *gen* ‘bride’, *xi* ‘two’, *xion* ‘twenty’, *miha-* ‘to do like this’, *iha-* ‘to do like that’, *kaha-* ‘to do how’, and *haš* ‘cast iron cup’ are analyzed below.

As for the item *pī šīlaq* ‘cheese’, it rather departs from the rest of Sayan Turkic, which displays bisyllabic correspondents, e.g. Tuvan and Tofan *bī šītaq*, Dukhan *bī<sup>h</sup> šītaq*. Structurally, all these forms go back to *\*biš-* ‘to come to maturity, to ripen’, plus *-I* (deverbal nominal formant) plus *-LA* (denominal verbal formant) and plus *-(X)k* (deverbal nominal formant). In this respect the Tuhan trisyllabic form is more archaic than the other Sayan varieties since it shows clear traces of the deverbal nominal formant *-I*; on the ergative deverbal nominal formant *-I*, see Erdal (1991: 340).

Tuhan people refer to the sky using the word *tengere*, which likely represents a copy of Buryat *tengeri* ‘sky’ (Cydendambaev 1954: 310b); also cf. Yakut *taŋara*. The rest of Sayan Turkic, on the other hand, displays forms going back to CT *\*teŋri*, e.g. Tuvan *deer*, Tofan and Dukhan *deeri*.

The Tuhan lexeme *eše* ‘father’ is phonetically rather close to Lena Turkic *ähä* ‘grandfather, bear’ (Stachowski 1993: 43). Whether Tuhan *eše* is etymologically related to Mongolian *ečiġe* ‘father’ (Lessing 1995: 292a) and/or CT *\*äčü* ‘ancestor’ or CT *\*eči* ‘junior paternal uncle, elder brother’ (Clouston 1972: 20) remains an open question. The rest of Sayan Turkic, on the other hand, has back vocalic lexemes displaying an intervocalic affricate sound, e.g. Tuvan *ača*, Tofan and Dukhan *aĵa*. This shape is common to other Turkic languages of Siberia and China; for details see Nugteren & Roos (2006: 125).

The formal shape of *xi* ‘two’ differs from the rest of Sayan Turkic by dropping of word-initial *i-*; cf. Tofan *i ħi*, Dukhan *ixī*, Tuvan *iyi*. Similarly, deletion of the initial short vowel *i-* is seen in the lexeme *he* ‘mother’; cf. Tofan *i ħe*, Dukhan *ixē* and Tuvan *ive*, all going back to the form *\*ike*.

An interesting case of reduction to one syllable is the lexeme *gen* ‘bride’ < CT *\*gelin*; cf. Tuvan *xelin*, Tofan *helin*. Traces of *-l-* surface when the POSS3 suffix is added: *genni* ‘his bride’ vs. *genim* ‘my bride’, *geniŋ* ‘your bride’.

The pronominal verbs<sup>6</sup> *miha-* ‘to do like this’, *iha-* ‘to do like that’ and *kaha-* ‘to do how’ depart considerably from the rest of Sayan Turkic: cf. Tofan *mīhĵa-*, *iĵa-*, and *qaĵa-*, Tuvan *mīnča-*, *iŋča-* and *kaĵa-*, Dukhan *mīnĵa-*, *iŋĵa-* and *ganĵa-*. In Tuhan, apparently, the cluster *-nĵ-* occurs as *-h-*, which might have developed from *\*š*, i.e. *nĵ* → *š* → *h*. This topic is surely interesting from an Altaistic point of view.

<sup>6</sup> Sayan Turkic pronominal verbs are verbal stems directly formed from the oblique stems of the demonstratives *bo*, *ol* and the interrogative pronoun *kay-* ‘which (one)’ with the addition of the suffix *-ča*; see Menges (1963: 134-136).



The lexeme *haš* ‘cast-iron cup’ displays a word-initial glottal fricative, whereas the rest of Sayan Turkic features an aspirated bilabial stop, e.g. Dukhan *p<sup>h</sup>aš*.

Finally, worth noticing are some forms with adverbial function which display in Tuhana a lower level of lexicalization in comparison with corresponding items in other Sayan varieties. The Tuhana adverb *ga<sup>h</sup>ttap*, for instance, bears the meaning ‘in layers’ (layer-V.DER-CB), which is thus close to its morphological structure. On the other hand, its formal correspondents in other Sayan varieties, e.g. Tuvana *katap* and Dukhan *ga<sup>h</sup>ttap*, bear the meaning ‘again’, thus indicating the following lexicalization process: ‘in layers’ → manner adverb ‘again’. Similarly, the Tuhana adverb *dikka* ‘firmly’, going back to *dik* ‘firm’ + the adverbializing suffix *-GA*, differs semantically from the corresponding forms in Tuvana and Dukhan, *dika* and *dikka* respectively, bearing the meaning ‘very’. As in the preceding case, the Tuhana term is more archaic. Tofana stands between Tuhana and the other Sayan varieties displaying *qa<sup>h</sup>ttap* meaning both ‘again’ and ‘in layers’, and *dik:a* referring both to ‘very’ and ‘firmly’. To express the manner adverb ‘again’, Tuhana employs *daxin*, a copy from Mongolic (cf. WM *dakin*); also see below.

#### Copying from Mongolic varieties

Besides showing unique lexemes of Turkic origin which are not present in the rest of the documented Sayan Turkic varieties, Tuhana also displays many lexemes copied from Mongolic due to long-lasting contact with Mongolic varieties. Many of these items are not present in the other documented Sayan varieties, e.g. *boron* ‘rain’ (cf. WM *boru<sup>h</sup>yan*, Buryat *boroo*) and *bula<sup>h</sup>yan* ‘sable’ (cf. WM *bula<sup>h</sup>yan*, Buryat *bulgan*). To refer to bread, Tuhans use the global copy of Khalkha Mongolian *talxi*, which occurs alongside *hileeme*, an older copy from Russian, common in this phonetic shape with Buryat (*xileeme*) and Tofana (*hilääme* ~ *hlääme*).

Copying also affects morphological structures. An example is the replacement of the suffix *-KsA* ‘to desire to X’ by the Mongolic desiderative suffix *-maar*, e.g. *am nanmaar men* ‘I want to go back home now’ instead of, for instance, Dukhan *am yan<sup>h</sup>ksaar men*.

A thorough investigation of the types of Mongolic borrowings and their stratification will surely bring important results especially in relation to the Lena-Sayan connection.

#### The palatal nasal sound *ɲ*

In many words, the palatal nasal sound *ɲ* occurs in word-initial position, whereas other Sayan varieties display a media lenis affricate. Some examples are listed below and contrasted with Tofana, Dukhan, Tuvana and Old Turkic.

Tuhan	Tofan	Dukhan	Tuvan	Old Turkic	Gloss
<i>nīmšak</i>	<i>nimjaq</i>	<i>ǰimǰak</i>	<i>čimčak</i>	<i>yumšak</i>	‘soft’
<i>nonak</i>	<i>nonaq</i>	<i>ǰonak</i>	<i>čonak</i>	<i>yonak</i>	‘saddle-pad’
<i>ninǰe</i>	<i>ninǰe</i>	<i>ǰinǰe</i>	<i>činǰe</i>	<i>yinčǰe</i>	‘thin’
<i>naǰis</i>	<i>nunǰus</i> ~ <i>nūūs</i>	<i>ǰangis</i>	<i>čangis</i>	<i>yalǰus</i>	‘alone’
<i>naak</i> ‘lower jaw’	<i>naaq</i> ‘lower jaw’	<i>ǰaak</i> ‘lower jaw’	<i>čaak</i> ‘cheek’	<i>yaǰak</i>	‘cheekbone’
<i>naš</i>	<i>neš</i>	<i>neš</i>	<i>iyaš</i>	<i>iyač</i>	‘wood, tree’
<i>nan-</i>	<i>nan-</i>	<i>ǰan-</i>	<i>čan-</i>	<i>yan-</i> ‘to turn back’	‘to return home’
<i>noon</i> ‘thick, pregnant’	<i>noon</i> ‘thick’	<i>ǰoon</i> ‘thick, pregnant’	<i>čoon</i> ‘thick’	<i>yoǰun</i>	‘thick’
<i>non-</i>	<i>non-</i>	<i>ǰon-</i>	<i>čon-</i>	<i>yon-</i>	‘to whet’
<i>naa</i>	<i>nāā</i>	<i>ǰāā</i>	<i>čaa</i>	<i>yaǰi</i>	‘new’

Among these examples word-initial *n̄*- in the word for ‘tree’ represents a special case, since its evolutionary path can be reconstructed as follows: *naš* < \**n̄*naš < \**i*ǰaš < \**i*yaš < \**i*yaš < \**i*yač. Note that in this respect the Tofan and Dukhan cognates represent a more progressive degree of evolution than Tuhan, since the palatal nasal initial consonant has triggered fronting of the stem vowel.

The segment *n̄* is also found in initial position in lexemes copied from Mongolian, e.g. *n̄umahay* ‘wild carrot’ (WM *yamaxay*). The change \**ɣ*- > *n̄*- is also documented in the Alar Buryat dialect (Buraev 1968: 135), e.g. WM *yamar* ‘what, which’, Alar Buryat *n̄amar*.

As for the Tuhan word *n̄amaa* ‘goat’,<sup>7</sup> it goes back to WM *nima ǰan*, whereas its Khalkha and standard Buryat correspondents *yamaa(n)* and *yamaan*, respectively, go back to *ima ǰan*, the other form of ‘goat’ present in written Mongolian. Initial *n*- in the word for ‘goat’ is also found in Kachug Buryat (Mitroškina 1968: 53), in Tunka Buryat (Rassadin 1999: 125) and in the Baikal-Kudara subdialect (Budaev 2002: 155).

The palatal nasal sound *n̄* also occurs in Tuhan in word-medial and word-final position, e.g. *aškiñak* ‘old man, husband’, *guriñak*<sup>8</sup> ‘old woman, wife’, *añak* ‘cup’

<sup>7</sup> The rest of Sayan Turkic displays cognates of CT \**ečkü*; e.g. Tofan *oškü*, Tuvan, Altai Tuvan, Dukhan *oškü*.

<sup>8</sup> The terms *ašqiñak* and *guriñak* go back to CT \**avičya* ‘old man’ and *kurtya*, respectively, plus the diminutive suffix *-čAk*. Cognates of these two terms occur throughout Sayan Turkic, e.g. Tofan *ašinaq*, Dukhan *aššak* and Tuvan *ašak*. Räsänen (1969: 304a) lists Soyot *kurǰayak* and Karagass *kurujak*, *kurud’ak*, *kuruyak*.

*miriñak* ‘snake weed’, *goñ* ‘sheep’, *tuñuγ* ‘hoof’. The last two examples are of particular interest since they show continuation of Old Turkic *-ñ-*, cf. *tuñoγ* and *koñ*.

Otherwise, Tuvan displays the lenis affricate *ʃ* where Old Turkic displays *ɣ-*, e.g. *ʃer* ‘place’ vs. Old Turkic *yer*, and *ʃaraγliγ* ‘nice’ vs. Old Turkic *yaraγliγ*.

Interestingly, whereas in Dukhan, Tofan and Toju Tuvan, the occurrence of *ʃ-* ~ *ñ-* in word-initial position—conditioned by the occurrence of a nasal sound later in the word—is a very aggressive feature that leads to the nasalization of the entire word, and sometimes (at least in Dukhan), of the entire sentence, in Tuvan there is no spreading of nasality.

#### Absence of word-initial spirantization

Sayan Turkic displays word-initial spirantization of initial velar stops, though not systematically. Tuvan, unlike all the other Sayan varieties, has not been affected by this phenomenon. Some examples are contrastively listed in the table below:

Tuvan	Tofan	Dukhan	Tuvan	Gloss
<i>gem</i>	<i>hem</i>	<i>hem</i>	<i>xem</i>	‘river’
<i>gin</i>	<i>hin</i>	<i>hin</i>	<i>xin</i>	‘navel’
<i>göl</i>	<i>höl</i>	<i>höl</i>	<i>xöl</i>	‘lake’
<i>gün</i>	<i>hün</i>	<i>hün</i>	<i>xün</i>	‘day’
<i>gat</i>	<i>qat</i>	<i>hat</i>	<i>xat</i>	‘wind’
<i>goñ</i>	<i>hoy</i>	<i>hoỹ</i>	<i>koy</i>	‘sheep’
<i>gara</i>	<i>qara</i>	<i>kara</i>	<i>kara</i>	‘black’
<i>gilin</i>	<i>hilin</i>	<i>hilin</i>	<i>xilin</i>	‘thick’
<i>gen</i>	<i>helin</i>	<i>helin</i>	<i>xelin</i>	‘bride’
<i>gül</i>	<i>hül</i>	<i>hül</i>	<i>xül</i>	‘ashes’
<i>gar</i>	<i>qar</i>	<i>gar</i>	<i>xar</i>	‘snow’
<i>gam</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>xam</i>	‘shaman’

#### The converb -GAs

The converb suffix *-GAs* differs from the rest of Sayan Turkic, which displays *-GAs̃*, e.g. Tuvan *gelges* vs. Tofan *kelgeš*, from *gel-* ‘to come’, Tuvan *ševerlees* vs. Dukhan *ševerleeš*, from *ševerle-* ‘to clean’, Tuvan *hi hongas gelir* ‘(s)he will come in two days’ vs. Tuvan *iyi xongaš geer*. Otherwise final *-š* did not develop into *-s* in Tuvan. This development might be fairly recent.

**Aorist participle -iir**

The aorist participle of polysyllabic vowel-final verbal stems has the form *-iir* which is neutral with respect to synharmonism. It thus diverges considerably from the rest of Sayan Turkic, which is quite monolithic in this respect, showing a regular aorist participle formation from stems with vowel outset by prolonging the stem vowel, e.g. Tuvan *baliktaar*, from *balikta-* ‘to fish’; for details on Tuvan and Tofan aorist forms see Johanson (1976) and Schönig (1989). A contrastive picture of aorist formation with vowel final verbal stems within Sayan Turkic is presented in the table below:

Tuhan	Tofan	Dukhan	Tuvan	Gloss
<i>aṅniir</i>	<i>aṅnaar</i>	<i>aṅnaar</i>	<i>aṅnaar</i>	<i>aṅna-</i> ‘to hunt’
<i>adayliir</i>	<i>adaylaar</i> <sup>9</sup>	-	-	<i>adayla-</i> ‘to speak Mongolian’
<i>daariir</i>	<i>daaraar</i>	<i>daaraar</i>	<i>daaraar</i>	<i>daara-</i> ‘to sew’
<i>īyliir</i>	<i>īylaar</i>	<i>īylaar</i>	<i>īylaar</i>	<i>īyla-</i> ‘to cry’
<i>udiiir</i>	<i>uduur</i>	<i>uduur</i>	<i>uduur</i>	<i>udu-</i> ‘to sleep’
<i>okšiir</i>	<i>oqšaar</i>	<i>oqšaar</i>	<i>oškaar</i>	<i>okša-</i> ~ <i>oška-</i> <sup>10</sup> ‘to kiss’
<i>uliiir</i>	<i>uluur</i>	<i>uluur</i>	<i>uluur</i>	<i>ulu-</i> ‘to howl’
<i>īrliir</i>	<i>īrlaar</i>	<i>īrlaar</i>	<i>īrlaar</i>	<i>īrla-</i> ‘to sing’
<i>(ot) odiir</i>	<i>(ot) odaar</i>	<i>(ot) odaar</i>	<i>(ot) odaar</i>	<i>(ot) oda-</i> ‘to make fire’

Both the Tuhan aorist formation and that of the rest of Sayan Turkic can be traced back to Old Turkic *-(y)Ur*, used with stems ending in vowel; cf. Erdal (2004: 240). However, the Tuhan formation is more archaic; on the “standardization” of aorist forms in Sayan Turkic, see Schönig (1989). Noteworthy is also that Tuhan additionally shows some similarities with Khakas and Yakut in this respect. In Khakas the two verbs *par-* ‘to go’ and *kil-* ‘to come’ display the aorist suffix *-ir* (Baskakov 1975: 206), and in Yakut intraterminal aorist participle stem-final vowels merge with the initial suffix vowel into a long vowel *I* (Stachowski & Menz 1998: 425).

The aorist formation of stems with a final liquid also differs from the other Sayan varieties. Other than in the other Sayan varieties, the liquid consonants *r* and *l* do not drop, yielding a long contraction vowel. See the examples in the contrastive table below:

<sup>9</sup> This stem is not documented in the Tofan-Russian dictionary of Rassadin (1995). However, since in Tofan the lexeme *aday* ‘Mongolian’ exists, in analogy to the verbal forms *tofala-* ‘to speak in Tofan’ and *orosta-* ‘to speak in Russian’, the stem *adayla-* may in all likelihood exist.

<sup>10</sup> Metatheses are common throughout Sayan Turkic.

Tuhan	Tofan	Dukhan	Tuvan	Gloss
<i>gelir</i>	<i>geer</i>	<i>geer</i>	<i>keer</i>	<i>kel-</i> ‘to come’
<i>alir</i>	<i>aar</i>	<i>aar</i>	<i>aar</i>	<i>al-</i> ‘to take’
<i>beri</i>	<i>beer</i>	<i>beer</i>	<i>beer</i>	<i>ber-</i> ‘to give’
<i>bari</i>	<i>baar</i>	<i>baar</i>	<i>baar</i>	<i>bar-</i> ‘to go’

As seen in the last two examples, suffix final *r* drops in the presence of *r* in the stem.

### The particle *gey* ~ *giy* ~ *gəy*

Unique in Tuhan is the occurrence of the particle *gey* ~ *giy* ~ *gəy*, which occurs sentence-finally and functionally corresponds to the element ‘thing’ common to all Sayan Turkic varieties, e.g. Tuvan *čüve*, Tofan and Dukhan *čime* ~ *čüme*. The element ‘thing’ occurs as the head of relative clauses literally meaning ‘the thing that X-es/will X’ or ‘X-ed’, whether it occurs with the verbal adjective *-Vr* or *-GAN*. See the Tuhan example below:

<i>Oozin</i>	<i>soonda</i>	<i>aǰidip</i>	<i>aǰidip</i>	<i>aǰıy</i>
that-POSS3	after	turn sour-V.DER-CB	turn sour-V.DER-CB	turn sour-ADJ.DER
<i>ǰıme</i>	<i>bile</i>	<i>hoıyup</i>	<i>eededer</i>	<i>gey.</i>
thing	with	to get thick-V.DER-CB	curdle-INTRA.VBN	PRTC

‘After that, letting it slowly turn sour with something sour, it gets thick and it curdles.’

Also cf. the Dukhan and Tofan examples below:

<i>A<sup>h</sup>štap</i>	<i>suksap</i>	<i>ǰora:š</i>	<i>ol</i>	<i>i<sup>h</sup>ti</i>	<i>börü</i>
hungry-V.DER-CB	be thirsty-CB	move-CB	that	dog-POSS3	wolf
<i>bola</i>	<i>berıen</i>	<i>t<sup>h</sup>öyälıy</i>		<i>ǰıme.</i>	
become-CB	give-POST.VBN	history-ADJ.DER		PRTC	

‘It was constantly hungry and thirsty and that’s the story how it (the dog) began to turn into a wolf.’ (Dukhan: Ragagnin, field data)

<i>Unuun</i>	<i>bääri</i>	<i>kišiler</i>	<i>ol</i>	<i>oolni</i>	<i>ay</i>	<i>kišisi</i>
from there	after	person-PL	that	boy-ACC	moon	person-POSS3.SG
<i>dep</i>	<i>ülegärläär</i>		<i>ǰıme.</i>			
say-CB	story-V.DER-INTRA.VBN		PRTC			

‘The thing is that thereafter people named him moon boy’ (Tofan: Rassadin 1996: 10)

Mongolic languages show close functional and structural similarities in the use of the corresponding noun ‘thing’. Close are also the bonds between these uses of *gey* ~ *giy* ~ *gəy* and the uses of the demonstrative pronoun *ol* in sentence-final position in Old Turkic; see Erdal (2004: 323). As for the origin of *gey* ~ *giy* ~ *gəy*, a possibility is to trace it back to the interrogative pronoun \**qañu*.

### Isoglosses with Tofan

Tuhan shares some lexical and morphological isoglosses with Tofan which are not present in the rest of Sayan Turkic. Below I will comment on some cases.

Tuhan and Tofan display *andiy* ‘yes’ < CT *\*antay* ‘like that’, whereas the rest of Sayan Turkic shows the item *iyye*. Whereas Tuhan and Tofan display the items *jo yaš* ‘near’ and *čoo yaš*, respectively, meaning ‘near’, Tuvan, and Dukhan display *čook* and *jook*, respectively. As for the adjective *jarayliy* ‘nice’, analyzed previously, only Tofan displays a close cognate, *čarayliy*.

Some other lexemes also show correspondents in Tuvan; however, they display a phonetic shape that is closer to Tofan. The lexeme *uyh'u* < CT *\*uygu* is phonetically closer to Tofan *u ŷhyu* than to Tuvan *uygu*. As for *añak* ‘cup’, Tofan displays a nasalized form, namely *añaq*, whereas the corresponding Tuvan and Dukhan forms do not display any kind of nasalization.<sup>11</sup> The lexeme *miriñak* ~ *muruñak* refers to ‘snake weed’ and might be traced back to CT *\*burun* ‘nose’ plus a diminutive suffix (L. Clark, personal communication). Tofan displays *muruñaq* ‘burnet, sanguisorba’ and Tuvan *mītrak* ‘korni živorodjaščeje grečiški’ (Rassadin 1971: 208). Some Sayan varieties like Dukhan display the semantically but not formally corresponding term *mexer*, a borrowing from neighboring Darkhat Mongolian, whose speakers are well known *meker*-gatherers.<sup>12</sup>

Another interesting Tuhan-Tofan lexical correspondence concerns the word for ‘snow’. In both Tuhan and Tofan *gar* and *qar*, respectively, refer only to ‘snow’ but not to ‘age’. For my consultants it was very hilarious when I used the word *gar* meaning ‘age’ as in Dukhan. To refer to ‘age’ both Tuhan and Tofan display a copy of Mongolian *nasin* ‘age’.

