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Editorial note

Turkic Languages, Volume 14, 2010, Number 2

The present issue of *TURKIC LANGUAGES* contains three articles on Turkish. Memet Aktürk-Drake deals with the phonological treatment of the non-velarized lateral /l/ in word-final coda position of Turkish lexical borrowings from Arabic and Swedish, investigating the roles and interaction of different phonological and sociolinguistic factors for the choice of integration strategies.

Gerjan van Schaik examines the use of Turkish place nouns in compound-based postposition-like elements with a zero-marked complement as opposed to similar constructions with a genitive-marked complement, e.g. *masa üstünde* vs. *masanın üstünde* 'on the table'. The author argues that in cases where no such opposition exists, the constructions with zero-marked complements have reached the degree of real postpositions.

Didem Koban comments on innovations in the speech of Turks living in New York City. The speakers have become less dependent on Turkish and express themselves in English-like ways. Their lexical knowledge may have undergone changes during the contact with American English. According to the author, the new usages contribute to the creation of a variety of Turkish quite different from the Turkish varieties spoken in Turkey.

Vitaly Voinov's article deals with a Tuvan phenomenon, the fact that certain personal and demonstrative plural pronouns can be marked with an extra plural morpheme, e.g. *bis-ter-ler* 'we', *si-ler-ler* 'you', *bo-lar-lar* 'these'. This 'repluralization' is not only an honorific device, but can have other functions as well, ascribing a special status to the referent.

Éva Á. Csató reports on a recent Uppsala workshop on Karaim studies, summarizing the presentations and providing a selective list of relevant publications on Karaim issues produced at the institutions of the participants.

The issue is concluded by reviews of a book on Turkic-Iranian language contacts, a volume on Turcology at the University of Mainz, and an edition of the Mongolian source "Činggis Qayan-u Altan Tobči".

It is our sad duty to convey the message that Denis Sinor, Distinguished Professor Emeritus at the Department of Central Eurasian Studies of Indiana University, passed away on January 12, 2011, at the age of 94. He was one of the founders of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference and its Secretary General for many years. Professor Sinor was an authority in Uralic and Altaic studies, a leading scholar in the field of the history of Central Asia, but many of his older publications also deal with Turkic, Mongolic, and Altaic linguistics.

Lars Johanson

Phonological and sociolinguistic factors in the integration of /l/ in Turkish in borrowings from Arabic and Swedish

Memet Aktürk-Drake

Aktürk-Drake, Memet 2010. Phonological and sociolinguistic factors in the integration of /l/ in Turkish in borrowings from Arabic and Swedish. *Turkic Languages* 14, 153–191.

This article investigates the phonological integration of the front coda /l/ after a back vowel in the final rime of words borrowed from Arabic and Swedish into Turkish. This original donor structure is interesting because it is in conflict with the core rules of Turkish phonology. Several sub-disciplines of linguistics have dealt with the role of different phonological and sociolinguistic factors in the phonological integration of lexical borrowings, but there is no consensus on their respective weights in borrowing nor on the way in which their interaction is to be conceptualised. The Arabic data in the study are based on historical loanwords while the Swedish data have been obtained through an experiment. The focus of the article is the choice between adoption and adaptation as integration strategies and how different factors interact in producing the attested integration patterns. The results show that adoption is predominantly preferred to adaptation in both cases due to the dominant status of the donor languages in the contexts of borrowing. Hence, it is argued that sociolinguistic factors play the main role in these two particular cases.

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1. Introduction

From Ottoman Turkish to Modern Standard Turkish, /l/ has been one of the phonemes that have been affected most by contact-induced language change (cf. Zimmer 1985). This is due to large-scale lexical borrowing from several languages such as Persian, Arabic, Greek, Italian, French and English, which all feature laterals in phonological positions or environments where Turkish laterals were previously not attested. Hence, the status of the phoneme /l/ as a phonological exception and the underlying causes related to language contact make it an interesting object of study. This article will discuss /l/ in borrowed words in only the word-final coda position after a back vowel, as this particular environment enables an investigation of both the phonetic quality of /l/ and its phonological behaviour in suffixation. The focus will be on historical loanwords from Arabic and new experimental data from Swedish. The reason for choosing these particular instances of borrowing is firstly the structural fact that both Arabic and Swedish have a non-velarised lateral approxi-

mant /l/ as their only lateral phoneme. This phoneme also appears in word-final coda position after back vowels, which is an illicit environment for a non-velarised /l/ in Turkish. Secondly, there are important sociolinguistic differences between these two contexts of borrowing such as the status of the borrowers and the recipient language. Therefore, these structural similarities and sociolinguistic differences can provide us with valuable insights into the role of sociolinguistic factors in the phonological integration of lexical borrowings.

2. Theoretical background

In this article, the term *borrowing* and accompanying metaphors such as *donor language* and *recipient language* will be used instead of the more appropriate term “copying” proposed by Johanson (2002: 8–18) as the former are more established in the linguistic literature. It is generally accepted that the integration of lexical borrowings from a donor language (DL) into a recipient language (RL) can involve one of two phonological strategies: adaptation or adoption. Adaptation entails the alteration of the phonological form of the borrowing in the DL in order to make it fit the phonological system of the RL. Adoption is the opposite strategy whereby deviant DL forms are incorporated into the RL without alteration resulting in the addition of DL forms and patterns to the RL system. Adaptation is thus a conservative strategy which preserves the RL system, whereas adoption means contact-induced phonological change in the RL system due to lexical borrowing from the DL.

2.1. Phonological and sociolinguistic factors in phonological integration

Several sub-disciplines of linguistics have dealt with the phonological integration of lexical borrowings. The loanword-phonology literature has largely assumed that the borrowers are monolingual or have low phonetic-phonological competence in the DL and has consequently emphasised adaptation as an integration strategy. The focus of this type of research has been on phonological factors, mainly the phonetic approximation of deviant donor-language structures (cf. Silverman 1992 and Yip 1993 and 2002). Bilingualism research has also investigated phonological integration of lexical borrowings as an instance of mixed language use. Naturally, this sub-discipline has attributed bilingualism and proficiency in the DL a greater role and has consequently included sociolinguistic factors in its analyses. These factors include the degree of community bilingualism (Paradis & LaCharité 2008), the sociopolitical status of the DL as a minority or majority language (Poplack, Sankoff & Miller 1988) and attitudes towards mixed language use (Poplack, Sankoff & Miller 1988). Paradis & LaCharité (2008) maintain that the bilingual borrowers set the standard for the phonological integration in the whole speech community. They also claim that a high degree of community bilingualism increases the likelihood of adoptions as opposed to adaptations. Similarly, Poplack, Sankoff & Miller (1988) have found that adoption is more common when the RL is a minority language in a context where the DL is the majority language. They explain this finding by refer-

ring to the borrowers' high proficiency in the DL in such a minority context. Poplack, Sankoff & Miller (1988) also remark that the borrowers' integration patterns are partly acquired in the local sociolinguistic context where certain social norms of mixed language use are established.

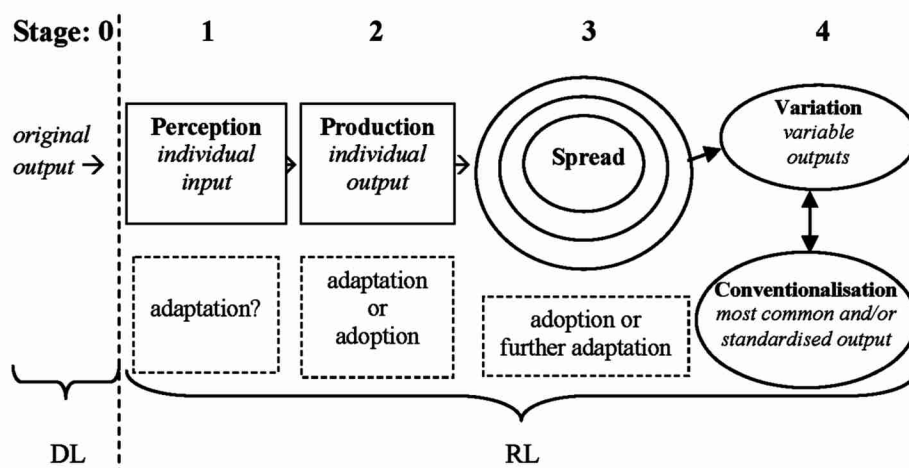
Finally, the literature on language contact and change has dealt with adoption as an instance of contact-induced language change. While this sub-discipline has focused on both phonological and sociolinguistic factors as well as their interaction, a common view is that sociolinguistic factors can "trump" phonological factors given the right social circumstances of contact (cf. Thomason 2001: 85). A commonly cited factor in language change through borrowing is the degree of bilingualism in two senses. The first sense is the degree of community bilingualism (cf. Croft 2000: 201–207; Thomason 2001: 70–71; Johanson 2002: 5–6 and Sakel 2007: 19, 25) while the second sense is the level of proficiency in the DL among individual borrowers (cf. "familiarity with the donor language" in McMahon 1994: 205; "imperfect learning" in Thomason 2001 and in Matras 2007: 39–40; and "quality of bilingualism" in Johanson 2002: 5). In summary, both the loanword-adaptation literature and the literature on language contact and change have shown a tendency to emphasise the importance or primacy of one type of factor (phonological factors in the former and sociolinguistic factors in the latter case) at the expense of the other type of factor. Bilingualism research has, on the other hand, taken a more balanced view of the roles played by both types of factors. Despite the wealth of knowledge and insights provided by these sub-disciplines on phonological integration, how the interaction between phonological factors (including phonetic factors) and sociolinguistic factors should be treated theoretically remains a central issue in need of further discussion.

2.2. The phonological integration process of a lexical borrowing

In Figure 1, a schematic overview of the integration process is presented. The original output from the DL enters the RL through an individual borrower in Stage 1. Depending on the phonetic-phonological competence of the borrower in the DL, he/she may or may not perceive the DL output correctly. Hence, the RL input may or may not be identical to the DL output during this stage. If the RL input is different from the original DL output, the first instance of adaptation is considered to have taken place in perception (cf. Silverman 1992; Yip 1993 and 2002; Peperkamp & Dupoux 2003; Vendelin & Peperkamp 2004; Adler 2006; Boersma & Hartman 2009; Calabrese 2009 and Kim 2009). In Stage 2, the input is subjected to either (further) adaptation or adoption by the borrower resulting in the borrower's individual output. If a phonological structure in the borrowing is absolutely marked (i.e. has high phonetic complexity) or relatively foreign to the RL (cf. the notion of structural "attractiveness" in Johanson 2002: 41–48), the borrowers might not possess the ability to produce the structure in question. This means that the more demanding the phonological structure in question is, the more advanced the phonetic-phonological

competence of the borrowers has to be in the DL (i.e. no or little foreign accent) in order for adoption to be available to them. Therefore, phonetic-phonological competence in the DL is a key factor as to whether adaptation starts already during Stage 1 as well as in the choice between adoption and adaptation during Stage 2. Competence in the DL is viewed as a sociolinguistic factor here because on the societal level it is directly related to the socio-political status of the DL and the socioeconomic status of the borrowers.

Figure 1. Overview of the phonological integration of a lexical borrowing



Legend: The bold numerals on top indicate the stages in the integration process. The solid-lined rectangles represent processes in individual speakers, while the ellipses refer to processes in the speech community. The dotted-lined rectangles indicate the integration strategies that are available at a particular stage. The horizontal curly brackets indicate processes that pertain to the donor language (DL) and to the recipient language (RL).

Once the original borrower has produced his/her individual output after Stage 2, this output is introduced during Stage 3 to other individuals and thus into the speech community and can potentially start spreading as a lexical, and possibly phonological, innovation. Stage 3 crucially involves the original borrowers' individual outputs becoming inputs for other speakers. This can potentially start a new cycle of phonological integration for further speakers who themselves go through Stages 0–2 and consequently introduce their own individual outputs into the speech community. In this process, the output of the first generation of borrowers is not necessarily the only input to the second generation of borrowers if their proficiency in the DL allows them additional access to the DL, including access to the DL orthography. However, if the second generation of borrowers is monolingual or has low phonetic-phonological competence in the DL, the first generation's output may be the only or

main input. When the lexical innovation spreads through the speech community, these cycles of borrowing are repeated over and over again. These processes of spread can potentially result in variation in the RL speech community regarding the pronunciation and use of the lexical borrowings. This variation during Stage 4 can be based on different proficiency levels in the DL and/or social class to name just a few relevant factors. Since there are normative forces in every speech community, one variant might eventually become conventionalised as the community norm or the prescriptive norm. The most common type of normative linguistic force is standardisation. The chosen standard variant can be the most common one or a less common one preferred by the elites. In any case, there is interaction between variation and the forces of conventionalisation whereby the actual use throughout the speech community both influences and is influenced by the conventionalised norms as indicated by the bidirectional arrow in Figure 1. During Stage 4, such factors as the degree of community bilingualism, which is crucially linked to the prestige and socio-political status of the DL, and the socioeconomic status of the original borrowers in the RL community play an important role.

In the loanword-phonology literature, one of the most debated issues has been the role of perception. Some researchers argue that Stage 1 does not exist (cf. Paradis & LaCharité 1997; Paradis & Prunet 2000; Jacobs & Gussenhoven 2000 and LaCharité & Paradis 2005) and that integration only has to do with production i.e. Stage 2. Following Calabrese & Wetzels (2009), the view that claims that both Stage 1 and Stage 2 exist will be referred to as the “the perceptual stance”, while the view that dispenses with Stage 1 will be called “the phonological stance”. The crucial difference between these stances from the perspective of the present study is that the perceptual stance allows for phonetic details to play a greater role than the phonological stance. Paradis & LaCharité (1997 and 2008) maintain that the main justification for the phonological stance is the fact that the original borrowers are predominantly bilinguals with advanced phonetic-phonological competence in the DL. Consequently, these bilinguals’ individual inputs in the RL are always identical to the original DL output. In order to overcome the apparent contradiction between these two stances, Heffernan (2005) has suggested a division of labour between the stances, whereby the perceptual stance should be applied to borrowing by monolinguals while the phonological stance should be reserved for borrowing by bilinguals.

2.3. The appropriateness of comparisons

When comparing different instances of borrowing, it is crucial to be aware of the fact that the particular data available for the different contexts may pertain to different stages of the phonological integration process described in Figure 1. This issue is often neglected in the literature, leading to the false assumption that contemporary data from Stage 4 necessarily reflect the integration strategies applied by the original borrowers in an earlier period. This assumption practically amounts to dispensing with potential spread effects during Stage 3. In the present study, the experimental

data on new Swedish borrowings provide us with information on a group of speakers' individual outputs, i.e. data from Stage 2. Data on historical Arabic loanwords, on the other hand, are obtained from contemporary dictionaries of Turkish and thus reflect conventionalised community outputs from Stage 4. Consequently, a direct comparison of these data from two different stages would not be appropriate. Therefore, a valid comparison requires making a qualified inference as to the group of original borrowers for Arabic loanwords and reconstructing that group's output, i.e. the original Stage 2. Thus, a reconstructed Stage 2 in one context of borrowing (Arabic) can be more appropriately compared with an actual Stage 2 in the other context (Swedish).

3. The status of the phoneme /l/ in the three languages

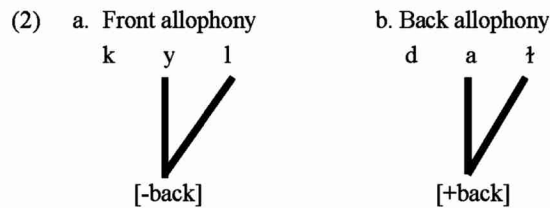
3.1. Laterals in the recipient language Turkish

3.1.1. The native underspecified lateral phoneme /L/

In the native vocabulary of Turkish, the lateral phoneme /L/ is underspecified with respect to its phonological classification as front or back. As we can see in (1), in coda position the phoneme /L/ has a front allophone [l] after phonologically front vowels in (1a) and (1c) as well as a back allophone [ɫ] after phonologically back vowels in (1b) and (1d).

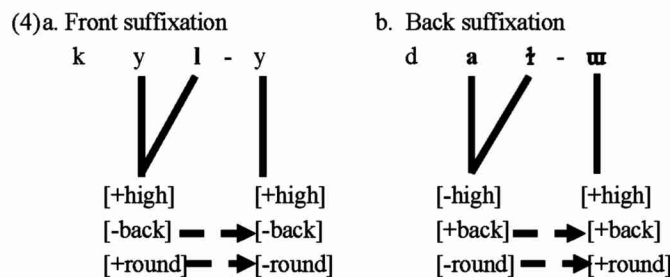
(1) After front vowels			After back vowels		
a.	<i>kül</i>	'ash' [kyl]	b.	<i>kul</i>	'slave' [kuɫ]
	<i>göl</i>	'lake' [gœl]		<i>kol</i>	'arm' [koɫ]
c.	<i>kil</i>	'clay' [kil]	d.	<i>kal</i>	'body hair' [kɯɫ]
	<i>kel</i>	'bald (person)' [kel]		<i>dal</i>	'branch' [daɫ]

According to Zimmer & Orgun (1999), the front allophone [l] is categorised as a post-alveolar lateral approximant and lacks secondary velarisation. The back allophone [ɫ], on the other hand, is categorised as a dental lateral approximant and displays secondary velarisation. Hence, the phonological feature that determines if the lateral is classified as front or back is not its place of primary articulation but the absence or presence of a secondary articulation in the form of velarisation, i.e. the raising of the tongue's body at the back of the mouth. These allophony rules result in palatal spreading in the rime whereby the [back] feature of the nucleic vowel is spread to the coda /L/ as in (2).



According to the rules of Turkish vowel harmony, in suffixation the last stem vowel provides the underspecified vowel of the suffix with two of its own features, namely [back] and [round] through spreading. In (3) and (4) the accusative suffix /-(j)l/ is used as an example. Thus, the [back] value of the stem's final vowel is spread further to the suffix's vowel, building a continuous string of either front or back segments across the morpheme boundary as in (4).

- | | | | |
|----------------------------------|--------|---------------------------------|--------|
| (3) a. <i>kül-ü</i> 'ash-ACC' | [kyly] | b. <i>kul-u</i> 'slave-ACC' | [kuɫu] |
| <i>göl-ü</i> 'lake-ACC' | [gœly] | <i>kol-u</i> 'arm-ACC' | [koɫu] |
| c. <i>kil-i</i> 'clay-ACC' | [kili] | d. <i>kıl-ı</i> 'body hair-ACC' | [kɯɫɯ] |
| <i>kel-i</i> 'bald (person)-ACC' | [keli] | <i>dal-ı</i> 'branch-ACC' | [daɫɯ] |



3.1.2. Two exceptions regarding /l/ in loanwords



In native stems, the allophony rules require that the coda /l/ have the same [back] value as the preceding vowel, while according to the rules of vowel harmony between the stem and its suffixes, the stem's final vowel alone determines the suffix vowel's [back] and [round] values. These two phonological rules apply for all native Turkish words as well as for some nativised loanwords. However, in Modern Standard Turkish the same rules can be violated or altered in many loanwords where the original DL form contains in its final rime a back vowel followed by a front /l/. As a result, exceptions to the aforementioned rules arise. Together with Persian loanwords, Arabic loanwords were historically among the first exceptions to these rules and make up a large portion of the exceptions regarding /l/. Later, these exceptions were further consolidated by the influx of French loanwords of the same type. This

borrowing pattern, which violates the allophony and vowel-harmony rules of Turkish, is still productive in Modern Standard Turkish today as proper names of this type are regularly integrated into the language, some of which become new exceptions.

3.1.3. Violation of the lateral allophony rules in loanwords

As we can see in (5b) the original front quality of /l/ in the DL is preserved in Turkish despite the fact that the preceding vowel is back. In (5b) *sol* has been borrowed from the Italian *sol* [sol]. *bol* has been borrowed from the French *bol* [bɔl]. *usul* comes from the Arabic [usˤu:l]. The lexical entries for such loanwords do not contain an underspecified /L/ as in native words in (5a) but a fully specified front /l/ as in (5b) whose palatal value is independent of the preceding vowel's value as in (6b). Thus, through this type of borrowing which *preserves* the DL's original lateral, the native lateral allophone [l] has acquired phonemic status as /l/ in Turkish. This leads to the minimal pairs in (5) and (6), which can only be distinguished by the front or back quality of the lateral in their surface forms.

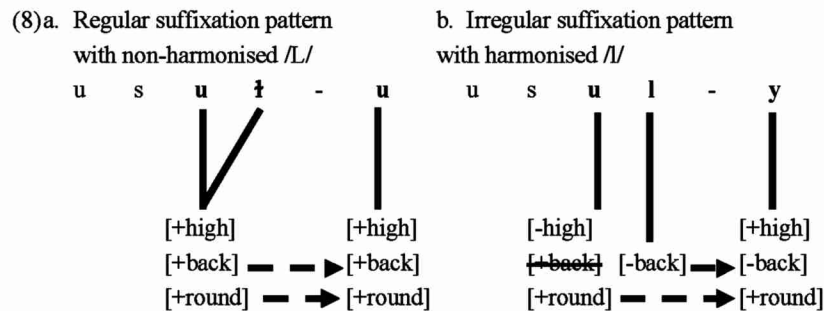
(5)a. Native words				b. Loanwords			
<i>sol</i>	'left'	/soL/	[soɫ]	<i>sol</i>	'a musical note'	/sol/	[sol]
<i>bol</i>	'plentiful'	/boL/	[boɫ]	<i>bol</i>	'bowl'	/bol/	[bol]
<i>usul</i>	'quiet'	/usuL/	[usuɫ]	<i>usul</i>	'method'	/usu:l/	[usuɫ]

(6)a. Lateral allophony respected				b. Lateral allophony violated			
u	s	u	ɫ	u	s	u	l
							
			[+back]			[+back]	[-back]

3.1.4. The harmonisation of /l/ in the suffixation of loanwords

The second exception resulting from the preservation of the original front quality of /l/ in loanwords is the violation of the rules of vowel harmony between stems and suffixes. In suffixation the preserved original /l/ starts participating in stem-suffix harmony processes as a [-back] segment by spreading its [-back] value to the suffix's vowels as in (7b) and (8b). This phenomenon will be referred to as the *harmonisation of /l/*.

(7)a. Native words				b. Loanwords			
<i>bol-u</i>	'plentiful-ACC'	[boɫu]		<i>bol-ü</i>	'punch-ACC'	[boly]	
<i>usul-u</i>	'quiet-ACC'	[usuɫu]		<i>usul-ü</i>	'method-ACC'	[usu:ly]	



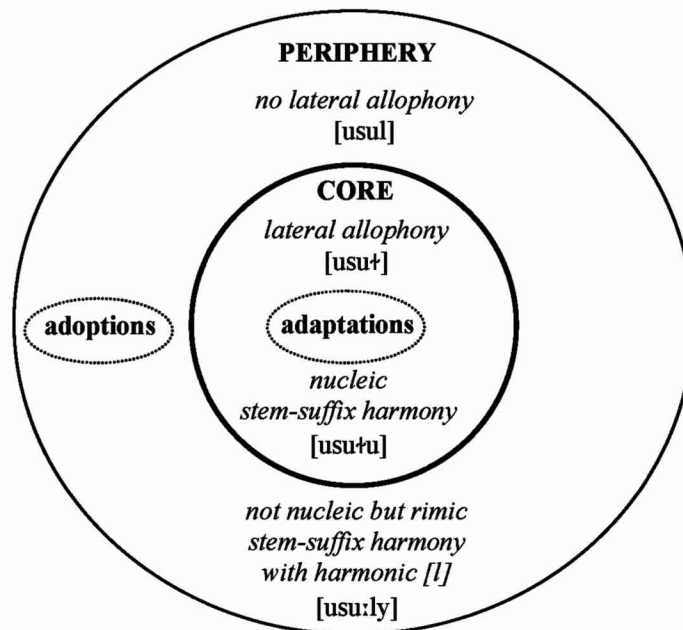
This results in a case of irregular suffixation where it is no longer solely the stem's last vowel (i.e. its last nucleus) as in the regular cases in (8a) but the whole final rime including the coda /l/ that determines the underspecified features of the suffix vowel as in (8b). To be precise, the last vowel continues to provide the suffix's [round] feature as in regular suffixation while the [back] feature is now supplied by the stem's last palatally classified segment, which in this case is the coda consonant /l/. The stem-suffix harmony process becomes rimic instead of nucleic as it is divided between two components of the rime, the nucleus and the coda. This integration strategy in (7b) and (8b) will be referred to as *harmonic preservation* because the [-back] feature of /l/ is not only preserved but also participates in harmonic processes between the stem and the suffix.

3.1.5. The core and the periphery of the Turkish phonological lexicon

A useful conception of the described violations of Turkish phonological rules in some loanwords is provided by the view that the phonological lexicon is stratified. Such a conception has been proposed by several researchers for the integration of borrowings (cf. Paradis & LaCharité 1997 and 2008; Itô & Mester 1999; and Friesner 2009). According to this view, the phonological lexicon consists of a *core* where all the rules of the RL phonology apply, and of a *periphery* where the violation of some rules is tolerated, *inter alia* in loanwords. The core consists of one single stratum while the periphery can potentially consist of different strata (see Itô & Mester 1999 for an example of several peripheral strata). In the case of Turkish, the rules for lateral allophony and vowel harmony apply fully to native words in the core whereas they can be violated in the periphery due to harmonic preservation in some loanwords. Here, stem-suffix harmony is rimic instead of nucleic due to the harmonisation of /l/ (see Figure 2). One major advantage of the stratified conception of the phonological lexicon is that it echoes the fundamental choice made in the phonological integration of borrowings, namely the choice between adaptation and adoption. Adaptations are placed in the RL core since they are made to fully fit the RL phonology whereas adoptions of deviant DL structures and patterns are placed in the periphery since they do not fully fit the RL phonology. Furthermore, if previous

adoptions go through adaptation at later stages of the process of spread, they can be said to have been moved from the periphery to the core of the phonological lexicon.

Figure 2. The status of words with a final /l/ in the Turkish phonological lexicon



Legend: In the core all native phonological rules apply, whereas in some exceptional cases their violation is tolerated in the periphery. As an integration strategy, adaptation is related to the core, whereas adoption is related to the periphery as indicated by the dotted ellipses. The examples in phonetic transcription are the same as examples 5–8 in the text.

3.2. Laterals in the donor languages

From the perspective of Turkish phonology, the crucial property for the classification of a word-final coda lateral as front or back is the absence or presence of secondary velarisation respectively. Phonetically speaking, DL laterals without velarisation are potentially more likely to be perceived as similar or identical to the Turkish front allophone [l], whereas velarised DL laterals are potentially more likely to be perceived as closer to the Turkish back allophone [ɫ].

3.2.1. Laterals in Arabic

Arabic is generally described as having only one lateral phoneme /l/, a lateral approximant lacking velarisation (cf. Watson 2002). Thelwall & Sa'adeddin (1999) describe the lateral phoneme /l/ in Arabic as having a variable place of articulation across dialects between dental and postalveolar. We know that the input variety of Arabic in the Ottoman context was Classical Arabic but we lack more detailed information about the exact pronunciation of the phoneme /l/ in the input. Nevertheless, in the most crucial respect we can assume that it must have lacked velarisation because this is a non-variable property of Classical Arabic. However, there are some exceptions to the lack of velarisation in Arabic. The first exception regards the word *Allah* '(the) God' [al^h:a:h] and its derivatives, where a so-called emphatic [l^h] involving velarisation is used (cf. Watson 2002: 16). Due to its limited use, this lateral is not considered a separate phoneme of Arabic and it does not appear in the word-final coda. The second case of exception has to do with a phonological process in Arabic called *emphasis spread*, whereby a so-called emphatic feature can spread from one segment to nearby segments. The extent and domain of emphasis spread varies from dialect to dialect and can in some cases lead to an emphatic realisation of the phoneme /l/ as [l^h] (cf. Watson 2002: 273–279). Such emphatically realised laterals with velarisation are phonetically quite similar to the Turkish back allophone [ɬ].

3.2.2. Laterals in Swedish

All varieties of Swedish have only one lateral phoneme. This phoneme's phonetic realisation can vary from dialect to dialect and involve velarisation in some dialects (Garlén 1988: 74). However, in Standard Swedish spoken in the Mälars Valley around Stockholm, the lateral phoneme /l/ lacks velarisation and is described as a dental lateral approximant (cf. Engstrand 1999). Currently, there are no studies known to the author which have shown that the Standard Swedish /l/ varies in velarisation depending on the phonetic environment or on sociolinguistic factors. Although its place of articulation is the same as the Turkish back allophone's, namely dental, the Standard Swedish /l/ lacks velarisation just as the Turkish front allophone does.

4. Methodology

Different data collection methods were used for the two contexts of borrowing as they differ substantially in terms of the age of the borrowings. The investigation of the new Swedish borrowings through an experiment allowed more detailed data collection on the individual borrowers' backgrounds. An equally detailed data collection on individual borrowers was not possible for the historical Arabic loanwords, but other methods were used to overcome this difficulty.

4.1. Data on historical loanwords from Arabic

Three different types of data were obtained for the Arabic loanwords. Firstly, different sources were surveyed for information on when borrowing from Arabic into Turkish occurred, the role and status of Arabic in Ottoman society and the background of the likely group of borrowers in order to construct an adequate description of the sociolinguistic context of borrowing. Secondly, an etymological dictionary of contemporary Turkish (Nişanyan 2002) was used as a corpus containing 3285 Arabic loanwords. In the Nişanyan corpus, Arabic loanwords that contain a word-final coda lateral after a back vowel were identified. Then, the standard pronunciations and suffixation patterns of these loanwords were checked in the online dictionary of the Turkish Institute of Language (Türk Dil Kurumu 2010). The final type of data comes from a so-called transcription text by Viguiier (1790). Since the writing system used in original Ottoman texts does not reveal whether the word-final coda /l/ is velarised or not and whether the following suffixes were front or back, it does not provide us with any evidence regarding the treatment of word-final coda /l/ in loanwords. In order to overcome similar problems, texts in Ottoman Turkish rendered in Latin transcription are commonly consulted in historical turkology. The phonetic quality of /l/ is not described in this type of texts either, but the quality of the word-final coda /l/ can be inferred from the vowels of the following suffixes. Some reservations can be expressed about using this type of inference as it is based on the assumption that the coda /l/ has the same palatal value as the vowels of the following suffix. Nonetheless, this method can still provide useful information.

4.2. Data on new borrowings from Swedish

Data on the phonological integration of new borrowings from Swedish were collected within the framework of an experiment. The first reason for choosing an experiment was the lack of a relevant corpus. Secondly, recordings of natural speech would not have supplied the amount of specific data needed for this investigation. Due to similar reasons, experimental data are commonly used in studies of loanword adaptation (cf. Silverman 1992; Peperkamp & Dupoux 2003 and Adler 2006). Hence, the only viable method was to use elicited data, but the experiment was designed and presented in a way that did not make the data elicitation transparent for the participants.

4.2.1. The participants

The participants were selected on the basis of their advanced functional proficiency in the standard varieties of Turkish and Swedish. Most of the participants were known to the researcher prior to data collection, which facilitated an initial informal assessment. Others were recruited through recommendations. The term *advanced functional proficiency* refers to a level of general proficiency that enables the participants to use both languages at an advanced level for the functional requirements of everyday life. Additional to the researcher's prior assessment, data acquired

through background interviews and through different language tasks in the experiment were used toward the final assessment of the participants' general proficiency.

Table 1. Overview of the participants' backgrounds

	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7	P8	P9	P10	P11	P12
Age at data collection (in years)	36	25	27	27	27	27	23	38	21	30	34	29
Length of residence in Sweden (in years)	32	25	25	26	26	16	23	27	13	30	13	24
Age of onset for Turkish	17 [†]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0
Age of onset for Swedish (<: before the age of)	0	3	6	7	5	<6	<6	11	<6	7	0	4
Parents' mother tongues (S: Swedish, T: Turkish)	S-T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	S-T	T

[†] This participant reported some early exposure to Turkish as well as low-to-intermediate proficiency throughout his childhood and early teenage years but high proficiency only after the age of seventeen (when the family moved to Turkey) which he reported as the onset for his acquisition of Turkish.

Data were collected from a total of twelve participants. Half of them were male and half were female. All participants had some form of tertiary education and were living in the Mälär Valley region at the time of data collection. An overview of the participants' backgrounds is presented in Table 1. The ages of the participants varied between twenty-one and thirty-eight and all but one were children of Turkish immigrants in Sweden. Ten of the participants had two Turkish-speaking parents whereas two had one Turkish-speaking and one Swedish-speaking parent. Not all participants were born in Sweden but all of them had spent a significant portion of their lives there. The range of residence in Sweden was between thirteen and thirty-two years. All but one of the participants reported that their age of onset for Swedish was seven at the latest. One participant had an age of onset for Swedish at eleven years of age. Ten of the participants had Turkish as their first acquired language. Two participants, who had one Turkish and one Swedish parent, had Swedish as their first acquired language. One of these reported an age of onset for Turkish at three years of age. The other participant reported some exposure to Turkish as well as low-to-intermediate proficiency throughout his childhood and early teenage years but high proficiency only after the age of seventeen when he moved to Turkey. With some reservations for this last participant, all participants can thus be viewed as early bilinguals who started acquiring both languages before puberty and have acquired advanced functional proficiency in both languages.

4.2.2. The composition of data collection

Table 2. Components of the data collection

Name of component	Description of component	Language used in component
1 Semi-structured background interview	Self-report on language background Self-report on language proficiency and use	mainly Turkish
2 Evaluation of nativeness in Turkish	Recording of natural speech: 1-3 minute-long elaborated comment on the topic “Where would you travel if you were given 10,000 US dollars?”	only Turkish
3 Evaluation of nativeness in Swedish	Recording of natural speech: 1-3 minute-long elaborated comment on the topic “Could you tell me about the last film you saw?”	only Swedish
4 Evaluation of specific phonetic-phonological proficiency in Turkish	Orally answered fill-in-the-blanks test designed to check the participants’ command of exceptions in the periphery regarding the word-final coda laterals in established loanwords in Turkish	only Turkish
5 Evaluation of the degree of foreign accent in Swedish	Reading aloud of a one-page Swedish text containing proper names which display the three structures under investigation	only Swedish
6 Oral translation task	Online translation of the same Swedish text as in 5 into Turkish	only Turkish
7 Follow-up questions about the translation task	Specific questions on parts of the translated text with more explicit elicitation of integration	only Turkish

The data collection took between one hour and one and a half hours per participant. All data were recorded by computer with the help of the phonetic analysis program Wavesurfer. The data collection involved seven different components as can be seen in Table 2. A part of the recordings from Component 2 were later evaluated for nativelikeness of the participants’ Turkish pronunciation by a linguist who is a native speaker of Turkish. Three short passages from the recordings in Components 3 and 5 were submitted to a panel of three first-year phonetics students, all native speakers of Standard Swedish, for an evaluation of the participants’ nativelikeness in Swedish. The first passage consisted of natural speech. The second passage consisted of a short text recitation. The third passage was a slightly longer text recitation where the panel also had access to the recited text for comparison. For all three passages, the participants featured in a different order and the panel was asked to judge if the participants were native speakers of Swedish. For the last passage, the panel was also

asked to evaluate the participants' degree of foreign accent. The reason for using three different passages was to capture the participants' pronunciation in Swedish under different circumstances so that both natural speech and controlled speech would be included in the evaluation. In all evaluations, additional recordings from extra participants were included to diversify the material and to check for evaluator reliability.

