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Titel: Some syntactic issues in Karamanlidika texts

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Some syntactic issues in Karamanlidika texts

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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).^{1, 2}

- 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*)

¹ 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.

² 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).³ 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.⁴

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

³ 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).

⁴ 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).⁵ 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-cılığı* 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].⁶

⁵ See the discussion in Sezer (1978) for a distinction among the inanimate plural nouns as *eylemli* and *eylemsiz*.

⁶ 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)*⁷
 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’.

⁷ I leave aside the group of exceptions like the following:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| (i) <i>çok teşekkür-ler</i> | (ii) <i>çok sevgi-ler</i> |
| 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-lığ-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-dır.*⁸
 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)

⁸ Prescriptively speaking, this sentence is in fact ungrammatical.

It is noted in Eckmann (1958: 82) that *-mAsInA* gerundial structure is used in Karanlidika 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 altın-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-du.
 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 kızcıgaz 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. -*Dİr* ... *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)⁹
- (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!”’¹⁰
 (*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:

⁹ This is an attempt, not a direct translation. The complete sentence is as follows:
 (i) Kızdır bir reftar ile sala ortasına gelip, Mantolino-ya nazik ve kınalı parmakları ile çeki düzen vermeye başladı ise, Fransız deli kanlının gözleri birden ol perinin vicudi 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 sebeb ne ola, ve bu maskaranın uzun kılıçla bunda işi ne ola! dimeye başladı. (*Çingane Kızı* 15)

¹⁰ 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-ın-da bulun-dı, o ki kız Fransız-ın
 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-ın-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.¹¹

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:

¹¹ 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-ın-ın 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.*¹²
 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 cevap-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, fursant*
 many that H. S. King-ABL hear-EVID COND opportunity
bul-du fikir-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... savaşı-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)

¹² 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. (onu)*
 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
dağıl-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 vakıt-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)AlI

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

- (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 ἐπτά χρόνια (απὸ τότε) που δὲν σε ἔχω δεῖ.” 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	aorist	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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