An important sound feature shared by Tuhan and Tofan is the presence of traces of original Turkic long vowels, e.g. Tuhan *daaš* ‘stone’ < CT *\*taas̄*; cf. Karagas *tāš* (in Katanov’s material) and Karagas *tayš* (in Radloff’s material) (Menges 1959: 646). In other instances, Tuhan diphthongs represent a more recent development. For example *moit* ‘Manchurian trout, lenok’ corresponds to Karagas *māät* (Castrén 1857: 129a) and to Toju Tuvan and Dukhan *mīit*. Note that this lexeme is originally bisyllabic, cf. Jakut *biyit*.

With regard to morphology, an important isogloss connecting Tuhan with Tofan is the occurrence of the analytical expression of the numeral decade ‘two’ + *on* ‘ten’ for ‘twenty’: Tuhan *xi on* (*xi* ‘two’ + *on*) or *xion* (thus a diphthong) and Tofan

<sup>11</sup> See, e.g., Menges (1959: 652) for Tofan (Karagas) and Yakut nasalization.

<sup>12</sup> “As for what is called *meker*, Potanin and Dolbejev have remarked that in autumn, by poking (into the ground), (the Darhad) find where the rats have gathered the roots of a wild plant of the buckwheat family and stored them in their burrows. They get from some burrows up to 10 pounds of *meker*, which they make into bread to eat throughout the winter. It is not harmful to the health; on the contrary, it is nourishing.” (Žamcarano 1991: 68-69). In Tsagaan Üür both Mongols and Tuhans prepare foodstuff with snake weed, often mixing it with sugar and butter.

*i* *hyon*. This feature is also common to Western Yugur (Nugteren & Roos 2006: 119). The rest of Sayan Turkic displays forms going back to CT \**yegirmi*, e.g. Tuvan *čeerbi*, Dukhan *jeervi*.

As for verbal morphology, Tuhan shares with Tofan the occurrence of the suffix *-V/ydlrI*, a low-focal intraterminal, structurally formed by the converbial suffix *-V/y* and a reduced form of \**turur*; e.g. *tutadıri* ‘fetches/will fetch’ from *tut-* ‘fetch’, *jöriidiri* ‘goes/will go’, *bardıri* ‘goes, will go’, *gördürü* ‘sees, will see’. As in Tofan, in many instances the suffix-initial vowel is lost, especially with verbal stems displaying a final liquid. Rassadin labels this form as “nastoljaščee obyčnoe vremja” (1978: 201). Tuvan and Dukhan, on the other hand, display the formally close forms *-V/ydlr* and *-V/ydlrI*, respectively. According to Sat (1966: 395), the Tuvan form *-V/ydlr* expresses an action that occurs at the moment of speech and which is acknowledged by the speaker on subjective grounds through feelings and senses, most probably excluding sight. Dukhan *-V/ydlrI* is a non-focal intraterminal item which expresses facts that the speaker acknowledges on the basis of his/her perception; see the Dukhan example below:

*Am bir kiši ejk so<sup>h</sup>ktaydıri.*  
 now one person door knock-ITER-INTRA.NF  
 ‘Somebody (as I hear) is now knocking at the door’.

Tuhan and Tofan share the presence of the postposition/clitic ‘upwards’. See the example below:

*Am mees šaari ünüp šidavas men, but ba<sup>h</sup>k.*  
 now forest upwards exit-CB be able-INTRA.LF.NEG I leg bad  
 ‘I can’t move up to the forest (to hunt), my legs are hurting.’ (Ragagnin, field data 2009)

Tuvan and Dukhan, on the other hand, display *örü* ‘upwards’. All Sayan varieties, however, display the antonym of *šaari*, namely *kodu* ‘downwards’ < CT \**kodı*.

Tuhan/Tofan *šaari* might be traced back to a deverbal nominal form of CT \**čik-* ‘to go out’ and the directive suffix *-GARU*. *Šaari* might also go back to an old directive form of CT \**yok* ‘high ground’ (H. Nugteren, personal communication); in this case, however, the development \**y* > *š* is problematic.

Besides, Tuhan shares with Dukhan and the Toju dialect of Tuvan (but not with Tofan) the directive suffix *-KIdI*. Standard Tuvan uses the suffix *-Že*, while its western dialects, including Altai Tuvan in China and Mongolia, show *-DİvA*, and Tofan exhibits *-šA*.

Finally, Tuhan shares with Tofan the occurrence of the conditional copula *erse*. The rest of Sayan Turkic differs in this respect; see the example below:

*Ol bistin joojaš bolgan erse men gösküzer men.*

that we-GEN near become-POST PRTC I show-INTRA I  
 ‘If we were near, I would show it (to you).’ (Ragagnin, field data 2009)

Another isogloss connecting Tuhan exclusively with Tofan is the occurrence of the modal particle *jan* ~ *jon*. Rassadin (1995: 89b) explains Tofan *jon* as ‘modal’ *naja častica usilivajuščaja pros’bu*; note the following two examples:

*Men siiŋ a ʔiŋin aleyŋ, jon? Če, al!*  
 I you-GEN horse-2POSS.SG-ACC take-VOL1.SG PRTC Yeah take-IMP2.SG  
 ‘It is OK that I take your horse, isn’t it? Sure, take it!’ (Rassadin 1995: 89b)

*Bilir men jon!*  
 know-INTRA.LF I PRTC  
 ‘I know it of course!’ (Ragagnin, field data 2009)

Finally, Tuhan and Tofan share the absence of the so-called *participium nondum facti*, denoting events that have not yet taken place (Johanson 1998: 46).

#### Thoughts on historical background including some speculations on classification

The territory of present-day South Siberia has always been a melting-pot of peoples, cultures, and languages. Long-lasting contacts have formed isoglosses between Turkic varieties and other varieties, whether genealogically related or not. The South Siberian Turkic languages share many features, but at the same time have their own characteristics. The Siberian branch has emerged relatively recently. Its varieties have developed on the basis of heterogeneous substrates. Many grammatical features typical of this area can be explained as cases of imposition due to non-Turkic substrates or as cases of adoption of new features due to non-Turkic adstrates. The contact languages of this area are Russian, Mongolic, Tungusic, Samoyedic, Ob-Ugric, and Paleosiberian varieties. The linguistic history of the different nomadic groups of this area is largely unknown, but intermixing at various linguistic levels is obvious for all the varieties concerned. Sayan Turkic is not an exception in this respect.

With regard to Tuhan, the history of the Tuhan people before the twentieth century cannot be traced independently of that of other groups who identify themselves with the ethnonym *tuva/tuba*. According to the prevalent view of historians and Turcologists, the populations bearing the ethnonym *tuva/tuba*—or at least some of them—were originally Samoyeds, i.e. speakers of languages belonging to the easternmost branch of the Uralic family, and Yeniseians (i.e. Paleosiberians). They are thought to have assimilated to Turkic peoples in various historical periods. A people bearing the ethnonym Tu-po was first registered in the Chinese annals of the Sui-Shu dynasty (581-618) at the turn of the 7th century. In the annals of the Chinese T’ang-Shu dynasty (618-906), the same people is recorded as a component of the T’ieh-le



tribal confederation, of which the Uyghurs and other Oghuz peoples also formed part, indicating that some had already been Turkicized (Clark 1997: 3). According to these records, during the times of the Turkic first and second steppe empires (551-744) and the Uyghur steppe empire (744-840), the Tu-po lived south of the Kirghiz, south of the small sea (most probably Lake Baikal) and north of the Uyghurs; see Menges (1958-1959: 90). This geographical description corresponds to modern Tuva and its neighboring territories. It is assumed that some non-Turkic groups, possibly Samoyeds and Yeniseians (or maybe others) shifted to Turkic, i.e. started to be assimilated to Turkic, especially at the time this region became subject to the Uyghur steppe empire (744-840). Plenty of archeological remains, including monuments written in the runiform script of the standard language used by the Uyghurs, support this idea (Clark 1996: 20).

In the second half of the first millennium AD, a Turkic-speaking population documented in the Orkhon inscriptions as the *Üč Quriqan*, the three Kurykans, used to inhabit the areas surrounding Lake Baikal, and maybe also Kubsugul. Probably with the arrival of the Mongols, the linguistic unity of the *Üč Quriqan* started to dissolve. The first groups to split, presumably seeking refuge from the Mongol armies, were the forefathers of the Yakuts (Sakha), who moved north along the Lena river and reached their present locations. Evidence from Sakha epic tales and other folklore materials confirm this northern migration of the ancestors of the Sakha. In their new homeland they apparently mixed with local populations, mostly of Tungusic origin, and changed their original lifestyle, which was characterized by cattle and horse breeding, to reindeer breeding, a lifestyle otherwise not characteristic of Turkic peoples (Pakendorf 2001: 139). However, Schönig (1999: 86) dates the migration of the ancestors of the Yakuts from the vicinity of Lake Baikal to the Lena basin to the sixteenth century. Other groups originally belonging to the Kurykans had most likely mixed with the Mongol newcomers, thereby forming the Buryats, who still live in the areas surrounding Lake Baikal. In the Secret History of the Mongols (§ 239), *tuba* are listed among the *hoy-in irged*, the fur-hunting peoples of the forest, who were scattered over a wide area in the north at that time. No information on the language or languages spoken is provided in that source. It can be assumed that assimilation of some tribes to Mongol (and assimilation from Mongol to Turkic for others) started either just before or at this time.

Another group that is supposed to show some degree of continuity with the Kurykan Turks, due to their having been part of the Turkic unity mentioned above, are the Tofa. Linguistic evidence shows that among the varieties that form Sayan Turkic, it is Tofan which shows closer bonds with Lena Turkic; see Schönig (1999: 79-80) for details. In this context Tuhan surely gains importance. Departing from Tofan, which belongs to the Taiga Sayan group of Sayan Turkic, spoken by people engaged in reindeer breeding, representing most probably the Turkicized Samoyed mentioned above, Tuhan people might be the continuation of those Kurykans clans that did not move north, who were not assimilated by the Mongolic-speaking ancestors of the Buryat, and who do not represent Turkicized Samoyeds. A thorough

documentation of Tuhān will surely offer linguistic material for a better analysis of the Lena-Sayan Turkic subgroup within Northeast Turkic. Linguistic material from a “lowland” or steppe variety of Tofan will surely provide new insights for diachronic Turcological studies.

Based on these considerations, the entire Sayan language complex might be classified according to two axes: the steppe/taiga axis and the Tuvan/Tofan axis. To the steppe group belong standard Tuvan and its dialects (with the exception of the Toju dialect and probably some varieties of the Tere-Khöl area) as well as Altai-Sayan varieties in China and Mongolia, and Tuhān. On the other hand, the taiga group consists of Tofan, Dukhan, the Toju variety of Tuvan and some varieties of the Tere-Khöl area, as well as Soyot of Buriatia (Rassadin 2005); on this classification also see Žukovskaja et al. (2002: 165-166).<sup>13</sup> The lifestyle of the components of the latter group was characterized by reindeer-breeding and hunting. Since reindeer breeding is not a characteristic type of animal husbandry among Turkic peoples, it can be safely assumed that many, if not all, groups forming Taiga Sayan Turkic might represent those clans of Samoyed origin that shifted to Turkic.

### Summary

The lexical, phonetic, and morphological features discussed above have shown the unique position of this variety within Sayan Turkic. With respect to further research, the author of this report has conducted preliminary fieldwork and is working at the moment on processing the collected materials.

Even though Tuhān is highly endangered, there are still sufficient fluent speakers to allow a grammatical description. This fact combined with the community’s interest and support, is surely encouraging for the prospect of providing a full description whose outcomes will be important both for the Tuhān people and for linguistic Turcology.

### Transcription and abbreviations

The Cyrillic hard sign *ъ*, used to denote glottalization/pharyngealization is transcribed as <sup>ʕ</sup>. The corresponding phenomenon of preaspiration in Dukhan and Tuhān is indicated with the superscript <sup>h</sup>. The Cyrillic orthographical forms of Turkic and Mongolic languages have been transliterated into Latin characters according to standard practices. Common Turkic (CT) forms are quoted according to Clauson (1972), with minor transcriptional differences. Written Mongolian (WM) forms are quoted according to Lessing (1995).

<sup>13</sup> On some isoglosses of taiga Sayan Turkic, see Ragagnin (2006).

### Abbreviations

ABL	ablative	DIR	directive	NF	non-focal
ACC	accusative	GEN	genitive	OBL	oblique stem
ADJ.DER	adjectival derivation	INTRA	intraterminal	POSS	possessive
CAUS	causative	LF	low-focal	POST	postterminal
CB	converb	ITER	iterative	PRTC	particle
COND	conditional	LOC	locative	V.DER	verbal derivation
DAT	dative	N.DER	nominal derivation	VBN	verbal nominal
		NEG	negative	VOL	voluntative

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# Modal meanings of two copulas in Western Yugur

Zongzhen Chen

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The article studies the modal meanings expressed by the two copulas *er* and *dro* in Western Yugur, a Turkic minority language in China. The author concludes that the Western Yugur copula *er* denotes an assertive nuance whereas the copula *dro* marks presumptivity. The use of the presumptive copula depends on the attitude of the speaker to the truth of the proposition.

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## 1. Mood and modality

In Western Yugur, there are two moods expressed in various tense forms of verbs: the indicative mood used for making statements and the interrogative mood used for asking questions.<sup>1</sup> Each mood has two forms: an affirmative and a negative. There are thus four predicative forms of verbs: an affirmative and a negative form in the indicative mood, and an affirmative and a negative form in the interrogative mood. (While the affirmative interrogative form is a normal question, the negative interrogative may be used for rhetorical questions.) For example, the four predicative forms in the past tense of the verb *bar* 'to go' are:

- (1) a. *bahrdə* '(He) went.' (affirmative- indicative)
- b. *barmahdə* '(He) did not go.' (negative- indicative)
- c. *bahrdəm* 'Did (he) go?' (affirmative- interrogative, i.e. a normal question)
- d. *barmahdəm* 'Didn't (he) go?' (negative- interrogative, i.e. a rhetorical question)

The corresponding four forms in *ip dro* are:

- (2) a. *barəp dro* '(He) went.' (affirmative- indicative)
- b. *barmen dro* '(He) did not go.' (negative- indicative)
- c. *barəp drəm?* 'Did (he) go?' (affirmative- interrogative, i.e. a normal question)
- d. *barmen drəm?* 'Didn't (he) go?' (negative- interrogative, i.e. a rhetorical question).

<sup>1</sup> The article was translated from the Chinese original by Xiaoqian Li.

The two forms, *bahrdə* in (1a) and *barəp dro* in (2a), differ with respect to modality. The forms of the past tense mean '(he) went'; *bahrdə* may be interpreted as '(he) went', while *barəp dro* expresses a modal meaning.

## 2. Copula

Copulas in Western Yugur are used to relate the subject and the predicate which denote the attribute, the state, the action, or the change of the subject. The two basic copulas, *er* and *dro*, have the same meaning of 'be', though *er* also means 'right' or 'correct', and *dro*, 'have' or 'exist'.<sup>2</sup>

The verbs *er* 'be' and *tur* 'stand, stay, reside' already exist in Old Turkic, i.e., in Orkhon Turkic and in Old Uyghur. Obviously, the copula *er* of Western Yugur and the verb *er* of Old Turkic are cognates. As for *tur-*, the apparent cognate in Western Yugur is *dur* 'to stop, to reside'. The linking verb *dro* originated from *turur*, a participle form of the verb *tur-*.

The copula *er* has an allomorph *jer* with prothetic *j*. Other allomorphs, such as *erer*, *ere*, *jere*, and *e*, are sometimes observed, too. The copula *dro* also has allomorphs: *dər*, *do*, *də*, and *dzə*. Some speakers even use the form *dərur*. The allomorphs of the two copula thus show that not only *dro* but also *er* derives from a participle; i.e., *er* is a shortened form of the Old Turkic participle *erür*, just as *dro* goes back to *turur*.

## 3. Forms and meanings of the copulas

Although *er* and *dro* do not show complete verbal paradigms of voice, tense and aspect, they have a few inflectional forms, as follows:

### (3) Forms of *er*

- a. *mer* or *ber* 'Is (it)?' (< *me/be* + *er*, or *me/be* + *erer*) ;
- b. *erse* 'If (it) is' (-*se* is the affix used to form the conditional mood)
- c. *ehgən* '(It) can be' (< *er* + *gən*; *gən* is the suffix used to form the participle in the past tense)
- d. *mehgən* or *bəhgən* 'Can (it) be?' (< *me/be* + *ehgən*), *me/be* is the interrogative particle)
- e. *emes* '(It) is not' (-*mes* is the affix used to form the negative participle in the objective future tense)

### (4) Forms of *dro*

- a. *drəm* 'Is (it)?' (< *dro* + *me*, or *dro* + *mu*), both *me* and *mu* are the interrogative particle)
- b. *dərša* 'If (it) is' (< *dur* + *ša*; *ša* is the affix forming the conditional mood)
- c. *dəhgən*, *təgən* or *təgən* '(It) indeed is' (< *durur* *ehgən*, or < *durgən* *ehgən*)

<sup>2</sup> Roos calls these copulas the copulative particle and the evidential particle, respectively (Roos 2000: 148ff).



Although the copulas *er* and *dro* both mean ‘be’, there is some difference: *er* is generally used for propositions with assertion, while *dro* has a presumptive meaning. Consequently, *er* can be characterized as a marker of assertion, and *dro* as a presumptive form, just as the case of verbal predicates that we have given in Section 1. This distinction is also found between the corresponding forms of *er* and *dro*. For example, *mer/ber* (3a), a form of *er*, is assertive, and the corresponding *drəm* (4a), a form of *dro*, is presumptive. However, in the case of *ehgən* (3c) and *dəhgən* (4c), the reverse is the case; *ehgən*, a form of *er*, means just ‘(it) can be’ and is therefore regarded as presumptive, while *dəhgən*, a form of *dro*, contains an assertion with certainty ‘(it) can indeed be, (it) can certainly be’. This may be the result of semantic change over a long period.

Now, let us characterize in a more detailed way the difference in meaning between assertive and presumptive copulas. Generally speaking, in indicative sentences speakers use assertive forms when they speak about something they know or grasp well. For example, *er* or *jer* ‘(it) indeed is’, and *emes* or *emes er* ‘(it) indeed is not’ are used in this situation. Speakers use presumptive forms when they talk about what they do not know or grasp very well, or when they consider it unnecessary to emphasize the uncertainty of their assertion. For example, *dro* ‘(it) is, (it) probably is’ and *emes dro* ‘(it) is not, (it) probably is not’ are used in this situation. In interrogative sentences, speakers use an assertive form when they ask the addressee something they think that the addressee knows or grasps well, when they ask the addressee something they think the addressee can verify, or when they ask the addressee to show an unambiguous attitude. In this situation, *mer / ber* ‘is it indeed ... ?’, *emes mer* ‘isn’t it indeed ... ?’ are used. However, speakers use the presumptive form when they do not think that the addressee knows well what they are asking, or when they require the addressees just to give an answer without verifying it or without showing a definite attitude. In this situation, *drəm* ‘is (it) ... ?’ and *emes drəm* ‘isn’t (it) ... ?’ are used.

#### 4. Copulas attached to nominal predicates

Copulas can be attached to nominals, such as nouns, adjectives, numerals, pronouns, etc. For example:

- (5) a. *bu aq soqba jer.* ‘This is indeed millet.’  
 b. *bu aq soqba emes (er).*<sup>3</sup> ‘This indeed is not millet.’
- (6) a. *bu aq soqba me(r)?* ‘Is this indeed millet?’  
 b. *bu aq soqba emes me(r)?* ‘Isn’t this indeed millet?’

<sup>3</sup> The linking verb *er* or *r* in parentheses can be omitted, and the meaning of the resultant sentence remains the same.

These sentences are indicative, and interrogative, and assertive. Speakers can also describe the same facts, using presumptive copula:

- (7) a. *bu aq soqba dro.* 'This is millet.'  
 b. *bu aq soqba emes dro.* 'This is not millet.'
- (8) a. *bu aq soqba drəm?* 'Is this millet?'  
 b. *bu aq soqba emes drəm?* 'Isn't this millet?'

The choice between assertive or presumptive forms is according to the speaker's subjective decision. In other words, either can be accepted in the same contexts, as in (9) and (10):

- (9) a. *gol kəsi kəm er?* 'Who is that person?'  
 b. *gol kəsi wang siliŋ er.* 'That person is General Wang.'
- (10) a. *gol kəsi kəm dər?* 'Who is that person?'  
 b. *gol kəsi wang siliŋ dər.* 'That person is General Wang.'

However, two general rules may be pointed out. The form *dər* is used when the question may remain unanswered.

The second rule of usage concerns the speaker's involvement: when the speaker is talking about something relevant to himself/herself, the assertive form is more acceptable; in contrast, when the speaker is telling something relevant to somebody else, the presumptive form is more acceptable. In the case of interrogative sentences, however, the assertive form conforms better to the second person than to the first and third persons, for which the presumptive form is more suitable, as follows:

- (11) a. *bu məsdəŋ aht jere.* 'This is (indeed) our horse.'  
 b. *bu selemnəŋ aht dro.* 'This is your horse.'  
 c. *bu golarnəŋ aht dro.* 'This is their horse.'
- (12) a. *bu məsdəŋ aht drəm?* 'Is this (really) our horse?'  
 b. *bu selemnəŋ aht ber?* 'Is this (indeed) your horse?'  
 c. *bu golarnəŋ aht drəm?* 'Is this their horse?'