As mentioned in sections 3.1.2–3.1.5, the periphery of the Turkish lexicon contains exceptions. Component 4 was designed to check if the bilingual participants had in fact mastered these exceptions in Turkish. To this end, they were given fifty sentences in Turkish, which included blanks and adjacent nouns in parentheses, which were to be used appropriately to fill in the blanks. Thus, the participants' pronunciation and suffixation of these exceptions was investigated. The translation text in Component 6 was designed in a way that would elicit both unsuffixed and suffixed integration of relevant Swedish proper names in Turkish phonology. In Component 7, thirty-one follow-up questions were used in more explicit elicitation to ensure that all relevant types of integration were included in the material in case some should be absent in the translation. Here, the participants were asked and reminded to answer the questions with exactly the same sentences by only substituting the question words with the answers. The recordings from Components 4, 6 and 7 were analyzed auditively and transcribed by the researcher, where only the loanwords' final rimes which included a coda /l/ were analyzed. Approximately five percent of this material was later submitted for a reliability check to a linguist who is a native speaker of Turkish and has advanced proficiency in Swedish. The reliability check showed that the two researchers' analyses were identical in 91 percent of all cases. Some of the results were finally subjected to statistical analysis with the help of the program SPSS.

5. Results and discussion

In this section, results regarding the two contexts of borrowing will be presented in diachronic order beginning with the historical Arabic loanwords followed by the contemporary Swedish borrowings. First, a categorised overview of the attested phonological integration strategies will be presented. Then the sociolinguistic context including background information about the original borrowers will be surveyed. Finally, the relationship between the attested integration strategies and phonological and sociolinguistic factors will be discussed.

5.1. Historical Arabic loanwords

5.1.1. Phonological integration strategies in Arabic loanwords

In the Nişanyan Corpus, 92 Arabic loanwords with an original back vowel followed by a front coda /l/ in the word-final rime were identified. The phonological integration strategies for these loanwords are evaluated in two morphological environ-

ments, the simplex environment and the suffixed environment. In the simplex environment, two strategies are attested: 1) Preservation which entails the adoption of the original [-back] value of /l/ in Turkish as in (9a) and 2) Velarisation which entails the adaptation of the original [-back] value of /l/ to Turkish by being converted to [+back] as in (10a). In the suffixed environment, two accompanying strategies are attested. When the final coda /l/ is preserved in the simplex environment, it is followed by a [-back] suffix as in (9b). This pattern was previously referred to as harmonic preservation and is associated with the periphery (cf. sections 3.1.2–3.1.5). On the other hand, when the final coda /l/ is velarised, it is followed by a [+back] suffix as in (10b), which is the regular suffixation pattern in the core. The analysis of the corpus reveals that the dominant pattern in the phonological integration of Arabic loanwords is preservation as in (9), which is attested in 86 percent of all cases. This points to a clear tendency in Turkish to adopt the Arabic final coda /l/ in its original DL form.

(9) Dominant strategy in Arabic loanwords: Preservation (Adoption), mean = 86 %

Arabic output: 'state' [ha:l]

Morphological environment

Simplex	a.	hal
Suffixed (e.g. accusative)	b.	ha:l-i
Underlying form in Turkish	c.	/ha:l/

(10) Alternative strategy in Arabic loanwords: Velarisation (Adaptation), mean = 14 %

Arabic output: 'fortune' [fa:l]

Morphological environment

Simplex	a.	faɫ
Suffixed (e.g. accusative)	b.	faɫ-ı
Underlying form in Turkish	c.	/faL/

Certain orthographic conventions in Ottoman Turkish which are relevant in the integration process deserve some attention here. The rich consonant inventory of Arabic with two series of consonants, a neutral and an emphatic one, makes a good match for the rich vowel inventory of Turkish with two series of vowels, a front and a back one. Since the vowels of Turkish are not visible in the Arabic orthography, in writing, their palatal value needs to be inferred from the adjacent consonants' emphatic value. This creates a special sensitivity for the emphatic value of the word-final consonants. Therefore, in Ottoman Turkish there are conventions dictating whether an Arabic consonant is to be classified as front or back in Turkish (cf. Nişanyan 2002: 15). According to these conventions, the Arabic /l/ is classified as front. This orthographic convention can thus have contributed to the preservation of the front quality of the word-final /l/.

5.1.2. The role of phonological factors

A relevant question at this point is if the 14 percent of the cases that deviate from the dominant pattern have structural factors as their underlying cause. Could the phonological environment of /l/ have led to a preference for adaptation in these cases? In section 3.2.1, the spread of Arabic emphasis from other segments to the /l/ was suggested as a possible process whereby the word-final coda /l/ might become velarised in the Arabic output. Watson (2002: 273–279) indicates that two main factors are relevant in emphasis spread. The first is the domain of spread, which can be the same word or the same syllable as /l/. The second factor is the lexically emphatic segment from which emphasis spreads. This segment can be a pharyngealised coronal, a pharyngeal or the voiceless uvular stop /q/, which is classified by some phonologists as emphatic. If emphasis spread were to bias the integration pattern in Turkish towards velarisation, we should find higher frequencies of velarisation in at least some of these phonological environments. However, in all of the emphatic environments in Table 3 preservation is clearly the preferred strategy. A possible explanation for the attested lack of emphasis effects is that it is not present in all varieties of Arabic. Therefore, the Arabic output that Turkish speakers had access to may not have contained emphasis effects to begin with.

Table 3. Frequency of velarisation and preservation of the word-final coda /l/ in Arabic loanwords with respect to different phonological environments

Phonological environment of /l/	Tokens (total)	Velarisation (in percent)	Preservation (in percent)
Pharyngealised coronal within the same word	14	29	71
Pharyngealised coronal within the same syllable	11	18	82
Pharyngeal within the same word	23	9	91
Pharyngeal within the same syllable	12	8	92
/q/ within the same word	14	4	86
/q/ within the same syllable	8	25	75
After /a/	69	17	83
After /u/	23	4	96

Another phonological factor that could potentially affect the borrowers' preference for velarisation is the place of articulation of vowel preceding the /l/. In velarisation, the relevant articulatory dimension from the perspective of Turkish phonology is that the back part of the tongue is involved in the secondary articulation. However, velarisation also crucially involves a raising of the body of the tongue towards the velum. Therefore, back vowels that involve some raising could potentially create a bias towards velarisation. Classical Arabic has a low central vowel /a/ and a high back vowel /u/ which are treated as back in Turkish. If the further back and higher

place of articulation of /u/ were to create a velarisation bias, we should find a higher frequency of velarisation when /l/ is preceded by /u/ than when it is preceded by /a/. However, the data in Table 3 show that this is not the case. In summary, the survey of relevant phonological factors suggests that the underlying cause for the preference for velarisation in 14 percent of the cases is not likely to be the phonological environment of word-final coda /l/.

5.1.3. Elite bilingualism in connection with Arabic loanwords

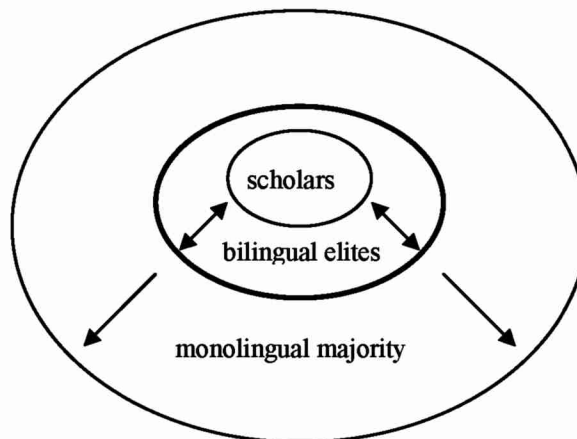
According to Prokosch (1996: 35) many Arabic loanwords were borrowed into Ottoman Turkish indirectly via Persian and therefore already contained some prior Persian adaptations. Since Persian and Arabic both have only one lateral phoneme which lacks velarisation, this does not affect the input to Turkish. He goes on to report that there were also learned loans which were borrowed directly from Arabic via written works. In the absence of detailed etymological dictionaries of Turkish documenting when specific words were borrowed, it is difficult to determine with certainty whether a particular Arabic borrowing came via Persian or not. Under the Ottoman empire an imperial high culture emerged from the mid-fifteenth century onwards, where Arabic came to play an important role especially among the elites (Kerslake 1998: 179–180). The Ottoman elites are often described as trilingual in Turkish, Arabic and Persian (Kerslake 1998: 180 and Lewis 2002: 9). Arabic was the dominant language in domains such as education, natural sciences, historiography, theology and law (Lewis 2002: 5–27). It is likely that there was some indirect and some direct borrowing prior to the imperial Ottoman era, but direct borrowing from written texts is likely to have increased during the imperial era culminating in the stylistically elaborate *inşâ* period starting in the sixteenth century (see Kerslake 1998: 182). Therefore, it is appropriate to assume that the bulk of Arabic loanwords were borrowed after the fifteenth century. According to Thomason's borrowing scale (2001: 70–71), which stipulates four degrees of contact intensity in increasing order from Degree 1 (casual contact) to Degree 4 (intense contact) with accompanying lexical and structural borrowings, the intensity of Ottoman Turkish contact with Arabic is classified as Degree 2.

5.1.4. The original borrowers of Arabic loanwords

The most likely original borrowers of Arabic words were Muslim and Turkish-speaking Ottomans who had access to the above-mentioned Arabic-dominant domains. All of these domains require literacy, which was very low in the empire, and some degree of formal education. Therefore, the educated elites in the empire are the most probable original borrowers of Arabic loanwords (see the inner circle in bold in Figure 3). The kind of bilingualism that led to the borrowing of Arabic loanwords can therefore be classified as elite bilingualism among a small minority in the Turkish speech community. The descriptions provided by Yıldız & Abalı (2003) suggest that the average educated Ottoman mainly had receptive command of Arabic gram-

mar and vocabulary, which he/she used in reading and copying texts in Arabic. Those who proceeded to higher education and became members of the *ilmîye* class of professional scholars and clergymen were required to have more substantial and active knowledge of written Arabic (cf. Prokosch, 1997: 54). These descriptions suggest that most educated Ottomans had low-to-intermediate levels of functional proficiency in Arabic which was mostly receptive. Nevertheless, there was a small group of professional scholars and clergymen who had high proficiency in written Arabic, some of whom could also use it in oral communication (see the innermost circle in Figure 3). Uneducated members of the Ottoman Turkish speech community had very little direct contact with and no or very low proficiency in Arabic and consequently received the output of the elites as their input (see the outer circle titled “monolingual majority” in Figure 3). Hence, the intensity of contact with Arabic among the Ottoman elites can be classified as belonging to Degree 3 on Thomason’s borrowing scale (2001: 70–71). The scholars teaching the elites in schools are likely to have set the standard for and closely monitored the phonological integration of Arabic loanwords among their students.

Figure 3. Likely spread of Arabic loanwords from more to less proficient speakers of Arabic in the Ottoman Turkish speech community



Legend: Unidirectional outward arrows show the direction of spread of Arabic loanwords. The bidirectional arrow represents feedback processes between different segments of the speech community.

There is very little information on the actual pronunciation of Arabic by Ottomans. Nonetheless, Prokosch (1997: 55) reports that the pronunciation used in schools was largely correct regarding the consonants but deviated from the classical norm in the vowels. Hence, an intermediate-to-advanced level of phonetic-phonological competence seems most probable among the elite borrowers. On the other hand, the schol-

ars and clergymen were more likely to have an advanced level. Based on these descriptions, a plausible hypothesis is that the high prestige of Arabic and the close scrutiny of highly proficient scholars motivated the elites to preserve the original /l/ as in (9). Thus, the Arabic phoneme /l/ was mapped onto the phonetically similar Turkish allophone [l]. This type of phoneme-to-allophone mapping is commonly attested in borrowing (cf. Aitchison 1991: 117; McMahon 1994: 210; Danchev 1995: 69 and Johanson 2002: 14) and constitutes a case where the original DL structure is relatively familiar to the RL's phonological system. Therefore, such cases do not require nativelike competence in the DL in order for adoption to be available to the borrowers as a strategy.

This preserved /l/ later became the input for the rest of the speech community with the normative connotation that the elite type of integration was to preserve the /l/ and to harmonise it by suffixing it with front suffixes. The motivation for following this elite norm might have been stronger for some members of the speech community than others, which consequently could have led to variation in the speech community. Some speakers could have adapted the elite's adoption by velarising the /l/. Therefore, the possibility that the data from the Nişanyan corpus (see examples 9 and 10) may partly mask existing variation in the contemporary Turkish speech community cannot be excluded as the corpus data are based on standard norms. The fact that the investigated phonological factors cannot explain the attested cases of velarisation and the discussion on the likely original borrowers suggest that the presence of velarisation is best explained by a later adaptation of the elite's adoptions in the broader Turkish speech community. Furthermore, the fact that the original borrowers' preference for adoption is still dominant today can be explained by their socioeconomic status as the elites of Ottoman society. In order to check if this reconstruction hypothesis is correct, we now need to look at a historical text.

5.1.5. Reconstruction of the diachronic development

Viguié (1790) is a Turkish textbook for French speakers and consists of three different types of text, namely lectures, dialogues and a French-Turkish dictionary. Here, only data from the lectures will be analysed as they constitute the only authentic text type based on speech by native speakers during lectures in school. In some of the lectures, Viguié also distinguishes between elite pronunciation by the scholars and vernacular pronunciation. In Viguié, eight words were identified producing a total of twenty-two tokens which have a word-final coda /l/ after a back vowel (rows 1 and 2 in Table 4).

Table 4. Suffixation of Arabic loanwords with word-final /l/ after a back vowel in Viguier (1790)

Data type	Only front suffix	Only back suffix	Variation between front and back suffixes
1 8 words	5 (63 %)	0 (0 %)	3 (37%) <i>2 of these words have front suffix in elite speech but back suffix in vernacular speech</i>
2 22 tokens	16 (73 %)	6 (27 %)	-
3 Comparison with the words in the Nişanyan Corpus for Modern Standard Turkish	86 %	14 %	
4 Change from Viguier to Nişan- yan: front > back	Words: 1 Tokens: 4	Words: 0 Tokens: 0	Tokens: 3/9 front>back
5 Same value in Viguier and Nişanyan	Words: 4 Tokens: 9	Words: 0 Tokens: 0	Tokens: 6/9

There is some variation in the distribution of these loanwords between front-suffixed ones and ambiguously suffixed ones. The predominance of front-suffixation in Viguier resembles the contemporary pattern found in Nişanyan (2002) as presented in row 3 in Table 4. Of the eight words, three display both front-suffixed and back-suffixed variants. For two of these words Viguier provides evidence of suffixation from both elite speech and vernacular speech. In elite speech front suffixes are preferred whereas in vernacular speech back suffixes are preferred. This indicates that harmonic preservation was more prevalent among elites than in the rest of the speech community. When we look at the tokens for these ambiguous words in rows 4 and 5 in Table 4, we see that the pattern of back suffixation, which we also find in Modern Standard Turkish, was more common in six out of nine tokens. This suggests that the variation might be due to ongoing language change where most but not all tokens of the same word are affected by the change process involving a transition from front to back suffixation.

The data also contain one word whose suffixation pattern deviates from the pattern in Modern Standard Turkish. In Viguier, the Arabic word /ma:l/ has the accusative [mali] with front suffixation in four tokens but in Modern Standard Turkish it displays the opposite pattern with *mal* [maɫ] 'goods, wealth' in the nominative and *malı* [maɫu] in the accusative. Furthermore, in compound verbs in Modern Standard Turkish where the same word *mal* is followed by a vowel-initial auxiliary verb as in *mal olmak* [ma:loɫmak] and *mal etmek* [ma:letmek], the final /l/ of *mal* is realised as front just as in Viguier (1790). This comparison provides further evidence for a process of language change whereby a historically preserved front /l/ among elites has later been velarised in the vernacular with the exception of a few idiomatic ex-

pressions. The most likely explanation for this diachronic increase in velarisation is the frequency of use. More frequently used words would have maintained the front /l/ while it would have been velarised in less frequently used words, with idiomatic expressions being affected by this development to a lesser extent. Very important changes have taken place in the Turkish linguistic landscape since the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923. These changes are likely to have affected the frequency and use of Arabic loanwords. The Latin script replaced the Arabic-based one. Education reforms diminished the status of and proficiency in Arabic in the republican society. The language reform replaced many Arabic loanwords with native or newly coined alternatives and many of the remaining Arabic loanwords began to be used less frequently. Consequently, the intensity of contact with Arabic increased remarkably. In the case of loanwords, this also meant that it became more difficult to compare loanword forms with their Arabic originals and to base notions of correctness on such comparisons. Hence, these developments after 1923 are likely to have contributed to the existing trend towards velarisation in Arabic loanwords.

5.2. New Swedish borrowings

The translation experiment included seven proper names with a front word-final coda /l/ after a back vowel. Six of these names were expected to be integrated into Turkish as part of the task design and therefore occur at least twice per participant, while the seventh one was spontaneously included by some participants and displayed at least two tokens per participant. There were a total of 813 tokens corresponding to a mean occurrence of 68 per participant.

5.2.1. Phonological integration strategies in new Swedish borrowings

The nouns display some variation with a mean of phonetic quality preservation at 78.32 percent and a standard deviation of 16.99. The examples in (11) and (12) are based on the means for all seven nouns and do not necessarily reflect the results for the particular noun chosen as the example but only the *type* of integration strategy.

(11) Dominant strategy in Swedish borrowings: Preservation (Adoption), mean = 78 %

Swedish output: *Östermalm* [œster'malm]

<u>Morphological environment</u>			
Simplex		a.	œstermalm
Suffixed (e.g. accusative suffix)	40 %	b1.	œstermalm-i
	38 %	b2.	œstermalm-ı
Underlying form in Turkish		c.	/œstermalm/

(12) Alternative strategy in Swedish borrowings: Velarisation (Adaptation), mean = 22 %

Swedish output: 'Östermalm' [œster'malm]

Morphological environment

Simplex	a.	œstermaɫm
Suffixed (e.g. accusative suffix)	b.	œstermaɫm-u
Underlying form in Turkish	c.	/œstermaɫm/

The dominant pattern is that the front quality of /l/ is preserved in both simplex and suffixed environments (see 11a and 11b). In the suffixed environment, three different strategies are attested. When the front quality is preserved in (11), this preservation can be broken down to two distinct patterns in suffixation. In (11b1) *harmonic preservation* is observed with a frequency of 40 percent among all suffixed cases. In (12b) *velarisation* is observed with a frequency of 22 percent. These two strategies are the same as the ones attested in Arabic loanwords and are both fully grammatical in Modern Standard Turkish. However, a third and innovative strategy is also observed in the Swedish data in (11b2) whereby the front /l/ is preserved but does not participate in the stem-suffix harmony processes, i.e. is deharmonised. Therefore, this strategy with a frequency of 38 percent will be referred to as *deharmonised preservation*. From the perspective of Modern Standard Turkish, deharmonised suffixation is strictly speaking ungrammatical.

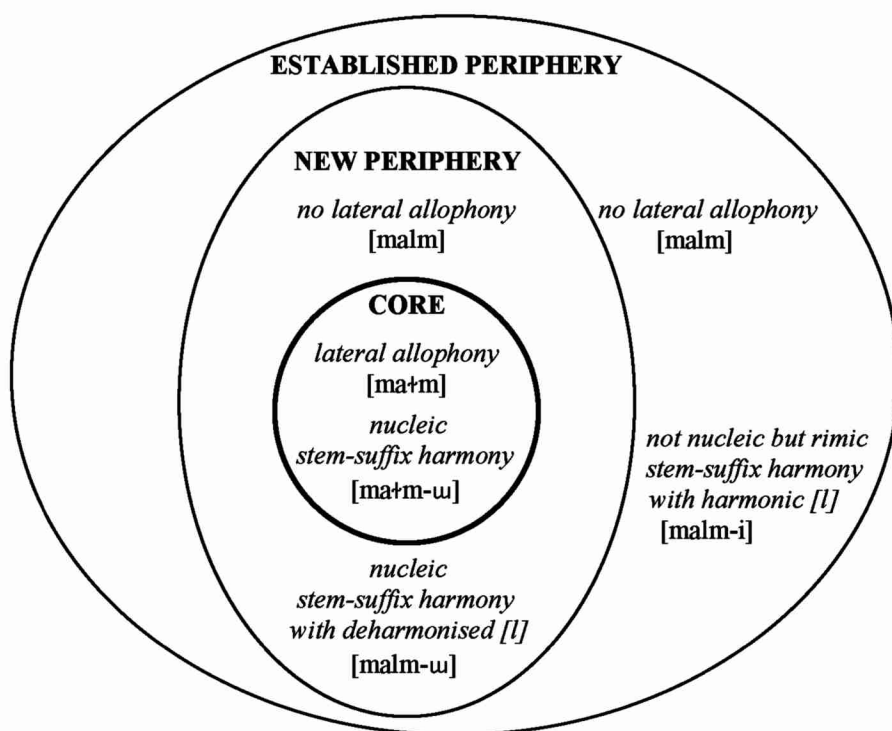
(13) Overview of attested integration strategies in new Swedish borrowings

STRATUM: Established periphery FREQUENCY: 40%	STRATUM: New periphery FREQUENCY: 38%	STRATUM: Core FREQUENCY: 22%
a. Harmonic suffixation as in (11b1)	b. Deharmonised suffixation as in (11b2)	c. Regular suffixation as in (12b)
a l m - i	a l m - u	a t m - u
[+high] [+high]	[+high] [+high]	[+high] [+high]
[+back] [-back] → [-back]	[+back] [-back] → [+back]	[+back] → [+back]
[-round] → [-round]	[-round] → [-round]	[-round] → [-round]
Violation: 1) lateral allophony rules 2) vowel-harmony rules	Violation: 1) lateral allophony rules	Violation: none

As the overview in (13) shows, harmonic and deharmonised suffixation have the violation of the lateral allophony rules in common. However, deharmonised suffixation

tion involves one less violation than harmonic suffixation since it follows the rules of vowel harmony regarding stem-suffix harmony processes in the core. In this sense, deharmonised suffixation can be placed between the core and the established periphery in a new peripheral stratum. This is illustrated in Figure 4, where the periphery of the bilinguals' Turkish phonological lexicon is divided into two strata. The first stratum closer to the core is the new periphery with only one violation where deharmonised preservation can be placed. The outermost stratum is the established periphery in Modern Standard Turkish with two violations where harmonic preservation can be placed.

Figure 4. The status of words involving different integration strategies in the Swedish-Turkish bilinguals' Turkish phonological lexicon



5.2.2 The role of the phonological factors

One factor that could explain the choice between the preservation and velarisation of /l/ is the phonological environment of /l/ in the specific borrowings. In Table 5 we can see the seven words from the experiment with their phonetic transcriptions, to-

kens and integration strategies. The words *Östermalm* and *Södermalm* are treated as one and the same phonological form here because their final rime is identical.

Table 5. Overview of the new Swedish borrowings integrated into Turkish in the experiment

Swedish borrowing	Meaning	Tokens (percent of all)	Swedish output form	Preservation of front /l/ (in percent)	Velarisation (in percent)
(Café) <i>Emalj</i>	'enamel' a place name	106 (13)	[ɛ'malj]	96	4
<i>Stockholm</i>	a place name	255 (31.4)	['støk;hølm]	89	11
<i>Östermalm</i>	a place name	227 (27.9)	[œster'malm]	78	22
<i>Södermalm</i>	a place name		[søder'malm]		
<i>saluhall</i>	'market hall'	42 (5.2)	['sæl̥;hal:]	71	29
<i>Hudiksvall</i>	a place name	60 (7.4)	[hødiks'val:]	67	33
<i>Gröndal</i>	a place name	123 (15.1)	[grøn'dæl:]	47	53
Total of tokens		813 (100)			
Mean of all words				75	25
Mean of all tokens		136		78	22
Standard deviation		87		17	

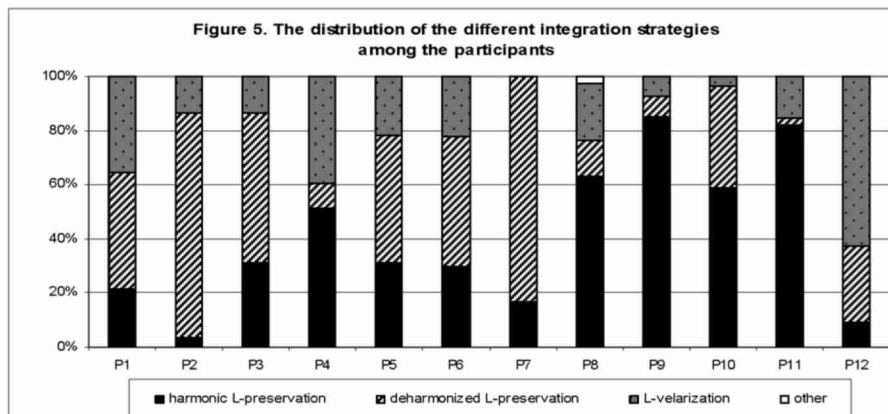
The word with the highest preservation score is *Emalj*. The nearly complete preservation in *Emalj* can be attributed to the effect of the palatal consonant /j/ following /l/. Thus, the Swedish dental /l/ receives a point of articulation that is further back than dental, closer to the post-alveolar articulation of the Turkish front /l/. This place of articulation leads to a closer phonetic match between the Swedish /l/ in this environment and the Turkish front /l/. These phonetic details seem to bias the participants towards preservation. We observe the opposite effect in *Gröndal* where the preservation frequency is lowest. The preceding vowel [a:] is the Swedish vowel with the farthest back place of articulation and involves a slight raising of the body of the tongue (Engstrand, 1999: 140). Therefore, there could be a slight velarisation of the /l/ in this environment in the Swedish input which is detected and utilised by the participants. However, no study on Swedish to date has investigated the precise pronunciation of /l/ in different environments. Therefore, it is uncertain if the input really contains some velarisation.

A possible contradiction to the latter conditioning effect is the word *Stockholm*, which has the second highest degree of preservation, despite the fact that we would expect the opposite effect if backness of the place of articulation and the raising of the body of the tongue in the preceding vowel [ɔ] were to play an equally important role here as in *Gröndal*. However, this type of velarisation bias might be neutralised by a stronger preservation bias here. *Stockholm* is namely the only word in the ex-

periment which is part of the monolingual lexicon of Modern Standard Turkish by virtue of being a European capital and has a preserved front /l/ in the standard pronunciation. This standard norm might be biasing the participants towards preservation. When the 255 tokens for *Stockholm* are removed from the data, the preservation mean of all tokens is not affected radically as it only falls from 78 to 72 percent. In the rest of the borrowings, /l/ is preceded by the short Swedish vowel [a] which has a central place of articulation and does not involve any raising. The little variation observed in the integration of the three borrowings with this vowel is therefore not likely to be due to any articulatory biases. In the great majority of the words and tokens, there is a clear and strong preference for preservation, which does not seem to stem from phonological factors but can be strengthened or weakened to a limited extent by phonetic details in the phonological environment.

5.2.3. Individual variation among the participants

Apart from variation depending on the phonological environment of /l/ in specific borrowings, there is also variation among the participants as regards their preference for different integration strategies in the suffixed environment. Figure 5 illustrates the distribution of the integration strategies among the participants. A fourth type of integration strategy called “other” is also attested here in one case for one single participant (participant 8). This involves the suffixation of a velarised [ɫ] with a front suffix and is disregarded in the analysis due to its very low frequency. All of the three other strategies are attested in all twelve participants but to varying degrees. This suggests that all three strategies are in competition with each other and can be viewed as part of every participant’s phonological lexicon as previously suggested in Figure 4. In order to explain this individual variation, several background factors for the individual participants will be discussed in the following sections.

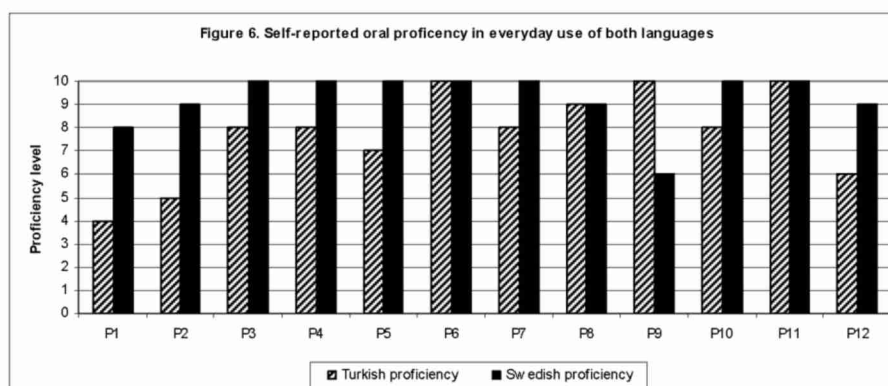


5.2.4. Immigrant bilingualism in the Swedish context

The Turkish-Swedish bilingualism attested in the Swedish context is due to the immigration of Turkish speakers to Sweden after the 1960s. The degree of community bilingualism is high among Turkish speakers, where most but not all members of the first generation have functional proficiency in Swedish. A characteristic trajectory for the language development of the second generation is that they begin as Turkish-dominant in early childhood but become either balanced bilinguals or Swedish-dominant later with increasing years of schooling. The strongest domains of use for Turkish are the family and religion while Swedish is stronger in other domains especially in academic and formal contexts. On Thomason's borrowing scale (2001: 70–71) the Swedish context can be categorised as having the highest degree of contact intensity i.e. Degree 4.

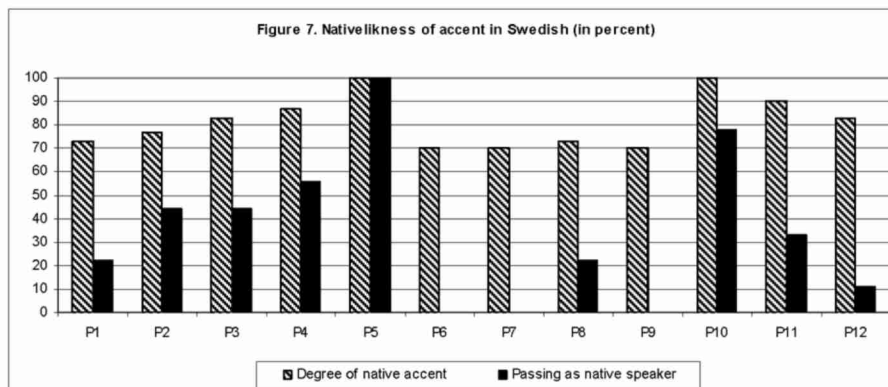
5.2.5. General proficiency levels in both languages

The proficiency levels were documented on the basis of self-reports where the participants were asked to evaluate their level in both languages by answering the question "How comfortably and effectively can you express yourself in Turkish and Swedish in everyday situations on a scale of 0–10?" The proficiency results are summarised in Figure 6. Using self-reporting as a form of evaluation has obvious drawbacks such as underestimation. In Figure 6, two individuals have a reported proficiency level lower than six and two others a reported level lower than seven for either of their languages despite the fact that they were all evaluated to have advanced functional proficiency in both languages on the researcher's overall assessment based on several components. Eight participants reported higher oral proficiency in Swedish than in Turkish, three reported the same oral proficiency for both languages and one participant reported higher proficiency for Turkish than for Swedish. The participants were asked to evaluate dominance relations in their written proficiency by answering the question "Is there a language in which you can express yourself best in written form or do you have the same level in all your languages?" Nine participants reported Swedish as their strongest written language, one participant reported the same level for both languages and two participants reported Turkish as their strongest written language. Although there is some variation among the participants, the general picture is one where Swedish is the dominant language both in the oral and written modalities.



5.2.6. Nativelikeness in both languages

The nativelikeness of the participants' pronunciation in both languages was evaluated based on audio-recordings. In the evaluation of their Turkish, the expert linguist evaluated all participants as native speakers of Turkish. The evaluation of their nativelikeness in Swedish was carried out by a panel. Two different measures of nativelikeness are presented in Figure 7. The first measure *degree of native accent* is based on the mean of the three panelists' evaluation of the participants' degree of foreign accent on a scale of 0–10 based on one task. Later the foreign accent score was subtracted from ten to obtain the score for 'degree of native accent'. The second measure *passing as a native speaker* is based on the evaluation of the participants' performance on three tasks by three different panelists. Thus, nine different scores were obtained for every participant, and the measure expresses in percent in how many of these nine instances the participants could pass as native speakers of Swedish. All participants obtained degree-of-native-accent scores equal to or above seven out of ten, while nine of the twelve participants could pass as native speakers according to the evaluation of at least one panelist on one of the tasks. Given that all the participants had started learning Swedish prior to puberty, it is not surprising that they have advanced-to-nativelike pronunciation in Swedish.



5.2.7. Specific phonological competence in the Turkish periphery

The command of a specific phonological property of Turkish, namely the harmonic suffixation pattern in established loanwords in the periphery was also investigated among the borrowers. The reason for checking for this type of specific competence in Turkish was the fact that bilinguals' knowledge of their first and second languages can diverge from monolingual speakers' knowledge in the respective languages. It should not be assumed that the bilinguals will have exactly the same competence in all aspects of Turkish phonology as monolingual speakers of Turkish do, especially in the current context where Turkish is a minority language dominated by

the majority language Swedish. The scores in Table 6 show in what percentage of all cases in the test the participants produced a standard suffixation pattern which is associated with the periphery (as in 7b and 8b). In cases where they did not produce such a pattern they velarised the /l/ and suffixed it with a [+back] suffix (as in 7a and 8a) which is not standard but can be associated with the core. Five out of twelve participants got full scores, three participants received scores just under 80 percent, while three participants scored just under 70 percent and one participant had a score just above 30 percent. The group mean was 80.56 percent with a standard deviation of 20.72 indicating advanced competence in the established periphery. However, the fact that seven out of twelve participants performed under the 80-percent level suggests that the established periphery regarding /l/ might have been weakened in the immigrant minority context. This would also explain why a new peripheral stratum closer to the core (see Figure 4) could arise in the first place.

Table 6. Harmonic preservation in established loanwords in the Turkish periphery (in percent of all cases)

Integration strategy	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7	P8	P9	P10	P11	P12
Standard harmonic preservation	33	78	100	67	78	100	67	100	100	78	100	67
Non-standard velarisation and back suffixation	67	22	0	33	22	0	33	0	0	22	0	33

5.2.8. Frequency and share of Turkish use

The participants were asked to report how often they used Turkish in everyday life and what the average share of Turkish was in their everyday language use compared to other languages such as Swedish. Table 7 summarises the results. Of the twelve participants, ten reported using Turkish on a daily basis while nine of these reported using it between 25 and 50 percent on an average day. This pattern points to a stable bond between the majority of the participants and their Turkish.