Besides the "common usages" mentioned above, there are some other usages applied to special cases. For example:

- (13) a. *bu məsdəŋ aht dro.* 'This is (can be) our horse.'  
 b. *bu selemnəŋ aht jere.* 'This is (indeed) your horse.'  
 c. *bu golarnəŋ aht jere.* 'This is (indeed) their horse.'

- (14) a. *bu məsdəŋ aht ber?* 'Is this (indeed) our horse?'  
 b. *bu seleməŋ aht drəm?* 'Is this (really) your horse?'  
 c. *bu golarnəŋ aht ber?* 'Is this (indeed) their horse?'

Compared with the corresponding sentences in (11) and (12), exemplifying the common usage mentioned above, each sentence in (13) and (14) includes a different copula, the presumptive instead of the assertive, and vice versa. Such a usage, of course, reflects the speaker's different attitudes toward the situation. For example, in (13a) and (14a) the speaker is not quite familiar with his/her own horse. In the other examples, the speaker suspects the ownership of the horse, or the speaker wants to make the situation more concrete.

So far we have examined sentences in the affirmative and in the interrogative mood, though the same argument also applies to the negative indicative and the negative interrogative (rhetorical question) mood. The following are the examples of the common usage.

- (15) a. *kər menəŋ ənə emes (er)* . 'Kor is (indeed) not my younger brother.'  
 b. *kər senəŋ ənə emes dro.* 'Kor is not your younger brother.'  
 c. *kər gonəŋ ənə emes dro.* 'Kor is not his younger brother.'
- (16) a. *kər menəŋ ənə emes drəm?* 'Is Kor (really) not my younger brother?'  
 b. *kər senəŋ ənə emes mer?* 'Is Kor (indeed) not your younger brother?'  
 c. *kər gonəŋ ənə emes drəm?* 'Is Kor not his younger brother?'

The subject of the sentences in (15) and (16) is a noun phrase in the third person, *kər* 'Kor', but the referent of *ənə* 'younger brother' differs from sentence to sentence. In indicative sentences, when it is 'my brother', the assertive copula is used. The presumptive copula is preferable otherwise. In interrogative sentences, when it is 'your brother', the assertive copula is chosen. 'My brother' and 'his brother' trigger the presumptive one. Yet, there are also exceptional cases to which the above-mentioned general rule cannot be applied:

- (17) a. *kər menəŋ ənə emes dro* . 'Kor is not (or, may not be) my younger brother.'  
 b. *kər senəŋ ənə emes (er).* 'Kor is (indeed) not your younger brother.'  
 c. *kər gonəŋ ənə emes (er).* 'Kor is (indeed) not his younger brother.'
- (18) a. *kər menəŋ ənə emes mer?* 'Is Kor (indeed) not my younger brother?'  
 b. *kər senəŋ ənə emes drəm?* 'Is Kor (really) not your younger brother?'  
 c. *kər gonəŋ ənə emes mer?* 'Is Kor (indeed) not his younger brother?'

(17a) carries the speaker's suspicion about whether Kor is his/her younger brother, whereas in (17b) and (17c) the speaker shows his/her direct commitment to the question about the younger brother. Interrogative sentences in (18) show the same pattern as in (14): the assertive copula is used in the case of the first and the third

person possessor, and the presumptive one in the case of the second person possessor, the reverse pattern of (16). As in (14), interrogative sentences with presumptive form carry the speaker's suspicion against the addressee's knowledge, while those with the assertive copula express the speaker's request to the addressee for concrete and direct information.

### 5. Copula with the additional meanings 'right' and 'existent'

Besides the meaning 'be', the copula *er*, *jer*, etc. also mean 'right', 'correct'; *dro*, *dər*, etc. 'existent' or 'there is', because both *er* and *dro* historically derived from participle forms. The negative form *emes* is also a participle of the linking verb, and may mean 'not right', 'not correct' or 'wrong'. Similarly the interrogative form *drəm* may mean 'does (he/she) have ...?' or 'is there ...?'

Since *er/jer* and *emes* are participles of the copula and, accordingly, can function as an adjective syntactically, they may be followed by one of the copula, resulting in such complex predicates as *jer er*, *jer dro*, *emes er* and *emes dro*, as follows:

- |         | assertive   | presumptive  |
|---------|---|--|
| (19) a. | <i>senəŋ dioma jer er</i> . <sup>4</sup><br>'Your opinion is (indeed) right.'           | b. <i>senəŋ dioma jer dro</i> .<br>'Your opinion is right.'                        |
| (20) a. | <i>anday tise emes er</i> .<br>'Talking about it in this way is<br>(indeed) not right.' | b. <i>anday tise emes dro</i> .<br>'Talking about it in this way is<br>not right.' |
| (21) a. | <i>məndaŋ jərɫasa jer er</i> .<br>'Singing in this way is (indeed) right.'              | b. <i>məndaŋ jərɫasa jer dro</i> .<br>'Singing in this way is right.'              |
| (22) a. | <i>məndaŋ jərɫasa emes er</i> .<br>'Singing in this way is (indeed) not right.'         | b. <i>məndaŋ jərɫasa emes dro</i> .<br>'Singing in this way is not right.'         |
| (23) a. | <i>məndaŋ jərɫasa jer mer?</i><br>'Is singing in this way (really) right?'              | b. <i>məndaŋ jərɫasa jer drəm?</i><br>'Is singing in this way right?'              |
| (24) a. | <i>məndaŋ jərɫasa emes mer?</i><br>'Is singing in this way (really) not right?'         | b. <i>məndaŋ jərɫasa emes drəm?</i><br>'Is singing in this way not right?'         |

In the following, examples of the indicative mood are shown first, followed by those of the interrogative mood.

<sup>4</sup> This sentence can also be *senəŋ dioma jere*. The meaning does not change either. It is presumed that the last *r* in *jer er* dropped and the two parts contracted into one morph *jere*.

- |         | affirmative   | negative   |
|---------|---|--|
| (25) a. | <i>mende menek bar (er).</i><br>'I do have some money.' | b. <i>mende menek joq (er).</i><br>'I really do not have any money.' |
| (26) a. | <i>sende menek (bar) dro.</i><br>'You have some money.' | b. <i>sende menek joq dro.</i><br>'You do not have any money.'       |
| (27) a. | <i>gonda menek (bar) dro.</i><br>'He has some money.'   | b. <i>gonda menek joq dro.</i><br>'He does not have any money.'      |

In (25) the parenthesized *er* and *bar* can be omitted. Even when *bar* 'existent' or 'there is' and *joq* 'nonexistent' or 'there is not' are not followed by *er*, they nonetheless carry the possessive meaning and are interpreted as assertive. In contrast, in (26a) and (27a), *bar* can be omitted, and *dro* solely expresses the possessive meaning and indicates assertiveness. In the negative interrogative mood, however, the first part of the predicate *joq* cannot be omitted, since *joq* marks assertiveness by itself. In other words, *dro* is always interpreted as denoting the presumptive. In the same way, *bar* and *joq* are markers of assertiveness and are presumptive only in combination with *dro*. The following are examples of the common usage in the interrogative mood.

- |         | question   | rhetorical question  |
|---------|--|--|
| (28) a. | <i>mende menek drəm?</i><br>'Do I (really) have any money?'      | b. <i>mende menek joq drəm?</i><br>'Don't I (really) have any money?'  |
| (29) a. | <i>sende menek bar mer?</i><br>'Do you (indeed) have any money?' | b. <i>sende menek joq ber?</i><br>'Don't you (really) have any money?' |
| (30) a. | <i>gonda menek drəm?</i><br>'Does he have any money?'            | b. <i>gonda menek joq drəm?</i><br>'Doesn't he have any money?'        |

The general rules in the common usage, mentioned in Section 4, also apply to the examples in this section. Deviation from the general rules under special pragmatic conditions are possible, too, just as the other cases.

## 6. Copulas in complex verb forms

So far we have looked at the usage of copulas with nominals. Lastly, we will examine copulas when they are used in combination with verbs. The copula *er* and *dro* can be placed after several forms of the verb, such as converbs and participles, to give different modal nuances to verbal predicates, as already mentioned in Section 1, (1) and (2). Here, a paradigm of the verb *bar* 'to go' with the inflection of tense, mood and modality is shown.

Table 1: Paradigm of the verb *bar* ‘to go’

Modality	Mood	Indicative Mood		Interrogative Mood	
	Tense	Affirmative	Interrogative	Affirmative (Normal Question)	Interrogative (Rhetorical Question)
Assertive	Past Tense	<i>bahrdə</i> ‘(He) indeed went.’	<i>barmahdə</i> ‘(He) indeed didn’t go.’	<i>bahrdəm</i> ‘Did (he) indeed go?’	<i>barmahdəm</i> ‘Didn’t (he) indeed go?’
	Present Tense	<i>barəp bar (er)</i> ‘(He) is indeed going.’	<i>baro joq (er)</i> ‘(He) is indeed not going.’	<i>barəp bar me (r)</i> ‘Is (he) indeed going?’	<i>baro joq be (r)</i> ‘Isn’t (he) indeed going?’
	Future Tense	<i>barəş (er)</i> ‘(He) will go indeed.’	<i>barəşmes (er)</i> ‘(He) will not go indeed.’	<i>barəş me (r)</i> ‘Will (he ) indeed go?’	<i>barəşmes me (r)</i> ‘Won’t (he) go indeed?’
Presumptive	Past Tense	<i>barəp dro</i> ‘(He) went.’	<i>barmen dro</i> ‘(He) didn’t go.’	<i>barəp drəm</i> ‘Did (he) go?’	<i>barmen drəm</i> ‘Didn’t (he) go?’
	Present Tense	<i>baro dro</i> ‘(He) is going.’	<i>baro joq dro</i> ‘(He) is not going.’	<i>baro drəm</i> ‘Is (he) going?’	<i>baro joq drəm</i> ‘Isn’t (he) going?’
	Future Tense	<i>barəş dro</i> ‘(He) will go.’	<i>barəşmes dro</i> ‘(He) will not go.’	<i>barəş drəm</i> ‘Will (he) go?’	<i>barəşmes drəm</i> ‘Won’t (he) go?’

As in the case of nominal predicates, exemplified in (11) and (12), correlation is found between the person and the copula in sentences with a verbal predicate, as is shown in the following table. The first person indicative and the second person interrogative forms, are assertive, and the others are presumptive.

Table 2: Modality and person combination in the past tense form of *bar*-

Person	Mood	Indicative Mood		Interrogative Mood	
		Affirmative	Interrogative	Affirmative (Normal Question)	Interrogative (Rhetorical Question)
1	<i>men, məs</i> ‘I, we’	<i>bahrdə</i> ‘I/we indeed went.’	<i>barmahdə</i> ‘I/we didn’t go indeed.’	<i>barəp drəm</i> ‘Did I/we go?’	<i>barmen drəm</i> ‘Didn’t I/we go?’
2	<i>sen, seler</i> ‘thou, you’	<i>barəp dro</i> ‘You went.’	<i>barmen dro</i> ‘You didn’t go.’	<i>bahrdəm</i> ‘Did you really go?’	<i>barmahdəm</i> ‘Didn’t you go indeed?’

3	<i>gol, golar</i> 'he, they'	<i>barəp dro</i> 'He/they went.'	<i>barmen dro</i> 'He/they didn't go.'	<i>barəp drəm</i> 'Did he/they go?'	<i>barmen drəm</i> 'Didn't he/they go?'
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Table 2 shows the "common usage" mentioned in Section 4. It is also the case in verbal inflection that in special circumstances presumptive forms are used in the first person indicative mood and the second person interrogative mood, and that assertive ones are used otherwise.<sup>5</sup>

In Western Yugur, not every sentence necessarily contains a copula. Predicates without a copula are interpreted as assertive. In the present and the future tense, the indicative copula *er* and the interrogative copula *mer/ber* are cliticized to a nominal or a verbal predicate to emphasize that it is assertive. As for the presumptive, predicates always have the copula *dro* in the indicative mood or *drəm* in the interrogative mood. Such a situation arises with the distinction between *bar* 'existent (assertive)' vs. *dro* 'existent (presumptive)', or between *joq* 'nonexistent (assertive)' vs. *joq dro* 'nonexistent (presumptive)'.

The two copulas, *er* and *dro*, with other forms, such as *mer*, *drəm*, etc., can be combined with other types of participle and converb (*-yan*, *-yaq*, and *-mas*) besides those listed in Table 1. For example:

- (31) a. *baryan (er)* ' (He) has been (there) indeed.'  
 b. *barmayan (er)* ' (He) indeed hasn't been (there).'  
 c. *baryan me(r)?* 'Has (he) been (there) indeed?'  
 d. *barmayan me(r)?* 'Hasn't (he) been (there) indeed?'
- (32) a. *baryan dro* ' (He) has been (there).'  
 b. *barmayan dro* ' (He) hasn't been (there).'  
 c. *baryan drəm?* 'Has (he) been there?'  
 d. *barmayan drəm?* 'Hasn't (he) been (there)?'
- (33) a. *baryaq (er)* ' (He) often went (there) indeed.'  
 b. *barmas (er)* ' (He) indeed didn't go (there) often.'  
 c. *baryaq me(r)?* 'Did (he) indeed go (there) often?'  
 d. *barmas me(r)?* 'Didn't (he) indeed go(there) often?'
- (34) a. *baryaq dro* ' (He) often went (there).'  
 b. *barmas dro* ' (He) didn't go (there) often.'  
 c. *baryaq drəm?* 'Did (he) often go (there)?'  
 d. *barmas drəm?* 'Didn't (he) often go (there)?'

<sup>5</sup> See Chen & Lei (1985: 94-96, 98-99, and 102-103).

As is easily understood from the description so far, in the common usage, the forms in (31) and (33) are assertive and the forms in (32) and (34) presumptive. This does not change if *er*, *r*, or *mer* in parentheses is omitted.

### 7. Conclusion

In this paper, it has been shown that the two copulas of Western Yugur, *er* and *dro* with their interrogative, conditional and deontic forms, as well as various allomorphs, denote two different modalities: the assertive and the presumptive. The Western Yugur copulas derive from the same Old Turkic verbs *er* and *tur* as, for example, the Modern Uyghur *idi*, *iken*, *imif*, and *du* do, though the semantic distinction made by *er* and *dro* is more consistent and ubiquitous in the grammar of Western Yugur than in that of the Modern Uyghur cognates. It is to assume that such fundamental differences have resulted from the different course historical change has taken in the two languages.

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# ***Olonxo* as a masterpiece of cultural heritage**

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*Olonxo* is the heroic epos of the Sakha (Yakut) people of Siberia. *Olonxo* is a general term used to denote the whole epic tradition of the Sakha as well as separate works of epic literature recorded from hundreds of different bearers of the verbal traditional culture. The poetics, contents and plots of *olonxo* are similar to those of the *Odyssey* and *Aeneid* and other West-European chef-d'œuvres. The main difference consists in the fact that the poems of *olonxo* do not belong to one particular author but represent the result of collective work created over the course of several centuries by generations of *olonxosuts* 'performer of *olonxo*' with the immediate participation of the audience itself.

In 2005 the Sakha heroic epos *olonxo* was recognized as a Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity at the Third Proclamation of UNESCO in Paris on the 25th of November. This was a significant event in the cultural life of the Sakha Republic (Yakutia), and its celebration culminated in July 2006 when an international forum on "Sustainable development of the Arctic countries and the northern regions of the Russian Federation in the context of education, science and culture" took place in Yakutsk, organized by UNESCO, the government of the Sakha Republic and the Yakutsk Institute for Research in the Humanities.

This article deals with *olonxo* and its history, its current state, the background behind the proclamation of *olonxo* as a masterpiece and the international forum held in Yakutsk.

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## **1. General characteristics of *olonxo***

*Olonxo* narrates the adventures and deeds of ancient heroes. The events in *olonxo* take place during epic heroic times in the mythological space of the three worlds—Middle, Upper and Lower. The ancient heroes described in *olonxo* are the first inhabitants of the Middle World, the ancestors and defenders of the Uraangxaj-saxa tribe. Uraangxaj-saxa is the old epic name of the Sakha people. The content of *olonxo* reflects the period when the tribal system was disintegrating. The tribal chiefs were patriarchs who possessed large herds of cattle. The plots and images of *olonxo* are interwoven with rich and variegated mythology reflecting the weltanschauung, beliefs, ancient rituals and complex history of the people. The mythology of *olonxo* bears witness to *olonxo* having emerged in deep antiquity when epic narration was closely connected with the creation of myths. That is why *olonxo* abounds in mythological characters such as gods, spirits, demons, animals and birds.

*Olonxo* is a general name for the numerous Sakha heroic narratives. The size of one particular narrative averages 10-15 thousand verses, the size of a bigger *olonxo* can reach 20 and sometimes even 50 thousand lines. For instance, the *olonxo* "Njurgun Bootur the Impetuous" reconstructed by Ojunkskij contains 36 thousand lines. Another example is the *olonxo* "Alaatyır Ala Tujgun" which consists of 50,109 verses and which was recorded in the 1960s by R. P. Alekseev, a native of the Ust-Aldanskij region, see Alekseev 2002.

However, since *olonxo* belonged to the oral tradition, its size was determined not by the number of lines but by the length of the performance—lasting one night, several days, etc. For instance, *olonxo* researcher I. V. Puxov writes: "The performance lasted from 6-7 o'clock in the evening till dawn. In other words, the whole performance lasted approximately 10-12 hours" (cited after V. V. Illarionov 1982: 133). Judging by the tape-recordings, such a "one night" performance consisted of 9-10 thousand verses. Waclaw Sieroszewski met *olonxosut* Manchaary, who said that he could narrate one *olonxo* over the course of one month.

In the 1970s folklore researchers I. V. Puxov and P. N. Dmitriev recorded legends that the famous *olonxosuts* I. Oxlopkov-Čočojbox and I. V. Tabaxyrov could not finish even an introductory part of an *olonxo* during one night. Thus, taking into consideration the improvisational character of performance, *olonxo* when performed orally apparently had a larger volume than the versions recorded later. During long winter evenings, in the dim light of a yurt, the Yakuts of pre-revolutionary times had enough to ponder upon, to polish leisurely the language of popular poetry, to "whet" various images of *olonxo*, to practice eloquence. Incredibly abundant is the repertoire of descriptive means of the Saxa *olonxo*. The mastery of a narrator consisted in realizing epic knowledge during performance. Understood under epic knowledge is the *olonxosuts*' combined knowledge of various plots, motifs, a corpus of epic formulas and typical loci, a system of artistic-descriptive means. For instance, the repertoire of the *olonxosut* P. Kolesov from Nam numbered 45 different plots.

A classical description of an *olonxo* performance is given by the founder of Sakha literature A. E. Kulakovskij (1925: 69): "Look at a Sakha family listening to an *olonxosut* on a long winter night... Everyone is listening with bated breath, totally carried away and trying not to miss a single word... Everyone has forgotten his worries, his sorrow and rushed into a magical, beautiful world of enchanting dreams... And the story-teller himself as a true poet got carried away more than everyone else, even his eyes are shut so that he could renounce once and for all this sinful earth with its spiteful petty squabbles and everyday humdrum...". Indeed, the arrival of an *olonxosut* in a settlement was a truly joyful event. As noted by Vasil'ev (1973: 80), "listening to *olonxo* was a true holiday in the yurt. In the depressing and monotonous environment, one could hardly think of a better entertainment for people who were under the pressure of poverty and petty household chores".

*Olonxo* has been passed on by word of mouth in the form of oral narrative tradition. In the past *olonxo* circulated among people in numerous versions; there existed local oral narrative schools, for instance, those of Taatta, Amga, Uus-Aldan, Viljuy,

Verkhoyansk, and others. *Olonxo* was usually performed in small circles of family members and the nearest neighbors but sometimes at various festivities as well. *Olonxo* was characterized by a certain traditional manner of performance with the *olonxosut* sitting with his legs crossed and with one hand on his ear or cheek. Descriptive narrative extracts are recited at a quick pace, while monologues and dialogues are performed in the form of a song. Pathetic spots are characterized by gesticulation; sometimes the *olonxosut* half-rises and expresses the hero's feelings with his facial expression (Ėrgis 1974: 183). Comparable descriptions of the *olonxosut*'s pose are given by Žirkov (1981: 51) and Šerxunaev (1977: 198).

The narrative tradition developed both solo and choral performance. The simplest type of performance was a duet where one performer read recitatives as the other sang monologues. Cases of choral performance by several prominent *olonxosuts* were known, and famous *olonxosuts* and narration schools organized competitions. All this developed mastership of performers and stimulated people's interest in the epos. Later, for historical and social reasons, the epic environment decayed, and the epic narrative tradition embodied in the form of schools declined. Today, solo performances with all their unique features (improvisation, performing manner, rich poetical speech, specific guttural singing, facial expression, gesticulation, etc.) no longer exist.

## 2. The history of *olonxo*

This section gives some information on the historical background of *olonxo* itself as well as research devoted to *olonxo*.

### 2.1. The emergence of *olonxo*

From a mythological point of view, the first *olonxosut* was Seerkeen Sehen, a wise old man, himself one of the characters in a number of epic poems. From a historical point of view, of course, the names of the very first *olonxo* performers have long been forgotten. *Olonxo* originated in deep antiquity and is considered to be one of the most ancient epic monuments of the Turkic-Mongolian peoples. Rudiments of *olonxo* developed at a stage when the ancestors of the Sakha were territorially close to these peoples (no later than 4th-9th centuries).

An outstanding Soviet archeologist, academician M. P. Grjaznov (1961: 31), made the following suggestion with regard to the age of the verbal art of the nomads of Altai, Baikal, Mongolia and present-day northern China: "If until recently it was considered that the antiquity of the heroic epos of the peoples of our country is estimated to be only a few centuries... then during the last years researchers more often reach the conclusion that it is much older, that it developed during the period of the military-democratic system which on our territories corresponds to the time of early nomads, more specifically the second half of the first millennium B.C."

As far as the dating of *olonxo* itself is concerned, Ojuns kij (1962: 133) supposed that "the appearance of the first *olonxos* in the form of separate narratives about the

war should coincide with the time of the Tatar and Mongolian invasion of China". Puxov & Ėrgis (1985: 544-558) considered that "apparently, *olonxo* was created during the period when the ancestors of the Sakha still preserved in their memory hostile relations with the ancient Turks in the 6th-7th centuries. Of course, this does not mean that the emergence of the epos should be necessarily assigned to the 6th-7th centuries. But it is possible that *olonxo* was being formed at the time when the forefathers of the Sakha were still singing about their battles with the Turkic kagans".

## 2.2. The history of *olonxo* studies

Research on Sakha folklore at all stages of its development dealt with problems of collection, study and preservation of the traditions of oral narration by passing it on to a younger generation.

The collection of the monuments of Sakha epic culture began from the middle of the 19th century. Today the archive of the Yakut scientific centre of the Siberian branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences and other archives in the Republic have in their storage 127 full versions of *olonxo* in manuscripts, more than 100 extracts and short summaries of plots, around 300 sound and video recordings taken in different years. During 80 years of Soviet power 8 *olonxos* were published out of all the epic heritage; nowadays the number of published *olonxos* is 22.

Traveler and researcher Middendorf was the first person to make a recording of the Yakut heroic epos for the scientific community in 1842 (during his expedition to Siberia which took place from 1842 to 1845). An excerpt that Middendorf recorded was the beginning of the *olonxo* "Eriedel Bergen". In addition, Middendorf rendered the basic content of the *olonxo* succinctly in Russian. However, the first *olonxo* "Er Sogotox" in A. Ja. Uvarovskij's rendering was published by the Sanscrit scholar and academician Boehtlingk (1815-1904) in 1851 in Yakut and German. The well-known folklore researcher I. A. Xudjakov during his exile in Verkhoyansk in the 19th century studied the Yakut language and simultaneously collected specimens of Yakut folklore. He recorded and translated into Russian four *olonxos*, including a "three-generational" *olonxo* "Xaan Djargystaj" which depicts the deeds of three generations of warriors.

Ė. K. Pekarsky did not leave behind any work dedicated to a special investigation of *olonxo*, but he carried out extensive textological work reflected in his articles on the publication of works of Yakut oral folklore. In addition, basic epic texts of *olonxo* recorded with the help of *olonxosuts* of central and northern Yakutia appeared for the first time in "Specimens of folk literature of the Yakuts", also published by him. Pekarsky devoted half a century to compiling the dictionary of the Yakut language, and almost all illustrative materials of this three-volume work consist of folklore, viz. epic specimens.

The political exile S. V. Jastremskij, an active participant of Sibirjakov's expedition of 1894-1896, also conducted successful work on the translation of Yakut

*olonxo* into Russian. He recorded and translated into Russian five *olonxos* published for the first time in 1929.

Following Russian researchers, Yakut scientists and writers also engaged in the collection and study of folklore. The contribution of P. A. Ojunkskij—a prominent Yakut politician, scientist, poet—to the collection, publication and study of *olonxo* is priceless. He regarded this work as one of the basic tasks of the Scientific Research Institute of Language and Culture of the Yakut ASSR, which he founded in 1935. From this time on, the process of collecting Yakut folklore, including *olonxo*, began. This was done through numerous folklore expeditions into various districts of the Republic organized by the Institute of Language, History and Literature (now Institute for Research in Humanities of the Academy of Sciences of the Sakha Republic) (by G. A. Popov, S. I. Bolo, A. A. Savvin, G. U. Germogenov-Ėrgis, I. V. Puxov, G. M. Vasil'ev, N. V. Emel'janov, P. E. Ėfremov, V. V. Illarionov, P. N. Dmitriev and others). A series of important fundamental scientific works on the study of *olonxo* was written by well-known Yakut scientists: I. V. Puxov, G. U. Germogenov-Ėrgis, G. M. Vasil'ev, V. T. Petrov, N. V. Ėmel'janov, P. E. Ėfremov and others.

### 2.3. Famous *olonxosuts*

*Olonxo* was created by the efforts of many generations of *olonxosuts*. *Olonxosuts* always commanded great love and respect of all Sakha people. The honor of being called an *olonxosut* was granted only to those individuals who met the esthetic and spiritual requirements of the epic environment, had a true talent for creating and performing *olonxo*, loved and respected it and forgot their own interests for the sake of becoming an *olonxosut*. Nowadays, based on written and archival sources, 613 *olonxosuts* of the past and present (17th-21st centuries) have been identified. These were all talented and bright individuals who became part of Sakha history. Among them we can name I. Oxlopkov-Čočojbox, I. V. Tabaxyrov from Taatta, T. V. Zaxarov-Čeebij and E. E. Ivanova from Amga, S. A. Zverev from Suntaar, I. I. Burnašev-Tong Suorun and N. A. Abramov-Kynat from Menge-Khangalas, D. M. Gorovov and N. P. Burnašev-Boodoghos from Uus-Aldan, S. V. Petrov from Njurba and many others.

In 2005, only two bearers were still alive. One of them was Daria Andreevna Tomskaja (Čaajka), who was born in 1913 in the district of Verkhoyansk. Her repertoire consists of the following *olonxo*: “Kun Kuohengse”, “Erbeger erčimneex Eliter Bergen”, “Kulun Kullustuur”, “Učugej Uodjujeen Kuhaġan Xoodjugur”, “Kyys Kylaabynaj”, “Kuoxa emeexsin”, “Njurgun Bootur”, “Sahyl ulaan attaax Sandaly Bergen”, “Xaan Ilbisteen Buxatyyr”, “Omunnaajy buxatyyr”, “Ellej Baatyr”. She died in 2008. The other is Petr Egorovich Rešetnikov, born in 1928 in the district of Taatta. Rešetnikov is still active and performs several of his *olonxos*. One of his *olonxos*, “Ahynygas sanaalaax Ajyy Djuraġastaj buxatyyr”, has been recorded.

On December 29, 2005 the President of the Sakha Republic V. Štyrov passed a decree “On measures for the preservation, study and dissemination of the Yakut heroic epos *olonxo*”. One of the measures includes appointing a lifetime monthly personal stipend to the living bearers of the epic tradition Daria Tomskaya and Petr Rešetnikov.

### 3. Various transformations of *olonxo*

We must keep in mind that *olonxo* was originally a genre of verbal, unwritten culture. Its proclamation as a masterpiece of *oral* and *intangible* heritage implies that we must preserve it as such. This, in turn, requires the creation of an epic environment and the schooling of genuine *olonxosuts*, i.e. individuals who combine both creating and performing skills. Understood under epic environment is the audience itself: *olonxo* is a whole performance in which an *olonxosut* enacts completely different characters—from gods to demons, from humans to animals, from men to women, and the audience watching and listening to the performance plays the role not only of judge but also that of coauthor. Indeed, the public supplements the performance by suggesting corrections and insertions and by applauding at successful improvisations, thus showing its approval. This exceptional role of the audience was already noted by the very first documenter of *olonxo* Middendorf (1878: 792).

It is clear from this exposition that once *olonxo* is recorded on tape or video, put down on paper, enacted as a theatrical play or represented in painting, the conditions for the epic environment are no longer met. Nonetheless, such transformations are invaluable: not only do they enrich our cultural and spiritual lives but they also contribute greatly to the noble cause of preserving *olonxo* for future generations. Below we shall consider the various metamorphoses that *olonxo* have undergone.

#### 3.1. Theatre

The first stage adaptations of *olonxo* started in 1906 when the *olonxo* “Beriet Bergen” was played in the non-Russian club of Yakutsk. There were several performers including among others a famous *olonxosut* P. A. Oxlopkov (*Naara Suox*), a folk storyteller, the wife of a political exile, M. N. Ionova-Androsova, and the first Yakut writer, A. E. Kulakovskij. The second *olonxo* to be put on stage in March 1907 was “Warrior Kulantaj on a frisky horse”. These were amateur performances. The main roles were played by the *olonxosuts* themselves. The plays had enormous success and opened new avenues on the perception and interpretation of *olonxo*.

An invaluable contribution into promoting *olonxo* on stage was made by well-known *olonxosut* N. I. Stepanov-Noorj. Starting from 1921 he staged several *olonxos* with amateur troupes (e.g. “Sabyja Baaj Tojon” in 1921, “Beriet Bergen”, “Oqo Njurgun” in 1936). The latter two were even performed on the professional stage of the Yakut drama theatre with enormous success. In 1939 professional composers Pejko and Steiman made musical notations of Stepanov-Noorj’s *olonxo*. An unforgettable performance of “Oqo Njurgun” was given in 1945 during festivities

dedicated to the Victory: the *olonxo* itself was perceived as a symbol of victory reflecting patriotic themes and ideas of the heroic epos.

In the 1930s and 1940s traditional folk melodies of *olonxo* were recorded from the *olonxosuts* themselves. The first Yakut composer and folklore researcher M.N. Žirkov played a prominent role in the process: he translated into musical notation the song melodies of chief *olonxo* characters, using them later in his (jointly with G. Litinsky) opera “Njurgun Bootur the Impetuous” based on an *olonxo* of the same name. The first public presentation of the opera took place in 1947. The successful Moscow premiere of the opera was in 1957.

A new tendency in the transformation of *olonxo* was introduced with the spread of mass media—radio and television. Audio recordings of famous *olonxosuts* (I.G. Teplouxov-Timofeev, I. I. Burnašev-Tong Suorun, U. G. Noxsorov, N. I. Stepanov-Nooroj, P. P. Jadrixinsky-Bedjeele, V. O Karataev and others) and a series of performances by the people’s artist of the Yakut ASSR G. G. Kolesov were broadcast on radio in the 1950s. Based on Kolesov’s recordings a set of 9 gramophone discs of P. A. Ojunsky’s “Njurgun Bootur the Impetuous” was issued. Later these recordings were issued on compact disks. With the appearance of television, a series of programs dedicated to the works of well-known *olonxosuts* were broadcast thanks to TV-journalists A. G. Zverev and E. S. Mironova.

Starting from the 1980s-90s amateur folk theatres of the Republic began showing broad interest in the epos. Commemorating the 100th anniversary of P. A. Ojunsky in 1993, a republican festival of folk theatres was organized in Ytyk-Kuol, the central village of the Taatta district. For the most part, theatres showed dramatized plays based on the motifs of the heroic epos. During the festival there was a single instance of the transformation of an *olonxo* into a dance performance. The dance theatre “Erel” staged N. Abramov’s *olonxo* “Female shamans Uolumar and Ajgyr” (libretto by A. Zaxarova, production by S. Tolstjakova), which became the best performance of the year 1996.

The recreation of the *olonxo* theatre invokes the archaic genetic memory of the people and restores ways for the revival of the people in all respects of modern life. This is witnessed by the production of the *olonxos* “Njurgun Bootur the Impetuous” (new production of the opera by the director A. S. Borisov in 1993), and “Maiden Debilije” in recent years in the Sakha academic drama theatre after P.A. Ojunsky. Thus, the talented staging of the *olonxo* “Maiden Debilije” was awarded the Russian “Golden mask” prize in 2002—an achievement which once again bears witness to the wide range of possibilities for transforming the Sakha heroic epos into an on-stage performance.

### 3.2. Fine arts

The heroic epos and folklore in general have always inspired painters, starting from the very emergence of fine arts in Yakutia in the 1930s. Close collaboration between *olonxo* and fine arts began in 1930 with the creation of “The portrait of *olonxosut* I.

N. Vinokurov-Tabaxyrov” by I. V. Popov, the first professional artist of Yakutia. Since then a whole gallery of the portraits of famous *olonxosuts* has been created (“The portrait of I. I. Burnašev-Tong Suorun” by P. P. Romanov in 1944, “The portrait of P. P. Jadrixinskij” by E. S. Sivcev in 1966, “The portrait of folk singer E. N. Čarpykova” by L. A. Kim in 1984, and many others).

The first interpreter of epic images in painting was P. P. Romanov. In his epic canvas “Warrior with the Bride” (1938) Romanov for the first time transfers the figurative structure of the Yakut *olonxo* into a picturesque narration about human life.

An important role in the artistic transformation of *olonxo* was played by M. M. Nosov, an ethnographer and researcher who was also among the first Yakut artists. In his paintings he frequently used historical and folkloristic motifs. These works are “Dance of the Ancient Yakut” (1946), “Battle of the Warriors” (1940), “The First Settlers on the Lena River” (1947) and a series of graphics “Yakutia in the Folklore Epos” (1945). The works introduce us to the unusual fictional world created by the author’s fantasy, with the epos represented as a fairy tale. Nosov’s graphic works “Yakutia in the Folklore Epos” remained unfinished: the author completed only seven graphic sheets devoted to the *olonxo* heroes and the mythical world that surrounds them.

An entirely new stage of *olonxo* transmission through fine arts starts in the 1960s-1970s when Yakut engraving and print receive international acclaim. A large number of graphics, prints, plates, and etchings have been created since then. Transition from ethnographic orientation to a spiritual reinterpretation of folklore is seen in the works of graphic artists E. S. Sivcev, V. S. Karamzin, V. R. Vasil’ev, A.P. Munxalov, and others. Among their most notable works we can single out a series of etchings “Yakut National Games” (1969) and a series of lithographs “Guest” (1978), “Shamans” (1988) by the Yakut pioneer printmaker E. S. Sivcev, a series of etchings “The Ysjax Festival” (1968), “The Yakut Heroic Epos” (1969) by V. S. Karamzin, the triptych “Njurgun Bootur the Impetuous” by V. R. Vasil’ev, lithographs “Shaman” (1981), “Olonxosut Bedjeele” (1982), “Warrior of the Middle World”, “Warrior of the Lower World” (1984), “Udagan (Female shaman)” (1992) by S. S. Parnikov and many others.

The traditional Sakha folk art of bone carving deserves a special note. The various characters of *olonxo* and certain events from *olonxo* were reflected in exquisite works by famous bone carvers such as A. V. Fedorov, T. V. Ammosov, S. N. Petrov, N. D. Amydaev, R. N. Petrov, F. I. Markov, R. M. Pinigin, and others. T. V. Ammosov takes a special place among these artists: not only was he a talented bone carver, he was also a gifted narrator-improviser and a fine connoisseur of folklore. Based on the *olonxo* motifs, Ammosov created goblets, snuff-boxes, chess sets, boxes and miniature decorative sculptures (composition “Njurgun Bootur and Soruk Bollur” in 1958, goblet “Ysjax” in 1965, a set for playing chess “*Olonxo*” in the 1980’s, box “*Olonxo*” in 1985 and many others).



Thus, *olonxo* received and continues to receive extensive coverage in the fine arts of the Republic. The artistic transformation of *olonxo* has resulted in numerous invaluable works of art.

### 3.3. Translating *olonxo*

The Sakha heroic epos *olonxo* also underwent literary transformations in the form of translations into various world languages. The very first translations were into Russian: a text of the *olonxo* "Erejdeex-Burujdaax Er Sogotox" prepared by A. Ja. Uvarovskij, a native of Yakutia, was published in 1851 in Böhrling's work; Böhrling also provided German glosses for the complete *olonxo*.

The first excellent rendering of *olonxo* into Russian was published in 1884. This was N. S. Goroxov's *olonxo* "Urung Uolan (Sakha fairy tale)". N. S. Goroxov was a student of I. A. Xudjakov, a political exile in Verkhoyansk in 1867-1875. Goroxov helped Xudjakov learn the Yakut language, and gather and analyze folklore materials. Later Goroxov became a well-known ethnographer. Xudjakov himself wrote down and translated into Russian 4 *olonxos*, among them one long *olonxo* "Khaan Djargystaj", which tells the story of the heroic deeds of three generations of warriors (father, son and grandson). In 1890 Xudjakov published "Verxojanskij sbornik. Jakutskie skazki, pesni, zagadki i poslovitsy" in Irkutsk. The extensive folklore material of the book apart from "Xaan Djargystaj" also included narrations of three *olonxos* with translations into Russian: "Bert Xara", "Old woman with an old man", "Basymnilan Baatyr" (the original Yakut text is lacking for the last one). The work received high approval from the academic community. Translations of 5 *olonxos* into Russian were also undertaken by the political exile S. V. Jastremskij. These were published in "Specimens of folk literature of the Yakuts" in 1929.

Apart from Russian, *olonxo* were also translated into English, French, Japanese, and Slovene. In 1971 Douglas Linds of the University of Arizona Medical School translated and published in the university's working papers A. Ya. Uvarovskij's "Erejdeex-burujdaax Er Sogotox" (The Poor Suffering Lonely Man).

The *olonxo* "Njurgun Bootur the Impetuous" by P. A. Ojunsikij was translated into Slovene from the Russian edition in Yugoslavia (1984) by Milos Krno, with illustrations by the Yugoslav painter Miroslav Kipara.

In 1987, the translator of the Japanese broadcasting corporation NHK Ogawa Masakuni began translating P. A. Ojunsikij's "Njurgun Bootur the Impetuous" into Japanese.

French researcher Jacques Karro translated K. G. Orosin's *olonxo* "Njurgun Bootur the Impetuous" recorded by E. K. Pekarsky and translated into Russian by G. U. Ėrgis. In 1990 this translation was published in Paris as a separate book with the title "Sibérie légendaire: Niourgoun le Yakoute, guerrier céleste" and a total of 1000 copies were printed. The book was illustrated with the unique photos of A. I. Vinokurov, J. Karro and the artist T. A. Stepanov.

In 1994 the publishing house Gallimard published “Les guerriers célestes du pays yakoute-saxa” in French. The book included three works by Yakut authors: “Ellej Bootur” by G. V. Ksenofontov, “Uluu Kudangsa” by P. A. Ojunsy and K. G. Orosin’s *olonxo* “Njurgun Bootur the Impetuous”.

The Even poet D. Krivošapkin-Njimkalan translated P. A. Ojunsy’s “Njurgun Bootur the Impetuous” into Even, and the book was published in parts in 1996, 2000, 2003.

Thus, the most well-known *olonxos* were published not only into Russian but also into other languages of the world, becoming integral part of the world culture and bearing witness to the broad public interest in the Yakut epos.

#### 4. The proclamation of *olonxo* as a masterpiece and the Forum

In 2000 the Department of *Olonxo* of the Institute for Research in the Humanities of the Sakha Republic (Yakutia) held an international conference called “*Olonxo* in the context of the epic heritage of the peoples of the world”. At the conference it was recommended that Yakut *olonxo* be nominated as Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity. Following this conference, a UNESCO seminar “On the preservation of traditional culture and folklore in the Siberian region of the Russian Federation” culture, education and informational space”, all directed at the support, preservation and popularization of epic heritage.

The result of all this work was the recognition of the Yakut heroic epos *olonxo* as a Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity at the Third Proclamation of UNESCO on the 25th of November. The proclamation of *olonxo* as a masterpiece was received by the people of the Republic as an event of vast historical and cultural significance, as an intellectual and cultural breakthrough into the world’s cultural space. On December 29, 2005 the President of the Sakha Republic (Yakutia) issued a decree “On measures for the preservation, study and dissemination of the Sakha heroic epos *Olonxo*”. The decree declared 2006-2015 a decade of *olonxo* in the Sakha Republic (Yakutia).

The first larger event of the *olonxo* decade celebrating the proclamation was the official visit paid to the Republic by the Director-General of UNESCO Koichiro Matsuura. In connection with this visit, an International Forum on “Sustainable Development of the Arctic countries and northern regions of the Russian Federation in the context of education, science and culture” was held in Yakutsk on July 24-25, 2006. Participants of the Forum included scientists and government officials both from within Russia (Buryatia, Kalmykia, Tuva, Moscow, Saint Petersburg, Taymyr, Khanty-Mansiysk, Yakutia, Irkutsk region, Omsk region, Novosibirsk, Bashkortostan, Yamal, Koryak Okrug, Altai) and abroad (Denmark, Kyrgyzstan, Sweden, Moldova, Finland, Belgium, Japan, France, United Kingdom, Germany, Holland, Poland).

The program of the Forum consisted of two sessions: “Dialogue of Cultures and New Partnership: Spirituality and Preservation of Traditions” and “Dialogue and

Integration: Risk of Disappearance and Search for Stability". The participants of the Forum signed and handed the Forum address to Mr. Koichiro Matsuura, expressing their gratitude for all the work UNESCO does for the preservation of indigenous cultures.

A diverse specter of problems discussed by the participants of the Forum determined several priority tasks which must be solved, taking into consideration the current situation in the Russian North as well as in the northern and arctic regions of the world. First of all, it is necessary to establish under the auspices of UNESCO a special international complex program "Sustainable development of the Arctic in the context of education, science and culture". It is advisable to work out scientific research projects which focus on the specifics of indigenous peoples' lives (creation of folklore archives, archives of audiovisual materials on languages and ethnic culture of the arctic peoples, ethnographic expeditions, folklore festivals, etc.). In light of the international recognition of *olonxo*, it is necessary to initiate the popularization of the specimens of oral folk arts and to organize international contests on the translation of *olonxo* into European and Asian languages. Developing the idea of the Council of Europe and UNESCO directed at the formation of a spiritually rich individual as a necessary prerequisite for a comprehensive development of modern society, it is important to support the educational policy of UNESCO: to broaden research and experimental projects on the creation of a network of arctic schools associated with UNESCO, and to promote the organization of nomadic schools of various types with the aim of revitalizing traditional ways of life of the arctic peoples. One of the achievements of the forum was the signing of a joint communiqué between UNESCO and the Sakha Republic (Yakutia). Pointed out in the communiqué were a variety of priorities for possible cooperation in the areas of education, science, environmental protection, culture, communication and information. The communiqué was signed in the city of Yakutsk on 24 July 2006 both in Russian and English by the Director-General of UNESCO Koichiro Matsuura and the President of the Sakha Republic (Yakutia) Vyacheslav Shtyrov. During a festive ceremony on July 25, the Director-General of UNESCO Koichiro Matsuura laid the first stone in the foundation of the future International Centre for *Olonxo* in Yakutsk. The Forum was extremely important in popularizing *olonxo* in the world community and in promoting research cooperation between scientists was held in the Sakha Republic in 2001.