Table 7. Frequency and degree of Turkish

Use data	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7	P8	P9	P10	P11	P12
Frequency of Turkish use	every day	every day	every day	every day	every day	every day	every day	every day	every day	every day	every week	every week
Share of Turkish in daily average language use (in percent)	25–40	25–40	25–40	25–40	less than 25	25–40	50	50	25–40	25–40	less than 25	less than 25

5.2.9. Explaining choice of integration strategy with individual background factors

We have previously seen that phonological factors could explain some of the variation among the different borrowings. The next question is if the data on individual background factors can also contribute to explaining the attested variation among the participants as seen in Figure 5. To answer this question, statistical correlation analyses were carried out in which the three attested integration strategies for the individual participants were used as the dependent variables (see rows 2–4 in Table 8). The independent variables were general oral proficiency in both languages, oral dominance in Swedish, nativelikeness of accent in Swedish, periphery competence in Turkish and share of daily use of Turkish (see columns 2–7 in Table 8). Oral dominance in Swedish was calculated by subtracting the general oral proficiency scores for Turkish from those for Swedish. The one-tailed Pearson correlation analysis was preferred here because the directionality of the correlations, i.e. whether the correlation will be positive or negative, is predictable from the context.

Table 8. Correlations between attested integration strategies and individual background factors (N=12, one-tailed Pearson)

Integration strategy	Oral proficiency in Swedish	Oral proficiency in Turkish	Oral dominance in Swedish	Nativelikeness of accent in Swedish	Periphery competence in Turkish	Share of daily use of Turkish
Total preservation (adoption)	r = 0.054 p = 0.433	r = 0.403 p = 0.097	r = -0.324 p = 0.152	r = -0.022 p = 0.473	r = 0,390 p = 0,105	r = 0.404 p = 0.096
Harmonic preservation	r = -0.266 p = 0.202	r = 0.731** p = 0.003	r = -0.785** p = 0.001	r = 0.161 p = 0.309	r = 0,530* p = 0,038	r = -0.012 p = 0.486
Deharmonised preservation	r = 0.284 p = 0.186	r = -0.470 p = 0.061	r = 0.567* p = 0.027	r = -0.179 p = 0.288	r = -0,271 p = 0,197	r = 0.281 p = 0.188
Velarisation (adaptation)	r = -0.026 p = 0.468	r = -0.416 p = 0.089	r = 0.350 p = 0.132	r = 0.040 p = 0.450	r = -0,418 p = 0,088	r = -0.445 p = 0.074

** Significance at the 0.01 level

* Significance at the 0.05 level

The correlation results in Table 8 show that only three of the six investigated individual background factors deliver statistically significant correlations. Before we interpret these correlations, it should be noted here that there are significant internal correlations between some of the background factors. Since oral dominance in Swedish is a composite of oral proficiency in Turkish and Swedish, it correlates strongly with both. Periphery competence in Turkish also turns out to correlate significantly (two-tailed Pearson: $r = 0.815$, $p = 0.001$) with oral proficiency in Turkish.

This suggests that they are both measuring different aspects of the same phenomenon, namely overall competence in Turkish. The analysis shows that preference for harmonic preservation as an integration strategy correlates positively with oral proficiency in Turkish and with periphery competence in Turkish but negatively with oral dominance in Swedish at the 0.05 level. This means that the more a speaker uses harmonic preservation in established loanwords in Turkish, the more likely he/she is to prefer the same integration strategy in new borrowings. Furthermore, the higher a speaker evaluates his/her own oral proficiency in Turkish, either in absolute terms (oral proficiency in Turkish) or relative to oral proficiency in Swedish (oral dominance in Swedish), the more likely the speaker is to prefer harmonic preservation in new borrowings. Deharmonised preservation, on the other hand, correlates positively with oral dominance in Swedish at the 0.05 level. This means that the more a speaker is orally dominant in Swedish, the more likely he/she is to prefer deharmonised preservation. The statistical analyses do not show that velarisation can be explained by the investigated background factors.

Regarding oral dominance in Swedish as a relative measure, what matters more in the minority context is variation in oral proficiency in Turkish (standard deviation: 1.96) rather than variation in oral proficiency in Swedish (standard deviation: 1.22). The greater variation as measured in standard deviation is namely found in the minority language Turkish. The chances of developing advanced oral proficiency are thus greater in the majority language than in the minority language. Therefore, the overall picture that emerges from the interpretation of these significant correlations is that the more competent speakers of Turkish (who also happen to be more balanced bilinguals with less oral dominance in Swedish) show a preference for harmonic preservation, while the more Swedish-dominant speakers show a preference for deharmonised preservation.

Let us evaluate the three integration strategies in terms of their faithfulness to the original output of the donor language Swedish and their faithfulness to the phonological rules of the recipient language Turkish. Table 9 shows that harmonic preservation constitutes the optimal integration strategy because it is faithful to both Swedish and Turkish (in the established periphery) provided that the speaker is highly competent in the Turkish periphery. The other integration strategies, on the other hand, involve preferring faithfulness to one language over faithfulness to the other language. Deharmonised preservation is more faithful to Swedish, while velarisation is more faithful to Turkish (in the core). The results show that faithfulness to Swedish, i.e. preservation of /l/, is very dominant (78 percent), possibly due to the majority status of Swedish and the borrowers' advanced proficiency in Swedish. Once we establish that harmonic preservation facilitates optimal faithfulness to both languages, it seems natural that more balanced bilinguals prefer this strategy over others. Similarly, since deharmonised preservation involves preferring faithfulness to Swedish to faithfulness to Turkish, it also makes sense that more Swedish-dominant borrowers should prefer this strategy. The background factor that provided the strongest correlations and the only correlation that was significant in both harmonic

and deharmonised preservation in Table 8, was oral dominance in Swedish. In addition to its statistical robustness, this background factor has two further advantages. Firstly, it concentrates information from two proficiency factors in one single factor. Secondly, as a relative measure it is more reliable than the separate absolute proficiency measures as the speakers can be expected to evaluate more competently if they speak one language better than the other compared to how they evaluate their absolute level in both languages.

Table 9. Integration strategies in terms of their faithfulness to different strata in the phonological lexicons of Swedish and Turkish

Integration strategy	Faithfulness to original Swedish output	Faithfulness to phonological rules in the established Turkish periphery	Faithfulness to phonological rules in the Turkish core
Harmonic preservation	✓	✓	✕✕
Deharmonised preservation	✓	✕	✕
Velarisation	✕	—	✓

Legend: ✓: completely faithful, ✕: not faithful to one rule, ✕✕: not faithful to two rules, —: does not apply

6. Summary and comparison of the analysed results

One commonality between the cases is that the tendency to preserve the front quality of /l/, i.e. the preference for adoption rather than adaptation, is very strong in both contexts of borrowing (86 percent in Arabic loanwords and 78 percent in Swedish borrowings). This is particularly striking because the phonetic quality of /l/ in the donor language output is not related to any phonemic contrasts in either Arabic or Swedish. Hence, adaptation of /l/ by velarisation would not lead to any loss of lexical contrasts between potential minimal pairs. Since the phonetic realisation [l] exists in Turkish, the issue of being able to perceive its original phonetic quality is not particularly tricky, even for speakers with no or low phonetic-phonological competence in the donor languages. Moreover, in both discussed cases the original borrowers have levels of phonetic-phonological competence on or above the intermediate level (see the last column in Table 11). These facts mean that adoption was an available strategy in these particular speech communities.

The analysis of the phonological factors has shown that they play a limited role in the two investigated cases. In the Arabic case, no phonological factor could be identified as relevant for the choice of integration strategy. In the Swedish case, the adjacent phonological environment of /l/ was shown to have some effect, but it did not influence the choice of strategy profoundly. Therefore, it seems that the clear preference in the data for the preservation of the original /l/ is best explained by so-

ciolinguistic factors in both cases. Table 10 summarises the sociolinguistic characteristics of the two contexts. General proficiency and phonetic-phonological competence in the donor language are also included here because they are often strongly determined by the sociolinguistic circumstances although they are not sociolinguistic factors per se.

Table 10. Main sociolinguistic characteristics of the two contexts of borrowing

DL	Status of DL	Degree of bilingualism in the RL community	Intensity of contact with DL (1–4)	Domains of use for DL	Modality of use for DL	Borrower profile	General proficiency in DL among borrowers	Phonetic-phonological competence in DL among borrowers
<i>Type of bilingualism</i>								
ARABIC	Minority language with high prestige	Low in general among elites	Degree 2 in general Degree 3 among elites	Education Law Research Religion	Mainly receptive	Educated elites	Low-to-intermediate	Intermediate to-advanced
<i>Elite bilingualism</i>								
SWEDISH	Majority language	High	Degree 4	Nearly all except for family and religion	Receptive and productive	Second generation immigrants like	Advanced-to-native	Advanced-to-nativelike
<i>Immigrant bilingualism</i>								

Legend: DL = donor language, RL = recipient language (Turkish). The degree of intensity of contact is based on Thomason's increasing borrowing scale (2001: 70–71).

The strong preference for adoption rather than adaptation can be explained satisfactorily by the relatively high intensity of contact (see Table 10) and the high prestige that both Arabic and Swedish have in their sociolinguistic contexts. In the Swedish case this high prestige is matched by advanced-to-nativelike proficiency in the donor language because Swedish is the majority language. However, in the Arabic context the type of minority language that Arabic was did not lead to such high proficiency levels. Nevertheless, both donor languages can be claimed to have some kind of dominance over the recipient language Turkish among the borrowers. In the Arabic case, this can be called *weak dominance* because the high prestige is not matched by equally high proficiency levels in Arabic. In the Swedish case, we can speak of *strong dominance* or *dominance proper* because the high prestige is matched by equally high proficiency levels in Swedish (cf. Johanson, 2002: 9 for a similarly central role for dominance).

The main difference between the circumstances of borrowing is that adoption through harmonic preservation in the periphery was already an established alternative to adaptation in the Swedish case. In the Arabic case, this periphery was not yet established in the phonological lexicon. Therefore, in the Arabic case the alternative to adaptation had to arise through the phonological integration process itself. From

this perspective, especially given that harmonic preservation offers optimal faithfulness to both the donor language and the recipient language, it is surprising that this integration strategy is preferred in only 40 percent of all cases in the Swedish context. This was explained by the dominance of Swedish as a majority language. It was argued that the minority status of Turkish has consequences for some relevant aspects of phonological competence in Turkish among the bilinguals. The attested weakening of the established periphery of Turkish was demonstrated to reduce the productivity of that periphery for the participants. The study has shown that when the sociolinguistic motivation to adopt a front /l/ is coupled with the weakening of the established periphery, the result is a third and innovative integration strategy, namely deharmonised integration.

We do not have any evidence suggesting that deharmonised preservation was also used initially in the integration of Arabic loanwords. Due to the Arabic-based writing system and the lack of transcription texts that record the phonetic quality of /l/, it is almost impossible to detect such evidence in written sources. Therefore, the possibility that deharmonised preservation might have preceded harmonic preservation as the initial adoption strategy in the Arabic case cannot be fully discounted. Deharmonised preservation with its violation of lateral allophony rules could have been the first diachronic step towards harmonised preservation with its further violation of the rules of vowel harmony between stems and suffixes. Such a development would look exactly as in Figure 4, where the new periphery would have diachronically preceded the established periphery. Another possibility is that harmonic preservation emerged directly without a transitory phase of deharmonised preservation. The previously mentioned Ottoman orthographic convention whereby the Arabic /l/ is classified as a front segment and the prominent role of the written modality for Arabic in Ottoman society support the latter hypothesis. It is more likely that the word-final Arabic /l/ would have been harmonised directly based on these orthographic conventions. Therefore, Figure 2 probably constitutes a better representation of the diachronic development.

It is also tempting to ask what kind of preservation strategy would have emerged in the Swedish context if harmonic preservation had not existed as an established strategy to begin with. Would harmonic preservation still have emerged as in the Arabic case, or would only deharmonised preservation have emerged? The fact that the latter integration strategy *did* emerge despite the obvious advantages of the former points to the strength of deharmonised preservation in this Swedish-dominant context. Two further arguments suggest that only deharmonised preservation would have emerged in such a hypothetical scenario. Firstly, the orthographic support in the Arabic case is not present in the Swedish case. Secondly, as deharmonised preservation involves one less violation than harmonic preservation, it constitutes a less dramatic case of language change. Therefore, it is possible to conjecture that it was the intertwining of special phonological and sociolinguistic circumstances in the Arabic case that led to the emergence of a periphery in the Turkish lexicon as an

instance of contact-induced language change which had far-reaching consequences for the phonological system of Turkish such as altering the rules of vowel harmony.

7. Conclusion

Two findings of the present study have important repercussions for theories regarding the phonological integration of lexical borrowings. Firstly, the study found that phonetic details do play a role, albeit a limited one, in the perception of bilingual borrowers. This finding lends support to the perceptual stance and contradicts Paradis & LaCharité's (1997 and 2008) claim that phonetic details which are not related to phonemic contrasts in the donor language do not play a role in borrowing by bilinguals. This also undermines the proposal by Heffernan (2005) that there should be division of labour between the perceptual stance and the phonological stance stating that the former is valid for monolingual borrowing and the latter for bilingual borrowing. The conclusion we can draw from this finding is that any theory of phonological integration should allow for perceptual effects regardless of the competence of the borrowers in the donor language. A further word of caution for studies on bilingual borrowing regards the importance of checking for phonological competence in the recipient language if it is a minority language. The weakening of the established periphery in Turkish that was observed in the present study makes a strong case for the need to pay attention to the borrowers' competence in the recipient language as well as in the donor language (cf. Oñederra, 2009 for a similar case in Spanish-Basque bilinguals).

The second theoretically relevant finding is that sociolinguistic factors which are rooted in language dominance relations in the context of borrowing play a crucial role in bilingual borrowing, both when the degree of community bilingualism is low (the Arabic case) and when it is high (the Swedish case). In the Arabic case, the bilingual borrowers who were in the minority have still succeeded in setting the standard for the phonological integration for the larger speech community. This is exactly what Paradis & LaCharité (2008) found for English loanwords in Old Quebec French, where the degree of community bilingualism was low. However, it should be noted that the impact of the bilinguals is contingent upon their socioeconomic status in the recipient speech community. Paradis & LaCharité (2008) do not remark on the status of the bilinguals in their study. In the Arabic case in the present study, the borrowers belong to an elite minority with great sociolinguistic capital in the speech community. This points to the need to pay more attention to the socioeconomic status of the borrowers in studies on phonological integration. The central role played by different sociolinguistic factors in the present study is in line with previous research on bilingual borrowing (Poplack, Sankoff & Miller 1988; Thomason 2001; Sakel 2007; McMahon 1994 and Matras 2007). Several studies have shown that sociolinguistic factors are especially important for the prevalence of adoption over adaptation as an integration strategy (cf. Thomason 2001: 135 on early Russian loanwords in Yupik; Poplack, Sankoff & Miller, 1988 on English

loanwords in French; and Sandfeld 1930 and Marioțeanu et al. 1977 on Greek loanwords in Romanian).

However, the greater impact of sociolinguistic factors compared to phonological factors in the present study does not necessarily lend support to the view that sociolinguistic factors can “trump” phonological factors given the right social circumstances of contact (cf. Thomason 2001: 85). In both cases of borrowing, it was shown that adoption was available as a strategy for the borrowers. Once adoption is available, sociolinguistic factors are free to trump phonological factors in the sense that adoption is preferred to adaptation. However, this does not mean that sociolinguistic factors could override phonological factors if the phonological structure in question were absolutely more marked or relatively more foreign to the recipient language than in the present study. If the borrowers had difficulty in perceiving and producing the foreign donor structures correctly, sociolinguistic factors could hardly be expected to result in adoption. As the present study has demonstrated, phonological and sociolinguistic factors are inextricably intertwined in the phonological integration process and neither type of factor should be underestimated or neglected. Positive attitudes towards the donor language are the primary driving force behind the borrowing of lexemes to begin with, which can also create a powerful incentive to adopt them in their original form. In this sense sociolinguistic factors do have a primacy. However, such a willingness to adopt is necessarily and crucially constrained by the borrowers’ ability to perceive and produce donor-language structures in their original form. From this perspective, sociolinguistic factors such as dominance relations initially set the stage where the relevant phonological abilities in the borrowers develop. Later these abilities constitute the precondition for the sociolinguistic factors’ impact on the choice between adoption and adaptation.

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Linguistic and cultural innovations in the Turkish spoken in New York City: Language and cultural contact

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This paper examines calques and new combinations that have emerged in the speech of Turkish speakers living in New York City as a result of prolonged contact with American culture and American English. This study is based on a corpus of calques extracted from speech data obtained from interviews conducted with six first-generation and seven second-generation speakers ranging in age from 20 to 55 years. The data also include unrecorded speech. The findings with regard to the linguistic innovations may provide evidence for language-contact influence from English on Turkish, that is, the lexical knowledge of Turkish speakers living in New York City may have undergone changes during the contact between the two languages. The findings regarding the use of cultural innovations can be attributed to cultural contact in that the informants have become less dependent on the word association in Turkish and express themselves in English-like ways.

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1. Introduction

Before we deal with the effects of English on the use of Turkish, a brief look at the Turkish immigrant population living in the U.S. may be in order here. According to Karpat (2004), the first pattern of Turkish immigration to the United States started in the 17th century followed by a second pattern of migration from the 1820s until 1920. It was estimated that over 1.2 million people, consisting of Muslims and ethnic Turks, emigrated from the Ottoman Empire to North America. Between 1948 and 1980 up to twenty-five thousand Turkish people including doctors, engineers, and other technicians came to America for training. A significant number of Turks returned to Turkey; however, many people, students in particular, stayed permanently in the United States to obtain graduate degrees and were offered important positions in U.S. academia, industry and business management. It was also reported that since the 1970s, the number of Turkish immigrants has risen to more than 4,000 per year.

According to the U.S. Census (2006), there are an estimated 500,000 Turks living in the United States. The largest Turkish communities can be found in Paterson,

New Jersey, and New York City (i.e. Brooklyn and Staten Island). This being the case, the presence of language and cultural contact is inevitable in the above-mentioned areas of the United States where the largest Turkish immigrant communities exist.

As is well known, the coexistence of speakers of different languages temporally and spatially as a result of immigration, wars, or colonialism leads to the emergence of two types of contacts, which can be distinguished by their outcomes. The first type, *language contact*, happens when languages spoken by bilingual or multilingual speakers interact causing innovations in the grammar of a language and usually resulting in language change over time. On the other hand, *cultural contact*, a high degree of contact between cultures, leads to innovations in linguistic usage that do not necessarily affect the grammar of a language. The purpose of this study is to describe some of the implications of both types of contact. This paper examines the extent to which the Turkish language spoken in New York City (NYC) differs from the Turkish spoken in Turkey, by examining calques and new combinations that have emerged in the speech of first and second-generation Turkish speakers living in NYC as a result of prolonged contact with American culture and American English. Whereas this topic has been extensively analyzed in many studies conducted in Europe, namely in Germany, Netherlands and Norway, it has received much less attention in the U.S., particularly in NYC.

This paper will be organized as follows: Section 2 briefly reviews the calquing phenomena. Section 3 describes the informants, followed by the data collection procedure in section 4. Section 5 presents the calques and new combinations found in the Turkish spoken in NYC. Finally, section 6 offers a discussion of the findings and goals for a further study.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1. Linguistic innovations: Word calques

Linguistic borrowing, one of the most studied consequences of language contact has been discussed in numerous theoretical frameworks and under a variety of different terms. Scholars have proposed several labels such as *borrowing* (Haugen 1950, Thomason & Kaufman 1988, Thomason 2001, Appel & Muysken 1987), *interference* (Weinreich 1953, Muysken 2004), and *code-copying* (Johanson 1993). Bloomfield (1933) referred to this phenomenon as *cultural borrowing*. (Note that in this paper, the language that provides the model for the word and phrasal calques will be called the donor language and the language in which the calques occur will be called the recipient language). Linguistic borrowing has been defined as the adaptation of forms, meanings, or forms and meanings from the donor language into the phonemic system, morphology, syntax and lexicon of the recipient language. Linguistic borrowing usually begins with lexical items, but significant structural changes also occur with more intense cultural contact.

In language contact studies and in particular in studies on immigrant bilingualism, there is a wide range of different labels and concepts employed to describe the changes that affect single words. One type of change concerns the borrowing or transferring of only the meaning of a single word from a donor language into a recipient language. In other words, it is the meaning that is borrowed rather than the lexical item itself. Scholars have referred to this phenomenon as *loanshift* (Haugen 1950), *semantic extension* (Weinreich 1953), *semantic borrowing* (Ullman 1957), *calqueward* (Otheguy, Garcia, & Fernández 1989), *semantic copying* (Johanson 1993), *single-word calque* (Silva-Corvalán 1994) and *calque translation* (Daiuta 1984). A review of the literature shows that this process involves some kind of translation and that the existing items in the recipient language undergo significant changes of meaning. According to Daiuta (1984), calquing affects not only the meaning and distribution of words of the recipient language, but also creates additions to the lexical inventory, changes the way certain words co-occur with each other and increases or decreases the frequency of occurrence of certain words.

A model that has served as an important framework for various studies on Turkic languages influenced by non-Turkic languages was provided by Johanson (1993). His theoretical framework, the code-copying model, is based on the idea that an element of a language, which serves as a model, is copied into a second language. The author distinguishes between two types of copies, *global* and *selective*. Global copying involves copying of elements as a whole with all their structural properties, whereas selective copying is copying of only certain structural properties of elements in the donor language onto the elements in the recipient language. The author further discusses several types of selective copying: *Semantic* and *combinational*. In semantic copying, the meaning or usage of a foreign equivalent is used with the native word, also referred to as *semantic extension*. In combinational copying, a foreign word combination is used in the recipient language, using the native words. This is often referred to as loan translation, which will be discussed in the following sections. Throughout this paper, I will use the term *word calque* to refer to the former process.

Examples of word calques are evident in many studies. In the work of Silva-Corvalán (1994), Spanish speakers living in the U.S. extended the meaning of *parientes* 'relatives' to incorporate the meaning of *parents* in English. Spanish speakers living in the U.S. also transferred one of the senses of English *play* into Spanish *jugar* (Otheguy & Garcia 1988). This can be seen in (1) where the Spanish word *jugar* is used with the meaning of playing a musical instrument. This meaning is found in the English word *play*, but not in the word *jugar* in non-contact Spanish. In the displayed examples, all word calques are underlined.

Spanish spoken in the U.S.

- (1) *Cuando no tengo nada que hacer, juego música para oírla.*
 'When I don't have anything to do, I play music to listen to it.'

Many examples of word calques in Turkish can be found in a variety of studies conducted in Europe. For example, in the speech of German-Turkish bilinguals living in Germany, the Turkish verb *var* 'to go' acquired the meaning of *übergehen* 'to change' in German. In (2), *var* appears where speakers of non-contact Turkish would use the Turkish verb *geç* 'to switch'.

Turkish spoken in Germany

- (2) *Almanca konuşuyorsak, ondan sonra Türkçeye varıyoruz.*
 German speak:PROG.COND.1PL then Turkish:DAT go:PROG.1PL
 'If we speak German, then we switch to Turkish.' (Boeschoten 1994)

Also, the Turkish word *saat* 'hour' in (3) replaced *ders* 'lesson' on the basis of the usage of *Stunde* 'hour' with the meaning of *lesson* in German.

Turkish spoken in Germany

- (3) *Mesela Judo için bir saat var.*
 For example, Judo for one hour exist
 'For example, there is one hour for judo.' (Boeschoten 1994)

With respect to the bilingual Turkish immigrants living in Norway, word calques are analyzed within the mixed Matrix Language (ML) + Embedded Language (EL) construction (Türker 1999). Within the Matrix Language Frame Model, the language that plays a dominant role is called the matrix language (ML) and the language from which elements are taken and inserted into an ML framework is called the embedded language (EL). According to Türker (1999:119), the EL element that is inserted into the ML frame "instigates" semantic extensions. The following examples illustrate the framework used here:

Turkish spoken in Norway

- (4) *Hamarda Vikingshipte skøyterde durduk.*
 Hamar:LOC Vikingship:LOC skate:DAT stand:PAST.1PL
 'We stood on skates in Hamar, at the Viking ship.' (Türker 1999)

In the example above, the Norwegian word *skøyter* 'skate' is an embedded element inserted in the Turkish structure. Instead of saying *skøyter yap-* 'to do skating', which would be used in non-contact Turkish, the Norwegian-Turkish bilinguals say *skøyterde dur-* 'stand on skates' because Norwegians say *a stå på skøyter* 'to stand on skates.' Based on the examples above, Türker (1999) concluded that the existence of the embedded element *skøyter* was the reason why Turkish speakers extended the meaning of the verb *dur-* 'to stand on' to *yap-* 'to do'.

2.2. Linguistic innovations: Phrasal calques

In some cases, linguistic changes may occur also at the phrase level. Some phrases may contain semantically extended component/s. Scholars referred to such phrases as *loan translations* (Weinreich 1953), *multiple-word calques* (Silva-Corvalán 1994), and *phrasal calques* (Smead 2000). I will use the term *phrasal calques* to refer to such phrases. For instance, in Canadian French, *escalier de feu* is modeled on English and means ‘fire staircase’ or ‘fire escape’. In this phrase, *feu*, in fact, was semantically extended and replaced *incendie*, which speakers of non-contact French would use (Weinreich 1953).

Backus (2010) also defines such phrases as those that are reproduced as more or less literal translations from one language into another. They are also evident in his work. An example is given in (5).

Turkish spoken in the Netherlands

- (5) *Suçu bana verdi.*
 Guilt:ACC I:DAT give:PF.3SG
 ‘He accused me.’

Backus notes that the combination of the noun ‘guilt’ and the verb ‘give’ is not used in the Turkish spoken in Turkey, but has been used commonly in the Turkish spoken in the Netherlands. Similarly, in (6) Spanish-English speakers extended the meaning of *tiempo*, which means ‘time that lasts’ in non-contact Spanish to incorporate the concept of one specific point in time, ‘an occasion’, ‘an hour’ or ‘a moment’ due to the influence of English.

Spanish spoken in the U.S.

- (6) *Es un modo de tener un buen tiempo.*
 It’s one way to have a good time
 ‘It’s one way to have a good time.’ (Silva-Corvalán 1994)

2.3. Cultural innovations: New combinations

In some cases not only linguistic innovations but also cultural innovations may occur. The innovations, which were referred to as *multiple-word calques that do not alter semantic and/or grammatical features* (Silva-Corvalán 1994) and *unusual combinations of words* (Otheguy 1993), can be seen at the phrase level. Cultural contact plays a role in the rise of phrases that are new as combinations formed with lexical items in the recipient language and formed in a way that does not affect the grammar of the recipient language. Otheguy (1995: 219) defined such phrases as “familiar, linguistically unremarkable phrases that happen to express a communicative innovation carried out by members of the borrowing culture in imitation of the source culture”. As the definition suggests, bilingual speakers use these kinds of phrases because cultural contact is very intense, speakers are assimilated into the

culture of the donor language, and this has an effect on the way they express certain concepts. Speakers do not create new words; rather they use words from the recipient language, and the meaning of an expression in the recipient language is conveyed in a way that is communicated in the donor language. What usually leads to the emergence of such phrases is the increased frequency of the usage of phrases in the donor language (Heine & Kuteva 2005). For example, German speakers living in northern Italy say *das Bündel von Trauben* 'the bunch of grapes' modeled on Italian *il grappolo d'uva*, instead of *das Traubenbündel* 'the grape bunch' which would be used in non-contact German.

Such phrases are exemplified also in the Spanish spoken in the U.S. Some examples are *Días de semana* 'weekdays' instead of *Días de trabajo* in standard Spanish; *Maquina de contestar* 'answering machine' instead of *Contestador automatico*, and *patio de juegos* 'playground' instead of *patio de escuela* (Silva-Corvalán 1994). The use of *Día de dar gracias* in contact Spanish calqued on English *Thanksgiving Day* (Otheguy 1995) also serves as an example.

Examples are also evident in the speech of Turks living in Germany. For example, instead of *çalışma masası* 'work table' in standard Turkish, the Turkish-German bilinguals living in Germany use *yazma masası* 'writing table' (Boeschoten 1994). Similar types of usages such as *yarım sene* 'half a year' instead of *altı ay* 'six months', which would be used in standard Turkish have been recorded also in the speech of Norwegian-Turkish bilinguals living in Norway (Türker 1999). As all the above examples illustrate, the grammatical structure of the languages concerned is not affected.

3. Informants

As mentioned before, the aim of this study is to provide an analysis of word and phrasal calques found in the Turkish spoken in NYC. The data were collected via face-to-face interviews from a total of thirteen Turkish speakers who were currently living in NYC at the time of the interview. The 13 subjects included five females and eight males and ranged in age from 20 to 55 years. Seven interviews were conducted with second-generation speakers born in the U.S., and six interviews were conducted with first-generation speakers who were born in Turkey but came to the U.S. before the age of 12 and were exposed to English for the first time in the U.S. The first-generation speakers had minimal or no knowledge of the English language when they first arrived in NYC. Three first-generation speakers arrived in NYC at the age of four, one at the age of eight, and two when they were 11. They had lived in NYC for at least 30 years. Almost all first-generation speakers were from İstanbul, Turkey. One informant was from Ankara.

4. Data collection procedure

I used the social network approach (Milroy 1980) when collecting the data. The advantage of such an approach, according to Milroy, is that it is easier to enter a

speech community and meet more speakers within the social networks of one's contacts. Accordingly, I made contact with most of the informants through my friends via e-mail and phone to find out if they would be interested in participating in my study. Since most of the speakers knew my friends, they were willing to participate in the study. The informants I interviewed introduced me to their spouses and friends. Since the speakers in NYC were very busy, some of the interviews were conducted on the phone and some of them in the informants' offices.

Before the interviews, I had informed the speakers that everything, including their names, would be confidential. Some informants were very interested about the nature of my study. When they asked me what my research was about, I tried not to give a lot of information to the informants about the purpose of my study since it could have affected their speech. According to Labov (1972), if speakers become aware of the fact that their speech will be used for a study, they are likely to use more formal speech. This can result in data that are not representative of the speakers' natural speech.

Labov also found that speakers pay less attention to their speech when they talk about emotional topics. Following Labov, I asked my informants to talk about a positive event that had an important effect on their lives. Nevertheless, some informants were more willing to tell me their life histories. Some other topics that the informants talked about were movies, TV series, their children, jobs and favorite vacations. I asked the speakers to talk about one of the topics giving as many details as they could and told them that I would not interrupt them throughout the interview. When the speakers finished talking about a topic, I asked them to talk about another topic in detail. Following the interview sessions, the informants' speech was transcribed.

The interviews were not less than 30 minutes. The informants were told that they were participating in a linguistic study but were not told that this study investigates calques and new combinations in Turkish. The data also included unrecorded speech taken from other first and second-generation speakers living in NYC.

In the following sections, I will analyze two categories of calques and new combinations as they are evident in the Turkish spoken in NYC and discuss their importance. In order to determine whether or not calques in our data also exist in the Turkish spoken in Turkey, we referred to the electronic version of *Türk Dil Kurumu (TDK)* 'Turkish Language Association'.

5. Calques in NYC Turkish

5.1. Linguistic innovations: Word calques

I begin this section by presenting examples of word calques taken from my own observations and from the interviews I conducted with first and second-generation Turkish speakers living in NYC. The examples taken from my observations are

listed below, where the word calques are shown in italics. Note that I am reporting in this paper the most frequently used word calques.

- (7) *Lord and Taylor'da o parfümü taşıyorlar.*
 Lord and Taylor:LOC that perfume:ACC carry:NEG.PROG.3PL
 'They do not carry that perfume at Lord and Taylor.'
- (8) *Evi ajan gösterdi.*
 House:ACC spy/agent show:PF
 'The spy/agent showed the house.'
- (9)a. *İş nasıl gidiyor?*
 Work how go:PROG
 'How is work going?'
- b. *Meşgul*
 'Busy'.

What is linguistically innovative about the words in italics is that due to the influence of English, the general meanings of the words are semantically extended to incorporate the meanings of English words. In (7) *taşımak* 'carry' is extended to incorporate the meaning of *yok* 'non-existence'; in (8), the noun *ajan* 'spy' is used with the meaning of *komisyoncu* 'real estate agent,' and in (9b), *meşgul* 'busy' acquired the meaning of *yoğun* 'intense'.

The following examples present the word calques, which are taken from the interviews conducted with first and second-generation speakers. The first number in parenthesis at the end of each narrative identifies the informant as first or second generation; the letter identifies the informant as male or female and the numbers provide his or her age. The following narrative is taken from the speech of a first-generation speaker who talked about his job. The informant had been living in NYC for 36 years.

- (10) a. *İnsanlarla konuşma ve geçinme benim iyi parçalarım.* (1M40)
 People:3PL.INS talk:INF and get along:INF I:POSS good part:3PL.GEN
 'Talking with people and getting along with them are my strengths.'
- (10) b. *İtalya hem güzeldi hem de aynı zamanda bazı parçaları güzel değildi.* (1M40)
 Italy not only nice:PC but also same time:LOC some part:PL.GEN
 nice NEG-PC
 'Italy was nice but at the same time some of its parts were not nice.'

In (10a), the informant extended the meaning of the word *parça* 'piece' in *benim iyi parçalarım* to accommodate the sense of *strength* in English. In (10b), the same informant once again used *parça* 'piece' with the meaning of 'place' in English.

Another word calque that has been commonly used in the data is the word *kağıt* ‘paper’ to incorporate the meaning of *document* or *form* in English. In (11), the informant extended the meaning of *kağıt* ‘paper’ to refer to *belge* ‘document’ in English.

- (11) *Hatta ben Türk vatandaşlığından çıkmaya çalıştım,*
 Even I Turkish citizenship:GEN.ABL get out:INF.DAT try:PF.1SG
ama olmadı, bir sürü kağıtlar istediler. (1M40)
 but be:NEG.PF many paper:3PL want:PF.3PL
 ‘I tried to give up the Turkish citizenship but it did not happen. They asked for a lot of documents.’

In (12), a second-generation speaker was talking about the fact that her sister read a lot of books. She used the word *kalite* ‘quality’ to refer to *özellik* ‘characteristic’ when she compared herself to her sister.

- (12) *Bende o kalite yok. (2F26)*
 I:LOC that quality non-existent
 ‘I do not have that characteristic.’

Finally, the example in (13) is taken from the speech of a first-generation speaker who was talking about the fact that he knew a lot of people. He used the word *bağlantı*, which means ‘connection’ to incorporate the concept of *tanıdık* ‘contact’, which would be used in general Turkish.