In the summer of 2003 materials for an international contest in translating *olonxo* into European languages were drafted and received the support of the Russian Commission on UNESCO Affairs headed by E. G. Ordzhonikidze. The preceding material gathering and research activities of Yakut folklorists of all generations formed a basis for mounting a project on such a large scale. As a result of the preparatory work, a project dossier was formed (500 and 900 pages respectively in English and Russian), and the accompanying documentation was prepared: an artistic catalogue "*Olonxo* in the fine arts of Yakutia" in three languages; multimedia CD's on solo song introductions in Yakut and English. According to UNESCO's

requirements, the package of documents on *olonxo* was put forward by the Republican public organization “*Olonxo Association*”. The project was presented on behalf of the Russian Federation to the headquarters of UNESCO and officially registered in October 2004.

In compiling the project dossier, more than 70 specialists of the Republic from different fields (epos researchers, musicologists, ethnographers, philologists, literature researchers, theatre researchers, translators, cartographers, IT specialists, etc.) participated in writing articles and as performers. Thanks to their professionalism and understanding of the importance and significance of the given project, an enormous amount of research, translation, editing and technical work was carried out in a short amount of time. Several long-term complex subprograms formed part of the dossier: a) “Computer informational system *Olonxo*”; b) “Traditional music of the Yakuts”; c) “*Olonxo* as a factor retransmitting spiritual heritage in the sphere of

### 5. A note on the current state of *olonxo* and future perspectives

As mentioned above, traditionally *olonxo* represented unwritten oral culture, an ephemeral and intangible genre. The recognition of *olonxo* by UNESCO as a masterpiece of Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity demands great responsibility not only in documenting and studying *olonxo* but most importantly in preserving it in its original state.

Starting in the 1990s, a number of enthusiasts and cultural institutions initiated work on the preservation and revival of *olonxo* among the population and young people, including the Republican children’s contest of *olonxo* performers; children’s performance studios and epic schools began to be founded. In 1999 the Republican public organization “*Olonxo association*” was founded, organized by the Department of *Olonxo* of the Institute for Research in Humanities of the Academy of Sciences of the Sakha Republic (Yakutia). With its foundation, the interest shown for *olonxo* by the population at large within the Republic rose to a new level. Currently a variety of activities devoted to the popularization and publication of *olonxo* are taking place. Thus, the *Olonxo Association* commenced the publication of the 21-volume series “*Sakha booturdara*” (“*Yakut warriors*”) in Yakut. These *olonxo* plots that have not been previously published comprise the oral epic tradition of different ulus’. For now 4 volumes in 6 books have appeared. In the future, the *Olonxo Association* in cooperation with the *Olonxo Department* of the Yakutsk Institute for Research in Humanities will continue to carry out the subprograms of the UNESCO project.

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# The reviewer punishes the messenger: A reply to Mark Kirchner's review of *Türkiye'de dil tartışmaları*

**Astrid Menz & Christoph Schroeder**

Menz, Astrid & Schroeder, Christoph 2009. The reviewer punishes the messenger: A reply to Mark Kirchner's review of *Türkiye'de dil tartışmaları*. *Turkic Languages* 13, 269-273.

The short article discusses a review of the book *Türkiye'de Dil Tartışmaları*, jointly edited by the authors. In particular, the article aims at clearing up some misconceptions in connection with one of the book's articles, the contribution written by Nurettin Demir on the discussion of the terms *dil-lehçe-şive-ağız* and their concepts as discussed among Turkish scholars.

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Our jointly edited book *Türkiye'de dil tartışmaları* opens up a discussion on language and ideology in Turkey. As it is written in Turkish, we did not expect it to garner much reaction from outside Turkey. Hence our particular pleasure, at first, to see Mark Kirchner's review in *Turkic Languages* 12 (2008). Reading the review, however, left us in a state of astonishment, to say the least.

Of the four-page-review, one and a half pages (295-296) are devoted to one of the ten chapters, Nurettin Demir's article entitled "Türkiye'de dil-lehçe-şive-ağız tartışmaları" (119-146). It is, of course, up to a reviewer to concentrate on what interests him most. But Kirchner seems to have misunderstood the chapter from its first word to the very end. He basically criticizes Demir for viewpoints on Turkish and Turkic which not Demir, but the opponents in the discussion defend, while Demir in his article is merely presenting the various viewpoints. What is more, Kirchner obviously did not feel the need to base any of these allegations against Demir on evidence from the article. Kirchner basically brings forward six points of criticism. In the following we will demonstrate his allegations and compare them with what Demir really says in the article.

## 1.

Kirchner's discussion of Demir begins with the words that Demir's chapter is "on the status of Turkic languages other than Turkish". The root of Kirchner's misunder-

standing seems to lie in this very statement. Demir's chapter is not "on the status" of these languages but on the denomination of their status. It summarizes the still ongoing debate in Turkey about the terms *dil* 'language', *lehçe* 'dialect' *şive* 'accent, dialect' *ağız* 'dialect, variety' used for the various Turkic languages and varieties. The debate is particularly represented in the article by drawing attention to the views of Ahmet B. Ercilasun and Talât Tekin, two well-known scholars who took opposing sides in the discussion. The author himself states the aim of his article as follows (p. 120):

*Çalışmada tartışılan terimlerin hangi anlamlara gelmesi, "doğru" kullanımlarının ne olması gerektiği gibi normatif bir tanımlama denemesi de yapılmayacak, şimdiye kadar tartışmaya katılanların bunları nasıl kullandıkları eleştirel bir değerlendirmeye tabi tutulacaktır.*

Hence:

'In the paper we do not try to make a normative definition of how the terms under discussion should be understood and how they should be used in the "right" way; [instead] a critical evaluation will be made of how the protagonists have used the terms in the debate until now.'

Immediately following this first misreading, we find Kirchner writing that "the English translation of the title in the English summaries at the end of the book is not correct and obscures Demir's thesis". The statement is given in brackets and punctuated by an exclamation mark. The rhetoric continues as Kirchner presents the reader neither with the original Turkish title nor with the supposedly incorrect English version. He also does not say what in his view the correct translation should be, which makes it hard to understand where he thinks the problem with the translation lies. The title of Demir's article is "Türkiye'de dil-lehçe-şive-ağız tartışmaları". The English translation we, as the editors, chose for the title was "The discussion on nomenclature around 'language' vs. 'dialect' vs. 'language branch'". Translation is always—and Kirchner knows this—interpretation. Instead of using "language branch" for both *şive* and *ağız*, we could have chosen "variety" or "accent". We didn't because we wanted to escape the confusion which could arise from the highly heterogeneous definitions these terms have in linguistics. "Language branch" is descriptive, even parenthetical. We added the words "on the nomenclature". In the Turkish original, the hyphens connecting *dil-lehçe-şive-ağız* together with the bare stems indicate the collective status of these terms so that the reader knows that Demir's article is not presenting languages, dialects, and language branches, but rather that the discussion is about the terms themselves. A literal translation of this, e.g. "The language-dialect-language branch discussion in Turkey" would, in our view, be more ambiguous or clumsy, at best. We leave it to the reader to decide. One thing is clear, however: Our translation does not obscure anything; on the contrary, it is an attempt to be explicit, with a view on the content of the article.

## 2.

Kirchner writes that Demir's article is "an attempt to argue for the official Turkish position which denies language status to Turkic languages like Uzbek, Tatar, Kazakh etc., defining them instead as Uzbek Turkish, Tatar Turkish, Kazakh Turkish etc.—and Turkish as the language of the whole family." The reviewer punishes the messenger here, in a most discriminatory and unfair way. Any reader would agree that there is not one argument in the whole article from which to conclude that Demir is defending any of the positions he so masterfully summarizes in his article. Compare also his statement on the aim of his article cited above.

## 3.

Kirchner states that "Demir (119-120), however, gives the impression that Turkic languages are a product of artificial separation and language engineering." Again, let us look at what Demir writes. He speaks of (p. 120): *Sovyet Devrimi sonrası Türkçe kaynaklı yazı dillerinin ortaya çıkış biçimi ve adlandırılmaları* 'the way written languages of Turkic origin came into being and were denominated after the Soviet Revolution',<sup>1</sup> which had an effect on the discussion in Turkey. Now, is this mentioning of language engineering with regard to the written, i.e. the official, language in any fundamental way different from Kirchner's statement that "politicians<sup>2</sup> who were responsible for implementing the official language politics of the Soviet Union applied the conditions in the closely related Slavic languages to the Turkic languages in question"? And why does Kirchner think that Demir gives the impression that Turkic languages *per se* were a product of whatever, when Demir writes about the classification and denotation for branches and sub-branches of the Turkic languages as put forward by various scholars in Turkey? What is more, in his chapter on "Dil dışı nedenler"/"Extra-linguistic reasons" (141-142) Demir summarizes the thesis of the supposed divide and conquer politics of the Soviets, which according to him (141) was put forward particularly by amateurs.

## 4.

Kirchner, lecturing that "Turcologists in Turkey like Demir could have easily accepted or created a terminology like *Türkçe* "Turkish" vs. *Türk dilleri* or *Türkî diller* "Turkic languages" ...", fails to notice that Demir uses the term *Türk dilleri*, which is preferred by the Turcologists in Germany. On page 120 of Demir's article this term is even written in bold capitals, in a heading, following which Demir summarizes a generally held classification of the Turkic languages. Neither in this article nor anywhere in his scholarly work that we are aware of, does Demir use terms such as *Tatar Türkçesi* instead of *Tatarca*. Alas, according to Kirchner:

<sup>1</sup> Underlining ours.

<sup>2</sup> Underlining ours.



“[Demir] even uses the denomination *Türk* in designations beyond languages. Thus, in Demir’s terminology as well as in the commonly used Turkish terminology, the Central Asian Turkic speaking republics are named *Türk cumhuriyetleri* “Turkish republics” (142), which in fact implies a close relationship between these ethnically rather heterogeneous states and the Republic of Turkey in a more than purely linguistic sense”.

Interestingly enough Kirchner translates the Turkish term *Türk cumhuriyetleri* as “Turkish republics”. A more correct translation that would have been consistent with his own views on the matter should have been “Turkic republics”. With his translation of the word *Türk* into “Turkish” he again attributes to Demir a certain position in the discussion which, it cannot be stated too often, Demir does not express anywhere in his article. Indeed, Demir does use the denomination *Türk* for the group of independent republics that came into being after the break-up of the Soviet-Union, i.e. Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan—and for Turkey.<sup>3</sup> The use of this term implies a cultural and linguistic relatedness which the members of the “local peoples” seem to share in principle. The degree of this relatedness, however, is indeed seen more or less realistically. This relatedness by the way is also explicitly or implicitly recognized by non-Turkic scholars. The very fact that one writes about “Turkic peoples”/“Türkvölker” and “Turkic languages”/“Türksprachen” speaks for itself.

## 5.

Kirchner writes that “In his article Demir goes to some length to show that those few Turkish Turkologists who use the international denomination system for the members of the Turkic language family had originally accepted the official Turkish position and changed their opinion after going abroad. He gives the impression that these scholars had spent unnecessary efforts to argue against the established denomination system (128-132).”

On pages 128-131 Demir writes about exactly one Turkish Turkologist who uses the international denomination system, namely Talât Tekin’s view on the matter, because he is by far the most prominent opponent of the “official Turkish position”. He outlines Tekin’s opinion, which has changed over time, pointing also to some minor inconsistencies in Tekin’s use of terminology when he, e.g., speaks of Khalaj as *lehçe* and *dil* in one and the same sentence (p. 129). But how does Demir give the impression that Tekin “had spent unnecessary efforts to argue against the established denomination system”? Such a claim should be supported by at least one example. To interpret Demir’s statement (p. 130) that Tekin “put much time and energy in this problem of denomination” in the way Kirchner does goes far beyond what is there on the textual level.

<sup>3</sup> Thus not only for “Central Asian Turkic speaking republics”.

## 6.

Kirchner writes that “The international position is discussed in brief by Demir under the heading “Yabancı Bilim Adamlarının Görüşleri”/“The Opinions of foreign scholars” (137-139). The author mentions Wilhelm Radloffs famous *Versuch eines Wörterbuchs der Türk-Dialekte* (1893-1911), but he fails to notice that the state of the art handbook and the present journal are both entitled “Turkic languages”.”

Again Kirchner misses the point of the argument entirely. Demir does not discuss the international position but he discusses how the international discussion has been used in the discussion in Turkey. He mentions scholars like Bang, Radloff, von Gabain and their coevals, whose scholarly opinions were used by the opponents in the discussion in Turkey. These were, at that time, hardly able to “notice that the state of the art handbook [i.e. *The Turkic Languages* 1989] and the present journal [i.e. *Turkic Languages*, first published 1999] are both entitled “Turkic languages”. Let us again underline that Demir mentions Radloff’s book only in order to exemplify how the title of this book was used by others in the discussion on terminology.

To avoid further misunderstandings, we would like to make clear that we heartily welcome any scientifically based criticism of any of the articles in the book. We furthermore fully agree with Kirchner’s criticism of the widespread opinion that views the individual Turkic languages as mere dialects of one language Turkish (which is, by the way, not meant to be identical with Turkish of Turkey but rather seen as an abstract “mother-language”). But Kirchner should know that the discussion summarized by Demir is highly ideological and emotionally charged. This is why contributions like that of Demir are so badly needed: as they hold distance to both sides, without being arrogant. Kirchner could at least have done him justice and read the article carefully enough to distinguish between Demir’s own opinion on the matter and the many citations of the various views of other scholars. He chose instead to impute Demir an opinion that is not expressed in the article under review. As a result, the review seems more political campaign than scientific criticism.

# Assessment of language proficiency in bilingual children: How valid is the interdependence hypothesis?

**Kutlay Yagmur & Ömer Ahmet Konak**

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Researchers increasingly focus on immigrant minority children's development of language proficiencies. Mostly based on single or multiple case studies, researchers and school practitioners claim language deficiency and/or subtractive bilingualism on behalf of immigrant minority children. In most multilingual settings, schools only measure immigrant minority children's mainstream language skills rather than their home language skills. On the basis of proficiency levels in the second language, most immigrant children are considered to be language-impaired. In order to provide appropriate schooling for such children, bilingual testing is vital. Given the multilingual composition of schools in Duisburg (Germany), policy makers carried out multi-level proficiency tests. These tests included six sections: phonemic differentiation, cognitive concepts, passive vocabulary, text comprehension, active vocabulary, and sentence imitation. The first four sections of the test were presented to children digitally (on a computer screen), while the last two were administered traditionally (with pen and paper). Apart from these tests, children completed a short survey questionnaire. On the basis of the survey instrument, it was possible to find out in which language, German or Turkish, children were dominant. In this presentation, empirical results of the Cito test are presented. Initial results show that balanced bilingual children have much higher skills in both German and Turkish. Moreover, they have higher metalinguistic awareness. The Turkish component of the test has been given to monolingual Turkish children in Ankara. The data have not been fully analyzed yet. If possible, the Turkish scores of bilingual children will be compared to those of monolingual Turkish children so that a double-comparative perspective can be presented.

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## Introduction

Researchers increasingly focus on immigrant minority children's development of language proficiencies. Mostly based on single or multiple case studies, researchers and school practitioners claim language deficiency and/or subtractive bilingualism on behalf of immigrant minority children. In most multilingual settings, schools only

measure immigrant minority children's mainstream language skills rather than their home language skills. On the basis of proficiency levels in the second language, most immigrant children are considered to be language-impaired. In order to provide appropriate schooling for such children, bilingual testing is vital. Given the multilingual composition of schools in Duisburg (Germany), policy makers realized the value of multi-level bilingual proficiency tests. Testing only the German proficiency of immigrant children does not provide an accurate assessment of their language competence. On the basis of monolingual German tests, most immigrant children are placed in special classes, in *Sonderschulen*, which children with disabilities attend. However, bilingual children must be assessed in both languages so that an accurate assessment of their linguistic competence can be made.

Regarding bilingual competence, one of the most brilliant theories aimed at explaining the cognitive effects of bilingualism is the threshold hypothesis (Cummins 1979). It is commonly accepted that cognitive development is essential for academic achievement. The relationship between language development and cognitive growth has certain implications for bilingual children's educational achievement. Cummins proposes (1977: 10) "there may be a threshold level of linguistic competence which a bilingual child must attain both in order to avoid cognitive deficits and allow the potentially beneficial aspects of becoming bilingual to influence his cognitive growth". A threshold explains the difference between a balanced bilingual and a dominant bilingual. Each threshold is a level of language competence that has consequences for a bilingual child. In order to avoid the negative consequences of bilingualism, the child has to reach the first threshold in both of his languages. If the child reaches the second threshold, he will be able to obtain cognitive benefits from bilingualism. Concerning language competence, bilingual speakers might be equally dominant in both languages, or more dominant in one language only, and/or insufficiently competent, *semilingual*, in either of the languages (Baker 2004). Even though some theories of Cummins are disputed, there is universal consensus among educational specialists that a relationship of interdependence exists between first language and second language. On the basis of empirical findings, we will be able to test Cummins' linguistic interdependence hypothesis in this paper.

### **Academic success and language competence**

The majority of Turkish immigrants originate from rural areas in Turkey. Most of their parents have very little or sometimes no schooling at all. Even though Turkish families value education, they are unable to provide guidance and support for their children at home. Low skills in Dutch or German as well as cultural differences between the mainstream school system and home culture act as barriers to parents' involvement in their children's educational process. Involvement in children's schooling is mostly dependent on the parents' level of education, rather than on their ethnicity. Both in the German and the Dutch context, Turkish immigrant children are shown to lag some years behind native children. For instance, Driessen (1996)

showed that at the end of primary education, Turkish and Moroccan children are approximately 2 years behind in their language development compared to children of highly educated Dutch parents. This finding is not surprising at all because the majority of the Turkish and Moroccan parents in the Netherlands belong to the working class, and in most cases they have very little, if any, formal education. If low SES (socioeconomic status) Dutch children's examination results were compared to the results of high SES Dutch children, the same differences would emerge. Instead of pointing out the social differences, however, some researchers prefer pointing out the ethnic differences. Concluding from such results, most policy makers claim that immigrant Turkish and Moroccan children perform worse at schools because 'they speak another language at home'. Actually, Klatter-Folmer's (1996) study has shown that Turkish children's language proficiency, in terms of their command of Turkish and Dutch, is closely related to their educational achievement. She has also shown that proficiency in the first language goes hand in hand with proficiency in the second language. Those students who perform the best at school had high proficiency levels both in Turkish and Dutch.

Driessen & Van der Slik, and de Bot (2002) provides conclusive evidence to the discussion of home language versus Dutch language proficiency. The authors conducted a large-scale longitudinal study of the development of language proficiency of Dutch primary school pupils aged 7-10. On the basis of their findings, they show that Turkish pupils whose parents speak Turkish at home perform significantly lower than the children of Dutch-speaking parents. Driessen & Van der Slik & de Bot, however, do not report any findings concerning differences between the language proficiency of Dutch-speaking Turkish parents and Turkish-speaking Turkish parents. Availability of such findings might provide more conclusive evidence for the matter. Nevertheless, Driessen & Van der Slik & de Bot (2002) contributes further evidence to the discussion. Concerning Dutch language proficiency differences, they show that dialect speakers perform even better than the native Dutch speakers. They conclude that children in dialect-speaking families find themselves in a diglossic situation in which they have mastered both languages (Dutch and the home dialect) but use them in different areas. Immigrant parents do not show this type of bilingualism or at least not to a similar degree. These findings strongly point to the fact that due to insufficient command of the first language, there is no positive transfer possible to the second language. Driessen & Van der Slik & de Bot (2002: 191) conclude:

"Our analyses also show that the children's use of a language other than Dutch does not need to have any negative consequences for language proficiency. Limburgish-speaking children use Dutch the least, but they have the highest language proficiency score; whereas Turkish- and Moroccan-speaking (i.e. Arabic) children speak Dutch more often, yet they have a much lower language proficiency score."

As opposed to public discourse, with their findings Driessen, Van der Slik & de Bot (2002) show that home language use does not have any negative effects on the dialect-speaking children's development of Dutch. Preparing language minority

children for more successful school careers ideally requires a balanced bilingual approach in which children's greater proficiency in the home language is utilised to promote general cognitive development and acquisition of the school language (Leseman & van Tuijl 2001: 309). According to Ammermüller (2005), the main reason for the low performance of immigrant students can be seen in the later enrolment of immigrant students and the less favourable home environment for learning. The most important differences are the higher-grade level of German students, more home resources as measured by the number of books at home, and the fact that a high share of about 40 percent of all immigrant students speak another language at home. Differences in parental education and family situation are far less important. Also in the German context, students' home languages are shown to be the culprits for low achievement in the schools. On the basis of the findings derived from the present study, the relevance of such claims will be tested.

### **Present study**

In this article, we want to empirically test the relevance of Cummins' (1979) developmental interdependence hypothesis, which suggests that a child's second language competence is partly dependent on the level of competence already achieved in the first language. The more developed the first language, the easier it will be to develop the second language. In order to see the relationship between first and second language competence, the bilingual test developed by Cito is effective in many respects. The Cito *Sprachtest* was developed to test the language proficiency of young children growing up in Germany. The original form of the test was developed by Tilburg University in co-operation with Cito (Verhoeven et al. 1990). Later on, this test was adapted to the German context in co-operation with the Duisburg Education Department (Konak, Duindam & Kamphuis 2005). The purpose is to measure the German language proficiency of children 10 months before they start primary school so that students' weak language proficiency can be improved before they start school. This test enables schools to identify which students would need such extra language support. In order to overcome inaccurate appraisals of students' linguistic abilities, the same test was developed in Turkish so that students who belong to this large immigrant group can be assessed accurately.

The Cito *Sprachtest* includes six sections: Phonological awareness (PA) – 30 questions, cognitive concepts (CC) – 65 questions, passive lexicon (PL) – 60 questions, text comprehension (TC) – 20 questions, active vocabulary, and sentence imitation. The first four sections of the test were presented to children digitally (on a computer screen), while the last two were given traditionally (with pen and paper). Apart from these tests, children completed a short survey questionnaire. On the basis of the survey instrument, it was possible to determine in which language, German or Turkish, children were dominant. Due to space limitations, the full details of the test are not presented here.

### Informants

All children who were about to begin the primary school in Duisburg completed the Cito *Sprachtest*. A total number of 5,330 children completed the test. All children taking the test completed a questionnaire to provide background information. One of the questions was on the home languages of these children. The children indicated with whom they spoke what language at home. They also reported which language they thought they were most dominant in. In Table 1, the numbers of children belonging to the monolingual German group and the Turkish groups are presented.

Table 1: Distribution of informants

Groups	N	Percentage
German (mono)	2954	55.4
German-Turkish	357	6.7
German-Other	483	9.1
Other	295	5.5
Turkish	1241	23.3
Total	5330	100.0

As seen from Table 1, almost 29% of the all school children come from a Turkish-speaking background. Around 6.7% of these children claimed that they were more dominant in German than Turkish, whereas 23% of children reported that they were more dominant in Turkish.

In addition to the language test, students completed a language survey. The survey results show that:

37 languages next to or instead of German are spoken by 44.6% of children,

29% of these immigrant children are Turkish-speaking, while 15.4% speak another language (Russian, Polish, etc.),

55.4% of children are monolingual German-speakers.

These results suggest that almost half of the student population in Duisburg is multilingual. For space limitations we cannot list all the languages, but there are 37 different languages reported by children. The two largest language groups are monolingual German speakers (55%) and Turkish speakers (29%), which is why the Duisburg Education Department decided to also test the Turkish proficiency of children belonging to that particular group.

Table 2: Age of the informants (in 6 month-intervals)

Groups	<5	5 - 5.5	5.5 - 6	6 - 6.5	6.5 - 7	7 >	Unknown	Total
German (mono)	26	424	1132	795	71	16	92	2556
German-Turkish	0	29	115	99	14	2	0	264
German-Other	9	60	170	145	16	5	17	422
Other	1	31	105	84	18	5	5	249
Turkish	7	96	404	282	49	9	16	863
Total	43	640	1926	1402	168	37	135	4354

As seen in Table 2, the ages of children vary between 5 and 7, while the majority of children are within the age category from 5.5 to 6.5.

### Test results

Given the large number of informants, the results presented here are highly representative. Furthermore, testing the children along different language skills provides a much better picture of their linguistic competence. In order to test the validity of the test, all components of the test (both the German and the Turkish version) were subjected to a reliability analysis. The results show high Alpha values: For cognitive concepts (CC), Alpha=.84 for the German test, and Alpha=.83 for the Turkish test. Accordingly, high scores were obtained for passive lexicon (PL), Alpha=.84 for the German test, and Alpha=.80 for the Turkish test; for phonological awareness (PA): Alpha=.90 for the German test, and Alpha=.87 for the Turkish test; but for text comprehension (TC) the scores were comparably lower: Alpha=.81 for the German test, and Alpha=.66 for the Turkish test. In the following tables, the scores of monolingual German speakers will be compared to German-dominant Turkish children, who will be called 'Ger-Tur' group and Turkish-dominant Turkish children, who will be identified as Turkish. Also the results of German-dominant immigrant children (Ger-Other), and non-German dominant children (Other) will be presented. Overall, monolingual German speakers receive the highest scores on all dimensions of the test. In Table 3, the results of a t-test between monolingual German and German-dominant Turkish children are presented. Even though bilingual Turkish children claim that they are more dominant in German, there are large and significant differences between the two groups' German proficiency scores.



Table 3: Comparison of German &amp; Ger-Tur group on the German test

Subtest	German	German-Turkish	F	t	df	P
CC	51.33	43.50	7.32	16.40	2818	.000
PL	49.10	38.70	10.01	19.870	2818	.000
PA	21.81	17.86	7.68	9.02	2818	.000
TC	14.57	10.89	.01	14.51	2818	.000

As seen in Table 4, the differences are even larger between monolingual German and Turkish-dominant bilingual children. Compared to monolingual German speakers, the German proficiency of Turkish immigrant children is significantly lower. On the basis of these initial results, it is not surprising that these Turkish-dominant bilingual children have much lower academic performance.

Table 4: Comparison of German &amp; Turkish groups on the German test

Subtest	Mean German	German-Turkish	F	t	df	P
CC	51.33	38.42	12.51	43.59	3417	.000
PL	49.10	31.26	38.08	54.58	3417	.000
PA	21.81	16.32	186.55	21.57	3417	.000
TC	14.57	8.91	36.42	37.94	3417	.000

When we compare the results of German-dominant Turkish children with those of German-dominant children of other ethnic groups, there are again significant differences between their German proficiency scores. Turkish immigrant children score considerably lower.

Table 5: Comparison of Ger-Tur&amp; German-Other groups on the German test

Subtest	German-Turkish	German-Other	F	t	df	P
CC	43.50	47.14	0.01	5.51	684	.000
PL	38.70	43.69	0.11	7.13	684	.000
PA	17.86	19.86	1.86	3.89	684	.000
TC	10.89	12.73	2.39	5.81	684	.000

The t-test results between German-dominant Turkish children and non-German dominant children from other ethnic groups show that the Turkish group scores significantly higher on the cognitive concepts and passive lexicon sub-tests, while there are no significant differences between phonological awareness and text comprehension.

Table 6: Comparison of Ger-Tur &amp; Other groups on the German test

Subtest	Other	German-Turkish	F	t	df	P
CC	40.73	43.50	3.02	3.57	511	.000
PL	34.90	38.70	6.24	4.45	511	.000
PA	17.15	17.86	7.56	1.31	511	n.s
TC	10.33	10.89	0.51	1.62	511	n.s

The t-test results between Turkish-dominant Turkish children and non-German dominant children from other ethnic groups show that the Turkish group scores significantly lower on the cognitive concepts, passive lexicon, and text comprehension sub-tests, while there are no significant differences for phonological awareness. The results presented in Table 7 clearly show that Turkish-dominant immigrant children have the lowest German proficiency score among all the groups included in the study.

Table 7: Comparison of Other &amp; Turkish on the German test

Subtest	Other	Turkish	F	t	df	P
CC	40.73	38.42	6.85	3.82	1110	.000
PL	34.90	31.26	6.81	5.37	1110	.000
PA	17.15	16.32	1.58	2.13	1110	n.s
TC	10.33	8.91	18.77	5.68	1110	.000

As expected, a t-test between German-dominant Turkish children and Turkish-dominant Turkish children shows significant differences in their German proficiency scores. As seen in Table 9, the self-reports of children are also confirmed this result that irrespective of their age, children were conscious of their proficiency levels in their respective languages. Those children who claimed that they were better in German scored much higher on the German test than those children who claimed that they were more dominant in Turkish.

Table 8: Comparison of Ger-Tur &amp; Turkish group on the German test

Subtest	German-Turkish	Turkish	F	t	df	P
CC	43.50	38.42	0.19	8.23	1125	.000
PL	38.70	31.26	0.31	11.67	1125	.000
PA	17.86	16.32	24.98	3.89	1125	.000
TC	10.89	8.91	12.26	11.25	1125	.000

When we examine the scores of Turkish children on the Turkish version of the test, the results turn out to be much more intriguing. Yet, the results are highly indicative in terms of Cummins' interdependence hypothesis. Table 9 shows the average scores of German-dominant and Turkish-dominant children.

Table 9: Scores of Ger-Tur & Turkish groups on the Turkish version

Group - Test	PL (60)	CC (65)	PA (30)	TC (20)
Ger-Tur(N)	204	201	200	198
Mean	40.39	42.80	19.03	11.88
sd	5.75	8.03	6.77	3.49
Turkish (N)	701	697	689	682
Mean	39.72	40.36	16.77	10.54
sd	7.28	8.35	5.75	3.52

When we carry out t-tests between these groups of Turkish children, it is clear that German-dominant Turkish children score significantly higher than Turkish-dominant Turkish children on the Turkish version of the test. Only concerning phonological awareness, there is no significant difference between the two groups. Nevertheless, it is highly intriguing that children who thought their proficiency in Turkish was higher, scored much lower compared to children who thought their German proficiency was better. Table 10 clearly documents this interesting case. In order to better understand these test results, comparing the results of the German and Turkish tests for each group might provide further evidence. The t-test results for that purpose are presented in Tables 11 and 12.

Table 10: Comparison of Ger-Tur & Turkish groups on the Turkish version

Subtest	German-Turkish	Turkish	F	T	df	P
CC	42.80	40.36	.202	2.23	896	.000
PL	40.39	39.72	.70	2.95	903	n.s
PA	19.03	16.77	18.74	2.52	887	.000
TC	11.88	10.54	0.19	4.25	878	.000

The t-test results between German-dominant Turkish children's scores on the German and Turkish tests clearly show that these children's Turkish language skills are superior to their German skills. This particular finding fully supports the interdependence hypothesis that skills acquired in the first language are transferred to the second language provided that children reach a certain threshold. The bilingual children who indicated that they were more dominant in German emerged as more dominant in their Turkish skills. The findings presented in Table 11 clearly illustrate the relationship between first and second language proficiency levels.

Table 11: Scores of German–Turkish group on both versions of the test

Subtest	German Test	Turkish Test	sd	T	df	P
CC	43.61	42.60	8.39	- 1.33	120	n.s
PL	37.80	40.45	6.49	-3.10	122	.003
PA	18.38	18.93	9.61	-.92	119	n.s
TC	11.14	12.17	2.79	-4.10	117	.000

When we compare the German and Turkish scores of children who reported that they are dominant in Turkish, they appear to be accurate in their assessment. As seen in Table 12, these children have higher proficiency in Turkish.

Table 12: Scores of Turkish group on both versions of the test

	German Test	Turkish Test	sd	T	df	P
CC	37.93	40.73	7.76	-7.11	384	.000
PL	30.40	40.14	9.56	-20.03	382	.000
PA	16.25	17.10	6.41	-2.60	385	.010 (n.s)
TC	8.73	10.64	2.97	-12.628	381	.000

The findings presented in this section have important implications for language proficiency of Turkish immigrant children growing up in Germany. In order to be able to establish threshold levels, at least on the content of these test results, we need to carry out further psychometric analyses on the basis of which we can prove the relationship between underlying competences in the respective languages.

### Conclusion and discussion

On the basis of the results we can derive a number of conclusions and implications. In the first place, there is interdependency between the Turkish and German scores of bilingual children who claimed higher dominance in German. This is probably due to higher thresholds reached by these children. In order to arrive at much more specific results, individual scores of children need to be identified, and an informant by informant correlation between the two tests needs to be done.

On the basis of the results, two outcomes are certain: (a) All Turkish informants are more dominant in their L1 Turkish. By matching the data with parents' country of birth, inter-generational variation and its effect on L1 and L2, proficiency can be documented; (b) Compared to mainstream German and other ethnic groups, Turkish informants perform the poorest on the German test. Further research on this matter is necessary. Because the dependency between the two languages is certain, policy makers need to ensure that literacy skills in children's first language are promoted in

the schools. Also, in schools where Turkish children are in the majority, they need to receive intensive instruction in Turkish at least for the first three years so that concept development in the first language can be transferred to the second language. The same Turkish test has been administered in Turkey to monolingual children; we cannot present the findings here, but there are significant differences between the performance of immigrant children and monolingual children, which is certainly not surprising. Given the amount of input Turkish immigrant children are exposed to, such differences are normal. However, the considerable differences between monolingual and bilingual children in the German context need to be further investigated.

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# Report

## Two conferences in Northern Cyprus

Éva Á. Csató

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The Turkish and Foreign Languages Research and Application Centre, TÖMER, at Ankara University has organized a number of conferences with the aim to discuss issues of teaching Turkish as a foreign language. This important initiative has been followed up in Northern Cyprus, where two conferences have recently been held on issues concerning teaching Turkish.

The *I. Uluslararası Türkçe Eğitimi ve Öğretimi Sempozyumu* (1st International Symposium on Turkish Language Teaching and Instruction) was organized by the Eastern Mediterranean University, Gazimağusa, March 27-28, 2008. The proceedings of this meeting have recently been published by the organizers Adnan İnce and Vügar Sultanzade under the title *I. Uluslararası Türkçe Eğitimi ve Öğretimi Sempozyumu Bildirileri / International Symposium on Turkish Language Teaching and Instruction*. The follow-up to this conference, the *II. Uluslararası Türkçenin Eğitimi-Öğretimi Kurultayı*, was organized this year (2009) by the Linguistics Department of Ankara University; for more information see: [www.turkishlanguage-symposium.org](http://www.turkishlanguage-symposium.org)

The first conference, called *Dünya Dili Türkçe* (Turkish as a World Language) was held at Başkent University, Ankara, in 2008. Two universities in Northern Cyprus show a special interest in this subject. Thus, the *II. Uluslararası Dünya Dili Türkçe Sempozyumu* (2nd International Symposium on Turkish as a World Language) was held by Cyprus International University, December 9-11, 2009. The convener of this meeting was Ahmet Pehlivan, professor at the Department of Turkish. More than eighty participants gathered, mostly from Turkish universities, at the venue in Girne. Several European countries, Albania, Germany, Hungary, Norway, Sweden, the Netherlands, Macedonia, and even the USA were represented.

The invited topics at both of these conferences in Northern Cyprus included the following issues: teaching Turkish as a mother tongue and as a foreign language, teaching Turkish in the Turkic world, development of teaching methods and mate-

rial, Turkish literature and arts in teaching Turkish, Turkish lexicography and linguistics, language policy, Turkish dialectology and sociolinguistics.

Several papers in Girne discussed the level of teaching Turkish outside Turkey. The situation of teaching Turkish as a foreign language in European countries was reviewed by Kutlay Yağmur, who gave a pessimistic review of present developments. Although present research has again confirmed the advantages of bilingualism, mother tongue education of Turkish children in European countries is not satisfactory; see Yağmur's co-authored article in this issue of *Turkic Languages*. According to Jaklin Kornfilt, Turkish is poorly represented at American universities. About 20 American universities offer courses in Turkish, but only a few of them have bachelor or master programs in Turkish or Turkic studies. This might be due to the fact that the number of Turkish speakers in America is relatively low. Güler Gülsevin spoke about the great interest in learning Turkish in the Turkic world outside Turkey and outlined a more positive picture. In Kirghizstan, for instance, a large number of students learn Turkish. One interesting example of this growing interest is the case of Albania, where an academic Turkish program was started in 1996 at the University of Tirana. The number of students studying Turkish today is about one hundred. Two young researchers from Tirana presented papers at the conference in Girne. Xhemile Abdiu spoke about difficulties Albanian students encounter in learning Turkish complex sentences. Fatos Dibra analyzed the 17th-century transcription text *Dictionarium Latino-Epiroticum* as a source for studying Turkish language history.

Issues of teaching Turkish as a native language in Turkish schools are manifold. Seçkin Aydın, in his study on the comprehension of ironic texts by teacher candidates, explained that most of the candidates fail in the use of background knowledge. The need for teaching Turkish as a foreign language is growing in Turkey as well. Universities are opening classes for foreign students. Nazife Aydınoglu and Mehmet Ali Yavuz described new methods of teaching Turkish as a foreign language through the use of lexical chunks.

The second main topic of the conference was linguistic variation in the Turkic world and the study of present and past varieties. Lars Johanson and Éva Á. Csató presented the languages of the Turkic-speaking world and called attention to the urgent task for linguists to document the still existent myriad spoken varieties. Nurettin Demir studied differences between spoken Cypriot Turkish and standard Turkish. In the discussion, Igor Kormushin commented on the usages of the terms *Türkçe* and *Türk dili*. Nadejda Chirli, a native speaker of Gagauz, examined the influence of Russian on Gagauz word order. Her data gives evidence that the word order properties are the same in the language spoken by different generations of speakers. Ali Kafkasyalı talked about the present situation of Irano-Turkic languages and varieties. According to his investigations, the speakers of Turkic in Iran are very keen to maintain their Turkic varieties. Osman Uyanık presented the Urum minority in the Ukraine. Éva Kincses-Nagy talked about Mongolic and Turkic language contacts and mutual copying processes. Mehmet Dursun Erdem presented new data on

the central Sinop dialect. Mária Ivanics dealt with a story of a donkey that became a girl. She concluded that the original of this story is most probably in Rabgūzī, though it is also included in other texts, e.g. in *Dede Korkut*.

Bernt Brendemoen addressed the question of what might be the reasons for similarities between North-West Bulgarian Turkish dialects and Eastern Black Sea dialects. Jaklin Kornfilt presented empirical results contradicting Slobin's claim that left-branching non-finite Turkish relative clauses are acquired later than corresponding right-branching structures in English. Ömer Demircan presented his recent findings concerning the Turkish *devrik cümle* 'inverted clause'. His new book on the subject, *Devrik cümle ve odaklama* ('Inverted clauses and topicalisation'), was published in 2009. Mustafa Volkan Coşkun reported on an interesting investigation concerning the relation between the phonetic and the semantic features of words in Turkish. According to his findings, words denoting positive meanings in Turkish poems tend to contain more sonorants than words with negative meanings. Sema Aslan Demir studied the viewpoint values of Turkish periphrastic verb forms in the framework of Lars Johanson's aspect theory. Issues of definiteness in Turkish were presented by Engin Yılmaz.

There were many other interesting papers presented at the conference. The contributions will be published in different journals, such as *Bilig*, *Turkish Studies*, *Folklor/Edebiyat* (published by the Cyprus International University), and in *Turkic Languages*. The next conference on *Dünya Dili Türkçe* will be held at Dokuz Eylül University, Izmir.

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## Reviews

Juha Janhunen: Review of Arienne M. Dwyer, *Salar: A study in Inner Asian language contact processes. Part 1: Phonology*. (Turcologica 37,1.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007. xv + 336 pp. ISSN 0177-4743, ISBN 978-3-447-04091-4.

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Originally presented as a doctoral dissertation in 1996 (University of Washington) and scheduled to appear in book form in 2000, this long-awaited work was at last published, in updated form, in 2007. The volume is based on Arienne Dwyer's extensive field work among Salar speakers in the 15-year period between 1991 and 2006. Unfortunately, it still remains only the first of a set of two planned volumes, which together, it is hoped, will ultimately constitute the most comprehensive modern reference tool on the Salar language. After the grammar of Ė. R. Tenishev (1976), this is the first major contribution to Salar studies.

Salar has long remained one of the most insufficiently known Turkic languages, spoken by a relatively small population comprising perhaps only 50,000 (by even the most positive estimate no more than 70,000) people in the remote Sino-Tibetan border region also known as Amdo. The largest concentration of Salar speakers is within Xunhua Salar Autonomous County of Qinghai Province, located at a section of the Upper Yellow River in an ethnic environment dominated by Amdo Tibetans and Chinese Moslems (Dungans or *Huihui*). Due to secondary migrations, there are also Salar communities in Xinjiang, especially in the Yili region, which, importantly, were also covered by Dwyer's field work.

Both the ethnic origin of the Salar speakers and the taxonomic position of Salar among the Turkic languages remain unsolved issues, and Dwyer's discussion of this topic (pp. 1-25, 32-68) offers no definitive conclusion, though she supports the idea of an 'archaic' Western Turkic origin with Northern and Eastern Turkic influences. In any case, it is obvious that the Salar are one of the small displaced Turkic and Mongolic populations that remain in the Amdo region as relicts of the Mongol empire (13th to 15th centuries). Not surprisingly, during some 600 years of isolation, the Salar language has become one of the most aberrant forms of Common Turkic.

Indeed, the question as to what the original taxonomic position of Salar may have been is almost irrelevant given how much the language has changed from contact with the local non-Turkic languages, including Hezhou Mandarin, Amdo Ti-

betan, and, historically, Mongolic. Traditionally, many Salar speakers are traders who are more or less fluent in the languages of their trading partners. Even today, many Salar speakers, especially males, are trilingual in Salar, Amdo Tibetan and Hezhou Mandarin. On the other hand, the Salar live in some of the least 'developed' parts of China, with extremely low levels of income and literacy, a situation that has favoured the preservation of the native language and culture.

After discussing Salar history and culture (pp. 1-25), full of religious fundamentalism, tribal feuds, and rebellions nourished by controversies between the different 'orders' of Islam, Dwyer presents an overview of Salar linguistic history (pp. 26-68), as well as dialectology and history of research (pp. 69-94), after which follows the main part of the book, devoted to phonology (pp. 94-308). The volume concludes with a comprehensive bibliography of all previous scholarship on the Salar language (pp. 309-326). The forthcoming second volume will apparently deal with morphology and syntax, and until it is published the work remains incomplete.

From the point of view of interlingual intelligibility, Salar is, together with Chuvash, Yakut, and Sarygh Yughur, one of the most idiosyncratic Turkic languages. When discussing this issue (pp. 26-32) Dwyer slightly overemphasizes the impact of geography, as opposed to chronology. Chuvash and Sarygh Yughur, for instance, which Dwyer mentions as two 'isolated' Turkic languages, are mutually no less unintelligible than Chuvash and Tatar. Clearly, it is not so much the geographical distance as the chronological separation that makes languages different.