- (13) *Yani çok o kadar bağlantım var ki (1M37)*
 I mean very so connection:GEN existent that
 ‘I mean I have so many connections.’

5.2. Linguistic innovations: Phrasal calques

In addition to the word calques, the speech of Turks also contains phrasal calques that incorporate one or more word calques. The use of word calques in phrasal calques, according to Smead (2000), results in the creation of new collocations. The following examples are taken from my own observations. The patterns, in particular those in (15) and (16), seem to be quite prevalent in the speech of both first and second-generation Turks in NYC.

- (14) *Sözünü kırma.*
 Promise:GEN.ACC break:NEG
 ‘Don’t break your promise.’

- (15) *A trenini al.*
 A train:ACC.GEN take
 'Take the A train.'
- (16) *Telefonumu kaçırdım.*
 Telephone:GEN.ACC miss:PF.1SG
 'I missed your call.'

Three different characteristics can be noted regarding the phrasal calques above. First, although the words in the phrases are translated from the English equivalents, the phrases still follow the unmarked word order for Turkish. Second, the verbs *kırmak*, *almak* and *kaçırmak* seem to be semantically extended to accommodate the meanings of the English equivalents. In (14), the meaning of *kırmak* 'to break' is extended and replaces *tutmak* 'hold', which would be used in the Turkish spoken in Turkey. In (15), *almak*, which means 'grab, take or move something or someone from one place to another' is extended and replaces *binmek* 'get on'. In (16), Turkish speakers in Turkey would use *telefona yetişememek* 'not to be able to answer the phone on time' instead of *telefonu kaçırmak* 'to miss a phone call'. It can be said that these phrases are semantically transparent only to Turkish speakers who are familiar with American English and American culture. Some other examples of this type of calquing can also be seen in the speech of other first and second-generation speakers.

- (17) *Orda olman gerekebiliyor bir sürü kağıtları*
 There be:INF.GEN have to:PSB.PROG a lot of paper:3PL.ACC
doldurmak için. (1M40)
 fill out-INF for
 'You have to be there to fill out a lot of papers.'

In (17), *kağıt* 'paper' is used with the meaning of *form* 'form' in English. In standard Turkish, one would use *form doldurmak* 'fill out a form' instead of *kağıt doldurmak* 'fill out a paper.' Other examples of phrasal calques with word calques are:

- (18) *Ankara operasında iş aldı.* (1M55)
 Ankara opera:LOC job take:PF
 'He took a job at the Ankara opera house.'
- (19) *Bir iş teklifi geldi ve onu aldı.* (2F26)
 One job offer:ACC come:PF and it:ACC take:PF
 'A job offer came up and he took it.'

In (18) the first-generation speaker extended the meaning of the word *almak* 'buy' to accommodate the meaning of *girmek* 'enter'. Here *almak* does not refer to 'to buy, take or get' rather it refers to 'becoming an employee'. The general tendency in the

Turkish spoken in Turkey is to use *işe girmek* and not *iş almak*. The same form is also utilized by a second-generation speaker in (19).

5.3. Cultural innovations: New combinations

As mentioned earlier, cultural contact plays a role in the creation of new phrases in which words do not undergo any changes of meaning. Such phrases or combinations, which are modeled culturally on American English do not necessarily affect the grammar of Turkish but certainly lead to changes in the usage of Turkish. It can be said that they involve change in the arrangement of lexical items already existing in the recipient language in accordance with the way they are typically combined in the donor language. The corpus in this study contains a few of those forms. The use of *plaj evi* ‘beach house’ instead of *yazlık ev* ‘summer house’; *Üçüncü ve dördüncü kuzenler* ‘third and fourth cousins’ instead of using only *kuzenler* ‘cousins’; *Türk insanlar* ‘Turkish people’ instead of using only *Türks* ‘Türkler’; *uluslararası arkadaşlarımız* ‘international friends’ instead of *yabancı arkadaşlarımız* ‘foreign friends’ are some examples taken from the speech of different second generation speakers.

- (20) *Plaj evim* var. (2F28)
 Beach house:GEN existent
 ‘I have a beach house.’
- (21) *Onlarlaydık Los Angelesda, benim üçüncü ve dördüncü kuzenlerimle tanıştım.* (2F28)
 They:INS.PC.1PL Los Angeles:LOC, I:1SG.POSS third and fourth
 cousin:3PL.GEN.INS meet:PF.1SG
 ‘We were with them in Los Angeles, with my third and fourth cousins.’
- (22) *Türk insanlar geliyordu.* (2M35)
 Turkish people:PL come:PROG.PC
 ‘Turkish people were coming.’
- (23) *Uluslar arası arkadaşlarımız vardı.* (2F33)
 International friend:3PL.GEN existent:PC
 ‘We had international friends.’

6. Conclusion and discussion

The purpose of this paper was to illustrate and provide an analysis of calques and new combinations found in the speech of Turkish speakers living in NYC and to investigate the extent to which Turkish spoken in NYC has differed from the usage and grammar of the Turkish in Turkey.

The findings with regard to the linguistic innovations may provide some evidence for language-contact influence from English on Turkish. The fact that word

calques are in evidence in our corpus indicates that the lexical knowledge of Turkish bilingual speakers living in NYC may have undergone changes during the contact between the two languages. Since most of the informants are dispersed in the Manhattan area, where they work for foreign companies and have to use English on a daily basis, they are likely to be influenced by English. This finding is in line with that of Veltman (2000) who examined the process in which immigrants living in the U.S. came to adopt English. Veltman found that immigrants learn English very rapidly and adopt it as their primary language. In fact, in the long run, the high rates of language shift to English result in the abandonment of minority languages. Veltman shows this to be true for all minority language groups in the U.S.

Veltman (2000) also found that the use of English by immigrants declines progressively with increasing age at the time of arrival. In other words, the older the immigrants at the time of arrival, the less likely they are to speak English predominantly. His results showed that immigrants between the ages of five and nine at time of arrival in the U.S. adopted English at a rate of more than 65 percent. This rate dropped to 40 percent for immigrants who came to the U.S. between the ages of ten and 14 and to 25 percent for those who were aged 15–19 when they arrived in the U.S. The reason for this decline, according to Veltman, is that immigrants who arrive in the U.S. at an early age have more opportunities to use English on a daily basis. For example, younger immigrants receive most of their schooling in the U.S. In addition, younger arrivers are more receptive to the influence of English as their first language skills are not fully developed by the time they arrive in the U.S. However, it is not possible in the present state of our knowledge to determine whether there is a relationship between age of arrival and the use of word and phrasal calques as the data are not evaluated in terms of potential differences due to this factor.

The findings regarding the use of cultural innovations can be attributed to cultural contact. Since the Turks living in NYC have been using English and have been exposed to it in many different domains, it may be that as a result of the frequent use of English, the informants have become less dependent on the word associations in Turkish and therefore express themselves in English-like ways.

These results make it possible for a clear picture to start to emerge regarding not only the role of English in general but the specific ways in which Turkish usage appears to be Anglicized in NYC. Note that lexical analysis is especially difficult using recorded corpora of this kind because the relevant items tend not to occur frequently. Therefore, it is hard to tell whether the examples illustrated in this paper are actually established usages. These usages may be in fact language-internal innovations (Backus 2010). According to Backus, this, however, may not be so. Speakers probably use these forms because the items are associated with the culture of the donor language. Backus refers to this diachronic result as contact-induced change in the form of a new combination of existing words, a new multiword unit. He further adds that to the extent that there are many people who have had enough exposure to the donor language, the usages may well have become established forms in the mi-

nority language. Similarly, Smead (2000: 166) notes that “a rise in frequency or a change in preference which parallels English usage may be attributable to language contact”.

Nevertheless, further research should be conducted with more informants to see whether the forms that we have observed in the speech of bilingual Turks will also appear in the speech of other Turks. According to Backus (2010) what would also be helpful is speakers’ judgments on the frequency of use and/or acceptability of certain words in the Turkish spoken in NYC because we cannot be sure whether the synchronic data that we have provide any evidence for the diachronic status. Yet, based on the examples we provided it seems reasonable to conclude that the new usages contribute to the creation of a variety of Turkish which is quite different from the Turkish varieties spoken in Turkey.

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Abbreviations

1SG	first person singular	GEN	genitive
1PL	first person plural	LOC	locative
3PL	third person plural	POSS	possessive
PL	plural	NEG	negative
INF	infinitive	PROG	progressive
INS	instrumental	PF	perfective aspect
ACC	accusative	PC	past copula
ABL	ablative	COND	conditional
DAT	dative	PSB	possibility

Place nouns as compound heads: A short story of fake postpositions

Gerjan van Schaaik

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In grammars of Turkish, including those written in that language, almost no attention is ever paid to paired constructions which form, as it were, a kind of pseudo-opposition in that they differ in one grammatical suffix only, being the genitive, as in *masanın üstünde* versus *masa üstünde*. This paper shows that the latter construction can be analyzed in terms of the derivational process known as nominal compounding. Words such as *üst* belong to the lexical group of Place Nouns, and they occur in constructions which have developed into postposition-like elements, based on a compositional structure with locative or ablative case marking and being applied as adverbials.

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1. The problem

The aim of this paper is to present an account of a construction which is widespread in the Turkish literature¹ (and possibly even more widespread in spoken language), but which is not, on the other hand, described in a satisfactory way in the literature on Turkish grammar. Consider the following opposition:

- | | | | |
|-------|-------|------------|----------|
| (1)a. | (bir) | masa-nın | üstünde |
| | a | table-GEN | ‘on’ |
| b. | (bir) | masa-Ø | üstünde |
| | a | table-ZERO | ‘on’ / ? |

The linguistic facts are as follows. The construction of (1a) contains a noun in the genitive (*masa-nın* ‘table-GEN’), whereas this noun occurs in the nominative in example (1b). Both nouns are followed by the construct *üstünde*, which is usually translated in several ways: simply as ‘on’, and in a somewhat more detailed fashion

¹ The majority of the data in this paper have been extracted from a computerized Turkish Text Corpus, of which the register of spoken language is unfortunately underrepresented. Hence the examples given here represent the literary usage of this construction.

as ‘on top of’. In both constructions the noun can be preceded by the indefinite article *bir*.

The analysis of these constructions is not always unproblematic. Firstly, these and similar constructions are often analyzed in relation to each other. For constructions similar to (1a) but without the indefinite article *bir*, it is often advanced that the notion of definiteness would account for the occurrence of the genitive, and accordingly, where a genitive does not occur, the noun is said to be indefinite. However, constructions in which the indefinite article *bir* does occur are usually left out of the discussion, and including them would probably jeopardize the analyses proposed. And it is not difficult to see why this would be so. If definiteness would be taken as the crucial factor for the opposition genitive-zero (Condition A), and at the same time, indefiniteness as a property marked by the presence of the indefinite article *bir* (Condition B), the opposition between (2a–b) and (3a–b) would be rather contradictory, for Condition B would hold for (2) and (3) as a whole and condition A for (2a) and (3a).

- (2)a. *Küçük masa-nun üstüne tabak-lar-la çatal bıçak yerleştir-il-di.*
 small table-GEN ‘on’ plate-PLUR-‘and’ fork knife place-PASS-PAST2
 ‘On the small table plates, forks and knives had been placed.’
- b. *Masa-Ø üstünde, rakı şişe-si ve bir kadeh, bir bıçak var-dı.*
 table ‘on’ rakı bottle-CM and a glass a knife exist-PROJ1
 ‘On the table there was a rakı bottle, a liqueur glass, and a knife.’
- (3)a. *Küçük bir masa-nun üstüne tabak-lar-la çatal bıçak yerleştir-il-di.*
 small a table-GEN ‘on’ plate-PLUR-‘and’ fork knife place-PASS-PAST2
 ‘On a small table plates, forks and knives had been placed.’
- b. *Ayşe, uzağ-ı daha iyi gör-ebil-mek için bir masa-Ø üstüne*
 A. distance-ACC better see-POT-INF for a table ‘on’
çık-mış.
 climb-PAST1
 ‘Ayşe climbed on a table to be better able to see in the distance.’

Secondly, the status of *üstünde* is dubious. Although this word is often analyzed as being based on the noun *üst* ‘upper side, surface, top’, quite a number of grammarians are apt to treat *üstünde* as a postposition.²

² Johanson (1974, 1991) analyzes forms such as *ev içinde* in terms of a noun plus a postposition, the latter being the result of “a grammaticalization process that reverses the syntactic relation” between the two elements. However, as will be pointed out in section 6, the status of (fake or pseudo-) postposition can only be attributed to forms that do not have a genitive counterpart: *panik içinde* versus **paniğ-in iç-in-de*.

In brief, the problem with current analyses of (1a–b) is many-sided and can be summarized as follows: 1) How is the opposition between definite and indefinite related to the aforementioned constructions, and does this opposition provide a satisfactory explanation for the opposition genitive-zero? 2) How can the presence or absence of the indefinite article be explained? 3) What can be said about the status of words like *üstünde*—are they to be indiscriminately regarded as postpositions or are they rather nouns?

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 evaluates the analysis in terms of the notions definite-indefinite and examines what type of terminology relevant for the present discussion is available in the literature. Section 3 presents an analysis of (1b) in terms of compound formation, an approach which is compatible with the presence or absence of the indefinite article *bir*. Section 4 presents more detailed information about Place Nouns, together with an overview of their most common derivational products. Section 5 goes into the question as to how certain terminology applicable to the analysis of (1a–b) is handled by several authors on Turkish grammar, and what is more, examines to what extent the relationship between (1b) and compounding has been recognized. In section 6 more data are presented in corroboration of the claim that constructions such as (1b) can best be analyzed as compounds which have, at least in a number of cases, led to compound-based postpositions as an intermediary stage in the development of real or full postpositions. Furthermore, a classification is proposed as an alternative for what is known in the literature as “fake postpositions”, a group of constructions comprising not only those like (1b) but also structures such as *hükümet tarafından* ‘by the government’ and *akşam yemeği sırasında* ‘during dinner’. Section 7 deals with postpositions: this is a necessary evil since the tradition in grammatical description seems to be that Place Nouns are to be considered a fully-fledged equivalent for the notion of preposition, a lexical category so indispensable in the language of description. In section 8 the conclusions are presented.

2. A related problem

In traditional approaches to grammar, constructions such as *misafir-in oda-sı* ‘the room of the guest’ and *misafir-Ø oda-sı* ‘guest room’ are often compared to one another because of the similarities in structure owing to a minimal difference in the number of inflectional morphemes: the first construction contains a genitive case marker after *misafir* ‘guest’, which is lacking (as indicated by -Ø) in the second construction. The (incorrect) analysis of these constructions usually runs as follows: In the first example the noun *misafir* makes reference to a ‘specific, particular or certain’ guest, and thus from a grammatical point of view that noun is definite, a fact which, *ergo*, neatly correlates with the occurrence of the genitive marker. At the same time, and this does the trick, the second example is not about a concrete or particular but rather about an ‘arbitrary’ guest, which then must of course be indefinite. And this corresponds to the absence of any suffix (indicated by -Ø) after *mi-*

safir in the second example. Accordingly, in various publications the terminology used to characterize these constructions is phrased in terms of an opposition, for instance: *definite ızafe* versus *indefinite ızafe* (cf. Lewis 1967 2000), *tayinli ızafe* versus *tayinsiz ızafe* (cf. Dereli 1971), *belirli adtakımı* versus *belirsiz adtakımı* (cf. Banguoğlu 1990), *belirtili tamlama* versus *belirtisiz tamlama* (cf. Aksan et alii 1976), and *belirli isim tamlaması* versus *belirsiz isim tamlaması* (cf. Ergin 1980).

I have shown elsewhere that this type of reasoning provides no solution for a thorough analysis of these constructions (cf. Van Schaaijk 1992, 1996, 1999, 2001, 2002). The main points can be summarized as follows.

The structural similarity between both constructions is sheer co-incidental. Most pairs formed in an analogous fashion yield at least one structure that makes no sense. Contrary to *çay bahçe-si* ‘tea garden’, the construct **çay-in bahçe-si* is meaningless. Conversely, *komşu-nun araba-sı* ‘the car of the neighbor’ is grammatical, whereas forms like **komşu araba-sı* will most probably cause most native speakers of Turkish to raise their eyebrows and make discrete inquiries about the meaning intended.

As a matter of fact we are dealing here with a pseudo-opposition, and the most important point is that there are two entirely different types of formation at the foundation of these constructions. The construction *misafir-in oda-sı* ‘the room of the guest’ is known as the *genitive construction* (cf. Van Schaaijk 1992, 1996; Hayasi 1996), *possessive construction* (cf. Swift 1963), and is sometimes called *genitive-possessive construction*³ (cf. Göksel & Kerslake 2005), a word group in which the semantic relation ‘possession’ (in a broad grammatical sense)⁴ links *misafir* ‘guest’ to *oda* ‘room’ by means of the genitive case marker and in which grammatical agreement in person and number between possessor and possessed is expressed by a possessive suffix. However, the distinction definite-indefinite has nothing to do with the occurrence of the genitive: the factor indefiniteness is usually expressed as such by means of the article *bir*, for we can say: *bir misafir-in oda-sı* ‘the room of a guest’, *misafir-in bir oda-sı* ‘a room of the guest’, as well as *bir misafir-in bir oda-sı* ‘a room of a guest’.

³ Undoubtedly, the most accurate designations are *genitive-possessive construction* and *possessor-possessed construction*, occurring in three shapes; two shorter forms, e.g. *ev-in* (house-POSS2S) and *sen-in ev-Ø* (you-GEN house-NOM), and one full form, all meaning ‘your house’. The shorter forms can be expanded by a complement in the genitive (possessor) and a possessive suffix respectively, yielding the full form: *sen-in ev-in* (you-GEN house-POSS2S).

⁴ The semantic role of *Ali* in for instance *Ali-nin kitap-lar-ı* ‘Ali’s books’ is grammatically speaking that of *possessor*, but “in real life” the relation between *Ali* and *the books* can be understood as a variety of capacities: that of proprietor, author, publisher, designer, user, retailer, wholesaler, and the like.

The second type of construction, *misafir oda-sı* ‘guest room’, is the result of the extremely productive word formation process known as compounding: given a set of rules, two nouns are “fused” into a new word with an independent meaning, in many cases providing a typification or subcategorization of the class of objects as designated by the head noun. An analysis in favor of this view has been presented by Swift (1963), Van Schaaijk (1992, 1996, 2002), Hayasi (1996), Yüksek (1998), Kornfilt (1997) and Göksel & Kerslake (2005).⁵ This type of construction is often called *possessive compound*. The indefinite article *bir* preceding a compound takes the whole construction (the head, that is) in its scope, rather than the noun immediately following *bir*. So we get: *bir (misafir odası)*.

The difference in the respective ways of formation has great consequences for the way both constructions can be modified by an adjective. *Misafir-in oda-sı* ‘the room of the guest’ can be modified in two ways, for example: *yeni misafir-in oda-sı* ‘the room of the new guest’, *misafir-in yeni oda-sı* ‘the new room of the guest’, and also combined modification is possible, as in: *yeni misafir-in yeni oda-sı* ‘the new room of the new guest’. However, the elements in the construction *misafir oda-sı* ‘guest room’ are, as it were, tightly tied into an inseparable unit and therefore it can be modified by one adjective only. This adjective modifies the unit as a whole, so individual elements cannot be in the scope of the modifier: *yeni misafir oda-sı* ‘new guest room’ is grammatically correct but **misafir yeni oda-sı* is not.

3. A synthesis

In Turkish there are other construction pairs which structurally share almost everything with *misafir-in oda-sı* and *misafir-Ø oda-sı* in the previous section. The type of opposition under scrutiny follows the same structure and consists of two nouns, the second of which is a so-called Place Noun designating a place, area or space. The fragments in bold print in (4) can be compared to the aforementioned opposition.

- (4)a. *Küçük **masa-nın üstüne** tabak-lar-la çatal bıçak yerleştir-il-di.*
 small table-GEN ‘on’ plate-PLUR-‘and’ fork knife place-PASS-PAST2.
 ‘On the small table plates, forks and knives had been placed.’
- b. ***Masa-Ø üstünde**, rakı şişe-si, bir kadeh ve birbıçak var-dı.*
 table ‘on’ rakı bottle-CM a glass and a knife exist-PROJ1
 ‘On the table there was a *rakı* bottle, a liqueur glass, and a knife.’

Again it might be tempting to explain the presence or absence of the genitive suffix in terms of the factors definite and indefinite. However, taking more data into account it will be clear that such an approach is out of the question. But let me first

⁵ For a concise overview of similar constructions in Turkic languages, see Johanson (1998: 49f).

present an alternative explanation in connection to the question why in English in certain contexts the definite article must change while in others it is left out. Consider the following examples.

- (5)a. He must go back **to the sea**.
 b. Can it be our farm lad that went away **to Ø sea** years past?

The expression *to the sea* in (5a) can be interpreted as making reference to a more or less *concrete* sea, for instance the one which plays a role in the given context or situation, whereas *to sea* in (5b) is meant as the expression of the more *abstract* idea of “where one can go and eke out a living”. Linguistically speaking, ‘sea’ in (5a) is referential and in (5b) non-referential.

In Turkish things are not very different, if at all. In the first example (4a), *Küçük masa-nın üstüne* ‘on the small table’, the referent of *masa* ‘table’ is definite. This is neither shown nor proven by the occurrence of the genitive, but can be inferred from the absence of the indefinite article *bir*. Moreover, in most such cases ‘definiteness’ is given by the context, which is not shown here. In other words, with *masa-nın üstüne* in the first example, the word *masa* must be taken literally, as referring to a concrete ‘table’, whereas in the second example we are dealing with a non-literal (abstract) sense of the general concept of ‘table’. Thus, *masa* ‘table’ is referential in (4a) and non-referential in (4b).

Now, the introduction of more relevant data will corroborate the thesis that the occurrence of the genitive case marker is *not* related to the factor definiteness. The fact is that the fragments in bold print in (4) also occur as indefinite noun phrases. With (4a–b) we find side by side:

- (6)a. *Küçük **bir**masa-nın üstüne tabak-lar-la çatal bıçak*
 small a table-GEN ‘on’ plate-PLUR-‘and’ fork knife
yerleştir-il-di.
 place-PASS-PAST2
 ‘On a small table plates, forks and knives had been placed.’
- b. *Ayşe, **uzak**-ı daha iyi gör-ebil-mek için **bir**masa-Ø üstüne*
 A. distance-ACC better see-POT-INF for a table ‘on’
çık-mış.
 climb-PAST1
 ‘Ayşe climbed on a table to be better able to see in the distance.’

In case the somewhat naive explanation for the differences between (4a) and (4b) were valid (that is to say, “definiteness requires the genitive and indefiniteness does not”), (6a) would then be contradictory to this claim. Such an explanation can be discarded in favor of the alternative analysis proposed in section 2. Perhaps it is useful at this stage to point out that both definite and indefinite noun phrases may have a referential function in many cases: in a communicative situation the marked defi-

niteness of a noun phrase helps to identify its referent, and marked indefiniteness contributes to the mental construction of a (possible) referent.

Be this as it may, the attentive reader might well raise the burning question “If *masa üstünde* in (4b) is used in a figurative (abstract) sense, what is the use of “adding” the indefinite article *bir*, yielding *bir masa üstüne* in (6b)?” This would be an astute remark, indeed, for haven’t we claimed that *masa üstünde* in (4b) is a non-referential expression and, just a while ago, that indefinite noun phrases are referential too, so that we apparently have uncovered another inconsistency here?

The answer is yes and no. Yes, because there is no other conclusion possible on the basis of the linguistic facts advanced so far. The final answer, however, is negative, because not all relevant facts have been presented yet. In linguistic analysis this danger is always lurking and often leads, for obvious reasons by the way, to incomplete, incorrect and naive explanations of the facts. In order to head off the possibility of any ungrammatical example, we could present the following sentence (from a text corpus):

- (7) *Bir masa üst-ün-e konul-muş ayakkabı-lar-da da kan*
 a table top-CM-DAT put-PRT3 shoe-PLUR-LOC and blood
leke-ler-i var-dı.
 stain-PLUR-CM exist-PROJ1
 ‘On the shoes put on a tabletop there were blood stains.’

As appears from the translation, *bir masa üstüne* can also be interpreted as ‘on a tabletop’. As a fact of matter, this interpretation is applicable for (6b) as well.

- (8) *Ayşe, uzağ-ı daha iyi gör-ebil-mek için bir masa-Ø*
 A. distance-ACC better see-POT-INF for a table
üst-ün-e çık-mış.
 top-CM-DAT climb-PAST1
 ‘Ayşe climbed on a tabletop to be better able to see in the distance.’

This implies that we should take a closer look at the fragment *bir masa üstüne*. First of all we need to analyze *üstüne*. The noun *üst* means ‘upper side, top’ and can be combined with for instance *masa* ‘table’ in a genitive construction: *masa-nın üst-ü(n)* ‘on the upper side of the table’ → ‘on the table’. Adding a dative suffix, which is required when used with verbs such as *yerleştir-* ‘to put (on)’, *çık-* ‘to climb (on)’ and *konul-* ‘to be put (on)’, we get *masa-nın üst-ün-e*. As the first member of a genitive construction we can of course take an ‘indefinite’ table and the result is, predictably, *(bir masa)-nın üst-ün-e*.

For the final analysis of *bir masa üst-ün-e*, however, the crux of the matter is to be found in the placement of the parenthesis. After all, *masa üst-ün-e* can also be analyzed as *(masa üst-ün)-e*, that is to say, as a nominal compound to which in this case a dative suffix has been attached. The meaning of *masa üst-ü(n)* is simply ‘ta-

ble surface' or, in common parlance, 'tabletop'. In this approach also the indefinite article *bir* finds its niche: *bir (masa üst-ü)* simply means 'a tabletop'.

In order to elucidate the relation between referentiality and definiteness in this type of construction (compounds whose head is a Place Noun), we move on to a scenario derived and adapted from the first chapter of *Sessiz Ev* by Orhan Pamuk. In this story, a grandmother with bad eyesight runs the fingers of one hand over a bowl of apples in order to check the quality of the fruit. She says:

- (9) *Çürük hepsi! Nereden bul-du-n sen bun-lar-ı,*
 rotten all where.from find-PAST2-2S you this-PLUR-ACC
ağaç alt-lar-in-dan mı topladı-n?
 tree underside-PLUR-CM-ABL Q gather-PAST2-S2
 'All rotten! Where have you got them from, gathered from under trees?'

For the sake of simplicity we will pretend that the grandmother only asked: *Nereden bul-du-n sen bun-lar-ı?* 'Where did you find these?', and at the same time we will try to think up possible answers to this question. In principle, there are three grammatical answers relevant for our argumentation.

First, if the answer were *Ağac-in alt-in-dan topladı-m* 'I gathered them from under the tree', then *ağaç* 'tree' is to be interpreted as a referential expression (definite) because of the absence of the indefinite article *bir*. The tree involved is concrete and hence identifiable by Speaker and Hearer (after all, it could be a/the tree, say, in the backyard).

Second, in case of the answer *Bir ağac-in alt-in-dan topladı-m* 'I gathered them from under a tree', the *ağaç* 'tree' (being marked as indefinite by *bir*) is also concrete (and not abstract), because its referent is known by the Speaker but not by the Hearer. Also in this case *ağaç* 'tree' is referential, because the grandmother, not knowing its referent—she must construe one, could ask: "Which tree?". The referent of *ağaç* 'tree' in the second answer can be called (indefinite) specific.⁶ This is not because *ağaç* 'tree' is just referential (this is the case in both answers), but it has to do with the fact that the Speaker knows which tree he is talking about, for he is the one who gathered the apples there. The difference between specific indefinite and non-specific indefinite can also nicely be demonstrated with *In the backyard I have planted a big tree* (specific, for one could ask: *What kind of tree?*) versus *If you plant a big tree in your backyard...* (non-specific, because any arbitrary tree could be meant, as long as it is big, and hence it would be odd to ask: *Which tree?* or *What kind of tree?*).

⁶ Scholarly work on definiteness and specificity in Turkish is published in regular intervals, e.g. Johanson (1977), Dede (1986), Tura (1986), Enç (1991), Van Schaaijk (1996), Kılıçaslan (2006), Nakipoğlu (2009).

Third, let us now return to the original answer, as provided in Pamuk's novel. The second part of the question is: [...] *ağaç alt-lar-ın-dan mı topladı-n?* '[...] have you gathered them from under "tree"?' The actual answer was, after some squabbling about their quality, *Manav-dan al-dı-m* 'I bought them from the green-grocer's', but this answer is not relevant for the present analysis. In her question the grandmother uses the fragment *ağaç alt-lar-ın-dan*, without an article and without the genitive case marker. The word *alt* is a noun designating a place (area or space) and can in most cases be translated as 'under side' or 'space under'. This noun can, just like *üst* 'upper side, top' in the examples based on *masa üst-ü(n)*, figure as head of a nominal compound: *ağaç alt-ı(n)*.

This construction can be interpreted as "the space or area under a tree", or, with a bit of poetic license, "the sub-arboreal space or area". Of course, in the present setting "sub-arboreal area" would be more appropriate, since "the ground under the tree" is the place where (fallen) apples are gathered.

Because *alt* is a Place Noun, the compound *ağaç alt-ı(n)* counts as a Place Noun as well, and its plural form *ağaç alt-ları(n)* leads to the interpretation 'all (kind of) places under a tree' in the sense of 'under whatever tree'. As said before, for the given situation this makes reference to the place where "overripe or rotten apples" are landing. The word *ağaç* 'tree' is (like every first member in a nominal compound) non-referential, let alone definite or indefinite, because these (pragmatic) values are only applicable to noun phrases being used referentially.

4. On spatial relations

For Place Nouns, I elsewhere (Van Schaaik 2002: 242f) made the distinction between nouns denoting *Absolute Place* and *Relative Place*. The former type of nouns comprises place names (e.g. İstanbul, Paramaribo, Lahore), denotations for spaces and areas (all immovable "objects"), such as *mutfak* 'kitchen', *plaj* 'beach', and *bahçe* 'garden', and includes a small set of deictic expressions, as in *Burası neresi?* (literally: "this place (is) what place") 'Where are we here?' and *Banyo burası* 'The bathroom is (this place) here'.

The second type of noun relevant for the discussion comprises nouns by means of which Relative Place can be expressed. The basic set of these nouns comprises: *üst* 'superior; upper side, top, surface', *üzer* 'superior; space above', *alt* 'inferior; space under, underside', *ön* 'anterior; front (side)', *arka* 'posterior; back part, rear, hind, reverse', *iç* 'interior; inside, the inner part or surface', *dış* 'exterior; outside, external, outer', *karşı* 'citerior; the place opposite', *orta* 'middle, middle part, central part', *ara* 'medial; space / time between; relation (between people)', *art* 'back, behind, rear, hind, space, behind, sequel', *yan* 'lateral; (a) side; flank; neighborhood, vicinity', *peş* 'space behind, the back, the rear', *taraf* 'side; part; area, region'. In the majority of grammatical descriptions of Place Nouns their number is more or less limited to the set represented above. On the basis of shared grammatical properties, however, the following nouns should also be included: *etraf* 'sides, surroundings,

area around or near', *çevre* 'surroundings', *yön* 'direction; quarter; side, aspect; angle', *beri* 'near, this side', *öte* 'the other side, beyond', *baş* 'head', *uç* (c-) 'tip, (far) end', *dip* (b-) 'bottom; foot, lowest part; far end, back'.

In themselves they denote a space or an area, but always in relation to some other (mostly physical) object. In this way *üst* 'surface, upper part' and *alt* 'space under, underside' only have meaning if reference is made to something else.⁷ This is usually achieved by forming a genitive construction, the head of which is such a Place Noun, and by attaching a case marker appropriate in the given syntactic setting, e.g. *masa-nın üst-ün-de* 'on (top of) the table' and *masa-nın alt-in-da* 'under the table, at the underside of the table'.

In many a work on Turkish grammar the right hand part of this genitive construction is categorized as "secondary postposition" (cf. Lewis 1967, 2000), as "fake postposition" (cf. Kornfilt 1997), or simply as "postposition" (cf. Göksel & Kerslake 2005). Yet, there are many arguments in favor of their classification as pure nouns.

First, structures such as *masa-nın üst-ü* (table-GEN surface-POSS3s) can be identified as genitive constructions. In the literature on this subject matter there seems to be a tendency to discuss this type of construction only in connection to the most common case markers they can take, those being locative, dative, and ablative, e.g. *masa-nın alt-in-da* 'under the table', *masa-nın alt-in-a* '(motion) towards under the table', *masa-nın alt-in-dan* '(motion) from under the table'. It should be noted, however, that this type of "bare" structure is also widely used in the nominative, as can be shown by:

- (10) a. *Suy-un üst-ü yeşil bir ayna-ya benzi-yor-du.*
 water-GEN top-POSS3s green a mirror-DAT resemble-PRES1-PROJ1
 'The surface of the water resembled a green mirror.'
- b. *Ev-in ön-ü ve arka-sı aynı şekil-de yap-ıl-mıştı.*
 house-GEN front-POSS3s and back-POSS3s same form-LOC
 make-PASS-PAST3
 'The front and back side of the house were made the same way.'
- c. *Orada ne yaylı-lar, ne araba-lar yok-tu!*
 there what carriage-PLUR what wagon-PLUR not-exist-PROJ1
Birin-in arka-sı geniş ön-ü daracık,
 some-GEN back-POSS3s wide front-POSS3s rather narrow

⁷ In this respect the distinction between *alienable* possession (e.g. *Ali-nin araba-sı* 'Ali's car') and *inalienable* possession (e.g. *Ali-nin baba-sı* 'Ali's father') is relevant. The grammatical possessor of the second construction can be thought of as an argument of *Ali*, and that of the first construction as a satellite. For more details, see Van Schaaijk (2002: 151f).

ötekin-in arka-sı daracık ön-ü geniş-ti.
 other-GEN back-POSS3S rather narrow front-POSS3S wide-PROJ1
 'What spring-carriages and wagons there were!
 The back of some were wide and the front rather narrow,
 others' back part were narrow and their front wide.'

Second, they can take possessive markers plus a case marker, e.g. *karşı-nız-da* 'opposite of you', *ön-üm-e* '(motion) in front of me, before me', *Arka-n-dan kapı-yı kapat!* 'Close the door behind you!', but they are also used independently, e.g. *Arka-mız, ön-ümüz, her yan-ımız süngü!* [back side-POSS1P front side-POSS1P every side-POSS1P bayonet] 'Behind us, in front of us, on all sides of us—(it was / there were) bayonets!'.

Third, nouns denoting relative place can be used as adjectives⁸ (whereas nouns denoting absolute place cannot), e.g. *üst kat* 'top floor', *alt çene* 'lower jaw', *ön sıra* 'front row', *arka koltuk* 'back seat', *yan kapı* 'side door', *iç deniz* 'inner sea', *dış duvar* 'outer wall', *karşı teklif* 'counter-proposal', *karşı yaka* 'the opposite shore', *ara tatil* 'a non-planned holiday', *ara istasyon* 'a station in between', *orta öğretim* 'secondary education', *Orta Asya* 'Central Asia'. Used as an adjective, these nouns can be part of a genitive construction, e.g. *ev-in (dış duvar)-ı* 'the outer wall of the house'.

Fourth, they can function as the head of a compound, e.g. *perde arka-sı* [curtain back side-CM] 'the hidden side of the matter', *kızıl öte-si* [red other side-CM] 'infra-red'. The result of compounding in these cases is of course a noun denoting a place itself. Such newly formed nouns can easily be made part of another compound (11a-c) or of a genitive construction (11d-e):

- (11) a. (*göz alt-ı*) *krem-i*
 eye lower.part-CM cream-CM
 'cream for under the eyes'
- b. ((*Deniz dib-i*) *dünya-sı*) *göz-ler-in-in* *ön-ün-e*
 sea bottom-CM world-CM eye-PLUR-POSS2S-GEN front-POSS3S-DAT
seril-ecek.
 spread-FUT
 'The sea-bottom-world will be spread out before your eyes.'

⁸ Braun & Haig (2000) discuss the noun-adjective distinction in terms of a continuum from prototypical noun to prototypical adjective, whereas Van Schaaijk (2002: 55, 101) proposes a conversion rule for certain classes of nouns. This rule would be applicable to a number of adjectival formations in the present section as well.

- c. ((*Şişe dib-i*) *gözlük-lü* *biradam gir-iyor-du* *oda-ya*.
 bottle bottom-CM glasses-ADJ a man enter-PRES1-PROJ1 room-DAT
 ‘A man in spectacles as thick as bottle glass entered the room.’
- d. *Ankara plân-ın-da da Yenisehir-in (ana cadde arka-lar)-ı*
 A. map-CM-LOC and Y.-GEN main road back-PLUR-POSS3S
bahçe-li ev-ler semt-i, Çankaya ve Kavaklıdere daha
 garden-ADJ house-PLUR quarter-CM Ç. and K. more
geniş bahçe-li villa-lar semt-i-ydi.
 spacious garden-ADJ villa-PLUR quarter-PROJ1
 ‘On the map of Ankara, the areas behind the main road in Yenisehir were the
 quarter of houses with gardens, and Çankaya and Kavaklıdere were the
 neighborhoods with villas with bigger gardens.’
- e. *Hafifçe morar-mış, {on-un} göz alt-lar-ı.*
 slightly turn.purple-PAST1 {s/he-GEN} eye lower part-PLUR-POSS3S
 ‘They had turned slightly black-and-blue, the areas under his/her eyes.’

Fifth, through compounding some of these nouns can form a temporal adverbial expression, e.g. *öğle üst-ü* ‘around noon’ and *akşam üst-ü* ‘(late) afternoon’, and these also occur in the plural: *akşam üst-ler-i* ‘(always) in the afternoon’.

Sixth, through compounding some of these nouns can form adverbials expressing some position of the human body, e.g. *tepe üstü* ‘headfirst, headlong; upside down’, *sırt üstü / arka üstü* ‘flat on one’s back’, *ayak üstü* ‘on one’s feet; hastily, in a rush’, *yüz üstü* (also *yüzüstü*) ‘(lying / falling) facedown’, *kıç üstü / popo üstü* ‘on one’s rear end’. This can further be exemplified by:

- (12)a. *Yatağ-ın üst-ün-e yüz üst-ü uzan-mış,*
 bed-GEN top-POSS3S-DAT facedown stretch.out-PAST1
(dirsek-ler-i üst-ün)-de dikilmiş olan Yeşim ban-a
 elbow-PLUR-POSS3S top-CM-LOC leaning Y. I-DAT
gülümsü-yor-du.
 smile-PRES1-PROJ1
 ‘Yeşim, who lay facedown stretched out on the bed,
 leaning on her elbows, was smiling at me.’
- b. *Bütün gün kıç üst-ü oturan bir terzi için çok önemli-dir*
 all day on.the.rear sitting a tailor for very imp.-EMPH
böyle bir minder.
 such a cushion
 ‘For a tailor sitting on his bottom the whole day, such a cushion is very important.’
- c. *Sandal-ın kıç alt-ın-da-ki vodka-yı getir-eceğ-in-i*
 boat-GEN rear underside-CM-LOC-ki vodka-ACC bring-PRT2-POSS3S-ACC

söyle-di.

say-PAST2

'S/he said that s/he should get the vodka lying under the stern of the boat.'

Seventh, through compounding some of these nouns can form adjectival and adverbial expressions, e.g. *doğa üstü* 'supernatural', *tabiat üstü* (also *tabiatüstü*) 'supernatural', *olağan üstü* (also *olağanüstü*) 'extraordinary; unheard-of, unusual; wonderful, stunning', *partiler üstü* 'above the parties', *lisans üstü* 'postgraduate (studies, course, etc.)', *duyular üstü* 'extrasensory', *olağandışı* 'unusual, exceptional; abnormal, strange', *gerçek dışı* (also *gerçekdışı*) 'unreal', *gündem dışı* 'outside the agenda', *kanun dışı* 'illegal', *yasadışı* 'illegal, unlawful', *doğadışı* 'unnatural', *ahlâkdışı* 'immoral / amoral, non-moral (word, act)', *töredışı* 'amoral, non-moral; immoral', *kuraldışı* 'exceptional, not covered by a rule', *yurtdışı hatlar* 'international lines', *akıldışı* 'irrational', *bilinçdışı* 'the unconscious', *şuurdışı* '(the) unconscious', *çağdışı* 'out of fashion, old-fashioned, outmoded', *çevrimdışı* 'off-line', *evlilikdışı* 'illegitimate, unlawful, out of wedlock', *iradedışı* 'involuntary, not under the control of the will', *istençdışı* 'involuntary, unwilling', *mantık dışı* 'illogical', *toplumdışı* 'extrasocial, not related to society', *mor ötesi* 'ultraviolet', *doğa ötesi* 'metaphysics, metaphysical', *sınır ötesi* 'across the border', *kıta-lar öte-si keşif-ler* 'transcontinental discoveries'. Example (13) illustrates the textual usage of this type of formation:

- (13) *Başka ne al-dı-n? Ses ton-u neredeyse doğa üstü, şeytansı.*
 other what buy-PAST2-2S voice tone-POSS3S almost supernatural/devilish
 'What else did you buy? His/her tone of voice was almost supernatural, devilish.'

The set of Place Nouns under discussion is not homogenous in the sense that they share their properties all equally well. On the one hand, the semantics of each individual noun plays a crucial role, and on the other, certain other factors are determinative as well, for these nouns can be classified into certain subgroups or according to the way they can be applied in derivative formations. To mention two extreme cases, *üst* 'upper side', *alt* 'underside', *ön* 'front side', *arka* 'back side', and *yan* 'side' are often depicted as the faces of a cube, together with *iç* 'inside' and *dış* 'outside', in which there is no room for others, and yet other formations can be made only with a small set of particular nouns. For example, only with *yan*, *art* and *peş* in combination with *sıra* an adverbial construction can be formed expressing *immediate vicinity* (as related to some other physical object).

- (14)a. *Bereket versin ki biz-im oğlan {ben-im} yan-ım sıra*
 thank.goodness that we-GEN boy {I-GEN} side-POSS1S sıra
yürü-yor-du.
 walk-PRES1-PRO1
 'Thank goodness that our boy was walking right next to me.'

- b. *Ard-ım* *sıra* *gel-ir-ken*, "Nereye *gid-iyor-sunuz?*"
 back-POSS1S *sıra* come-PRES2-ken where go-PRES1-2S
diye sor-du.
 'saying' ask-PAST2
 'Coming up right behind me, she asked *Where are you going?*'
- c. *Asker-ler* *hemen* *peş-im* *sıra* *koş-ma-ya* *başla-dı-lar.*
 soldier-PLUR direct back-POSS1S *sıra* run-INF-DAT begin-PAST2-3P
 'The soldiers began running right behind me.'
- d. *Arabacı* *yol-da* *at-lar-ın-ın* *yan-ı* *sıra*
 coachman road-LOC horse-PLUR-POSS3S-GEN side-POSS3S *sıra*
yürü-yor-du.
 walk-PRES1-PRO1
 'The coachman was walking on the road, right alongside his horses.'
- e. *Candide*, *yaşlı kadın-ın* *ard-ı* *sıra* *yürü-dü.*
 C. aged woman-GEN back-POSS3S *sıra* walk-PAST2
 'Candide walked right after the old woman.'
- f. *Hemen* *kız-ın* *peş-i* *sıra* *git-ti.*
 directly girl-GEN back-POSS3S *sıra* go-PAST2
 'Immediately he went right behind / after the girl.'

In the paragraph preceding our argumentation that words such as *alt*, *üst* and the like should be regarded as nouns rather than something else, it was stated that making a referential expression is achieved by forming a genitive construction. Yet, there is another possibility: the one that has been proposed in section 3—non-referential expressions are based on another type of formation (that of compounding), leading to oppositions such as *ev-in dış-ı* 'the exterior of the house' versus *evdışı* 'outdoors, out of doors'.

In summarizing the foregoing, we can say that Place Nouns can be applied in two domains: inflection and derivation. *Inflectionally* these nouns can be used in two ways: 1) to form the head of a bare genitive construction applicable as subject or object (e.g. *suy-un üst-ü* 'the surface of the water'); and 2) expanded with a case marker these genitive constructions are used as object or as an adverbial (e.g. *masa-nın üst-ün-X*). Constructions like *üst-üm-X* are merely a variant hereof, since the possessor (i.e. *ben-im* [I-GEN] 'my') has not been specified. *Derivationally* there are two possibilities: 3) conversion from noun to adjective (e.g. *üst kat* 'top floor'); and 4) compounding, resulting in a) nominal expressions (e.g. *perde arkası* 'the hidden side of the matter'); b) several predicates to be used adverbially and/or adjectivally, e.g. *akşam üstü* '(in the) afternoon', *yüz üstü* 'face down', *doğa üstü* 'supernatural';

and c) the material for a second type of derivation, being recursive compounding, e.g. (*deniz dib-i dünya-sı* ‘the world of the sea bottom’, or adjective formation,⁹ (e.g. (*şişe dib-i*) *gözlük-lü* ‘in spectacles thick as a bottle (bottom)’).

5. Evaluating the common practice

In the present section I will briefly examine how the notions of definiteness and indefiniteness are used in the literature to account for constructions such as *misafir-in oda-sı* ‘room of the guest’ versus *misafir oda-sı* ‘guest room’. In fact, there are three types of treatment of these constructions: 1) an analysis in which the sole instrument is definiteness (cf. Banguoğlu 1990, Lewis 1967, 2000, Rühl 1975); 2) an analysis that is based on the distinction between “full” and “incomplete” genitive constructions (cf. Peters 1947, Wendt 1979, Venter & Kurt 1985); 3) an analysis in which no relation is suggested between *misafir-in oda-sı* ‘room of the guest’ and *misafir oda-sı* ‘guest room’, the former structure being analyzed in terms of the genitive-possessive construction and the latter type being regarded as nominal compounds (cf. Thomas 1986, Kornfilt 1997, Koopman 2004, Göksel & Kerslake 2005).

Secondly, given these divisions, it is interesting to see how these insights are incorporated in the analysis of Place Nouns. The tendency is that only a few scholars have observed that oppositions such as *masanın üstüne* and *masa üstüne* exist, let alone that an exhaustive analysis is available. The authors who mention the shorter form - mostly marginally, e.g. Banguoğlu (1990), Rühl (1975), Venter & Kurt (1985), and in somewhat more detail, e.g. Koopman (2004), Göksel & Kerslake (2005), have however never shown that there is a relationship with compounding. In the remainder of this section, these works will be discussed in more detail one by one.

Banguoğlu (1990) takes a rather traditional stance with regard to the terminology of word groups, and he distinguishes between definite and indefinite groups, or in his own words: *belirli adtakımı* (*annexion déterminée*) and *belirsiz adtakımı* (*annexion indéterminée*) (332–333). In other works of Turkish origin these terms can be identified as *belirli* (also *belirtili*) *isim tamlaması* (or *tayinli izafet*) and *belirsiz* (also *belirtisiz*) *isim tamlaması* (or *tayinsiz izafet*) respectively (cf. Korkmaz 1992: 21–23). As can be expected, the former type of construction can be exemplified by constructions such as *gemi-nin direğ-i* ‘the mast of the ship’ and the latter one by *at kuyruğ-u* ‘horsetail’. An interesting observation in Banguoğlu is phrased as follows: “Nihayet belirsiz adtakımının bir çeşidi daha vardır ki bir tür takı öbeklerini meydana getirir. Bunlar aslında yer, yön, çağ, ilişki adlarının katkı alması ile oluşmuş belirsiz adtakımlardır. [Lastly, there is one more type of indefinite word group, such that it brings forth a kind of postpositional (word) groups. These are in fact

⁹ For this type of adjectival formation as related to compounding, see Van Schaaiik (2002: 86).

indefinite word groups formed by modification of nouns denoting place, direction, time and relation(s).]" (p. 336) Banguoğlu illustrates this by formations such as the one represented in (11), e.g. *masa üstü*, *deniz dibi*, *şehir içi*, *dağ ardı* et cetera.

Lewis (2000) considers word groups such as *babaanne* 'paternal grandmother' and *başbakan* 'prime minister' compound nouns in his chapter on word formation (p. 230), and categorizes (lexicalized) word groups such as *hanımeli* 'honeysuckle', *yılbaşı* 'New Year', and *samanyolu* 'the Milky Way' as *izafet* groups (p. 231). The term *izafet* 'annexation' plays a central role in his treatment of constructions like *üniversite-nin profesör-ler-i* (of-the-university its-professors) 'the professors of the university' and *üniversite profesör-ler-i* 'university professors'. The former type of construction is called *definite izafet* and "is employed when the first element is a definite person or thing to which or within which the second belongs", and accordingly, the latter one is known as *indefinite izafet* and "is used when the relationship between the two elements is merely qualificatory and not so intimate or possessive as that indicated by the definite *izafet*" (p. 41). Place Nouns are treated by Lewis as "*secondary postpositions*" and he states that "they are all nouns and may be used in any case and with any personal suffix", e.g. *arka-nız-dan* 'from behind you', and formulates an important constraint on the usage of the term postposition: "It is only when they are used in *izafet* with another noun and in the dative, locative, or ablative that they correspond in function to English prepositions and are called postpositions" (Lewis 2000: 87). This implies that structures such as *üstünde* should be regarded as postpositions throughout, no matter what kind of complement precedes, e.g. *masanın üstünde* versus *masa üstünde*. About the latter type of construction, nothing can be found in Lewis.

Rühl (1975) distinguishes between definite and indefinite possessive constructions, e.g. *saray-ın kapı-sı* 'the gate of the palace' versus *saray kapı-sı* 'palace gate' (p. 32f). On the other hand, he takes a stance quite different from the usual in his discussion on postpositions (as a subgroup of *Verhältniswörter* 'relators'). He explains that an equivalent for prepositions or postpositions, for instance "behind", is lacking in Turkish and that this gap is filled by a construction based on the noun *arka* (p. 47f). So, instead of "*behind the house*" [hinter dem Haus] we find in Turkish *ev-in arka-sın-da* 'at the back of the house' [an der Hinterseite des Hauses] or "*in an indefinite possessive construction*" [in unbestimmter Possessivverbindung]: *ev arka-sın-da*. Remarkably enough, he then continues by presenting more than ten examples based on the latter model, the translations of which in German all include a definite article: *masa alt-ın-da* 'under the table' [unter dem Tisch], *ev üst-ün-de* 'on the house' [auf dem Haus], *duvar arka-sın-da* 'behind the wall' [hinter der Mauer], *dükkân ön-ün-de* 'in front of the store' [vor dem Laden], *asker yan-ın-da* 'next to the soldier' [neben dem Soldaten] et cetera. The sole other instance of a genitive construction based on a Place Noun found in his work is *bu asker-in yan-ın-da* 'next to this soldier' [neben diesem Soldaten], to which Rühl comments that "Ist das voranstehende Ergänzungswort (Bestimmungswort) genauer bestimmt, so erhält es die

Genitivendung [if the preceding noun governed¹⁰ is more precisely modified (definite), it gets the genitive ending]” (Rühl 1975: 48).

Peters (1947) treats the notions of possessive construction and nominal compound in a rather precise way, using several designations. The former type is referred to as “die suffigierte Genitivgruppe (vollständige Genitivverbindung, vollständiger status constructus) [suffixed genitive (word) group (synonymous with full genitive collocation, full status constructus)]” and in Turkish by *birinci nevi izafet* or *tayinli izafet*. Nominal compounds are presented under the heading of “die suffigierte Absolutgruppe (unvollständige Genitivverbindung, unvollständiger status constructus) [suffixed absolute (word) group (synonymous with incomplete genitive construction, incomplete status constructus)]” and in Turkish by *ikinci nevi izafet* or *tayinsiz izafet* (p. 31f). “Place Nouns” [Ortsnomina] are considered to be involved in postpositional formations and represented in tabular form but are not discussed at length. Unfortunately, although a promising statement can be found on the shorter type, “Die Gruppe kann vollständig oder unvollständig sein [the group can be complete or incomplete]”, not a trace is found of an example illustrating this observation (Peters 1947: 39).

Venter & Kurt (1985) recognize the nominal nature of words such as *alt*, *üst* et cetera, but at the same time state that they express spatial relations when used as postpositions and that they require the genitive (p. 89f). Interestingly, the authors observe that “Wenn die Ortsbezeichnung sehr allgemein gehalten ist, kann der Genitiv entfallen. [when the place or space designated is very general, the genitive case marker may drop.]” This is demonstrated by *Oturma odasının deniz-Ø tarafında bir de balkon vardı* ‘At the seaside of the living room there was a balcony too’, with *deniz tarafın(da)* ‘(at) the seaside’.

Wendt (1979) distinguishes two types of genitive construction: “the loose genitive construction” [die lose Genitivverbindung] and its counterpart, “the fixed genitive construction” [die feste Genitivverbindung] (p. 257f). These are exemplified by *tren-in hareket-i* ‘the departure of the train’ and *şehir plan-ı* ‘city map’ respectively. He recognizes that the former type can be “split” [getrennt] by other words and word groups, whereas this is impossible for the latter type. The second type of construction is depicted as the main means of building new words. Furthermore, in this work a distinction is made between postpositions and postpositional expressions. As for the latter type of expression, it is stated that they are based on nouns occurring in the dative, locative or ablative. Also, a general characterization is presented in terms of “Das Wort vor dem postpositionalen Ausdruck steht, wenn es bestimmt ist, im Genitiv, wenn es unbestimmt ist, in der Grundform [the word preceding the postpo-

¹⁰ In his appendix on linguistic terminology, the equivalents of Ottoman-based *izafet terkibi mütemmimi* are given as “Bestimmungswort, Ergänzungswort” and “regiertes Nomen”.

sitional expression gets the genitive if definite, and occurs in its bare form if indefinite]” (Wendt 1979: 258).

Thomas (1986) distinguishes two types of *possessive construction*: Type I corresponds to what we have presented here as the genitive expression and Type II to nominal compounds (64–65). In his view, too, “In Type I the first member is always definite” and “In a Type II possessive construction the first member is not definite”. Spatial expressions (the “full” list, including *yukarı* ‘up, space that is higher, upstairs’ and *dışarı* ‘outside, space that is out’, together with their respective antonyms *aşağı* and *içeri*) are treated together with postpositions, obviously because “Much of the work of English prepositions is done in Turkish by nouns of place used in possessive constructions”. No mention is made, however, of “bare” nouns combined with a Place Noun in his Type II construction.

Kornfilt (1997) discusses Place Nouns at various places in her work in terms of “secondary” or “fake” postpositions, stating however that “these are actually nouns which are used as postpositions; they do not assign case to their respective arguments” (p. 100–102). Furthermore, one of the assets of this work is that a clear distinction is made between *genitive constructions* and *compounds*, witness statements such as “The possessive noun phrase places the possessor in the genitive case, and the possessed element as the head of the construction. Suffixed to the head is the possessive agreement suffix, agreeing with the possessor in person and number” (p. 185) and the fact that nominal compounds such as *okul kitabı* ‘school book’ are treated (p. 474) under the heading of derivational morphology. In that respect there is at any rate no fuss about the notion of definiteness underlying structural and semantic differences and similarities between entirely different constructions (i.e. genitive constructions and compounds). However, one central idea or, in the case of postpositions, perhaps the sole criterion in Kornfilt’s approach to classifying lexical categories on the basis of inflectional and/or syntactic properties is obviously the question whether a word can assign case to its complement. She states: “Most postpositions are independent morphemes that assign case to their nominal complement and most postpositions can easily be distinguished from adjectives, since the latter do not assign case”¹¹. Those postpositions that do not assign case are nevertheless distinguishable from adjectives by their semantics” (p. 100), and apart from the description about “fake” postpositions quoted above, Kornfilt discerns furthermore (p. 423) that there are two subtypes of postpositions, namely those “that do not bear agreement morphology with their objects” (e.g. *gibi* ‘like’, *ile* ‘with’, *kadar* ‘as

¹¹ In connection with this criterion, one might wonder how certain adjectives requiring the dative, instrumental, or ablative for their argument or satellite would be classified, e.g. *ait* ‘belonging (to)’, *aşık* ‘in love (with)’, *aykırı* ‘contrary (to)’, *eşit* ‘equal (to)’, *hazır* ‘ready (to)’, *sadık* ‘faithful (to)’, *uygun* ‘suited (for)’, *yönelik* ‘directed (to)’, *ilişkin* ‘related (to)’ (all plus dative), *çevrili* ‘surrounded (by)’ (plus instrumental), and *memnun* ‘content (with)’ (plus ablative).

much as', *için* 'for'), and those "that do exhibit (possessive) agreement morphology with their objects and can thus be analyzed as nouns rather than genuine postpositions" (e.g. *üst* 'top', *alt* 'underside', etc.). Unfortunately, the main point of her description is in each case geared to the question which postpositional properties can be attributed to Place Nouns, and this might explain why no attention is paid to such nouns when they are preceded by a bare noun (e.g. *masa üstü*).

Koopman (2004) labels constructions of the type *otel oda-sı* 'hotel room' as *possessive construction* (p. 121) and expressions of the type *ev-ler-in sahib-i* 'the owner of the houses'¹² as *genitive construction* (p. 134). These two notions are used to explain differences between formations like *masa-nın üstünde* and *masa-Ø üstünde* as well. He states that the two aforementioned construction types are applicable to Place Nouns yielding "locative specifications", according to the following general rule: a literal meaning (of the left hand member) is expressed through a *genitive construction* and a figurative, metaphorical meaning is expressed by means of a *possessive construction* (p. 161). This is illustrated by *Rehber-in peş-in-de iki turist yürüyor* 'Behind the guide two tourists are walking' and *Ahmet hep kitap peş-in-de koşuyor* 'Ahmet is all the time after books'.

Göksel & Kerslake (2005) include the treatment of Place Nouns in their chapter on postpositions and they make a number of interesting distinctions. Firstly, *possessive-marked postpositions* are said to have derived from nouns with the form noun+POSS+OBL, in which OBL stands for the dative, locative or ablative case marker. Within this group of postpositions there is a subgroup expressing *spatial relations* and one expressing *abstract relations*. Secondly, the first subgroup is further divided into two other sets: *possessive-marked postpositions* with 1) genitive complements and 2) with non-case-marked complements. With respect to the latter category, "possessive-marked postpositions with non-case-marked complements", the authors present a number of contexts and conditions in terms of meaning and usage: a) 'in', e.g. *ter içinde* 'in sweat'; b) metaphorical usage, e.g. *Bütün okullar Bakanlık'ın denetimi altına alındı* 'All schools were brought under the control of the Ministry'; c) non-specific complement, e.g. *Bu hesapları bir kağıt üstünde yapmak daha kolay olacak* 'It will be easier to do these calculations on a piece of paper'; d) categorical complement, e.g. *Sanık ne zaman yargıç önüne çıkar acaba?* 'I wonder when the accused person will appear before a judge?'; and e) generic complement, e.g. *Genellikle kardeşler arasında kuvvetli bir dayanışma olur* 'There is usually a strong solidarity between siblings' (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 251-252).

Be all this as it may, this approach is at best a description of the outward appearance, and the point of departure is obviously a postposition to which some complement can be added having this or that shape. However, it does not account for the

¹² Lewis (2000: 41) rightly points out that "in *ev-in sahib-i* 'the house's owner' the first element, though legally and logically the property of the second, is grammatically its possessor."

structure of the expressions under discussion or, more particularly, this approach does not lead to a correct analysis of oppositions such as *masa-nın üstünde* versus *masa üstünde*. Another case in point is the following. Although it is correctly stated that expressions such as *ter içinde* ‘in sweat’ and *korku içinde* ‘in fear’ provide an example of “contexts where the postposition is used in a non-physical sense or with a metaphorical meaning”, a detail Göksel & Kerslake pass over is the fact that in certain cases the aforementioned type of opposition does not exist. For *ter içinde* one might theoretically expect a genitive-marked counterpart that strictly speaking has a physical sense, for instance, in talking about the chemical salts that can be found in the liquid sweat, thus: *ter-in içinde*. But for structures such as *korku içinde* ‘in fear’ and *stres altında* ‘under stress’ no such genitive-marked counterpart exists. In this case it is imaginable and perhaps even plausible to consider forms such as *içinde* and *altında* postpositions, but on the other hand, the way to a unified treatment (as nouns and denominal products) is more or less blocked when *içinde* and the like should be taken literally (as ‘at the inside (of)’) in one case and as a postposition (‘in’) in another. And what to do with oppositions like *ev-in dış-ı* ‘the exterior of the house’ and the adjectival formation in *(ev dış-ı) faaliyetler* ‘outdoor activities’?

6. On postpositional constructions

In this paper the main discussion was centered around two almost parallel nominal construction types which differ minimally in form but maximally in meaning. These can be represented as:

- (15) a. N₁-GEN N₂-POSS3s
 b. N₁-ZERO N₂-CM¹³

The difference in form concerns the presence of the genitive in (15a) and the absence of this suffix in (15b). In terms of meaning, the former construction is an ‘ordinary’ genitive construction, equivalent to ‘the X of Y’, whereas the latter one is a compound construction. Classical examples illustrating this opposition are:

- (16) a. *misafir-in oda-sı* ‘the room of the guest’
 b. *misafir-Ø oda-sı* ‘guest room’

However, oppositions like (16) which contain the same lexical material in (a-b), are as a matter of fact a rare phenomenon; witness the ungrammaticality of (17a) and (18b).

¹³ The Compound Marker (CM) is identical in form with the suffix POSS3s but not in function.

- (17) a. **çay-in bardağ-ı* –
 b. *çay-Ø bardağ-ı* ‘tea glass’
- (18) a. *komşu-nun araba-sı* ‘the car of the neighbor’
 b. **komşu-Ø araba-sı* –

On the other hand, as has been demonstrated amply in sections 3 and 4, for Place Nouns we find oppositions both members of which are perfectly grammatical.

- (19) a. *şehir-in dış-in-da* ‘outside the city’
 b. *şehir-Ø dış-in-da* ‘out-of-town’
- (20) a. *masa-nın üst-ün-de* ‘on the top of (a/the) table’
 b. *masa-Ø üst-ün-de* ‘on (a/the) table top’

In order to provide an explanation for the combinatorial possibilities of certain nouns, one might suggest that oppositions such as (16), (19) and (20) can only be formed if and only if the right hand member of the construction is a Place Noun.

Indeed, there are some other nouns as well which may qualify as a kind of Place Noun and for which similar oppositions are possible. On the other hand, in a number of cases some semantic shift is involved between the heads of such oppositions, despite the fact that they are (apparently) based on the same lexical noun. Consider:

- (21) a. *Aslan-lar kervan-lar-in yol-un-da bekles-ip*
 lion-PLUR caravan-PLUR-GEN road-POSS3S-LOC wait-CONV
 deve-ler-in üstüne ath-yor.
 camel-PLUR-GEN attack-PRES1
 ‘The lions all wait on the road the caravans take and attack the camels.’
- b. *kervan yol-un-da*
 caravan route-CM-LOC
 ‘on a/the caravan route’

For (21 a–b) we can safely say that *yol* ‘road’ can be taken literally and that *yolunda* in (21b) should not be regarded as a postposition, although such a future development should not be excluded *a priori*. Yet there are examples of similar oppositions for which one could claim that the “shorter form has become something resembling a postposition” and nouns such as *sıra*, *taraf* and *uğur* are good examples.

Although the word *sırasında* is derivationally to be associated with *sıra* ‘row; turn’, a number of divergent meanings have been formed over time. In its literal meaning it only occurs in a genitive construction rendering the meaning ‘row’ or ‘rank’, as exemplified in (22a). At the same time *sırasında* has the appearance of having developed into a postposition the complement of which is zero-marked. Its overall meaning has shifted to ‘during’, as shown by (22b).

- (22) a. *Öncü-ler-in sıra-sın-da-ki kahraman Komutan Ramaz*
 scout-PLUR-GEN rank-POSS3S-LOC-ki heroic commander R.
öldür-ül-müş.
 kill-PASS-PAST1
 'The heroic commander R., (fighting) in the ranks of the vanguard, was killed.'
- b. *Bu dünya-da-ki yaşam-ın sırasında san-a yararlı*
 this world-LOC-ki life-POSS2S during you-DAT useful
ol-ma-sın-ı dile-r-im.
 be-INF-POSS3S-ACC wish-PRES2-1S
 'I wish that it will be of use to you during your life in this world'.

Next, *taraf* is a noun copied from Arabic, and it means 'side'. Mostly it occurs as a real postposition¹⁴ meaning 'by' / 'on behalf of', as exemplified in (23b), but preceded by a noun phrase ending in a genitive, *taraf* should of course be taken literally (23a).

- (23) a. *Orman-ın koku-su köy-ün her taraf-ın-dan*
 forest-GEN scent-POSS3S village-GEN every side-POSS3S-ABL
hissed-il-ir.
 perceive-PASS-PRES2
 'The scent of the forest is perceived from every corner of the village.'
- b. *hükümet tarafından*
 'by the government'

Whereas for *sıra* and *taraf* some association with Place Nouns can be imagined, for *uğur* 'fortune, good luck' this is much harder. Also this noun has developed into a postpositional expression: *uğrunda* 'for the sake of'. This construct has a frame similar to that of *taraf* (cf. footnote 14) and it requires the genitive for pronominal and zero-marking for other complements. Compare (24a) and (24b)—both with genitive and possessive marking—with (24c) being based on a postpositional expression.

- (24) a. *Sen-in uğr-un-da yok ol-ayım - sen ben-i unut-acak-sın.*
 you-GEN sake-POSS2S-LOC go.away-OPT1S you I-ACC forget-FUT-2S
 'For your sake, let me disappear - you will forget me.'

¹⁴ Actually, the frame of this postposition can be represented by *taraf-POSS-ABL*, in which the possessive slot can be occupied by all grammatical persons.

- b. *Ben-im uğr-un-da kendi-n-i feda et-me-yecek-sin.*
 I-GEN sake-POSS1S-LOC self-POSS2S-ACC sacrifice-NEG-FUT-2S
 'You are not going to sacrifice yourself because of me.'
- c. *Vatan uğrunda şehit düş-en evlat-lar-ımız-ın ruh-ları rahat uyu-sun.*
 fatherland for fall-PRT1 son-PLUR-POSS1P-GEN spirit-POSS3P
 peaceful sleep-OPT3S
 'May our sons who fell for the country rest in peace.'

Opposition with non-pronominal complements that are genitive-marked does not occur, that is, constructions of the form *N-GEN uğrunda* do not exist. This kind of opposition does exist for the shorter variant *uğruna* 'for / for the sake of'. Compare the first line of the seventh verse of the *İstiklâl Marşı* (25a) with a postpositional expression (25b).

- (25) a. *Kim bu cennet vatan-ın uğr-un-a ol-ma-z ki*
 who this paradise fatherland-GEN sake-POSS3S-DAT be-NEG-PRES2 *ki*
feda?
 sacrifice
 'Who wouldn't sacrifice himself for this heavenly country?'
- b. *Vatan uğruna can-ların-ı feda et-ti-ler.*
 fatherland for life-POSS3P-ACC sacrifice-PAST2-3P
 'They have sacrificed their lives for the country.'

Now, three types of construction have been distinguished so far: 1) genitive-possessive constructions; 2) compound constructions; 3) postposition-like constructions. Their properties will be discussed in more detail below.

ad 1. The lexical status of the inflected forms which are the head of a genitive construction (cf. 15a) is non-problematic: they are nouns that can be subcategorized as Place Noun. Although in many cases such heads (occurring mostly with a dative, locative or ablative suffix) are called 'fake postpositions', their pure nominal character is well expressed by examples (10), (11) and (12). Their status is that of *real nouns*.

ad 2. The head of compound constructions (cf. 15b, 19b, 20b, 21b) based on a Place Noun presents no problem either. These heads (occurring mostly with a dative, locative or ablative suffix) are also called 'fake postpositions', but they are still pure nominal constructs since the first inflectional suffix in the head can be identified as the Compound Marker (cf. footnote 13). Compounding explains the absence of the genitive case marker. In terms of overall semantics, the opposition between constructions such as (15a) versus (15b) is often advanced in the literature as leading to a difference in interpretation between *concrete* versus *abstract*. On the other hand, pragmatically speaking, the difference between referential for (15a) and non-refer-

ential for (15b) provides a sufficient explanation for the differences in form. Thinking of a lexical classification for the heads of the type of construction represented in (15b) and exemplified by (19b), (20b) and (21b), the term that would fit best is indeed *fake postposition*, *pseudo-postposition* or *compound based postposition*.

ad 3. In the third type of construction exhibiting an opposition between a genitive-marked and a zero-marked form another factor is relevant. In the genitive-marked construction type the head is compositional: the head can be considered as a noun followed by a series of inflectional morphemes. In the zero-marked variant the head of the construction can only be regarded as a frozen form since parsing the word in terms of inflectional morphemes is to a high degree pointless, for instance, LOC no longer makes reference to “location” and ABL can no longer be associated with the concept of “source” or “starting point”. The effect is that the head in its entirety has obtained a meaning quite deviant from its inflectional counterparts. Examples are: *sıra-sın-da* ‘in the rank (of)’ versus *sırasında* ‘during’ (cf. 22a–b), *taraf-ın-dan* ‘from the side (of)’ versus *tarafından* ‘by’ (cf. 23a–b) and also *uğr-un-da* ‘for the good (of)’ versus *uğrunda* ‘for’ (cf. 24a–b). For these non-decompositional forms, the view can be defended that they have developed into *real postpositions*.