Even so, it is clear that the idiosyncracies of Salar are due to an exceptionally rapid speed of evolution, a property shared by the other, mostly non-Turkic, languages of the Amdo region. The region is a laboratory of language contact, for many diachronic developments are shared across language borders. For instance, the Salar spirantization of initial *\*b* to *w* can hardly be separated from the similar development in Amdo Tibetan and certain forms of local Mongolic. The same is likely true of the loss of syllable-final *\*r*, a common trend in many Amdo Tibetan 'farmer' dialects, and also in certain forms of local Mongolic. For such areally conditioned phenomena it is unnecessary to look for more distant parallels in other branches of Turkic, such as Uighur or Oghuz.

The coexistence of different language families in a region often produces puzzling cases of material convergence. For instance, as Dwyer correctly notes (p. 62 note 38), the Salar accusative ending *-ni* is formally identical to the connective (genitive-accusative) ending *\*-ni* as attested in all the Mongolic languages of the region. In the pronouns (p. 64-65), there are parallels such as Salar [Gala] 'where/whither' = Santa [q<sup>h</sup>ala] = Bonan [hala] ~ [hali] = Wutun [ali] id. These are not simple borrowings, and, indeed, it seems that more often than by 'copying', adjacent languages somehow produce similar results from their own material resources.

As far as the phonological apparatus is concerned, Dwyer follows a conservative approach, as is common in Altaic studies, the focus being on the non-technical aspects of phonetics and diachrony, rather than on systematic synchronic phonology.

In principle, Dwyer distinguishes phonemes ('underlying inventory') from allophones ('surface inventory'), but in practice these levels are vaguely defined. Often, the 'phonemic' sequences actually seem to be morphophonemic representations and/or diachronic reconstructions. For instance, the phonetic transcriptions [tulu'yu] ~ [tiuliu'yu] 'fox' are 'phonemized' (p. 149) as /tylge/, which cannot be synchronically correct. Similar examples abound in the work, which makes several chapters, such as the one on syllable structure and prosody (pp. 139-162), somewhat difficult to digest.

Dwyer is also rather diffuse about the dialectal differences at the phonological level. Although she lists two main 'dialects' (Amdo vs. Yili) and several 'vernaculars' (pp. 77-86), she minimizes dialectal information in the actual phonological description. Since there is much segmental variation in Salar at the phonetic and phonemic levels, and in the data quoted by Dwyer, it is not always clear to the reader when this variation is conditioned by idiolectal factors, and when it is connected with true regional differences. There also seem to be significant generational differences in Salar. For instance, the vowel paradigm is being simplified from eight to six to five (?) vowels in the speech of younger individuals, with further implications for vowel phonotactics. Dwyer does not implicate the specific age groups and localities that have a particular vowel system.

In this connection, the choice of the IPA system for the rendering of the phonemic sequences of Salar may also be criticized. The IPA may be fine when phonetic distinctions (at a rather rough allophonic level) are to be indicated, but it is an awkward and often misleading choice when it comes to phonemic notation. In the Salar case, the language could easily be transcribed by using either the Chinese *pinyin* system, as has been done in some Salar text publications before, or an adaptation of the Turkish Roman orthography, as also used today for several Central Asian Turkic languages. Due to the closeness of Salar phonology to local Chinese, the *pinyin* system would be the best option.

The emphasis on phonetics also results in Dwyer occasionally discussing in unnecessary length trivial detail with little phonological importance; two examples are the strength correlation of the obstruents (pp. 98-108) and the preaspiration of postvocalic strong obstruents (pp. 191-201). Both phenomena have a shallow areal background and do not interfere with the actual phonemic sequences, nor with the segmental correspondences between Salar and the other Turkic languages. Ultimately, it is a question of different phonetic ways that retain the same original strength correlation: it can be supported either by voice (unvoiced vs. voiced) or by aspiration (aspirated vs. unaspirated), or by both, and the aspiration, if present, can both precede (preaspiration) and/or follow (postaspiration) the obstruent segment.

For purposes of comparative Turkology, the most important part of Dwyer's book is the lengthy chapter on diachrony (pp. 202-301). After initially touching upon the interesting question concerning the asymmetry of the Proto-Turkic subparadigm of stops (pp. 205-208), though with no substantial new insights, Dwyer goes on to list the diachronic sources of the Salar phonemes, considering both the

inherited Turkic and the borrowed Tibetan, Chinese, Mongolic, Arabic, and Persian vocabulary of the language. Unfortunately, the lack of consistent information on the dialects, and the problems inherent in the phonetic notation, make this section less easy to use than would be the case had a different framework been used.

In general, the diachronic information given by Dwyer is reliable, though certain individual explanations might need slight revision. For instance, as possible sources of Salar [hadi] ~ [xadzi] ‘Chinese’ Dwyer mentions (p. 245) both Amdo Tibetan [hdza] (Written Tibetan <rgya>) and Bonan [xdi] (more correctly [hti]) id., of which only the latter, a variant of \**kitai* ~ \**katai* and a cognate of Santa [q<sup>h</sup>itei] id., can be relevant. Examples like “mahka” ‘wound’ and “gahtca” ‘language’ (p. 254), borrowed from Amdo Tibetan [ma<sup>h</sup>ka] resp. [ka<sup>h</sup>tca] (Written Tibetan <rma.kha> resp. <skad.cha>), are not cases of segmental /h/ insertion but, rather, examples of the regular phonetic preaspiration of medial strong stops. The correct segmentalizations would therefore have to be [ma<sup>h</sup>ka] resp. [ka<sup>h</sup>tca], i.e. /maka/ resp. /gatca/.

Such criticisms of minor details do not diminish the general value of Dwyer’s work. It is of considerable merit to have reintroduced the Salar language in an accessible form, and in the English language, to an international readership. The reader looks forward to the publication of the second volume in the near future.

László Károly: Review of P. A. Slepcev (ed.), (*Bol’shoj*) *tolkovyj slovar’ jakutskogo jazyka* [*Saxa tilin bihārīlāx (ulaxan) tiljita*], Vol. 1 [A], Vol. 2 [B], Vol. 3 [G–I], Vol. 4 [K–küölähinqā], Vol. 5 [küölähis gīn–kāčärä]. Novosibirsk: Nauka, 2004, 680 pages; 2005, 912 pages; 2006, 844 pages; 2007, 672 pages; 2008, 616 pages. ISBN 978-5-02-032332-2.

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Persons interested in the language of the Yakut people can choose from among a variety of dictionaries according to their needs: Dealing with the historical aspects of the language, one can benefit from the famous dictionary of K. È. Pekarskij (*Slovar’ jakutskogo jazyka* 1-3, St. Peterburg-Leningrad: Akademija Nauk, 1907-1930). The literary language of the socialist period is covered by a dictionary edited by P. A. Slepcev (*Jakutsko-russkij slovar’*, Moskva: Sovetskaja Ènciklopedija, 1972). The special lexicon of the Yakut dialects is also accessible via the *Dialektologičeskij slovar’ jakutskogo jazyka* (edited by P. S. Afanas’ev et alii, Moskva: Nauka, 1976) and its “additional” volume *Dialektologičeskij slovar’ jazyka saxa*

[*Saxa tüölbä tilin tiljita*] (edited by M. S. Voronkin *et alii*, Novosibirsk: Nauka, 1995).

Although a new dictionary has appeared in the edition of W. Monastyrjew (*Jakutisch. Kleines erklärendes Wörterbuch des Jakutischen (Sacha-Deutsch)* (Turcologica 68) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006; cf. my review in *Turkic Languages* 11: 279-284), a comprehensive dictionary of the present-day language had been missing until recently. In order to study the modern literary language and its newer lexical elements, one only had the following possibilities: 1. making a field trip to Yakutia; 2. visiting Yakut websites on the Internet. Now it seems that we are getting closer to an up-to-date dictionary of the modern Yakut literary language, since scholars at the Yakut Academy under the leadership of P. A. Slepcev have started to publish a voluminous dictionary to fill this gap. With the fifth volume already out, the lexicon is covered from *a* to *kāčärä*. According to my calculation, based on these five available volumes, the entire dictionary (which is planned to have around thirteen volumes) will include at least 85,000-90,000 words and phrases, making it one of the largest corpora compared to the available dictionaries of the other Turkic languages.

The first volume has an extraordinarily long, but very useful introduction (bilingual, in Yakut and Russian). In the preface the authors describe the main aims of the dictionary (namely demonstrating, disseminating and fortifying the literary norm) and about earlier contributions to Yakut lexicology. In addition we learn that the dictionary is based on a catalogue of three million cards which was started in 1972. At the end of the preface the principles according to which the authors prepared the dictionary are summed up in eight points: (1) The lexical material is collected from various sources (literary works, spoken language, etc.). Only words found to be frequent were included—even if they were dialectal, colloquial or archaic. New Russian elements appearing in mass media and informal communication, slang words, etc., however, are not included. (2) Besides the headwords, a huge variety of phrases and expressions is also given. (3) The primary goal of the dictionary is to define the meaning of the words as precisely as possible because the authors considered this a focal point of the literary norm. (4) The semantic side of the words is illustrated by means of example sentences. (5) Although research on stylistics has only been started recently, the authors make a great effort to classify the lexemes stylistically, as a first step toward establishing a stylistic norm for the language. (6) Grammatical characteristics of the words are also given. (7) The dictionary is made for the widest readership. At the same time, it tries to meet with the highest scientific needs. Additionally, as an aid for non-native readers, the meanings are given in both Yakut and Russian. (8) Etymologically related words in Turkic, Mongolic and Tungusic are also mentioned.

In the next chapter, the structure and set-up of the dictionary is thoroughly described by means of examples according to the following points: 1. composition of the dictionary, 2. the meaning, 3. word classes and derivation, 4. the Russian meaning, 5. the grammatical character of the words, 6. the stylistic character of the words,

7. example sentences, 8. spelling and accent, 9. etymology, 10. the structure of the entries.

This chapter is followed by 1. the abbreviations (terms and languages), 2. the names of writers and journalists, and 3. the sources used. Finally the Yakut alphabet and the signs used are given.

Comparing the lexical material of this new dictionary with those of Soviet times, the reader can detect significant differences. One of them is the clearly visible effort of freeing the language from the written, or so called “knižnyj” Russian terms. For example in Slepčov 1972 we find many Russian loanwords with initial /v/, a sound which was generally considered a foreign phoneme in Yakut. In the new dictionary, the reader will not find such forms: the word *ventiljator* ‘ventilator’, e.g., is now *bāntilāār*, *vanna* ‘bath’ can only be observed in its Yakutized form *bānnay*. The same is true, e.g., for Russian loanwords with initial /f/: Instead of former *fabrika* ‘factory’ we can now only see the Yakutized form *bābirika* in the dictionary. It is worth noting, however, that some, formerly well-known Yakutized words of Russian origin cannot be found in the dictionary: see e.g. *balīta* (← *валюта* ‘currency’). Maybe some other form related to *xarčī* ‘money’ was chosen as a standard word for ‘currency’, but it will take some years for this question to be answered.

In certain cases both the learned and Yakutized variants appear in the dictionary, as e.g. *gās* and *gaz* ‘gas’. Since *gaz* is more frequently used, it is handled as the base form. Accordingly, in the dictionary we find the heads “*gaz (gās)*” and “*gās kör gaz*”; the example sentences are under the head words to which they belong. Interestingly enough, the inflected form *gahinan* clearly shows full integration (i.e. *VzV* > *VsV* > *VhV*) of the word *gaz* into the system of the Yakut language. Other examples of this category are *kvitancija* ‘receipt’ (*kibitānsiyā*) and *buxgalter* ‘book-keeper’ (*bugāltīr*) where again the non-Yakutized forms are the more frequent, and thus the preferred ones.

Another important question regarding the lexical material presented in the dictionary is the number of newly appearing words or phrases. In such a huge corpus, one may expect many of them, which is indeed the case. Without trying to be exhaustive, I mention here only some very special findings of mine. For instance, the phrase *babīa kōmūs* (fol’k.) ‘postojannyj ėpitet, opisvyajuščij ladon’ ili palec personaža jakutskogo geroičeskogo ėposa olonho’ was known to me only from heroic epics; now we get an exact definition of the term and three example sentences illustrating its usage. Having an entry in the dictionary, the dialectal word *božunuoy* ‘zajčonok, zajčiška’ must be prevalent among the native speakers, though I could not observe it in any other Yakut dictionaries known to me. Another word is *bokōror* ‘vospalenie golovnogo i spinnogo mozga, ėncefalomielit’ known to me only from a medical paper of R. Stone entitled “Siberia’s Deadly Stalker Emerges from the Shadows” (*Science* 296 (26 April 2002): 642–645) as *bokhoror* ‘Viliuisk encephalomyelitis’. The form *bokhoror* (or, in conformity to the Turcological notations, *boxoror*) is possibly a dialectal variant coming from the paper of K. G. Umanskij, “*Boxoror*” (*ĕtnografičeskij analiz problem viljujskogo ėncefalomielita*) in Sovjets-

kaja étnografija 1974/4: 133-143. According to the etymological meaning “the stiffness; skovannyj, skovannost’”, the word *bokōror*, although it is not noted in the dictionary, is highly likely to be related to the verb *bokōr-* ‘slabet’, s vozrastom stanovit’sja nemoščnym’. Since there are no example sentences provided for *bokōror*, my analysis must stop here.

Also in the head, besides other things, we find the morphological description of the given lexemes (only if they can be derived mechanically, i.e. the meaning is predictable). For example, *būtaydas-* is analysed as ‘būtaydā- *diāntān xolb. tuh.*’ (a cooperative–reciprocal form), *gīpsālān-* is ‘gīpsālā- *diāntān atin tuh.*’ (a passive form). It is a very useful addition, but unfortunately the meanings of the derived lexemes are not given, only some example sentences. On the other hand, the applied system is inconsistent: While *gāstāhīm* is analysed as ‘gāstā- *diāntān xay. āta*’ (action noun), *būtalāhīm* ‘zaputyvanie perednih nog lošadi (pered puskom na past’bu)’ remains unanalysed (its base is *būtalā-* ‘nadevat’ puty na perednie nogi lošadi pered puskom ee na vypas’); cf. § 28.3 in the introduction of the first volume. Moreover, many other derivatives, e.g. words in *+LĀx* and *+TXŋX* are also not analysed (cf. *gāstāx* ‘gazovyj; gazirovannyj; gazificirovannyj’ and *gāstīŋi* ‘gazoobraznyj, kak gaz’ ← *gās*); cf. § 31 in the introduction. Of course, in many cases the meaning of the derivatives is not predictable, but the system used must be consistent, with or without morphological analysis.

At the end of the entries of the headwords considered primary, the reader will find etymological remarks in the shape of corresponding forms from, according to the authors, Turkic, Turko-Mongolic, Mongolic and Evenki. In the case of Russian loanwords remarks are only given if the corresponding Russian words are archaic or dialectal. This part of the dictionary can easily be completed with many additional parallels. The verb *abīrā-* ‘spasat’, *izbavljat* (ot bedy, gibeli)’, e.g., is of Mongolic origin, cf. *abura-* ‘to save, rescue, help, deliver, preserve life; to protect’; *bary-* ‘v sumerkah vydeljat’ sja bol’šim temnym siluétom, bol’šoj ten’ju, etc.’ clearly corresponds to Mongolic *baruyi-* ‘to become dark, sinister, obscure; to be troubled, downcast; to grow dark in the face’; *bāt* II ‘nebol’šaja dolblenaja lodka (iz brevna)’ is an old loanword from Russian dialectal *bam* ‘lodka’. Further such data can be found in the book of St. Kałużyński entitled *Iacutica (Prace jakutoznawcze)*, Warszawa: Dialog, 1995.

Sometimes the authors provide incorrect etymological cognates. For example, *abaga* ‘djadja’ is not of Turkic origin, but related to Mongolic *abaga* ‘parental uncle’. The well-known Yakut word *abāhi* ‘zloj duh, etc.’ is hardly related to Turkic *abači* ‘a bogy’ (the cited form *abaču* is not known to me from Old Turkic), cf. the problems and etymological attempts related to this word in M. Stachowski’s *Jakutisch abāhy ‘Teufel’* (Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia 6 (2001): 173-180). The word *iāmāx* ‘kol’ceobraznye ser’gi, etc.’ has nothing to do with Old Turkic *āgmā* ‘the arch, or vault, in a house’, it is of Mongolic origin, cf. *egemeg* ‘earring’. Although we can dispense easily with the missing etymological remarks, since this is

not the primary goal of the dictionary, the incorrect etymologies need to be criticized severely because the dictionary will reach a wide readership.

The form *aġabīt* 'svjaščennik, pop' (i.e. with a long vowel in the last syllable!) is a problem: It is a petrified first person plural possessive form of *aga* 'otec (detej)' literally meaning 'our father'. Firstly, the vowel of the possessive suffix in question is short; the word is written as *aġabit* in all the other dictionaries. Secondly, the feminine variant *iyābit* 'popad'ja (žena svjaščennika)' is written with a short vowel in the same dictionary. Having no better solution, I assume a printing mistake here.

In the entries there are cross-references for variants and synonyms. The meaning of the variants is never given, only a reference to the main form; cf. e.g. the pair *īrbāñnik* 'kōr irbāñnik' and *irbāñnik* 'solnečnye bliki, igrajuščie na legkoj rjabi vody', which is a clear way to indicate what is preferred and what is considered only variant. In other cases we find references for synonyms either in the head or at the end of the entry with the abbreviations *diān kurduk* 'same as' and *tāñn.* 'compare', respectively; see e.g. the words *baġaǰ* I 'muñxa diān kurduk' and *dōbōñnik* 'legko, prosto, bystro' with the synonyms *dābigis* 'bez osobogo truda, legko, bystro, skoro' and *ilbičča*. In the case of *īrimtiyī* 'virusnaja bolezn', poražajuščaja nervnuju sistemu životnyh (preim. domašnih), bešenstvo', however, the synonym *īrār iarī* (tāñn.) is mentioned without referring to the headword of the entry where it appears, which may mislead the inexperienced reader, while the phrase *īrār iarī* has no independent entry: It is under *īr-* I 'stradat' poterej rassudka, umopomešatel'stvom, sojti s uma, etc.'

Not being a native speaker of Yakut, it is beyond my competence to make a decision concerning certain segments (mostly in connection with semantics and stylistics) of the dictionary. However, I can say without any reservation that, compared with earlier works, the authors have made a significant step forward in many respects: the great number of example sentences together with their sources help the reader to determine or better understand the meaning, the sphere of use, and the stylistic value of the different lexemes. This is helped by synonyms (in the Yakut meaning), variants (at the end of the entries) and additional remarks on the style (in the head of the entries). Here are some typical examples: We can learn about the word *bōgōxtük* (not known from other dictionaries) that it is part of the spoken language (*kāps.*) meaning 1. 'tak, čtoby bystro ne progolodat'sja, sytno' and 2. 's nadeždoj, so spokojnoj dušoj otноситel'no čego-l., spokojno'. Both meanings are illustrated by examples: 1. *Bōgōxtük ahā*. 2. *Ikki sil ustata üčügäydik bilsibit jon kurduk -- bōgōxtük sananabīn*. The abbreviation "XS" after the second example indicates the source, namely the journal *Xotugu sulus* 'Polaris'. The word *jahāx* (only found in the dictionary of Monastyrjew) is marked as a historical term (*istor.*) and, besides the meaning 'jasak', those who are not familiar with the historical terminology can learn that it is 'natural'naja podat' (preim. pušninoj) s narodov Sibiri i Severa v XVII-XX vekah'. The word *joġustay* 'malen'kij, maljusen'kij' (also not known from other dictionaries) is defined as poetical and an example is quoted from Semen Petrovič Danilov: [Čičāx] kāpsātān ārārđi Kāġiññi-kāġiññi Joġustay bāyātā



*Ҕoxsollon olordo*. Other words such as neologisms, euphemisms, official or scientific terms also show the wealth and thoroughness of the dictionary in these respects.

In my present review I have only had the possibility to discuss the recently published first five volumes of the modern Yakut explanatory dictionary. If the preparation of the further volumes goes well (approximately one volume per year), we will see the whole corpus in its entirety in about seven to ten years. We will then have to return to this enormous work to re-analyse and complement the present discussion. I am sure this dictionary will reach its main goal and become a compass in the establishment of a new literary standard of the modern Yakut language (or *буһуҕу эдэр литературнай тылбыт* as expressed by the authors). And as a bonus, it will be an extremely useful source for those who are interested in any aspect of Yakutology.

Gerjan van Schaaiк: Review of Esin İleri, *Lehrbuch der türkischen Sprache*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, 2007. XIV + 289 pages, ISBN 978-3-87548-344-4, Euro 29.80

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### **Aim**

*Lehrbuch der türkischen Sprache* is a book intended for students who have a full command of the German language. This is an important condition because it is the language used for grammatical explanations and instructions to the exercises, as well as for the preface and introduction. According to the preface, the book aims to lead to “communicative competence for daily life, travel and professionals (teachers)” at the A2-B1 level of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages. Furthermore, it is claimed that this course will require a beginning student with no prior knowledge of Turkish to invest some 220 hours of instruction (“Unterrichtsstunden”). In terms of the European Credit Transfer System this part of the work load (for classroom instruction alone) would be equivalent to  $220/28 = 7.85$  credits. It is to be expected that some additional time should be allotted for homework, preparation for tests, et cetera. The (standard) ratio between instructional time and time to be spent on homework is however an unknown factor, which makes it difficult to calculate or even estimate the overall course load in terms of the ECTS.

Taking a quite different perspective, we could reason as follows: assuming four hours per week of classroom instruction plus six to seven hours per week for homework over a period of thirteen weeks (one term), the total workload of a complete course adds up to approximately 140 hours, which equals 5 credits. Given the size of

the book, the complexity of the subject matter, the intended final level of competence, the number of exercises and the size of the vocabulary, I believe that the total workload of this course cannot exceed 10 credits (and actually comes closer to 5 credits).