In addition to this, there are more constructions that can be classified as *postposition-like constructions* (e.g. Lewis 1967, Wendt 1979, Van Schaaijk 2002). All in all they form a relatively small group of petrified words (in my opinion to be regarded as real postpositions as well) whose complement never occurs with the genitive case marker. In this way they resemble the constructions of (17b), (19b) and (20b). Examples based on a Place Noun are:

- | | | | | |
|------|----|--------------|------------------|---------------------------------|
| (26) | a. | <i>panik</i> | <i>içinde</i> | ‘in panic’ |
| | b. | <i>stres</i> | <i>altında</i> | ‘under stress’ |
| | c. | <i>kamun</i> | <i>önünde</i> | ‘before the law’ |
| | d. | <i>sahne</i> | <i>arkasında</i> | ‘backstage / behind the scenes’ |

Thanks to the absence of a genitive-marked opposition for the constructions in (26), the words *içinde* ‘in’, *altında* ‘under’, *önünde* ‘before’ and *arkasında* ‘behind’ can be considered the result of a process that yields real postpositions. Their complement is non-referential and their overall meaning is metaphorical in relation to the literal meaning of the noun they derive from – contrary to structures in which the “locative” meaning of the head is maintained, as in *masa üst-ün-de* ‘on the/a table top’ and *ağaç alt-ların-dan* ‘from under Ø/the trees’.

As a matter of fact, certain criteria can be applied for a further division into several subgroups. Two relevant factors are 1) referentiality of the complement and 2) their frame structure, leading to two groups with a partial overlap. One group is clearly based on a compound structure to which the derivational suffix *-CE*, forming adverbs, is attached (Group A). The complements these structures take are both referential as well as non-referential. As for the other frames, three types of case-marked structures can be distinguished, noun-CM-LOC, noun-CM-ABL and noun-CM-

INS. Within the group with frame noun-CM-LOC two complement types occur: referential (Group B) and non-referential complements (Group C). Structures with frames noun-CM-ABL and noun-CM-INS never take referential complements and can be classed in Group D and Group E respectively. This can be represented as:

(27)	<i>Complement</i>	<i>Head</i>
	Group A:	+ Ref noun-CM-ADV
	Group B:	+ Ref noun-CM-LOC
	Group C:	- Ref noun-CM-LOC
	Group D:	- Ref noun-CM-ABL
	Group E:	- Ref noun-CM-INS

Group A. This group comprises a small number of lexicalized postpositions, probably all neologisms since the 1930s, e.g. *X boyunca* 'in the course (of) / during / alongside'; *X devamınca* 'in the course (of) / following / ensuing', *X gereğince* 'by virtue (of) / on grounds (of)'; *X süresince* 'during'. The latter items can further be exemplified by: (*uzun bir çocukluk dönem-i*) *süresince* [(long a childhood period-CM) during] 'during a long childhood-period'.

Group B. This is a small group of *temporal expressions* having in common with (26) that the head is contained in a locative frame (i.e. noun-CM-LOC). The complement of these constructions is a bare (zero-marked) but *referential* noun phrase. Taking *X sırasında* 'during X' as a model, these temporal compounds used as postposition can be exemplified as follows: *yemek sırasında* 'during dinner'; *ameliyat sırasında* 'during the operation'; *deprem sırasında* 'during the earthquake'; *seçim kampanya-sı sırasında* 'during the election campaign'. Although definiteness as such is not marked by a definite article, their status of a referential NP becomes clear when we compare them with another series of examples which all contain one of the following elements: 1) An expression for indefiniteness (*bir*) is possible in the complement, also preceded by an adjective, e.g. *bir kavga sırasında* 'during a fight'; *romantik bir dans sırasında* 'during a romantic dance'; 2) A demonstrative pronoun (inherently definite) may precede the complement proper, e.g. *bu son görüşme sırasında* 'during this last talk/meeting'; *gördüğü bu düşünce sırasında* 'during this dream s/he had'; 3) A plural marker may be attached to the complement, e.g. *olaylar sırasında* 'during the events'; *daha önceki kontrol-ler sırasında* 'during the previous check-ups'; 4) The complement may end in a marker expressing Possessive Agreement, being inherently definite as well, e.g. *düş-ü sırasında* 'during her/his dream'; *konuşma-sı sırasında* 'during his/her talk'; *zina ilişk-i-miz sırasında* 'during our adulterous relation'; *evliliğ-in sırasında* 'during your marriage'; 5) The complement may be a compound based on a proper noun (with 'unique reference' and hence inherently definite), e.g. 2. *Dünya Savaş-ı sırasında* 'during World War II', and *Paris konferans-ı sırasında* 'during the conference in Paris'. Similar constructions with a referential complement can be expected with *X esnasında* 'during; in the course of; at some point during (non-continuous)'; *X süresinde* 'at some

(point/moment/stage) in the period X' / 'in the course of the period X'; *X öncesinde* 'in the period preceding X'; *X sonrasında* 'in the period following X'; *X zamanında* 'in the time of X' (e.g. *Kraliçe Viktorya zamanında* 'in Queen Victoria's time'; *Tito zamanında* 'in the Tito era'; *X döneminde* 'in the period/era X' (e.g. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu döneminde* 'in the era of the Ottoman Empire'; *Soğuk Savaş döneminde* 'in the Cold War era').

Group C. The head of the constructions in this group is also formed by the frame noun-CM-LOC. Complements are non-referential and, hence, they occur as zero-marked noun phrases. Given the rigid structure of the heads, these can be considered compound-based postpositions. Some common examples are: *X durumunda* 'in the state/position of X', *X halinde* 'in the state/position of X', *X amacında* 'aiming at X', *X niyetinde* 'planning to X', *X kararında* 'decided to (do) X', *X inancında* 'believing that X', *X görüşünde* 'in the view that X', *X iddiasında* 'claiming that X', *X düşüncesinde* 'thinking that X', *X kanısında* 'of the opinion that X', *X kanaatinde* 'convinced that X', *X sonucunda* 'as a result of X', *X sayesinde* 'thanks to / due to X'. Of course, the constructions listed under (26) should be included as well: *panik içinde* 'in panic', *stres altında* 'under stress', *kanun önünde* 'before the law', *sahne arkasında* 'backstage / behind the scenes'.

Group D. The head of the constructions in group D takes the frame noun-CM-ABL. Complements are non-referential and, hence, they occur as zero-marked noun phrases. These postpositions can be exemplified as follows: *X açısından* 'from the viewpoint of X', *X bakımından* 'from the viewpoint of X', *X suçundan* 'on charge of X'.

Group E. The head of the constructions in this group takes the frame noun-CM-INS. Complements are non-referential and, hence, they occur as zero-marked noun phrases. These postpositions can be exemplified as follows: *X nedeniyle* 'because of X', *X sebebiyle* 'for reason of X', *X dolay(i)siyle* 'for reason of X', *X kadariyle* 'as many/ much as X', *X şartıyla* 'provided that X', *X koşuluyla* 'on the condition that X'.

7. On postpositions

In many a grammar book of Turkish it is customary to classify postpositions in terms of the case markers they govern. In this way three groups can be distinguished: postpositions the complement of which 1) is zero-marked, unless it is a personal or demonstrative pronoun (then it gets the genitive); 2) is marked with the dative suffix; 3) is marked with the ablative suffix. Complements never take the accusative suffix, except in the case of two postpositions copied from Arabic, i.e. *takiben* 'following' (e.g. *bun-u takiben* 'after this') and *müteakip* 'following' (e.g. *Kuru bir soğuş-u müteakip kar yağdı* 'It snowed after a dry cold spell'). Complements in the genitive, locative or instrumental do not occur either.

Another viewpoint from which a classification could be approached is by looking at the syntactic function postpositional phrases can fulfill. A relatively small

group of postpositional phrases can be used attributively (as an adjective, that is, e.g. *sana göre bir iş* ‘a job suitable for you’) or predicatively (e.g. *kitap sen-in için-di* ‘the book was for you’). The greater bulk of postpositional phrases, however, is syntactically deployed as adverbial phrases. In a recent publication (Li 2004: 803–804) this circumstance was reflected in a kind of definition of postpositions:

“A word with a lesser degree of meaning of its own, placed after a substantive or pronoun and giving this noun an adverbial function is a postposition.”¹⁵

Whereas the criterion advanced by Kornfilt (1997: 100) hinges on the observation that “Most postpositions are independent morphemes that assign case to their nominal complement and most postpositions can easily be distinguished from adjectives, since the latter do not assign case”, Li’s statement shows that placement and adverbial function are taken as more important factors. One objection to Kornfilt’s view has been passed over without further comment: the question raised in footnote 11. If case assignment were the main criterion, then a considerable number of adjectives would be included too, since, contrary to what Kornfilt claims, certain adjectives do need a complement to which a certain case marker must be attached. In addition to the examples given in footnote 11, we have predicates such as *-(y)E yakın* ‘close (to)’, *-(y)E bağlı* ‘connected (to)’ and also *-TEn uzak* ‘far (away) (from)’. Not only on the basis of case assignment, but also because the expressions based on such predicates can be used in attributive and predicative position—a trait that can be attributed to some postpositions as well. As if this did not suffice, even the quantificational modifiers (adjectives) *-TEn fazla* ‘more (than)’ and *-TEn az* ‘less (than)’ can be used attributively and predicatively:

- (28) a. *Milyon yıl-dan fazla bir süre önce ...*
 million year-ABL more a period ago
 ‘(A period) More than a million years ago ...’
- b. *Bu rakam, AB bütçe-sin-in yarı-sın-dan fazla-dır.*
 this figure EU budget-CM-GEN half-POSS3S-ABL more-EMPH
 ‘This figure is more than half the budget of the European Union.’

The main point, however, is whether such predicates can be used as the head of an adverbial phrase—attributive and predicative usage is as a matter of fact of secondary interest.

¹⁵ Originally: “Ein dem Substantiv oder Pronomen nachgestelltes Wort von geringer Eigenbedeutung, das diesem Nomen die Funktion einer Adverbialen Bestimmung verleiht, ist eine Postposition.”

A further point Li makes in assessing the way(s) postpositions have come into existence, is the following: “In as far as postpositions are analyzable anyway, they have either a verbal or a nominal origin”.¹⁶

Postpositions with a verbal history originate mostly through a converb, which is used as an adverbial expression. Examples are *karşı* ‘opposite’ < *karış-* ‘to fight, to become hostile’ [kavga etmek, düşmanlaşmak] (Li 2004: 275); *doğru* ‘towards’ < *toğ-* ‘to surmount, to pass’ [aşmak, geçmek] (Li 2004: 490); *göre* < *kör-* ‘to see, to look’ [görmek, bakmak] (Li 2004: 318). Taking into consideration that the temporal expressions based on *kala* (*kal-a* < *kal-* ‘to stay, to remain’) and *geçe* (*geç-e* < *geç-* ‘to pass’) are adverbials derived from converbs in a similar way as described here, these expressions could also be included in the class of postpositions proper. Their usage can be demonstrated by:

- (29) a. *Tren iki-ye beş (dakika) kal-a gel-iyor.*
 train two-DAT five (minutes) remaining come-PRES1
 ‘The train comes at five (minutes) to two.’
- b. *Samsun’a tam on beş kilometre kal-a otobüs-ümüz bozul-du.*
 S.-DAT exactly fifteen km before bus-POSS1P break.down-PAST2
 ‘Exactly 15 km before Samsun our bus broke down.’
- c. *Gece yarısın-ı çeyrek geç-e yeniden başla-n-dı.*
 midnight-ACC quarter past anew begin-PASS-PAST2
 ‘It started again at a quarter past midnight.’
- d. *Tren iki-yi beş geç-e gel-iyor.*
 train two-ACC five past come-pres1
 ‘The train comes at five past two.’

As for nouns, the case of *gibi* ‘like’ could serve as the classical example of how a noun might end up as a postposition. Clauson (1972: 686) mentions the archaic form *ki: b* ‘mould, model’, whereas others advance a devoiced final consonant. Assuming the abstract form *kip* ‘model, resemblance’ and disregarding any phonological changes, the evolution of *kip* into *gibi* can be thought of as follows: 1) the head of a regular possessive construction (i.e. noun-GEN *kip*-POSS3s) was expressed as *kip-i*; 2) over time the full-fledged construction eroded through the loss of the genitive case marker, except for highly frequent words such as personal pronouns and de-

¹⁶ Originally stated as: “Soweit Postpositionen überhaupt analysierbar sind, haben sie entweder einen verbalen oder einen nominalen Ursprung.”

monstratives; 3) referential properties of the suffix POSS3s vanished though semantic dissolution and *p* fell subject to intervocalic voicing: *kip-i* → *kipi* = *gibi*.

Apart from the historical development outlined here, there are two more ways of acquiring postpositions. One is by copying them from a foreign language and adopting an appropriate format (phonology, case marking), e.g. *-TEñ evvel* 'before', *-(y)E rağmen* 'despite of', *-(y)E dair* 'about', *-(y)E mukabil* 'in return to', all items copied from Arabic. Another way to come by postpositions, fully in line with the practice of copying, is by creating or translating them, e.g. *-(y)E yönelik* 'directed (to)' (innovation) and *-(y)E rağmen* → *-(y)E karşın* 'despite (of)' and *buna mukabil* → *buna karşılık* 'in return for this' (translation). A condition for copying, translating and the introduction of "designer postpositions" is that these forms are supplemental, in the sense that they are added to the stock of already existing postpositions, and not innovative as a new class of lexical items.

And finally, in sections 1–6 another developmental path has been described. Seemingly inflected forms behave like postpositions in a number of ways: they are abstract in meaning and they are used adverbially. The "inflectional material" is clearly visible in this type of postposition, and it is impossible to predict what phonological changes they may undergo in the future. And to what extent they might fuse into a kind of case marker is completely unknown too, taking into account how difficult this seems to be for postpositions in general. This was extensively shown for *ile* 'with' and *için* 'for' by Kabak (2006). Also variation in lexical status may occur in due time, as is the case with, for instance, *sonra* and *önce*. For these predicates Erdal (1994) claims that they are postpositions, Kornfilt (2000) regards them as adverbs, whereas Van Schaaijk (2004) points out that they have several nominal properties as well.

8. The benefits of hindsight

In section 1 of this paper it was argued that the opposition genitive-zero as exemplified in (1a-b), i.e. *masa-nın üst-ün-de* versus *masa-Ø üst-ün-de*, cannot be explained in terms of the distinction definite-indefinite, and what is more, the indefinite article can be added to both constructions: *bir masa-nın üst-ün-de* versus *bir masa-Ø üst-ün-de*. A similar type of problem was addressed in section 2, where apparent oppositions such as *misafir-in oda-sı* and *misafir oda-sı* are analyzed as a(n inflectional) *genitive-possessive* construction and a (derivational) *compound construction* respectively. Furthermore, in section 3 it was shown that this analysis can successfully be applied to the constructions of section 1. The correctness is corroborated by arguments advanced in section 4, which are based on the observation that the lexical subcategory of Place Nouns is very versatile and extremely suitable for a number of interesting formations. In the inflectional domain they occur as the head of genitive-possessive constructions (e.g. *ev-in ön-ü* 'the facade of the house'), but also as stand-alone possessive constructions (e.g. *Arka-n-a bak-ma!* 'Don't look back!'). Place Nouns can be converted into an adjective (e.g. *iç deniz* 'inner sea') and applied

derivationally, they can figure as the head of a compound, which in turn may be used as the complement of another compound (e.g. [göz alt-ı] *krem-i* 'cream for under the eye') or as an adverbial construction (e.g. *akşam üst-ü* 'late afternoon', *sirt üst-ü* 'flat on one's back', *kanun dış-ı* 'illegal(ly)'). Section 5 summarizes a survey of the relevant linguistic literature with respect to the terminology applied to the constructions discussed in the first two sections of this paper. For these publications a larger time span (1947–2005) than the usual has been chosen intentionally, for the mere reason that certain notions, concepts and insights as formulated in the present paper appear to have developed rather early without, however, percolating into, let alone leaving a trace in, later publications. All in all ten publications in four languages have been examined. Section 6 goes into the relationship with constructions resembling a postposition, because there are structural, semantic and syntactic similarities between the head of a zero-marked construction based on a Place Noun on the one hand, and a postposition on the other. Firstly, the construction comprises a complement and a head which structurally resembles a postposition since it occurs in phrase-second position. Secondly, for the head there is a semantic shift from concrete to abstract, a trait that can be ascribed to postpositions in any case. And thirdly, syntactically speaking, the entire structure of this type can form an adverbial in all cases. Two types of development from a nominal to a postpositional structure can be distinguished. One type results in what I have called a *compound based postposition* or *pseudo-postposition*. These heads have a variable frame, i.e. noun-CM-CASE, in which dative, locative and ablative occur as a case marker. Opposition with genitive-marked complements does exist. As for the second type, the result is structurally similar but there is a strong semantic shift for heads that occur in one type of frame only (cf. 27). Oppositions with genitive-marked complements do not exist on account of the aforementioned semantic shift.

In section 7 postpositions proper are dealt with, albeit in a very minimalistic way. The main point in this section is the question as to what definition or description would formally be valid for postpositions. Li (2004) opts for placement and syntactic function (that of adverbial), whereas Kornfilt (1997) employs the criterion of placement and case assignment. In my opinion, the most important factor is a syntactic one: all postpositional phrases can be used as an adverbial phrase (some also as an adjectival phrase or as a sentential predicate). This is the reason to include the head of temporal expressions based on *kala* and *geçe* as well into the lexical class of postpositions. Apart from three well-known ways that postpositions come into existence (verbal and nominal origin or copying/designing), a fourth developmental path has been outlined: adverbial phrases based on a compound construction, resulting in several grades of grammaticalization. Pseudo-postpositions (or compound-based postpositions) requiring zero-marked complement can be opposed to a similar construction with a genitive-marked complement. One stage further in the development is represented by constructions for which there is no such opposition. They have reached the degree of real postposition.

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Abbreviations

1s	copula, 1st person singular	CM	compound marker
2s	copula, 2nd person singular	CONV	converb
3p	copula, 3rd person plural	DAT	dative case
ABL	ablative case	EMPH	emphatic suffix
ACC	accusative case	FUT	future tense
ADJ	adjective formans	GEN	genitive case
ADV	adverbial formans	INF	infinitive

INS instrumental case
 LOC locative case
 NEG negation marker
 OPT1S optative 1st person singular
 OPT3S optative 3rd person singular
 PASS passive
 PAST1 past tense (1)
 PAST2 past tense (2)
 PLUR plural
 POSS1P possessive 1st person plural
 POSS1S possessive 1st person sing
 POSS2S possessive 2nd person sing

POSS3P possessive 3rd person plural
 POSS3S possessive 3rd person sing
 POT potential
 PRES1 present tense (1)
 PRES2 present tense (2)
 PROJ1 projection suffix past
 PRT1 participle 1
 PRT2 participle 2
 PRT3 participle 3
 Q question marker
 ZERO zero marker

A corpus-based examination of double plural pronouns in Tuvan

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In the Tuvan language of south Siberia, certain personal and demonstrative plural pronouns can be marked with an extra plural morpheme. Although cross-linguistically double plurality is used primarily as an honorific device, in Tuvan repluralization can have other functions as well: to ascribe to the referent a special status that is not necessarily related to social deixis, and to characterize the referent as having a greater quantity of constituents than if referred to by a regular plural pronoun. This paper documents repluralization in Tuvan mainly on the basis of tokens of such pronouns in a corpus of Tuvan literature, although the function of these is analyzed in coordination with judgments by native Tuvan speakers.

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1. Introduction

In his comparative study of how languages mark differing degrees of respect or social distance in their pronominal systems, Head (1978: 161) mentions an interesting phenomenon which he calls double plurality or repluralization:

In some languages, plural pronouns used formerly in polite address of individuals have acquired general usage in address, losing both their earlier social meaning and their original number, only to be repluralized later. The repluralized or new plural form may then come to be used like the original one was earlier: for showing greater respect or social distance than the opposing form ... When used in reference to individuals, repluralized forms always show greater respect or social distance than the earlier ones.

The present paper uses a corpus-based approach to document the double plural phenomenon in Tuvan, which was not included in Head's list of languages that exhibit this feature.¹ Tuvan belongs to the northeast branch (Sayan subgroup) of Turkic

¹ Concrete data on many languages spoken within the Soviet Union were not easily obtainable in the 1970s when Head wrote his article. To my knowledge, the only significant de-

languages and numbers about a quarter of a million speakers in the Russian Federation, mostly within the Republic of Tuva in south Siberia, and up to 30,000 more in Mongolia and China, according to the 2002 census of the Russian Federation and the 16th edition of the *Ethnologue*. Though double plural pronouns (henceforth, DPPs) occur not infrequently in the Tuvan language, they have not yet received any serious coverage in dictionaries, grammars, or linguistic articles dealing with Tuvan. I hope to begin to fill in this lacuna with this paper.

In documenting the specifics of repluralization in Tuvan, I respond to several of Head's 21 proposed language universals dealing with degrees of respect or social distance in pronominal reference (1978: 190–194). In particular, I attempt to show that the Tuvan DPP data do not fully support his fourth universal. This universal, reflected in the above citation, states that the primary function of DPPs is to indicate greater respect or social distance than that indicated by non-DPPs. I argue that though heightened respect and social distance are the prototypical functions of the Tuvan DPP, there seems to be a more basic function underlying these, namely, an indication of the speaker's marked attitude towards a referent as possessing a special status, and that a non-social function may also exist for certain DPP forms.

In addition, I show that Tuvan fits into Head's typology of languages as a less common language in relation to two processes of pronominal variation. First, Tuvan 2nd and 3rd person DPPs exhibit variation in social meaning for *both* individual and plural referents, in contrast with Head's universal #18, which posits that such processes "occur more commonly in reference to individuals than in reference to more than one person" (1978: 193). Second, for socially marked reference to the addressee, Tuvan allows the use of plural and repluralized proximal demonstrative pronouns, but not the 3rd person plural pronoun or DPP, whereas Head's universal #15 states that "variation between different sorts of third person pronouns is not a common means" for indicating differences in social marking (1978: 192).

An outline of this paper is as follows. Section 2 offers a general discussion of the morphology and semantics of basic Tuvan pronouns and relates my preliminary observations and initial hypotheses concerning the function of the extra plural morpheme in Tuvan DPPs. Section 3 describes the small corpus of Tuvan texts that I compiled to research this question. Section 4 presents findings produced by a corpus analysis of Tuvan DPPs, specifically with regard to the relative frequency and inflectional productivity of DPP forms in comparison to non-DPP forms. Section 5 examines the contexts in which DPP forms are used in Tuvan literature, focusing on their different possible functions in these contexts. Section 6 concludes by summarizing the main findings of the paper, with interspersed suggestions about possible further research on DPPs.

scription of Tuvan in the English-language linguistic literature at that time was John R. Krueger's *Tuvan Manual*, which did not mention repluralized forms.

2. Tuvan personal pronouns

The Tuvan paradigm for free-standing basic personal pronouns, given in the nominative case, is shown below:

(1)	sg.		pl.	
	1	<i>men</i> 'I'	<i>bis</i>	'we'
	2	<i>sen</i> 'you (sg)'	<i>siler</i>	'you (pl)'
	3	<i>ol</i> 'he/she/it'	<i>olar</i>	'they'

At first glance, this looks like a standard six-pronoun system, considered cross-linguistically most common (Mühlhäusler & Harré 1990: 81). Of these six basic pronoun forms, *men*, *sen*, *bis* and *siler* also function as person-marking clitics on certain verb forms and verbal elements (see Harrison 2001: 35). The following example illustrates the different position in the sentence for the pro-droppable independent pronouns and the obligatory person-marking clitics (orthographically represented as separate words):

(2)	INDEPENDENT		CLITIC		
	↙				↘
	(Men)	avamni	dütün	körgen	men.
	1s	mother-1s-ACC	yesterday	see-PST.II	1s
	'I saw my mother yesterday.'				

The first complication for a neat, six pronoun analysis of the pronominal paradigm is presented by the existence of a pluralized form of the 1p pronoun *bis-ter*, used only as an independent pronoun, never as a clitic. The standard Soviet grammar of Tuvan (Isxakov & Pal'mbax 1961: 216) mentions the existence of *bister* in passing, calling it a double plural, inasmuch as the final *s* of *bis* was itself historically a plural morpheme in proto-Turkic (see Róna-Tas 1998: 73). However, it must be noted that *-s* is not a *productive* marker of plurality in modern Tuvan. Anderson & Harrison (1999: 25) observe that in some dialects of Tuvan, *bister* is used as the primary 1p pronoun, almost to the exclusion of *bis*. No linguistic works were found that mention whether the pluralized 1p pronoun exhibits any semantic or pragmatic differences from the basic form *bis*.

Like *bister*, the 2nd and 3rd person plural pronouns *siler* and *olar* were also historically formed by the addition of the plural suffix /*LAr*/ to an older stratum of pronominal forms (Isxakov 1956: 210–213). The vowel and consonant variations are due to phonological processes and are not relevant to the issue at hand:

(3)	1 p	* <i>bis-LAr</i>	→ <i>bister</i>
	2 p	* <i>si-LAr</i> (or <i>siz-LAr</i>)	→ <i>siler</i>
	3 p	* <i>o-LAr</i>	→ <i>olar</i>

It should be noted that while the 1p pronoun *bister* is still morphologically parsable as *bis* + plural suffix, the 2nd and 3rd person plural pronouns are no longer recognized by the average speaker of Tuvan as containing a plural morpheme; an attempt to truncate this element by backformation would produce singular forms that do not exist in modern Tuvan, **si-* from *si(ler)* and **o-* from *o(lar)*. This means that *siler* and *olar* have monomorphemic status in modern Tuvan, even though etymologically they contain a plural morpheme.

As to their semantic scope, the 1p forms *bis* and *bister* both seem to always indicate a true plural group consisting of [I and 1+ persons] or [the group to which I belong]. I have never encountered either a “plural of majesty” or an “editorial we” (in fact denoting a single individual) in natural Tuvan usage. The 2p pronoun *siler* is used both for addressing numerous people (true plural) and as an honorific—Brown & Gilman’s (1960) V form—that conveys respect for or distance from a singular referent. On a more formal level of analysis, this honorific is likely grounded in at least two of the sociological factors posited by Brown & Levinson (1987) for determining the level of politeness demanded of interlocutors—relative power and social distance—although this point awaits further research in the Tuvan language. The 3p form *olar* is, to my knowledge, never used to refer to an individual in the same way that 2p *siler* is. Although the singular honorific usage of 3p pronouns does exist among the world’s languages, it is somewhat rarer than the similar use of the 2p pronoun (Head 1978: 162–163).

Before moving on, I should mention that the social aspects of pronouns are not monolithic throughout the Tuvan language. For instance, according to anecdotal evidence, speakers of the southeastern dialect in Erzin and villages on the border with Mongolia are more likely to use T/V forms asymmetrically, while speakers of the Todzhin dialect of northeast Tuva are more likely to employ reciprocal T forms. Thus, a Tuvan child in Erzin will usually address either of his parents with *siler*, the V form, and receive *sen*, the T form, focusing on the unequal power relationship, while a Todzhin Tuvan child is more likely to talk to his father or mother using a reciprocal T form, focusing on the intimacy or solidarity of nuclear family relations. A systematic study of these differences remains to be carried out in order to empirically document the ranking of social factors that influence linguistic usage in various spheres of Tuvan society.

2.1. Paradigm for DPPs

The plural suffix /LAr/, which we saw in (3) above to have been productive in forming the plural personal pronouns of Tuvan at an earlier stage of the language’s history, has been reapplied by some Tuvan speakers to these pronouns so as to produce a third pronominal series—double plural forms. Double plural marking also occurs with the proximal demonstrative pronoun *bo* ‘this one’. This yields a somewhat more complex pronominal paradigm:

(4)	sg.	pl.	DPP
1	<i>men</i>	<i>bis, bister</i>	<i>bisterler</i>
2	<i>sen</i>	<i>siler</i>	<i>silerler</i>
3	<i>ol</i>	<i>olar</i>	<i>olarlar</i>
DEM	<i>bo</i>	<i>bolar</i>	<i>bolarlar</i>

Although other types of Tuvan pronouns besides personal and proximal demonstrative pronouns can take plural marking, none of these have been found to naturally occur as repluralized forms. For example:

- (5) a. *indig-lar* ‘such (ones)’ but not **indig-lar-lar*
 b. *demgi-ler* ‘those (ones)’ but not **demgi-ler-ler*

The pronominal system given above reflects speech patterns of Tuvan as spoken in the Republic of Tuva. According to Mawkanuli (1999: 137), the Jungar dialect of Tuvan spoken in China has a slightly different system that distinguishes the 2nd person pronouns more symmetrically along the axis of familiarity/politeness, and does not include a 1st person DPP *bisterler* at all.

(6)	sg.	pl./DPP
1	<i>men</i>	<i>bis, bister</i>
2 familiar	<i>sen</i>	<i>senner</i>
2 polite	<i>siler</i>	<i>sileler</i>
3	<i>ol</i>	<i>olar, olalar</i>

Note the more advanced grammaticalization of the forms *sileler* and *olalar*, which have both lost the final *-r* of the first plural suffix /LA_r/ so that this segment is even harder to recognize as an original plural morpheme than in standard Tuvan. No indication is given by Mawkanuli (1999) of the existence of repluralized demonstratives in the Jungar dialect. Although it would be interesting to look at how Jungar Tuvan speakers use their DPP forms in comparison to usage by speakers in the Republic of Tuva, this must be left outside of the scope of the present paper due to the very limited amount of Jungar Tuvan language data available.

2.2. Meaning of DPPs

While living in Tuva, I sporadically encountered DPP forms in overheard conversations and printed materials, but, as mentioned above, was unable to find any substantial discussion of their semantic properties in the Tuvan linguistic literature. One Tuvan-Russian dictionary (Tenišev 1968) briefly explains that the demonstrative DPP *bolarlar* indicates a heightened level of politeness or respect (*forma podčjork-nutoj vežlivosti ili počtitel'nosti*) in 2p reference, while another (Monguš 2003) states that *bolarlar* is used to politely substitute for both *siler* ‘you (PL)’ and *bo kiži*

‘this person’, i.e., it is an honorific for either 2nd or 3rd person referents. However, both dictionaries give the same explanations for the corresponding non-DPP demonstrative pronoun *bolar*, and no difference in meaning is proposed between the DPP and non-DPP forms.

The plural morpheme is used as a marker of social meaning in other parts of the Tuvan language as well. Certain pluralized honorific titles, such as the archaic *deergi mındaagılar* ‘your/their highness’, can be used to refer with heightened respect to an individual in either 2nd or 3rd person. Likewise, Anderson and Harrison (1999: 13, fn. ii) observe that double marking of the plural can occur on verbs in certain dialects of Tuvan:

- (7) *olar amda bibliotekada oluruḃuṣaan nomčunup olurlarlar*
 3P still library-LOC sit-CV read-RFL-CV AUX-PL-PL
 ‘They are still sitting in the library reading’

However, it is not certain that this extra plural marking on the verb in example (7) is necessarily social in meaning. Several native speakers even questioned the grammaticality of this utterance as recorded, proposing that Anderson and Harrison misheard the present-future verb form *olur-ar-lar* ‘AUX-P/F-PL’ as an impossible double plural form **olur-lar-lar* ‘AUX-PL-PL’.

Based on these snippets of information in the linguistic literature and on my own inquiry into the meaning and context of use of DPPs among my Tuvan acquaintances, I developed a working hypothesis that the 2nd and 3rd person DPPs *silerler* and *olarlar*, as well as the proximal demonstrative DPP *bolarlar*, function in three primary ways (we will return to 1st person *bisterler* later):

i. Extrarespectful singular honorific: Indicates an even higher level of politeness or respect for a singular referent than the corresponding non-DPP form. An honorific function for the plural morpheme is reported in at least two other Turkic languages, Turkish (Zeyrek 2001: 60) and Uzbek (Ken Keyes, p.c.),² as well as in unrelated languages such as Tamil with its pluralized ‘super-V’ form (Agesthalingom 1967: 46; Brown & Levinson 1987: 184). To borrow Brown and Levinson’s comment about Tamil honorifics, it seems that in Tuvan as well, “it is the plurality itself that is the ‘honorific’ feature” (1987: 200).

ii. Plural honorific: Indicates politeness or respect for a group of people to whom reference is made. This is a somewhat interesting function because, as mentioned in the introduction to this paper, it is fairly rare among the world’s languages to find the same honorific form applied to both individuals and groups of people, according to Head (1978: 193).

² Ken Keyes (p.c.) offered the following example of a polite 3rd person reference to a woman using a plural suffix in Uzbek: *Nazokat xonim bor milar?* ‘Is Mrs. Nazokat here?’ (lit. ‘Are Mrs. Nazokat here?’)

iii. Quantity: One young Tuvan man from the village of Kungurtug (southeast Tuva) told me that DPP forms like *olarlar* can also indicate that there is a particularly large number of individuals in the group constituting the referent, without any connotation of heightened respect or politeness. This was a somewhat unexpected explanation for me, and when I questioned other native speakers about this proposed function, no one else could confirm it. If this reading of the DPP could be demonstrated, it would constitute a non-social meaning quite separate from the other two proposed meanings.

The situation with the 1st person DPP *bisterler* was somewhat different. Though the existence of this form is mentioned in the standard Soviet grammar of Tuvan (Isxakov & Pal'mbax 1961: 216) and I seemed to remember having encountered this form a few times in the wild, I was not at all sure as to its usage. Moreover, several Tuvan acquaintances whom I asked about *bisterler* could tell me nothing about it. Some said that they had never encountered this form before, while some responded that they had heard others using it, but never used it themselves. One writer (Nikolai Kuular, p.c.) said that this sounds like a form that aristocrats, or other people who have a high opinion of themselves, might use in self-reference. No one could tell me whether or not *bisterler* was limited only to certain dialects. Since, as noted above, 1p *bis* and *bister* are never used of individuals, I expected that this would also hold true for the DPP *bisterler*. The main uncertainty had to do with the function of this pronoun: does it indicate heightened self-respect toward a group of 1st person referents (Plural honorific reading)? Or is it rather used to refer to a large number of people comprising the 1p group (Quantity reading)? Or is some other factor involved? These are some of the key questions to which I wanted to find answers.

When I checked my working hypothesis of the functions of DPPs with my primary Tuvan consultant (a linguist by training), she responded that the 3p *olarlar* indicated to her that there was a greater distance between the speaker and the referent than when *olar* was used as a referring expression, but not necessarily greater respect. She thereby made a distinction between the social deictic categories of distance and respect. A similar distinction is noted by Reesink (1987: 57) about the use of the 2p pronoun in the Usan language of Papua New Guinea: "Social distance as a feature of plural address or reference to an individual may be more appropriate than respect". However, my consultant continued that, in her view, the Tuvan DPP does not necessarily mark either heightened distance or politeness *per se*, but rather indicates any sort of marked attitude (my translation of the Russian phrase *osoboje ot-noshenie* that was used in our discussion) that the speaker might have towards the referent, whether positive or negative.