### Structure

The book is published in a nice, practical format and comprises twenty lessons, each of which is based on dialogues, grammatical explanation, exercises and a vocabulary section, all presented in this order. It contains a table of contents covering four pages, showing among other things which *conversational topics* (such as greetings, shopping, asking the way, visiting a restaurant) together with their corresponding *grammatical issues* are treated in each chapter. Unfortunately, a register / subject index is lacking, to the effect that in order to look up a certain topic one must rely entirely on the table of contents. At times, certainly as long as one has not yet become very familiar with the contents, this might be a rather laborious enterprise. On the other hand, a very practical list of abbreviations is included at the beginning of the book. And at the end of the book there are two special sections. A “module” in which some vocabulary is presented in a diversified way: articles of clothing, vegetables, fruit and sun-dried fruits, and body parts. The second special section is the key to the exercises.

The book is enlivened by a multitude of illustrations, all well chosen and well finished. They come in two sorts: drawings and photographs, and they are applied in the text body as well as in a number of exercises—their function, however, is not purely ornamental but intended as a graphic representation of things and situations to be expressed by Turkish words and phrases.

A special word of praise is in place for the vocabulary lists at the end of each chapter. They are well thought-out: some adjectives are presented together with their antonyms (and translations), e.g. *başarılı* ⇔ *başarısız*, and, where possible and useful, grammatical, derivational or phraseological information is given in red print, e.g. to *otobüs durağı* ‘bus stop’ the item *durak*, -ğ*ı* ‘stop’ is included; *Anadolu* ‘Anatolia’ is followed by *Anadolulu* ‘Anatolian person’; to *eldiven* ‘glove’ the phrase *bir çift eldiven* ‘a pair of gloves’ is added.

### Method

The teaching method underlying the way the book is organized is referred to as post-communicative: “das aktive und bewusste Lernen”, that is, active learning with a strong appeal to the awareness of what is being learned. This approach is materialized in the following sequence of activities: reading & comprehension, followed by listening & speaking. Apparently, these skills are to be developed under the guidance of a teacher. Since the book is designed for instruction in a classroom (I think preferably by a native speaker of Turkish), it is not a priori suitable for self-study.

Two CDs have been added after the publication of the book. The reviewer did not have access to these.

### **Evaluation**

The main question for a reviewer of course books is always to what extent the ultimate aim as formulated in the preface is actually accomplished. No doubt that working one's way through this book will lead to a thorough knowledge of the most frequent structures of Turkish, albeit on an elementary / basic level. The final level is definitely basic, though not superficial. In my opinion, the student who finishes this course will very well be able to entertain a conversation on a variety of topics.

Moreover, the vocabulary contains some 2000 words, a number which is more than sufficient for most daily situations. And of course, good proficiency in the skills of listening and understanding (passive knowledge) is always a precondition to the more productive skills such as speaking and writing (active knowledge). On top of it, the level attained at the end of the course is an excellent basis for further development. As indicated above, the final level is elementary / basic, since participles, converbs and other means of building complex structures are excluded. This circumstance precludes all attempts to read even the simplest novels, let alone newspaper articles.

### **Some criticisms**

My overall impression is that we have a solid book in hand, rich in dialogues, well-chosen illustrations, good exercises, and a balanced and well-structured vocabulary. In short, it is a book that would be most welcome to anyone who wants to make quick progress on a basic and not too complicated level. A few minor points already mentioned are the lack of an index and a CD which would facilitate self-study. But there is more.

On the level of grammatical explanations I certainly have a few complaints. Partly because a number of factors leave me with the impression that the author is not very well-versed in these matters, and partly because the great number of people who deserve big thank you's (page XII) obviously had no influence on the numerous inconsistencies and downright old-fashioned ideas about how to explain certain grammatical phenomena. Here we go...

Taking a contrastive perspective, the alphabet and sound system of Turkish is compared with those of German. On page 1 we read that "...most sounds of Turkish are familiar to the German-speaking learner due to his mother tongue; only few sounds of Turkish must be learned anew [...die meisten Laute des Türkischen sind dem deutschsprachigen Lerner von seiner Muttersprache her bekannt; nur wenige Laute des Türkischen müssen neu gelernt werden".] Roughly speaking this is true, but significant and audible differences are to be found in the tasty details, which unfortunately are not always presented or carefully explained.

Take the *ö*, which sounds ‘longer’ in *schön* ‘beautiful’ than in *Dörfer* ‘villages’. For a similar difference, compare the *a* in *Jahr* ‘year’ with the one in *Mann* ‘man’. And what about the *e*, to which the sound value “open e” [offenes *e* (*ä*)] is assigned, as exemplified by *Ente* ‘duck’ and *Kätzchen* ‘kitten’, thereby ignoring the fact that the letter *e* in Turkish may stand for different sounds, as in: *gel* [ge] ‘come!’, *şey* [še] ‘thing’ and *eğmek* [e: -mek] ‘to bend’. Without any indication of which one to choose, the reader is at this stage totally left in the dark, despite the fact that on page 3 a single statement can be found on the quality of vowels: “All Turkish vowels are open and not long” [Alle türkischen Vokale sind offen und nicht lang], immediately followed by a series of remarks dealing with spelling.

On the phonological level there are some omissions as well. We mention only: aspiration of the /t/ in word final position (as in: *dur* ‘stop!’ and *var* ‘there is/are’) and aspiration of /p/, /t/, /ç/ in syllable initial position (as in: *kapı* [k<sup>h</sup>a + p<sup>h</sup>] ‘door’, *tütün* [t<sup>h</sup>ü + t<sup>h</sup>ün] ‘tobacco’ and *çiçek* [ç<sup>h</sup>i + ç<sup>h</sup>ek] ‘flower’). Nor is there any systematic treatment of vowel reduction phenomena in relation to accentuation, as occurring in for instance: *anlayamaz* [an + lı + ya + maz] ‘(s)he cannot understand’ and *söyleyebilir* [söy + li + ye + bi + lir] ‘(s)he may say’, et cetera.

Pages 3 and 5 depict cross sections of the human mouth, showing the tongue position relative to the palate and other points of articulation. In the light of the contrastive approach to the sound systems of Turkish and German, it remains to be seen to what extent these illustrations contribute to a better understanding of the mutual differences (not the similarities—these are irrelevant) between the vowels of Turkish and those of German. For example, a difference between the sounds *e* and *ö* on the one hand and *i* and *ü* on the other can hardly be distinguished on page 3. And contrary to what is stated on page 2, that the *ğ* is a “Dehnungs-konsonant” (*sic*) ‘lengthening consonant’, it is represented on page 5 as a guttural obstruent.

The caret (^), merely an orthographical symbol which is not always consistently applied in Turkish texts, is said to function as indicating palatalisation (of a preceding consonant, that is), which is exemplified in İleri’s book by *gâvur* [gja:+vur] ‘heathen, infidel’, *kâğıt* [kja:+hut] ‘paper’, *ilâç* [i+laç] ‘medicine’ and *lâstik* [las+tik] ‘tyre’. This is in fact correct, but why it is not explained what palatalisation actually is, and next, why the effect of palatalisation is indicated (by the symbol “j”) only for /g/ and /k/ and not for /l/ remains unclear to me. Also, there are some other (minor) problems with representations. The symbol “+” is used in the first chapter as a marker of syllable boundaries, but in the remainder of the book it indicates morpheme boundaries, although the symbol “-” is used in verb forms (e.g. pp. 30-31). So why is there one symbol for different types of boundary, and why are inflectional boundaries indicated by two different symbols?

Furthermore, in a very limited number of cases the *ğ* is used as a phonetic symbol and accentuation marks are used in lieu of a more straightforward representation of lengthening and accent position. For *ağa* ‘large landowner’, *değer* ‘worth’ and *yığıt* ‘hero’ we get on page 6 the awkward [á+ğà], [dé+ğèr], [yí+ğít] rather than for instance the much simpler and accurate [a:+a], [de:+er], [yi:+it].

As for other issues concerning grammar, I think that most things will work out well: Turkish is Turkish and there are many ways leading to Rome. After all, grammar in a book of this kind is not an exercise in its own right, but should be seen as a supportive device in elucidating the structure of the language in a maximally possible efficient way, as well as a means to preventing overzealous students from writing up their own logical (and sometimes—in most cases due to a lack of sufficient data and analytical skills—illogical) systems.

Yet, there are a few other suggestions as well for the next edition of this book. For instance, the way the possessive suffixes are represented (p. 17) in the form of an abstraction, could be pursued one step further: *-(I)m*, *-(I)n*, *-(s)I(n)*, *-(I)mIz*, *-(I)nIz*, and *-IArI* (rather than the *ad hoc* and confusing *-IArI*). Why not following the same course as for instance with the imperative second person plural (p. 32, *-(y)In*), the genitive (p. 120, *-(n)In*), and the suffix for the future tense (p. 216, *-(y)AcAk*)? A similar level of abstraction could of course be applied for the paradigms represented on p. 67. Moreover, this would be in line with the common practice in this field.

As a second suggestion I would like to mention a small adaptation to the treatment of the dative (p. 44). Although it is correctly stated that the dative indicates direction, I fail to discern this semantic trait in verbs such as German *aufpassen* ‘to pay attention’, *fragen* ‘to ask’ or *schreiben* ‘to write’ and the like, nor in their respective Turkish equivalents *dikkat etmek*, *sormak*, and *yazmak*. Looking at the German examples, wouldn’t *Fragen Sie den Lehrer!* and *Schreiben Sie an die Tafel!* rather suggest that we are dealing with a direct object in the first sentence and with some location in the latter? Admittedly, this might be confusing, but there is a way out. Better examples are based on *schauen* ‘to look’ and *lachen* ‘to laugh’, and correspondingly, *bakmak* and *gülmek*. Why not include a simple thing like *Okul-a gidin!* ‘Go to school!’ at the very outset to exemplify direction and leave other usages of the dative, e.g. as depending on verb semantics or as used in combination with certain postpositions, for what they are—the intricacies of language?

Third, for a grammar the final level of which is elementary / basic, it can be expected that the bulk of grammatical explanations are related to inflection and that derivational processes are necessarily treated as a poor relation. Fortunately, in a limited number of cases the author has chosen to deviate from this practice. This has been a wise decision. Especially the suffixes *-II* and *-sIz* deserve particular attention on pp. 69f. However, the treatment of the “privative suffix” (a rather unusual term at this level of instruction) is not entirely transparent. Surprisingly, the common German prepositions *mit* ‘with’ and *ohne* ‘without’ are scarcely applied to render the meaning of *-II* and *-sIz*, and rather complicated solutions are offered instead. For instance, *başarılı* is said to be an adjective (*erfolgreich* ‘successful’), but no word about its application as an adverbial (*mit Erfolg* ‘with success, successfully’). Analogously, *dikkat* ‘Aufmerksamkeit, Sorgfalt / attention, caution’ leads to the derivation *dikkatli*, which could be translated adjectively as ‘aufmerksam, sorgfältig’, but which could also be rendered adverbially as ‘mit Aufmerksamkeit’

as in: “mit Aufmerksamkeit etwas beobachten” or ‘mit Sorgfalt’ as in “Allgäuer Käse, mit Sorgfalt produziert!”. The same holds for the suffix *-süz*: the form *başarısız* could simply be translated as ‘ohne Erfolg / without success’ and *gözlüksüz* as ‘ohne Brille / without spectacles’, rather than the long-winded and hard-to-see-through “nicht *bebrillt* bzw. nicht mit Brille, d.h. ohne Brille” or “not spectacled, respectively not with spectacles, that is, without spectacles”. All in all, on the basis of such fragments, it occurs to me that the subject matter might have been inspired by another book. In itself this is a good and common practice, which is however only allowed on the proviso that matters should first be entirely digested and reflected upon before being put in some other publication. Certain grammatical matters should, as it were, be reanalysed or adapted and given a “personal touch” in order to fit into the rest of the book.

As a final point in case, there is this everlasting problem of the negated form of the present tense (p. 105). Let me come straight to the point and offer a straightforward solution at a beginners’ level. Assuming the suffix *-(I)yor* for the present tense, verb forms can be built up in a predictable way: *yürü-yor* ‘(s)he walks’ and *kalk-ıyor* ‘(s)he rises’. Now, ignoring any phonological processes accounting for vowel reduction in relation to the position of stress, we can postulate the fourfold negational suffix *-mI*, which is to exclusively precede *-(I)yor-* to be realised as *-yor* since *-mI* ends in a vowel, instead of the “regular” twofold set *-ma /-me*. Everything becomes now bafflingly simple (cf. the data on p. 105) without the need to point out that “a wide vowel is transformed into a narrow one, according to the laws of the Greater Vowel Harmony” [... das Zeitsuffix *-yor-* macht aber aus einem unmittelbar vorangehenden breitenVokal einen engen Vokal nach den Gesetzen der großen Vokalharmonie]. Expectedly we get: *başla-mı-yor* ‘(s)he doesn’t begin’, *bekle-mi-yor* ‘(s)he doesn’t wait’, *yürü-mü-yor* ‘(s)he doesn’t walk’, *oku-mu-yor* ‘(s)he doesn’t read’, *al-mı-yor* ‘(s)he doesn’t take / buy’, *ver-mi-yor* ‘(s)he doesn’t give’, *gül-mü-yor* ‘(s)he doesn’t laugh’, *öl-mü-yor* ‘(s)he doesn’t die’, *sor-mu-yor* ‘(s)he doesn’t ask’, et cetera.

To wrap up this section, the remarks made here are not intended to spoil the positive remarks I made in the foregoing sections: they are merely suggestions to help make a good book an even better book in its next edition.





Angelika Landmann

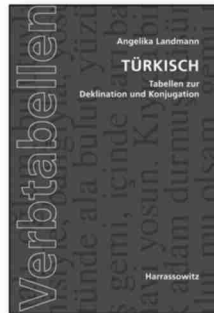
## Türkisch

Kurzgrammatik

2009. 119 Seiten, br  
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Angelika Landmanns „Kurzgrammatik“ enthält die Essenz ihres ebenfalls bei Harrassowitz erschienenen Lehrbuchs „Türkisch. Grammatisches Lehrbuch für Anfänger und Fortgeschrittene“ (ISBN 978-3-447-05889-6) und erläutert die wichtigsten Grundlagen der türkischen Grammatik knapp, übersichtlich und leicht verständlich. Die systematisch nach grammatischen Kategorien gegliederten Inhalte werden anhand von Tabellen und Beispielen veranschaulicht und durch über die Grundlagen hinausführende Details ergänzt.

Damit richtet sich das Buch einerseits an Personen, die bereits über Kenntnisse des Türkischen verfügen, Muttersprachler wie Nicht-Muttersprachler, andererseits aber auch an linguistisch Interessierte ohne Vorkenntnisse, die sich einen raschen Überblick über die grammatischen Strukturen des Türkischen verschaffen wollen. Es kann als Nachschlagegrammatik zum Selbststudium oder als Ergänzung zu dem im Unterricht verwendeten Lehrwerk genutzt werden.



Angelika Landmann

## Türkisch

Tabellen zur Deklination und Konjugation

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Angelika Landmanns Tabellen zur Deklination und Konjugation im Türkischen bieten einen raschen Überblick über die Deklinationen von Substantiven sowie über die wichtigsten Zeiten und Modi von Verben.

Das Türkische besitzt keine starken oder schwachen Verben und auch keine unterschiedlichen Deklinationsmuster. Im Unterschied zu den flektierenden westeuropäischen Sprachen drückt es seine grammatischen Funktionen durch eine Vielzahl von Suffixen aus, die gleichzeitig sehr markanten Lautgesetzen unterliegen.

Für den Lernenden sind diese Gesetzmäßigkeiten zunächst ungewohnt; obendrein ähneln viele Formen einander oder sind bisweilen trotz unterschiedlicher Bedeutung identisch. Die Tabellen zur Deklination und Konjugation helfen, sich leichter zurechtzufinden und stellen zugleich eine ideale Ergänzung zu jedem türkischen Lehrwerk dar.

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Margarete I. Ersen-Raschs türkische Übungsgrammatik wendet sich an Türkischlernende mit geringen bis guten Vorkenntnissen und ist unabhängig von einem Lehrbuch verwendbar. Die Abfolge der Grammatikbeschreibungen orientiert sich an den Erfordernissen des Gemeinsamen Europäischen Referenzrahmens der Stufen A1 bis C1 und an den Selbstbewertungsbögen verschiedener Volkshochschulen. Für die Stufen A1 und A2 wurde im Wesentlichen ein Grundwortschatz verwendet. Mit Ausnahme der authentischen Beispiele und Texte hält sich auch der verwendete Wortschatz in den Kapiteln B1 bis C1 in diesem Rahmen, damit die vom Deutschen stark abweichenden Nebensätze schneller durchgearbeitet werden können.

Den Schwerpunkt dieses Buches bilden die Grammatikbeschreibungen mit zahlreichen übersetzten Beispielen und anschließenden Übungen, auch Übersetzungsübungen sind nicht ausgespart. Der Fokus liegt jedoch auf einsprachigen Übungen und Textverständnis. Innerhalb der einzelnen nach grammatischen Kategorien gegliederten Kapitel wurde eine Progression vom Einfacheren zum Schwierigeren verfolgt, sodass nach persönlichen Lernbedürfnissen verfahren werden kann. Verweise helfen zudem dabei, Verbindungen zwischen den einzelnen Kapiteln herzustellen.

Die Übungsgrammatik enthält eine Suffixliste, Tabellen zur Deklination und Konjugation, den Lösungsschlüssel sowie ein Sachregister.



Margarete I. Ersen-Rasch

## Tatarisch Lehrbuch

Lehrbuch für Anfänger und Fortgeschrittene unter Mitarbeit von Flora S. Safiullina

Mit einer CD im MP 3-Format  
2009. XXI, 239 Seiten, 115 Abb., br  
ISBN 978-3-447-06110-0  
€ 49,80 (D) / sFr 86,-

„Tatarisch für Anfänger und Fortgeschrittene“ ist das erste deutschsprachige Lehrbuch für die wolga-tatarische Sprache, eine Türkische Sprache, die heute von über zwei Millionen Menschen in der zu Russland gehörenden Republik Tatarstan und von knapp sieben Millionen Menschen in ganz Russland gesprochen wird. Darüber hinaus leben zahlreiche Tataren in der Diaspora (u.a. China, Kasachstan, Usbekistan, Türkei, Finnland, Amerika, Australien).

Mit einem kommunikativ-kognitiven Ansatz führt das Lehrbuch in achtundzwanzig Lektionen anhand von abwechslungsreichen Übungen, Dialogen zu relevanten Alltagssituationen sowie authentischen Texten und einer auf die Lektionen abgestimmten Grammatikbeschreibung in die tatarische Sprache ein. Neben ergänzenden Grammatiktabellen, Wörterverzeichnissen und einem Schlüssel zu den Übungen enthält dieses Lehrbuch eine Audio-CD mit Aufnahmen von Muttersprachlern, die auch den Selbstlernenden einen direkten Zugang zum Tatarischen ermöglichen.

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Evangelia Balta, Matthias Kappler (Eds.)

**Cries and Whispers  
in Karamanlidika Books**

Proceedings of the First International  
Conference on Karamanlidika Studies  
(Nicosia, 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> September 2008)

Turcologica 83

2010. 290 pages, 16 ill., pb

ISBN 978-3-447-06185-8

Ca. € 68,- (D) / sFr 116,-

The Karamanlides are Greek Orthodox Christians originally located in Central Anatolia with Turkish as their primary language. *Cries and Whispers in Karamanlidika Books* contains the papers presented at the First International Conference on Karamanlidika Studies (Nicosia, 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> September 2008). Since the main problems of research in "Karamanlidika" are the lack of analytical studies, the absence of scholarly exchange between researchers, as well as the politicization and political manipulation of the subject, the conference was intended to bring together specialists in the field to present papers dealing expressly with the phenomenon without political dilatation and expansion. Being a first approach to the intricate subject, the conference aimed to create a scientific platform for further research and cooperation between scholars. Historians, linguists and researchers in literature were asked to pose questions concerning the production of Karamanlidika printed works and manuscripts, the reasons that determined this production, its quantity and its quality as well as the subjects who produced and assimilated it.

Gundula Salk

**Die Sanjira des Togolok Moldo  
(1860–1942)**

Veröffentlichungen der  
Societas Uralo-Altica 79

2009. VIII, 374 Seiten, br

ISBN 978-3-447-06161-2

€ 78,- (D) / sFr 132,-

Die *Sanjira* des kirgisischen Dichters Togolok Moldo (1860–1942) ist eines der frühesten schriftlich fixierten Beispiele der kirgisischen Ahnen-Chroniken (*sanjira*). Die ins Deutsche übersetzte und umfassend kommentierte Textedition von Gundula Salk stellt erstmals das Genre der *Sanjira* vor und macht zugleich einen der ältesten kirgisischen Texte überhaupt zugänglich. Inhaltlich widmen sich die Ahnen-Chroniken vor allem dem ethnischen Aufbau der kirgisischen Stämme und ihrer Geschichtszeugnisse. Die überraschend burlesken Erzählungen führen den Leser in die karge Hochgebirgswelt des Tianshan und lassen ihn Einblick nehmen in die Geschichte des Stammes der Sayak und seiner Fehden. Salk rekonstruiert die Genealogien der Sayak und erstellt eine Stammesliste, die Auskunft zu Zahl, Verbreitung und vermeintlicher Herkunft der zahlreichen kirgisischen Stämme gibt. Ausführliche Indizes und genealogische Tafeln helfen, das Gewirr von ethnischen Bezeichnung und Namen zu entflechten. Durch Salks fundierten Textkommentar wird darüber hinaus der kulturhistorische und geographische Kontext verständlich, in dem die überwiegend mündlich tradierten *Sanjira* einst entstanden sind und noch heute fortbestehen.

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