Even though *in vacuo* usage judgments by native speakers such as the ones offered by my Tuvan consultants are often very insightful, what is ultimately needed to confirm or qualify these judgments is a study of linguistic data occurring in natural contexts. I therefore decided to further my research of Tuvan DPPs by examining occurrences of them in an electronic corpus of Tuvan texts. The design and implementation of this corpus is described in the next section.

3. Designing the corpus

As Levinson (1983: 63) points out, deictic systems operate on “an essential assumption of that basic face-to-face conversational context in which all humans acquire language”. I therefore assumed that the ideal type of language data to examine to find numerous tokens of DPPs would be a corpus of natural spoken Tuvan conversations; deictic issues related to politeness, respect, solidarity, etc., could be expected to frequently surface in live interaction between people. However, since no such corpus yet exists for the Tuvan language, and producing one would be exceedingly work-intensive and time-consuming, I decided to turn to written Tuvan materials that approximate real-life social situations. Two text-types that fit this criterion are plays and novels, because these genres typically make heavy use of conversation between characters. Because of this, previous language researchers (for instance, Brown & Gilman (1960)), have successfully used plays or novels as a source of data for studying pronominal usage.

A fairly large number of original (i.e., not translated) novels and plays have been published in the Tuvan language since its orthography was first developed by Soviet linguists in 1930. Even though such material is invented, we can reasonably expect that the authors structured the conversations according to the speech norms accepted by most native speakers of the language. At the same time, it is also true that authors may unconsciously skew their presentation of the linguistic forms used in actual conversation. For example, Stvan (2006) describes such skewing of spoken discourse markers in written English texts, while Srinarawat (2005) mentions a similar distortion in the portrayed usage of indirect speech in Thai novels. Nonetheless, if the author is an acknowledged master of the written word in Tuvan society, we should generally expect to see forms occurring in the text that Tuvan speakers at least *believe* to be representative of their conversation. Until a corpus of spoken Tuvan discourse can be developed, a literary corpus is probably the best source of data available for dealing with linguistic issues such as the one raised by this paper.

3.1. Texts included in the corpus

The following table presents the nine Tuvan literary texts that made up my small corpus (a brief description of each text is provided in Appendix A). Five of these texts were obtained directly from their authors or publishers as computer files, while the remaining four were scanned and recognized using an OCR software package called ABBYY FineReader Pro v.9.0.

Table 1: Texts in Tuvan corpus

Title	Genre	Wordcount
<i>Anğır-ool</i>	novel	129,849
<i>Arzılay Kūderek</i> (chs. 1–10) fictionalized biography		18,539
<i>Buyan Badırgı</i> (pp. 85–123) fictionalized biography		10,459
<i>Čirgilčinner</i>	play	8,998
<i>Döngür-ool</i>	play	9,890
<i>Kežik-kıs</i>	novel	36,801
<i>Kim sen, Sübedei</i>	play	17,503
<i>Tanaa-Xerel</i>	children’s novel	12,492
<i>Yozulug er</i>	play	5,969

The total wordcount of the corpus was 250,500 tokens (31,982 word types), as calculated by the concordancing software package AntConc. Five of the works were prose, while four were plays. All were written by professional Tuvan authors. Eight were written for an adult audience and one was intended primarily for children. Seven of the works were composed in the late 20th or early 21st century, while *Anğır-ool* and *Döngür-ool* were written in the mid-20th century. These latter two works were included in the corpus as an attempt to get a bit of diachronic perspective on the use of DPPs.

Since the wordcount includes some extratextual mark-up added to the files, it is reliable only for gauging the relative lengths of the constituent texts. As is visible from the widely divergent wordcounts of these texts (i.e. almost 130,000 tokens in *Anğır-ool* but only 6,000 in *Yozulug er*), I did not consider it crucial to make the constituent texts proportional in size. What was more relevant for this study was to find as many tokens of the DPPs as possible. I thus used the texts that were available to me without worrying about statistical distribution.

3.2. Annotation

The only part-of-speech annotation that was vital for me to do in order to facilitate an examination of Tuvan DPPs was such that would distinguish the 1st and 2nd person-marking clitics *bis* and *siler* from the independent pronouns of the same form in the bare nominative case (as discussed in section 2). The rationale behind this was that since the pronominal forms *bister*, *bisterler*, *silerler*, *olarlar*, and *bolarlar* can never occur as person-marking clitics, their distribution and function should be compared only to that of the freestanding plural pronouns *bis*, *siler*, and *olar*, not to the clitic uses of *bis* and *siler* (*olar* never appears as a clitic). I therefore added special tags to clitic uses of *bis* and *siler* in my corpus texts in order to separate them out, thereby ensuring that they played no part in the data analysis. Similar tags could be added to the clitic uses of *men* and *sen*, but this was not necessary to do at this

point because these pronouns do not have corresponding DPP forms that could be compared with non-DPP forms.

4. Frequency and productivity of DPPs in the corpus

Once my textual corpus was compiled and annotated, I produced a concordance of all tokens of the pronouns *bis*, *bister*, *bisterler*, *siler*, *silerler*, *olar*, *olarlar*, *bolar* and *bolarlar* in the corpus. This section describes what an analysis of these DPP tokens showed in terms of their frequency and inflectional productivity.

4.1. Relative frequency of DPP lemmas

Because Tuvan nominal roots can take numerous suffixes, including six case endings (besides the bare nominative), the plural ending, possessive markers, and other cliticized morphemes, I decided to lemmatize³ each of these nine pronouns in AntConc. For each of the pronouns, I inputted all of the suffixed forms that showed up in the AntConc wordlist into a separate file that allowed them to be counted together with their root forms, and ran the wordlist in AntConc again. The lemma figures for the plural and DPP forms are shown in the table below:

Table 2: Lemma frequencies of plural pronouns versus DPPs

	1st person	2nd person	3rd person	Demonstrative
plural	<i>bis</i> : 1087	<i>siler</i> : 585	<i>olar</i> : 733	<i>bolar</i> : 81
	<i>bister</i> : 68			
DPP	<i>bisterler</i> : 0	<i>silerler</i> : 23	<i>olarlar</i> : 24	<i>bolarlar</i> : 7

The general gist of the relative frequencies of these pronouns is clear. Each of the available DPP lemmas occurs significantly less frequently than its non-DPP counterpart. This paucity of DPPs is what one would expect of them as more marked forms of deixis. We can also note that the pluralized form *bister* occurs much less frequently than the basic form *bis*. This indicates that 1p *bister* (not the 1st person DPP *bisterler* as in my original hypothesis) is patterning similarly to the 2nd and 3rd person DPPs in terms of markedness. I was disappointed but intrigued to find that there was not a single token of the 1st person DPP *bisterler* in my entire corpus of a quarter million words. This means that I will have to continue building up my corpus to continue the search for this elusive pronoun. It may also be necessary to look in a different text type to find tokens of *bisterler*.

³ In corpus linguistics, a lemma is defined as the basic form of a word together with all of its inflectional forms; for example, in English, ‘eats’, ‘eating’, and ‘ate’ all belong to the lemma EAT.

Looking only at the texts *Angir-ool* and *Döngür-ool*, which were written several decades before the other seven texts in my corpus, I found very few tokens of any DPP. Even though these two texts constitute more than half of the word tokens in the corpus (with *Angir-ool* providing the lion's share, see Table 1 above), they provided only two tokens of *silerler* and one of *bolarlar*. This may indicate that DPPs have become more widespread in Tuvan speech only in the past several generations. An alternative interpretation is that DPPs were present in speech back then as well, but were not considered literary enough to be included in books. However, this is not very likely, since the distinction between literary and non-literary forms in Tuvan does not seem to have yet been rigid at that early stage in the history of Tuvan literature.

4.2. Inflectional productivity of DPPs

Another interesting finding in my corpus is that DPPs have a restricted inflectional productivity in comparison to non-DPPs, as can be seen in the following table.

Table 3: Number of inflectional forms occurring with plural pronouns versus DPPs

	1st person	2nd person	3rd person	Demonstrative
plural	<i>bis</i> : 8	<i>siler</i> : 11	<i>olar</i> : 14	<i>bolar</i> : 10
	<i>bister</i> : 6			
DPP	<i>bisterler</i> : 0	<i>silerler</i> : 4	<i>olarlar</i> : 4	<i>bolarlar</i> : 4

Even though the same wide array of inflectional forms (see 4.1) is available in the Tuvan language for DPPs as for non-DPPs, and no ungrammaticality would be constituted by using a DPP with any of these suffixes, in practice the DPPs *silerler*, *olarlar*, and *bolarlar* are found in only the four most frequently-occurring forms in my corpus: the nominative, genitive, accusative and dative case. Other inflectional forms which occurred widely with plural pronouns in the corpus, such as the ablative case (e.g. *bis-ten* 'from us') or possessed forms (e.g. *bo-lar-im* 'these ones of mine'), were altogether absent from DPPs.

In this respect, however, the pluralized 1st person pronoun *bister* patterns differently from the DPPs, exhibiting almost as many different inflectional forms (6 forms) as the basic 1p *bis* (8 forms). A tentative conclusion about *bister* that can be drawn from its lemma frequency and inflectional productivity is that this pronoun is currently in transition between status as a semi-DPP and status as the basic form of the independent 1p pronoun. This accords well with Anderson and Harrison's (1999: 25) observation, already mentioned in 2.0, that in certain dialects of Tuvan, *bister* has almost completely replaced *bis* as the basic independent 1p pronoun.

5. Contexts and functions of different DPPs

In this section, I provide some textual examples from the Tuvan corpus to illustrate the interplay of referential and social meanings encoded by the DPPs. In keeping with my interest in Head's (1978) universals, I focus my attention on the issue of referential number (i.e. singular or plural referents) and function (respect, social distance, or something else, like institutional formality or an otherwise marked attitude).

5.1. *Silerler*

Upon examining the distribution of the DPPs, I was surprised to find that the vast majority of tokens in my corpus occur in a single work, an excerpt from the semi-fictional (or “novelized”) biography *Buyan Badırgı*. Of the 23 corpus tokens of the 2nd person DPP *silerler*, nineteen (82.6%) occurred in this work, even though this text constitutes only 4.2% of the entire corpus by wordcount. Interestingly, the pronoun *siler* is used only once as a freestanding pronoun in this excerpt of *Buyan Badırgı*.

A typical example of this usage is shown in the following example, in which a Soviet emissary to Tuva is addressing Buyan Badırgı (an important early 20th century Tuvan political leader):

- (8) *Ol xuralga silerlerni čalap keldim.*
 that council-DAT 2DPP-ACC invite-CV come-PST.I-1s
 ‘I have come to invite you [DPP] to that council.’ (Buyan 100)

In the corpus, the referent of *silerler* is singular in all cases but one, in which the DPP is used to refer to a group of Soviet emissaries to Tuva:

- (9) *Buyan-Badırgı irak čerden kelgen orus kizilerni*
 B. far land-ABL come-PST.II Russian person-PL-ACC
uzun čugaanıñ soonda dištandırar bodaan: “Daštın ögge alıñar
 long talk-GEN after rest-CAU-P/F think-PST.II outside yurt-DAT
xonup irak čerden kelgen ulus mogaan
 spend.night-CV AUX-2p far land-ABL come-PST.II people tire-PST.II
boor siler. Silerlerge tuskay ögnü bolgaş. a’š-čemni
 PSB-P/F 2p 2DPP-DAT separate yurt-ACC and food-ACC
beletkep kaan ...”
 prepare-CV AUX-PST.II
 ‘Buyan Badırgı decided to allow the Russians, who had come from far away, to rest after their long conversation: “Spend the night in the yurt outside. Having come from far away, you are probably exhausted. A separate yurt and food have been prepared for you [DPP] ...” (Buyan 101–102)

In the above example, Buyan Badırǵı uses *silerler* to address his social equals, the Soviet emissaries. In other passages, he uses the same form to address his subordinates (a lower level functionary and a Buddhist monk), while these subordinates reciprocally address him with *silerler* and usually an honorific title, such as *xayıraatı* ‘sir, lord’. This function of *silerler* may therefore be interpreted as having mainly to do with institutional formality, not social distance or unequal power relations.

It is interesting that all nineteen occurrences of *silerler* in this novel are spoken either to Buyan Badırǵı or by him. This is in keeping with Ide’s (2005: 61–62) observation, taken from Japanese society, about the correlation between appropriate honorific use and the social status of the speaker: “The higher the social status of the speaker, the more elaborate the linguistic forms they are likely to use ... The elaborate use of high honorifics indexes the features of the category of high status persons.”

There are no cases in *Buyan Badırǵı* of *silerler* being used with a negative connotation, although this does occur in the play *Döngür-ool*, where the protagonist is angrily rebuking a subordinate, first using a 2s form of address, then switching to *silerler* in a seemingly ironic use of the DPP.

- (10) *Baar čeriŋge bar! Silerler- bile mınčap oynap turar*
 go-P/Fplace-2s-DAT go 2DPP with do.thus-CV play-CV AUX-P/F
šöleen čok, medee-xayaažok ulug aždıg kiži men.
 leisure NEX tremendously large work-ADJ person 1s
 ‘Go where you [sg] need to go! I don’t have time to play around with the likes of you [DPP], I have a lot of important work to do.’ (*Döngür-ool* 135)

As Ide (2005: 57) notes for Japanese, “if a high honorific is chosen inappropriately, that is in a context where a less polite honorific form is expected, it could imply ‘irony’, ‘alienation’, or any other number of other meanings”. A similar use of *silerler* can be found in *Kežik-kıs* (p. 77), where a young woman is imagining herself reproving a pair of elderly men whose unethical behavior disgusts her. Because they are older than her, the young woman at first addresses them politely with the fictive kin term *kirgan ačaylar* ‘grandfathers’, but then begins railing against their behavior. She cannot contain her emotion and addresses them once as *silerler*, which cannot be anything but ironic in this context.

5.2. *Olarlar*

Of the 24 tokens of 3rd person DPP *olarlar* in my corpus, 23 occurred in *Buyan Badırǵı* and one in *Kežik-kıs*. Only six of these 24 uses (25%) occur in depicted conversation, whereas sixteen occur in the authors’ descriptions of referents in their

texts, and two in informants' recollections about Buyan Badırgı and his family.⁴ This distribution goes against my original expectation that conversation would be the most likely text genre for socially marked pronouns to occur, unless written texts are seen as a form of conversation between the author and the reader.

The following table breaks down the entities referred to with *olarlar* by number and proposed function.

Table 4: Referents of *olarlar* in Tuvan corpus

singular	8	Honorific
plural	16	12 Honorific
		4 Quantity

Only eight of the 24 tokens of *olarlar* (33.3%) are used in honorific reference to a single individual. Most frequently, this is Buyan Badırgı himself, as in the following instance:

- (11) *Buyan-Badırgını* *čüge boolap* *šiitkenin* *bilbes* *men.*
 B. why shoot-CV condemn-3-ACC know-NEG 1s
Bistiñ *čerge* *olarlarnıñ* *adın* *bezin* *adaarı*
 1p-GEN land-DAT 3DPP-GEN name-3-ACC even name-P/F-3
xoruglug *turgan* *čüve.*
 forbidden be-PST.II DISC
 'I don't know why Buyan Badırgı was condemned and shot. It was forbidden to even mention his [DPP 'their'] name in our land.' (Buyan 104)

However, other important individuals (Buyan Badırgı's wife, his nobleman father, the Russian tsar, and a Soviet emissary) are each referred to with *olarlar* in the corpus as well.

The other sixteen tokens of *olarlar* in the corpus are used to refer to a plural entity. Twelve of these occurrences appear to be employing the DPP as a plural honorific. In the following example of this function, the DPP is used to refer to the two main political leaders of Tuva after it became a protectorate of Russia:

- (12) *tıva* *čonnuñ* *ulug dargaları* *ambıñ* *noyan* *Kombu-Doržu*
 Tuvan people-GEN great boss-PL-3 A. lord K.
bile *güñ* *noyan* *Buyan-Badırgı* *apargannar.* *öske*
 and G. lord B. become-PST.II-PL other

⁴ It is not clear how much the author of *Buyan Badırgı* reworded his informants' recollections to fit his own writing style.

kožuunnarnıñ darga düzümetteri olarlarnı xündüleer
 district-PL-GEN boss functionary-PL-3 3DPP-ACC honor-P/F
bolgaş olarlarga čagırtı bergenner.
 and 3DPP-DAT submit-CV BEN-PST.II-PL
 ‘... the Ambing-lord Kombu-Dorzhu and Güng-lord Buyan Badırgı became the
 foremost leaders of the Tuvan people. The leading functionaries of the other
 administrative districts showed **them** [DPP] honor and submitted to **them** [DPP].’
 (Buyan 85)

Some of the other plural entities referred to with *olarlar* according to this function are Buyan Badırgı and another of his associates, a couple of personages from Tuvan mythical history, and the Soviet-era political leaders who were responsible for executing Buyan Badırgı. In light of the author’s clear allegiance to Buyan Badırgı, the last occurrence (p. 107) is hard to interpret as being motivated in any way by the author’s personal respect for these men; rather, it seems that he is linguistically marking them as being of greater than usual significance. None of these plural uses can have the Quantity reading proposed in section 2.2, since the contexts demonstrate that only a small number of people (frequently a pair) is referred to. Therefore, it must be that *olarlar* is used in these cases instead of *olar* specifically as a plural honorific. The existence of this usage in Tuvan can be taken as a corrective to Head’s (1978: 163) statement that among the world’s languages 3rd person honorifics are not used to refer to more than one person.

In the remaining four occurrences of *olarlar* with a plural referent, the use of the DPP does not seem to be conveying any social meaning such as politeness, respect, or institutional formality. Rather, it appears to have something to do with the numerical size of the group involved, as per the Quantity usage. In the following examples of this proposed function, the DPPs are used to refer to a squadron of soldiers (13) and to a flock of mountain goats (14):

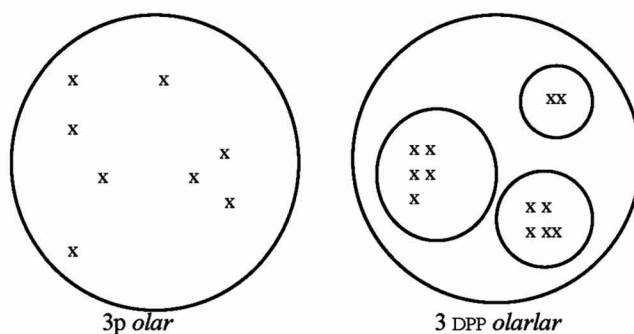
- (13) *Saf’yanovtu kızıł şerigler üdep čoruur, olarlarnıñ*
 S. -ACC red soldier-PL accompany-CV go-P/F 3DPP-GEN
arazında Nepomnyashchiy baza bar dižir turgan.
 among-3-LOC N. also EX say-P/F be-PST.II
 ‘Safyanov was accompanied by Red soldiers, and it was said that
 Nepomnyashchiy was among **them** [DPP].’ (Buyan 96)

- (14) *Kodan te, čuymalar bolza, baza-la bir baštıñmıg bolur, ol*
 flock mountain.goat-PL TOP also-EM one leader-ADJ be-P/F that
baštıñnıg aayından olarlar ertpes bolur.
 leader-GEN control-3-ABL 3DPP pass-NEG be-P/F
 ‘As far as a flock of mountain goats is concerned, they too have a leader and **they**
 [DPP] submit to that leader’s will.’ (Buyan 95)

An honorific reading of *olarlar* in these two examples seems highly unlikely, especially in reference to the flock of mountain goats. The other two tokens of *olarlar* in my corpus that could be interpreted as having the Quantity reading are used to refer to a contingent of merchants, travelers, and functionaries (Buyan 88), and the various evildoers in the world (Kežik-kīs 76). In these cases as well, there seems to be no contextual support for an honorific reading of the DPP.

Upon checking the validity of the Quantity interpretation of *olarlar* in these four cases with two native Tuvan speakers, however, I received differing explanations of the pronoun's function. One of my consultants said that the use of *olarlar* was completely infelicitous in all four passages, and that these must have just been poorly edited texts. In other conversations, this speaker indicated that for him DPP forms can properly have only a respect reading. My other consultant also did not endorse the Quantity interpretation as stated above (i.e., indicating that an especially large number of individuals makes up the group), but rather proposed a related non-social meaning of the DPP in these cases. Specifically, she understood the repluralization as signaling that the individuals constituting the plural referent *olarlar* were not a single, unified group, but rather consisted of subgroups with their own internal boundaries. This can be called an internal plurality reading. An attempt to graphically schematize this interpretation is offered below (with the symbol x representing individual members of the group):

Figure 1: Proposed internal plurality distinction between *olar* and *olarlar*



The internal plurality interpretation seems to fit well with the four non-honorific cases of *olarlar* in the corpus. At the same time, it must be admitted that no such use was found for the 2nd person DPP *silerler*, nor for the demonstrative DPP *bolarlar* (see below), and that we so far have no plausible explanation for the other consultant's total lack of acceptance of this as a possible meaning of the DPP.

Besides the aforementioned flock of mountain goats, there is one other non-human referent of *olarlar* in my corpus. In the context of this occurrence, a Buddhist monk is bringing a set of confiscated official seals to Buyan Badırgı's attention:

- (14) *Ol deerge Mančï töreziniŋ üezinde bolgaš*
 3s TOP Manchurian period-3-GEN time-3-LOC and
mool dilda sösteri parlattingan taymalar bolgay,
 Mongolian language word-PL-3 publish-PAS-PST.II seal-PL DISC
olarlarnı silerler tergiin bilir bolgay siler, xayıraatı.
 3DPP-ACC 2DPP very well know-P/F DISC 2p master
 ‘These are the seals used for publishing decrees in the Mongolian language during the Manchurian era; you [2 DPP] know **them** [3 DPP] very well, master.’
 (Buyan 122)

The context makes it clear that the seals referred to are plural but not numerous. It seems likely that they are designated with the honorific DPP because they are important official symbols of Tuvan political self-determination, and are thus deemed worthy of marked pronominal reference. An alternate explanation is that *olarlar* here functions as an addressee honorific to Buyan Badırgı, in addition to the 2nd person DPP *silerler* and the honorific title *xayıraatı* ‘master’. But this interpretation is less likely, inasmuch as DPPs are not found to function as addressee honorifics anywhere else in my corpus.⁵ This usage supports my consultant’s hesitance to interpret the primary meaning of DPP forms as social distance; since these seals are inanimate objects, social distance between them and a speaker or addressee cannot be a factor that determines their linguistic encoding. The marked attitude explanation, however, makes perfect sense here; the speaker recognizes that the seals possess a special status in the eyes of the Tuvan nation.

5.3. *Bolarlar*

The proximal demonstrative DPP *bolarlar* occurs seven times in my corpus, with the more basic plural form *bolar* occurring 81 times. As mentioned in 2.2, although the existence of *bolarlar* is mentioned in Tuvan dictionaries, its function is not in any way differentiated from its non-DPP counterpart in these works. In the corpus, *bolarlar* is used as a referring expression for both singular referents (16) and plural referents (17):

- (16) *Ča, toolču am tavaar bidaalap alzin, oonj soonda*
 OK storyteller now quietly eat-soup-CV AUX-JU 3S-GEN after
bolarlarnı toolun diŋmaar bis.
 DEM.DPP-GEN story-3-ACC hear-P/F 1P

⁵ According to Nevala (2004: 2130), Comrie (1976) points out that V forms are in fact referential honorifics, not addressee honorifics, inasmuch as “it is possible to show politeness to the addressee only if he/she is referred to in the sentence itself, i.e., when the addressee is the referent.”

‘OK, let the storyteller eat his soup in peace, then we will hear **his** [DPP ‘these ones’] story’(Angir-ool 134)

- (17) *Bolarlarnı köörümge, bo čer uluzu eves-daa iškaš,*
 DEM.DPP-ACC see-1S-DAT this land people-3 NEG-EM like
idik-xeviŋer-daa bistiinge dömeylešpes.
 clothing-2P-EM 1P-ADJ-DAT resemble-NEG-P/F
 ‘By **your** appearance (lit. when I look at **these ones** [DPP]), you are not like the people of this land, and your (pl) clothing does not resemble ours’ (Tanaa 28)

In the above examples, we also see that *bolarlar* can substitute for either 3rd or 2nd person, as already noted in 2.2. In this, it differs from the 3rd person personal pronoun *olarlar*, which in my corpus never substitutes for the 2nd person, i.e., it is never used to refer to the person or people being addressed.

Based on the seven tokens of *bolarlar* in my corpus, its social meaning seems fairly close to the definitions proposed by the Tuvan dictionaries. Respect or awe seem to figure prominently in the speakers’ minds in six of the cases, in which the referents are a noble lord (Arzilaj 70), Buyan Badirgi’s childhood friend (Buyan 118), a respected storyteller (Angir-ool 134; example 16 above), and a group of children from another world who astound the speaker with their otherness (Tanaa 28, 34, 38; example 17 above). In the seventh case (Kežik-kis 25), the referent is a notorious drug dealer and his entourage. Though politeness or respect is unlikely to be intended in this case by the speaker (another drug dealer), awe of the referent’s viciousness does appear to be prominent in the speaker’s mind.

If my hypothesis that DPPs can function as extrarespectful honorifics is correct, then presumably the degree to which this is indicated by the double plural marking of *bolarlar* is greater than that of the corresponding non-DPP form *bolar*. However, such a judgment cannot be obtained by a corpus analysis; it is necessary to get a significant sample of native speaker judgments in order to test this hypothesis, which is also left for future research.

5.4. *Bister*

As we saw in Table 2 above, *bister* occurs 68 times as compared to 1087 tokens of *bis* as an independent pronoun, putting it in the same general frequency range as DPPs for the 2nd and 3rd persons. However, it is difficult to deduce from the tokens in this corpus the specific nature of the semantic or referential difference between *bis* and *bister*.⁶ In a number of passages, *bister* is used to refer to the Tuvan nation as

⁶ An anonymous reviewer’s suggestion that the difference might be one between inclusive and exclusive reference does not seem likely, inasmuch as *bis* and *bister* frequently co-occur in a single utterance as referring expressions for the same referent.

a whole. In one passage, the female speaker refers to women in general as *bister* (Kežik-kis 47). Some other referents are the Communist party, a family unit, and the older generation in contrast to the younger generation. Only one token was found in which there may be a connotation of heightened self-respect, that of a local Communist party boss referring to himself and his comrades as *bisterni*, *xündülüg baštijchılarnı* ‘us, the honorable leaders’ (Döngür-ool 145), although it is not clear whether the plurality of the pronoun has anything to do with this social meaning.

6. Conclusion

This corpus analysis of Tuvan double plural pronouns has shown us that the 1st person DPP *bisterler* is much rarer than its 2nd and 3rd person counterparts. As for the 1p form *bister*, although it patterns with the 2nd and 3rd person DPPs *silerler* and *olarlar* in terms of relative frequency, it fails to do so in regards to a limitation on inflectional forms. This may be taken as an indication of *bister*’s transitional status in the Tuvan pronominal system as a form that is gradually coming to occupy the position of the basic 1p pronoun. No uses of *bister* were found with a single referent, as predicted in section 2. The contexts in which *bister* occurs indicate that it frequently refers to well-defined groups of people that are not limited to those in the immediate vicinity of the speaker. Heightened respect for the referent (i.e., self-adulation) was not found to be a defining semantic property for *bister*. More corpus research on the difference between *bis* and *bister* is definitely required, and a larger corpus of Tuvan texts is needed to find tokens of the DPP *bisterler*, if this form actually exists and Isxakov and Palm’bax’s (1961) grammar of Tuvan was not simply mistaken about its existence (as suggested by Tuvan author Eduard Mižit, p.c.). If this DPP form does exist in standard Tuvan, then the absence of an analogous 1st person DPP form in the pronominal paradigm of Jungar Tuvan may be taken as an indication that *bisterler* developed in standard Tuvan only after its split from Jungar Tuvan.

Most of the tokens of the 2nd person DPP *silerler* came from a single text (*Buyan Badırgı*), though one token of *silerler* in *Döngür-ool* (written in 1938) demonstrates that the DPP usage is not a new phenomenon in Tuvan. It is not clear why exactly the DPP tokens are concentrated in a single work in my corpus. *Silerler* was found to refer almost always to a singular referent with a positive connotation. No tokens were discovered that encoded a large numerical constituency or plurality of sub-groups in the referent; *silerler* never had the proposed Quantity or Internal Plurality readings in this corpus of texts. In most cases in *Buyan Badırgı*, the 2nd person DPP could be interpreted as an instantiation of institutional formality, i.e., *silerler* may have been (or was at least believed by the author of *Buyan Badırgı* to have been) the proper form for high-ranking Tuvan functionaries in the pre-Soviet period to use in discourse related to their official capacity. Although the vast majority of *silerler* tokens encode a high level of positive deference, a few with negative connotations were discovered in the corpus as well.

Like *silerler*, the 3rd person DPP *olarlar* occurred almost exclusively in a single text, *Buyan Badırğı*, but the majority of its uses came from the voice of the author himself, not his characters, contrary to my initial expectation. Several tokens of *olarlar* could not be interpreted as conveying extra respect for their referents and seemed rather to mark the numerical Quantity of the referents. However, this Quantity reading may have more to do with an internal plurality of subgroups making up the referent group, as opposed to merely indicating a large number as proposed in my original hypothesis about the Quantity function. Inasmuch as this non-social function was not universally recognized by native speakers of Tuvan, and, moreover, never manifested itself outside of the 3rd person DPP, more research definitely needs to be done with a broad base of native speakers before any final conclusions can be drawn as to the validity of this proposed function in Tuvan. Several tokens of *olarlar* were also discovered that refer to non-human entities, for which respect or social distance cannot be fitting parameters of referential meaning. These findings tentatively support the proposal that DPPs may mark something other than respect or social distance in Tuvan. Head's (1978) cross-linguistic definition of the function of repluralization may therefore need to be somewhat refined, at least as far as the Tuvan language is concerned. It would be interesting to re-examine other languages with DPPs to learn whether they too may be using the extra plural morpheme with functions other than that of marking respect or distance.

The proximal demonstrative DPP *bolarlar* was found to function very similarly to how it is described as functioning in Tuvan dictionaries—it usually encodes heightened respect for its referents, both 2nd and 3rd person. No clearly negative uses of *bolarlar* were found that could confirm the marked attitude interpretation of the extra plural morpheme as with the other DPPs; however, this omission may be due to the relative rarity of tokens of *bolarlar* in my small corpus.

There were a few tokens of the 2nd and 3rd person DPP forms *silerler* and *olarlar* that still did not fit easily into any of the categories of meaning proposed in this paper. Continuing to expand the Tuvan corpus and analyzing more tokens of the 'residue' sort may eventually lead me to propose another general category of DPP function into which these tokens might fit better. Hopefully, this and other future research will shed greater light on the exact nuance(s) that the extra plural morpheme conveys in Tuvan double plural pronouns.

Appendix A: A brief description of texts included in my Tuvan corpus

- 1) *Angır-oolduñ toožuzu* by Stepan Sarıg-ool (vol. 1: 1961, vol. 2: 1966), a classic semi-autobiographical novel dealing with many facets of the Tuvan way of life.
- 2) *Arzılan Kūderek*, vol. 2, by Irgit Badra (2005), the second volume of a fictionalized biography of the author's grandfather, a famous Tuvan wrestler who lived at the turn of the 20th century. Though the general chronological outline of the non-fictional protagonist's life forms the main story line of the book, the details (such as

numerous conversations between the characters) are reconstructed by the author. Only chapters 1–10 were included in my corpus.

3) *Buyan Badırđı* by Mongush Kenin-Lopsan (2000), biography of an early 20th century Tuvan political leader. Though dependent on documented historical sources, it contains many fictionalized elements, notably the reported conversations, which the author could not himself have heard. I selected pp. 85–123 for my corpus because a quick surface examination showed these pages in particular to include many conversations between characters.

4) *Čirgilčinner* by Eduard Mižit (mid-1990s), three one-act plays with a common thematic thread running through them.

5) *Döngür-ool* by Salčak Toka (1938), a Soviet-era propagandistic play.

6) *Kežik-kis* by Eduard Dongak (2010), a novel about the grim realities of life in the modern-day Republic of Tuva.

7) *Kim sen, Sübedei maadır?* by Eduard Mižit (2000), a historical play about Sübedei, one of Genghis Khan's generals.

8) *Tanaa-Xereldiň čurtunda* by Nikolai Kuular (2004), a children's novel about the adventures of a young boy and his friends in a magical land.

9) *Yozulug er* by Nikolai Kuular (1988), a play about relationships among Tuvan college students.

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Abbreviations

ABL	ablative case	DISC	discourse particle	P/F	present/future or gnomic tense
ACC	accusative case	DPP	double plural pronoun		
ADJ	adjectivizer	EM	emphatic	PL	plural
AUX	auxiliary verb	EX	existential	PSB	possibilitative auxiliary
BEN	benefactive auxiliary	GEN	genitive case	PST.I	definite past tense
CAU	causative	JU	jussive	PST.II	indefinite past tense
CV	converb	LOC	locative case	RFL	reflexive
DAT	dative case	NEG	negative	TOP	topicalizer
DEM	demonstrative	NEX	negative existential		

Report

Report on an Uppsala workshop on Karaim studies

Éva Á. Csató

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The report gives a summary of the talks presented at a workshop on Karaim studies which took place in November 2010 at the Department of Linguistics and Philology, Uppsala University. The report also contains a selective list of the participating institutions' publications on Karaim issues.

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The workshop

A one-day workshop for scholars and postgraduate students engaged in Karaim studies took place on November 13, 2010, at the Department of Linguistics and Philology, Uppsala University. The aim of the workshop, convened by the chair of Turkic languages in Uppsala, was to share information about ongoing research and prepare the ground for closer cooperation between European universities in this field.

Invited participants, representing universities with a tradition in Karaim studies, came from Finland, Lithuania, and Poland. In addition to the Turcologists in Uppsala, Mats Eskhult, assistant professor of Semitic Studies at Uppsala University also participated. Two guests from Germany who have shown great interest in Karaim studies participated in the workshop: Marcel Erdal, Johann Wolfgang Goethe University Frankfurt am Main, and Lars Johanson, Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz.

Tapani Harviainen: Karaim studies in Finland

Tapani Harviainen, professor of Semitic studies at the Institute for Asian and African Studies at the University of Helsinki has been most active in Karaim studies. He gave a detailed report about Karaim studies in Helsinki and Finland in general.

Karaim studies started in the city of Turku (Åbo) some three hundred years ago.¹ On September 9, 1691 Severinus Rijsberg defended his philological magister dissertation *Bihæresium verporum sive De Duabus nostri temporis Judæorum sectis, Rabbanitis scil., & Karræis*. The disputatio took place at the Academia Aboensis. The Latin title of the book refers to 'The double heresy of the circumcised ones: about two Jewish sects of our time, viz. Rabbanites and Karaites'. Rijsberg's dissertation appeared in the same year as the well-known report *Epistola de Karaitis Lithuaniae*, written by the Uppsala Professor Gustaf Peringer (see more below), and it was supervised by professor Simon Paulinus, whose extensive Hebrew grammar (1692) was the first of its kind in Finland. Rijsberg's thesis offers very little new or interesting information about the Karaites. It simply repeats material presented in earlier sources concerning Pharisees, Sadducees, etc., and some figures regarding the Karaite inhabitants of Constantinople. Unfortunately, Rijsberg did not continue the study of these topics after his disputation. In his dissertation, the author mentions that he was a Scandensis, i.e. originating from the province of Skåne, which had been recently occupied by Sweden. The full text of his thesis can now be read on the Internet.²

After Rijsberg and Paulinus, there was a long break in Karaim studies in Finland. Harviainen's interest was raised by Ananiasz Zajaczkowski's book *Karaims in Poland* (1961). After reading this book, Harviainen decided to pursue studies on Karaim issues and visited Karaims in Vilnius, first in 1988. A couple of years earlier, he had visited the huge Firkovich Collections in the National Library of Russia in Leningrad. In Vilnius, he was advised by Mykolas Firkovičius, Halina Kobeckaitė and Karina Firkavičiūtė, whose home became for Harviainen a firm basis of contact with the Karaims. The Leningrad archive materials offered him most valuable resources. His publications deal with the Karaites and Karaims from a Semitistic point of view. He has been particularly interested in documents written in Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic concerning Karaite / Karaim topics with special emphasis on the Karaim traditions of Hebrew pronunciation (see his publications in the references). With the help of Mykolas Firkovičius, the *ullu hazzan* 'senior hazzan' of the Lithuanian Karaim community, his colleagues and his daughter, Harviainen has been able to document a pronunciation of (biblical) Hebrew that has been kept alive through oral transmission by the East European Karaims for one thousand years. The pronunciation in question obviously had its origin in the most genuine Palestinian Tiberian Masoretic reading tradition. Corresponding realizations of the so-called shewa vowels have been preserved only among the Jews of Yemen. Among the Karaims, this tradition continued. However, when the last member of the ancient educational chain, hazzan Józef Firkovičius, passed away, this tradition died out. Fortunately,

¹ This part of the report is based mostly on Harviainen's manuscript presented at the symposium.

² See <http://books.google.com/>

the tradition did not disappear without vestiges—it has remained described in the publications and recordings kept in the archives (Harviainen 2010 and forthcoming).

Professor Harviainen has analysed several documents written in Hebrew and Arabic found in the Firkovich Collections in St. Petersburg and other archives. He devoted his interest to biblical Hebrew manuscripts written in Arabic characters and marked with Hebrew signs of vocalization. These texts date back to the 10th–13th centuries in the Middle East. The peculiar Arabic method of writing biblical Hebrew was intended to indicate certain details of the correct pronunciation of the holy tongue. Karaites / Karaims have called themselves *bene miqra*‘, specialists of the holy scriptures. Thus the strictness of pronunciation has always been very important to them. Other manuscripts found in St. Petersburg have given rise to publications of Karaim *ketubbot* ‘marriage contracts’ and dowry lists of Karaim brides from Lithuania and the Crimea, tombstone inscriptions as well as the history of Abraham Firkovich’s activities and discoveries in the Crimea, Caucasus, Palestine, Syria and Egypt (see the references).

A number of Professor Harviainen’s students have been interested in studying Karaim topics. In 2000, Anna Vuorela completed her MA thesis, which dealt with the liturgical tradition of Lithuanian Karaims. Her material consisted of Harviainen’s recordings of Mykolas Firkovičius and his Karaim friends in Trakai. Vuorela’s approach was musicological. Vuorela’s thesis soon was superseded by Karina Firkavičiūtė’s doctoral dissertation (Firkavičiūtė 2001).

In 1998 an anthology was published under the title *Rannalla päärynäpuu* ‘A Peach Tree at the Lake’ containing Lithuanian-Polish Karaim poetry in Finnish translation (Hopeavuori et al. 1998). The volume also includes a description of the Karaim community, its history, culture, and languages. Keijo Hopeavuori, MA in Turcology, prepared the prose translations. His prose translations were rendered into a poetic form in co-operation with Harviainen and Kai Nieminen, a well-known poet and translator. In the field of Turcology, Hopeavuori has specialized in the Karaim language. He has written several articles on themes dealt with in Karaim literature in the interwar decades; the articles have been published in *Studia Orientalia*.

At the Uppsala workshop, Riikka Tuori, lecturer in Semitic Studies at the Institute for Asian and African Studies, University of Helsinki, presented her ongoing literary research on Polish-Lithuanian Karaite Hebrew religious poems (*zemirot*, sg. *zemer*) of the early seventeenth and mid-eighteenth centuries. The corpus of her study is selected from the Karaite prayer book *Siddur hat-tefillot ke-minhag haqqara'im*, printed in Vilnius in 1890–1892. In Jewish musical tradition, *zemirot* are Hebrew or Aramaic songs, recited before or after the liturgy in the synagogue or during ceremonial meals at home and among friends. The most popular *zemirot* are dedicated to the Sabbath, but also other festivities and familial events such as weddings and circumcisions are accompanied by the singing of religious melodic hymns. Consequently, the *zemirot* are also called table songs or table hymns. The contents of the poems frequently depict the particular festive day. The poets studied by Tuori resided in the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth, in Trakai and in nearby

towns, and in Halich and Volhynia. The Karaim *zemirot* represent a Sephardic and Ottoman tradition which reached the Polish-Lithuanian Karaim communities through Turkish Karaite influence. This is another example of multiple cultural influences having impact on the tiny Karaite community beyond the surrounding Ashkenazi traditions, most probably via earlier Karaite *Siddurim* and other literary works published in Turkey and the Crimea. Tuori's dissertation aims at a thorough philological analysis of the corpus and will examine the genre, poetic form and prosodic features, the language and the style, and the contents (philosophy, polemics and exegetics) of the poems. Tuori will also evaluate the position of the Karaim *zemirot* in the context of Hebrew medieval poetry.

Ewa Siemieniec-Golaś: Karaim studies at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow

Ewa Siemieniec-Golaś, professor of Turcology, as the head of the Department of Turcology in Cracow presented a short report concerning the past and the contemporary Karaim studies at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, Poland.

The Jagiellonian University in Cracow has had two outstanding scholars in Karaim studies: Jan Grzegorzewski and Tadeusz Kowalski, who set the foundation for modern linguistic research on the Karaim language.³ Grzegorzewski wrote several works about the language and dialects of the Karaims such as *Caraimica. Język Łach-Karaitów* (1916–1918). His study *Ein türk-tatarischer Dialekt in Galizien. Vokalharmonie in den entlehnten Wörtern der karaitischen Sprache in Halicz* was printed in Vienna (1903).

Professor Tadeusz Kowalski, the prominent Turcologist, established Oriental studies at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow in 1919.⁴ He laid the foundations for Arabic, Turkic and Iranian studies in Cracow. His publications on Turkic varieties, folk poetry, dialectology are well known. Kowalski fully appreciated the significance of Karaim studies and published, in 1929, his essential book *Karaimische Texte im Dialekt von Troki* (1929a). This monograph still constitutes the basis for academic work in this field. His glossary was translated and published in Ankara under the title *Karayım lehçesi sözlüğü*, translated by Kemal Aytac (Kowalski 1996). Kowalski published a number of articles on Karaim including *Pieśni obrzędowe w narzeczu Karaimów z Trok* 'Ritual songs in the Karaim dialect of Troki' (1926). In 1929 he published another article *Przyczynki do etnografii i dialektologii karaimskiej* 'Contributions to Karaim ethnography and dialectology' (1929b). Kowalski was also the initiator of a Karaim dictionary to be compiled on the basis of handwritten translations of the Old Testament. He had intended to

³ This part of the report is based mostly on Siemieniec-Golaś's manuscript presented at the symposium.

⁴ Siemieniec-Golaś (1998).

investigate many other Karaim topics but his sudden death in 1948 prevented the implementation of these plans.

After World War II, Oriental studies developed vividly in Cracow. However, nobody in Cracow followed up Grzegorzewski's and Kowalski's studies on the Karaim language and culture. Ananiasz Zajaczkowski, who was first Kowalski's assistant and was later appointed professor, worked on Karaim. However, he moved to Warsaw and became the head of the Turkic Department at the Institute of Oriental Studies, Warsaw University.

Karaim studies in Cracow are at the present still underrepresented. Two historians at the Jagiellonian University are working on Karaim topics. Stefan Gąsiorowski, professor at the Department of History, published in 2008 a monograph *Karaimi w Koronie i na Litwie w XV–XVIII wieku* 'Karaims in the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania in 15th–18th centuries'. Recently, he has published some papers concerning the privileges given to Karaims by the Polish king Stanisław August Poniatowski. Gąsiorowski also takes a keen interest in the biography of the *hakhan* of the Polish Karaims, Seraya Szapszał. Stanisław Cinal, who is a historian and a specialist in matters of religion, is also interested in Karaim issues, and has written articles on the work and life of Seraya Szapszał.

Michał Németh, a young scholar who is employed at the Chair of Hungarian Studies of the Jagiellonian University has published two articles on Karaim: *Errors with and without purpose: A. Mardkowicz's transcription of Łuck-Karaim letters in Hebrew script* and *North-Western and Eastern Karaim features in a manuscript found in Łuck* (2009 and 2010).

Another representative of the young generation is Magdalena Jodłowska-Ebo, assistant in the Department of Turkish Studies of the Jagiellonian University. She has written two articles on the Karaim names for Sunday and Monday (2005 and 2006).

Cracow has a rich collection of Karaim linguistic material which is, unfortunately, somehow forgotten and neglected, still waiting to be inventoried and investigated. The collection of Kowalski's handwritten notes was donated to the archive of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Cracow. For more than 60 years after Kowalski's death, no one has worked on this material, which was meticulously collected by Kowalski. It includes his notes on the Karaims and also includes some ritual songs from Troki and Karaim proverbs dictated to Kowalski by Karaim speakers. The collection also comprises some fragments of Karaim bible texts dictated to Kowalski by *hazzan* Szymon Firkowicz. There is also a description of the engagement ceremony *k'el'aš'm'ak* in Karaim. Kowalski also left some notes concerning Karaim cuisine, for instance the names of certain dishes. Some poems either in the original version or in translation, with comments by Kowalski are also included. This rich collection is still waiting to be studied.

Mariola Abkowicz and Anna Sulimowicz: Documentation of the history of the Karaim communities

Two other Polish Karaim participants, Mariola Abkowicz and Anna Sulimowicz reported on their ongoing documentation of the history of community life in Łuck, Halich and Trakai (Polish Troki). Abkowicz is a lecturer in Hebrew studies at the Department of Asian Studies of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. This department was established in 2008 as the successor of the Institute of Oriental Studies. We mention here that Henryk Jankowski, professor of Turcology, has several important publications on Karaim issues, among others on bible translations. Recently, Gülayhan Aqtay, who works at the same department, published *Eliyahu ben Yosef Qilci's anthology of Crimean Karaim and Turkish literature* (Aqtay 2009). Unfortunately, Jankowski could not participate in the workshop in Uppsala; see, however, his publications on Karaim topics in the references section.

In Poznań, Hebrew studies also includes Karaim studies. Abkowicz's dissertation will be an edition and analysis of the Trakai Karaim community's registers, which were handwritten in Hebrew script in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The registers provide an excellent source of information. The dry facts of birth, marriage and death reflect the events in the life of the communities. They serve as a great repository of genealogical information, personal names, and family names, and bear witness to the communities' customs, health, migration, history and their relationships with neighboring communities. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, especially in the interwar period, many unique and interesting social events took place among the Karaims. The communities opened up to the outside world while retaining their tradition, culture and national identity. The name-giving customs reflecting the changes in the communities' life are also analysed in the dissertation.

Anna-Akbike Sulimowicz, lecturer in Turkish at the Section of Inner Asian Studies, Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Warsaw is an active contributor to the Karaim periodical *Awazymyz* edited by Mariola Abkowicz. She has written numerous articles about Karaim issues (see references) and has also translated many articles from Karaim into Polish, which have also been published in *Awazymyz*.

At the Uppsala workshop, Abkowicz and Sulimowicz presented photos collected for an exhibition at the Ethnographic Museum in Wrocław in October and November 2010. The exhibition titled *Karaj jołlary, karaimskie drogi. Karaimi w starej fotografii* 'Karaim roads. Karaims in old photographs' was organized with the help of the Polish Karaim Association. Most of the photos in the exhibition came from private archives of Polish Karaims and were made available to the public for the first time. The two organizers succeeded in reconstructing many details of the lives of Karaim families and their intertwined relations. The photo collection is a great contribution to the history of the communities.

Karina Firkavičiūtė: Studies on Karaim musical heritage

Karina Firkavičiūtė has studied the musical heritage of the Lithuanian Karaims. Three different types of music traditions can be distinguished: (i) liturgical music sung during the prayer in the *kenesa*, (ii) paraliturgical music sung on religious occasions in the community, and (iii) secular music without religious content. Firkavičiūtė has described these traditions and made a unique documentation of them. She has written an MA and later a PhD thesis (1995 and 2001) and has published several important articles on the subject. The main questions addressed in her investigations are: How original are the melodies in the Karaim liturgy? What is the relationship between Karaim liturgical music and other liturgical traditions? What is the origin of the melodies? Which musical and non-musical rules are manifested in this musical tradition? The music of the Lithuanian Karaims, which has been handed down orally in the community, can be characterized as vocal and monodic. Firkavičiūtė has made recordings with the last Karaims who still had full musical competence. She has also compared the Lithuanian tradition with that of the Karaite community that emigrated from Egypt to Israel. This has led her to the assumption that, in spite of the seemingly great differences, both traditions might have originated from a common source. A special role is played by the 150 Psalms, which are sung in two different ways: liturgically and non-liturgically, i.e. on occasions such as mourning, fasting, or in serious cases of misfortune in the family or community. On non-liturgical occasions, all psalms are sung to the same melody, whereas in the liturgy, each psalm is sung to its own individual melody. The paraliturgical chants are sung in the community on various feasts and family rituals. The melodies are borrowed from the music of the region, i.e. from the territory of present-day Lithuania.

Firkavičiūtė's recordings and her own competence are of crucial importance for the revitalization of this tradition. The oral transmission of the liturgical music has broken down because of the lack of competent members in the community. Her written documentation can be employed in teaching within the community.

Firkavičiūtė's dissertation had inspired Marcin Krupa, who wrote a BA thesis on a Karaim musical topic at the Vocal Faculty of the Karol Lipiński Academy of Music in Wrocław (2010). At the workshop, he performed the Karaim lament *Syjt firjatba tujulat* 'The lament sounds as a cry', which is sung when a coffin is removed from a house.

Studies on the Karaim language: the Uppsala tradition

At the end of the seventeenth century, when many academic circles in Europe were engaged in discussions concerning Karaism, Gustaf Peringer Lillieblad (1651–1710), professor of Oriental languages at Uppsala University, visited the Lithuanian Karaims (Csató & Gren-Eklund & Sandgren 2007, Csató 2007 and Johanson 2007). Peringer reported about this journey in a letter written in Latin to professor Hiob Ludolf. This letter, known as *Epistola de Karaitis Lithuanice*, is famous because it

contains the beginning of the Genesis in Karaim. This is the first documentation of the Karaim language in Western scholarly circles. The letter was published in 1691 in the German journal *Monatliche Unterredungen* edited by Wilhelm Ernst Tentzel (1659–1707) (Şişman 1952). The list of lectures by the professors of Oriental Languages at Uppsala University, *Prelectiones Linguarum Orientalium Professorum Upsalensium*, contains items attesting that Peringer held lectures on Karaim topics after his return from Lithuania. He had also collected Karaim manuscripts but, regrettably, the books were lost in a fire at the Royal Library of Stockholm in 1697.

Other Swedish scholars also made early efforts to establish contacts with the Karaims. Two important Karaim works were authored in response to Swedish inquiries about Karaism. In 1696 and 1697, the rector Johann Uppendorff (1654–1698), invited the Karaim scholar Solomon ben Aaron to Riga to lecture on Karaism. Uppendorff asked questions about the differences between Rabbinism and Karaism, and Solomon ben Aaron answered in a treaty that was published later in 1866 (see references in Csató 2007). The memory of Solomon's visit is still alive in the Karaim community. However, the Karaims confused Riga and Uppsala, believing that Solomon had visited Uppsala. The memory of this alleged visit to Uppsala was written down in a short story by Alexander Mardkowicz. The story describing Solomon's adventures in Uppsala has been translated into Swedish (Csató & Johanson 1998).

Another contact took place between some Swedes and Karaims in Galicia. A relative of Solomon, Mordecai ben Nissan of Kukizow (a place near Lemberg), wrote a small book, *Levush Malkhut*, about Karaism. This book contains responses to questions allegedly asked by Charles XII when the king visited Poland in 1702. According to Mordecai, the king asked: "From which nation are you? What is your confession? What are the differences between the Karaims and the Talmudists?" Another traveller in Charles XII's time was Michael Eneman, who visited the Karaims of Constantinople and Cairo at the beginning of the 18th century in order to collect information about their traditions (see references in Csató 2007).

Uppsala University has been engaged in Karaim studies also in more recent times. The famous Karaim scholar Simon Şişman (Szyszman) published an article about Peringer's visit to the Karaims (Şişman 1952). His monograph on the Eastern European Karaims was published in the *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis* (Szyszman 1989). Harney, a visiting scholar at the Centre for Multiethnic Research at Uppsala University, wrote an article about the fate of the Karaims (Harney 1991). Several theologists have shown interest in Karaim issues. Håkan Ögren, who participated in the workshop, has arranged several seminars on Karaim topics. He is also working on a detailed bibliography of Karaim studies.

The Turcologists at Uppsala University have been engaged in the documentation and description of the Karaim language. Éva Á. Csató, professor of Turkic languages, has carried out a documentation of the spoken language both in Lithuania and in Halich in Ukraine. Her recordings of the last full-fledged speakers are archived at the Leipzig Endangered Languages Archive (LELA). Sven Grawunder,

from the Department of Linguistics at the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology in Leipzig, reported at the workshop on the endangered languages archive, its aims and present situation.

Csató has published numerous articles about the typological features of the Karaim language, contact phenomena in Karaim due to long-lasting contact with non-Turkic languages, on language attitudes and other issues (see references). Together with David Nathan she has published some multimedia resources and written articles about the use of information technology for endangered languages (Csató & Nathan 2002, 2003, 2007 and Nathan & Csató 2006).

Zsuzsanna Olach, Csató's PhD student, is writing her dissertation about the linguistic analysis of a Halich Karaim bible translation. At the workshop, Olach reported on her work and presented examples of Hebrew influence on the Karaim bible text. Olach has transliterated the Halich Karaim text, which is written in Hebrew script. The Karaim bible text will also be rendered in a transcription, which is easier to read. In the transcription Olach tries to avoid over-interpretations. Thus, for instance, as front and back *i* are not distinguished in the Hebrew script, these are rendered as *i* also in the transcription. The dissertation defense is planned to take place in 2011.

With the financial help of the Swedish Institute, the Turcologists in Uppsala have been engaged in supporting the East-Central European Karaims in their efforts to revitalize community life and especially the community language. There are still about thirty full-fledged speakers in Lithuania, most of whom are over seventy years old. In the summer of 2010, the 8th Karaim Language Summer School was organized in Trakai. Karaims from all communities participated and took language classes. It is hoped that this positive movement for language maintenance will continue and that the language documented by Peringer will not die out.

Recently, a project financed by the Swedish Institute is being carried out in cooperation among Uppsala University, Vilnius University and Taras Shevchenko National University in Kyiv. The aim of the project is to develop Karaim studies as an academic subject at the university level and to support the Karaim communities in Lithuania, Poland, Russia and Ukraine in building an educational network. Competence will be established at both the academic and the community levels so that members of the Karaim communities in the future will be motivated to conduct their own research activities and preserve the community heritage.

Karaim studies in Vilnius

Eugenija Spakovska, a young representative of the Lithuanian Karaim community, is studying library sciences at Vilnius University. At the workshop, she reported on her plans to write a thesis about the Karaim manuscript collection in Vilnius libraries. She intends to focus on Szymon Firkowicz's collection deposited at the Wroblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences.

Conclusions

This report gives a short account of the presentations at the Uppsala workshop. There are further ongoing Karaim studies, which are not included here. The Uppsala meeting was a first step toward creating an international forum for scholars engaged in research in this field.

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Reviews

Balázs Danka & Szonja Schmidt: Review of Hendrik Boeschoten & Julian Rentzsch (eds.), *Turcology in Mainz / Turkologie in Mainz*. (Turcologica 82.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. 2010. 292 pages. ISSN 0177-4743. ISBN 978-3-447-06113-1.

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The book under review came into being to honour Lars Johanson's 70th birthday and to draw attention to the scholarly tradition in comparative and historical Turkic linguistics that Johanson developed as Johannes Benzing's successor on the Turcological chair at Mainz. The contributors are previous Ph.D. students, Humboldt fellows and other scholars associated with the Institute of Oriental Studies during the time when Lars Johanson was professor of Turcology there. We may add that the two authors of this review also had the opportunity to study with Lars Johanson when he was a visiting professor at Szeged University.

The volume bears witness to the prominent position Turcology at Mainz has occupied in the last decades. The majority of the articles were originally presented at a symposium held June 9 to 11, 2006 at the Johannes Gutenberg University, Mainz on the occasion of Lars Johanson's birthday. An unfortunate drawback of the volume is that the editors, who actually pay tribute to Lars Johanson with this volume, did not include an introduction explaining the crucial role Lars Johanson has played in the development of Turcology at Mainz. Since the volume is *de facto* a festschrift for Lars Johanson, he himself has not contributed to it. Thus, readers who are not familiar with the history of this institute, find in the individual papers only sporadic information about Lars Johanson's contribution.

The volume consists of twenty-two articles in English and German. Short presentations of the contributions will be given here. We will deal with two papers in more detail: Larry Clark's article *The Turkic script and the Kutadgu Bilig* (Balázs Danka) and Abdurishid Yakup's article about three contact settings of *Turkic codes in West China* (Szonja Schmidt).

Ahmet Aydemir, who earned his doctorate at Mainz under Lars Johanson's supervision, examines in his contribution *Textuelle Funktionen von Konverbien im Altai-Tuwinischen* (pp. 9–16) converb types in Altay Tuvan on the basis of Lars Johanson's theoretical framework, not only on the level of clauses, but also on the level of texts. Turkic converbs are examined with respect to the following points:

their text-building and text-dividing functions, their text-cohesive and text-coherent functions, the syntactic description of converbs from the view of clause binding, and different connectivity phenomena. In Tuvan, it is possible to build so-called periodic clause chains based on non-modifying converbs. These clauses do not modify the meaning of the next clause; thus they describe successive events of equal rank from the point of view of the narration. In (older and modern) Turkic languages the *-(y)Up* converb suffix belongs to this type. Like other non-Europeanized Turkic languages, Tuvan very often uses this technique to build clause chains, based on the suffixes *-(V)p* and *-GAš*. At the end of such a clause chain there is a single finite verb on which tense, mood, aspect, etc. are marked. The mentioned suffixes also have text-coherent functions, i.e. modifying meanings, although—according to the author—they are not marked syntactically. Since in this case the converb form is in topic position of the second clause, it seems that this function is marked, i.e. by the position of the converb in the clause, and not only on the semantic level. The narrative clause pattern is the following: One finite predication serves as the base of a complex sentence, which has its own illocutional force, and is marked with aspect, mood, tense, etc. Predications can also be realized as infinite constructions on the syntactic level but are bound to and can be interpreted through the main clause. Intra- and postterminal verb forms do not participate in describing events of equal ranks, since they do not describe events in their totality. They thus cannot be parts of narrative clause chains of equal ranks; they are always subordinated to such a predication of clause chains. The author gives a description of Altay Tuvan examples in this framework. He describes Altay-Tuvan *-(V)p* and *-GAš* as non-modifying converb forms, and *-sA*, *-Glža*, *-(V)rdA* and *-GAndA* as terminal modifiers. He gives examples of lexicalised converbs functioning as adverbs of time and circumstance. The question whether or not Mongolic played a role in the genesis of such clause chain patterns in Altay Tuvan is not examined.

Lars Johanson's dear friend, the late professor of Altaic Studies at Szeged University, Árpád Berta, presents in his posthumously printed article *Zwei ungarische Familiennamen türkischer Herkunft*, i.e. two Hungarian family names of Turkic origin (pp. 17–25). Berta expands the group of Hungarian proper names of Turkic origin with two family names: *Csató* and *Homoki*. The family name *Csató* goes back to two different names in Hungarian. The first, which has been dealt with in the literature before, is *Cyatho* appearing first in the second half of the 16th century. This is probably a copy from Serbo-Croatian, where the word goes back to Ottoman Turkish *kâtib*. The second historical correspondence *Chatho* is probably identical with the Hungarian common name *chath* 'buckle, snap' (1395), which has its origin in Old Turkic *čat* or *čati* 'fusion'. Although the form *Csató* could be a Hungarian development with the diminutive suffix *-ó* it is more likely that it is a copy of Turkic *čatiq* or *čataq*.

For the second proper name, *Homoki*, Berta shows that this name is a derivation of Hungarian *homok* 'sand' with the Hungarian adjectival suffix *-i*, which occurs after place names meaning 'from'. Hungarian *homok*, which is of Turkic origin, has

its correspondence in Kazakh *qumaq*, Turkmen *gumak*, Uzbek *qumâq*, and Altay *kumak*, in Mongolian *qumag*, *qumaki* with the meaning 'sandy land'. The word *qum* and its phonological variants mean only 'sand'. Hungarian *Homok* as a place name can be found in early sources. For the form *homok* and its Turkic equivalents, as the author demonstrates, the form **kum(V)+(A)-(O)k(V)* can be reconstructed. According to the author, the Hungarian proper name *Homoki* and the Mongolian *qumaki* are copies from the period when in Proto-Turkic the word-final vowel was indecisive.

Uwe Bläsing, who earned his doctoral degree in Mainz, writes about *Two knives from North-East Anatolia: kakva and cakva* (pp. 27–38). The author deals with two designations of cutting tools, which have a wide range in several languages. He connects the first word *kakva* with Georgian *kaḱv-i* 'a hook, a hookler'. The alternative forms of this word can also be shown in Turkish dialects (*kakuç*, *kakuça*). The second designation of knife has its form in Georgian *ḱaḱva*, but the author shows that it is a copy from Persian. With the form *čaki* and its phonetical forms the same Persian word can be found in SW Turkic languages and in the languages of the Indian subcontinent as well. Doerfer has discussed the Persian word as a Mongolian loan (Lit. Mong. *čaku*, *čaka*, Khalkha *tsax* 'a prop, a support, a pole, a pile'), but its meanings shows that this etymology is problematic. Bläsing points out that the pocket-knife is a native component of Iranian culture; from here the phenomenon and its designation spread out to Ottoman lands, to the Eastern Iranian languages, and to Georgian. Similar forms with the meaning of knife can be found in a wider Eurasian range; nevertheless the author wisely refrains from deeper etymological commentaries.

Lars Johanson's successor on the Turcological chair at Mainz, Hendrik Boeschoten, addresses a contact linguistic issue in his article on *The assignment of a matrix language in Turkic language contacts* (pp. 39–47). He examines the question of the establishment of a matrix language for mixed utterances based on Turkic data. The theoretical model of Matrix Language Frame developed over the course of several years by Carol Myers-Scotton distinguishes between a matrix language (ML) and an embedded language (EL). However, some linguists have argued that a clear separation between the matrix and the embedded languages is not possible because the matrix language may interact with the embedded language. This interaction, however, contradicts a basic restriction on EL-islands in the MLF framework. Boeschoten attempts to solve this problem by explaining such interactions not as syntactic but rather as pragmatic processes. His argumentation focuses on the category of definiteness in Turkish-Dutch contact. The data show that the Dutch definite/indefinite marking, which has pragmatic relevance, operates on Dutch expressions embedded in Turkish. His further examples, however, do not support the assumption that a distinction between morphosyntactic and pragmatic rules could solve the problem of the MLF framework, and the article remains inconclusive.

Bernt Brendemoen, who earned his degree with Lars Johanson in Scandinavia and worked in Mainz as a visiting professor, is a prominent researcher in the field of Turkish dialectology. His paper *Some remarks on the copula in the Eastern Black Sea dialects* (pp. 47–54) examines the question whether the use of the copula *i-* and

-Dlr and their cognate forms in the Turkish dialects of Rize and Trabzon is an archaic feature or is due to copying from a substrate language. In the two dialects the copula *i-* may serve as an independent word, allowing a freer word order in which the copula may precede the predicate, e.g. *adım idü fatma kara* 'My name is Fatma Kara'. This phenomenon is concentrated on the western (Trabzon) side of the river *İyidere*, which has been one of the main passages of immigration into the Eastern Black Sea area. A concentration of other dialect features—also found in Turkic varieties having a strong Iranian substrate, e.g. Iranian Azeri and Halaç—is also typical of this area. The paper also tries to separate forms that are probably copied from Standard Turkish, i.e. the forms where *i-* is syncopated. That *-Dlr* and cognate forms carry no meaning of 'subjective certainty' seem to be an archaic feature, but it is impossible to tell whether *-Dlr* itself and its cognate forms are archaisms compared to the zero suffix, or whether the unmarked use of *-Dlr* is a copy from a substrate language. The paper points out that there is not sufficient dialect material available to answer these questions correctly.

Christiane Bulut, who received her doctorate in Mainz and later habilitated there, worked at the institute for many years. Her topic is *Languages, dialects and peoples in Orhan Kemal's Adana novels* (pp. 55–88). Orhan Kemal's realistic style in his novels with motifs connected to the Çukurova plain allows a detailed description of the peoples, customs, and linguistic peculiarities of this region. The author aims to find which elements are used as characteristic features of the Adana dialect in six novels of Orhan Kemal. At the same time she gives a very detailed description of the Turkish dialect of the Adana region. Bulut first deals with Orhan Kemal's life and the historical background of this region. The formation of today's linguistic diversity in the region is shown in detail. In addition to Standard Turkish and different Turkish dialects, Armenian, so-called Rum, Arap uşağı, Mâcirler, Karadenizli/Laz, Kurdish codes are spoken in this area. The dialectal features of verb morphology, syntax, adverbs, and lexicon are shown with reference to the novels. As an effect of multilingualism, several of the demonstrated dialectal phenomena are influences of foreign codes. At the end of the paper, the author gives a survey of the non-standard lexicon of the novels.

The American scholar Larry Clark, who has been a Humboldt-fellow at Mainz, addresses, in his contribution on *The Turkic script and the Kutadgu Bilig* (pp. 89–107), the problematic issue whether Muslim Turks of the Karakhanid realm used Arabic or Uyghur script for their literary language, or, if not, what kind of script they actually used. A very serious philological work lies beyond the article, which provides a new theory based on the examination of the only original 11th–12th century documents in the Karakhanid language, the so-called Yarkand documents.

The Yarkand documents are written in Arabic script and another, Sogdian-based script, which the author calls the "Turkic" script. The *Kutadgu Bilig*, which was also written in the 11th century, some years before the first of the Yarkand documents (1080), survived only in three manuscripts, two in Arabic, and one in Uyghur script. The author first comments on Reşid Rahmeti Arat's and Alessio Bombaci's opinions

concerning the kind of script used for the composition of *Kutadgu Bilig*. Bombaci countered Arat's opinion, namely that the original was in Uygur script and that the Vienna manuscript represents the oldest form of the text. He claimed that the original text was in Arabic script and provided a witty proof based on a verse which included a wordplay or, more precisely, a play on letters, namely the vocalised or unvocalised written form of the word *bilig* 'knowledge'. Clark, however, according to Dankoff's textual principle, reconstructs a vocalised written form of this word in the original text and brings forward four additional logical reasons why Yūsuf probably wrote his work with vocalised words. Thus, he once more opens the discussion about the original script of the *Kutadgu Bilig*.

The author then turns to the treatment of the fourteen bilingual and biscriptual legal documents of Yarkand written between 1080–1135. The documents can be divided into three groups: Arabic language and Arabic script, Turkic language and Turkic script, and Turkic language and Arabic script. The author argues that the use of the language and the script of the documents shows a chronological direction, and assumes that Arabic script gradually replaced the Turkic script in the use of legal courtesy. He argues that all originals of the documents were written in Arabic script and language, and that the documents in Turkic are contemporary copies for the contracting parties. This is a very interesting part of the article as the author gives a possible reconstruction of the protocol of entering into a contract in the Karakhanid court, based on the content of the individual documents, and the interconnection between them.

The author then deals with the question of the aforementioned "Turkic script". According to Kāšyārī, there was one script before 1070—the time of the composition of his work *Dīwān Luyāt at-Turk*—for writing Turkic. Clark compares the Turkic script presented by Kāšyārī in his *Dīwān* with the script used in the Yarkand documents and draws the conclusion that "it was a variant of the Sogdian script which can be called Turkic script after Kāšyārī, and not that variant of Sogdian script which today we call Uygur script" (p. 98). Clark undertakes a detailed analysis of the forms and phonematic values of the individual letters and diacritics in other Sogdian and Uygur texts. He concludes that the Turkic script of the Yarkand documents and the abecedary of Kāšyārī are not completely identical, although they are very close to each other. The author arrives at the final conclusion that *Kutadgu Bilig* was most probably originally written in the Turkic script.

Éva Á. Csató visited Mainz for the first time on a Norwegian scholarship. Her paper on *Two types of complement clauses in Turkish* (pp. 107–123) points out that the properties of complement clauses (CC) based on *-Dlk* and *-mA* in Turkish have not been properly described in recent typological works. With the comparison of the two types, the paper contributes to the cross-linguistic typology of complementation. Turkish CCs are subordinated with bound subjunctors, and the predicate is usually based on a nonfinite verbal category. The paper gives the syntactic criteria that serve to distinguish between complement clauses (clause-like subordinated arguments with *-mA* and *-Dlk*) and non-subordinated clauses assuming argument-like semantic

relations to a matrix clause. Csátó presents the classifications for CCs found in Stassen (1985) and Cristafaro (2005), i.e. that CCs are 'balanced' (~ finite) or 'deranked' (~ infinite). Cristafaro adds the 'mixed' type, to which Turkish belongs. Csátó shows that Cristofaro's typology uses only functional criteria and ignores the difference between subordinated and non-subordinated clause-like structures. Subordinated clauses based on *-Dik* and *-mA* differ in their semantics: *-Dik* clauses convey a proposition that has a truth value, while those with *-mA* do not convey any propositional meaning.

Nurettin Demir, who earned his Ph.D. in Mainz under the supervision of Lars Johanson, is today one of the prominent Turkish representatives of the Turcological tradition developed in Mainz. Together with other Turkish Turcologists who studied in Mainz, he has translated many of Johanson's works into Turkish. His article *Zum fokalen Präsens in zyperntürkischen Dialekten* (pp. 123–133) illustrates, with well-interpreted examples, that the Cypriot Turkish dialect can use aorist forms in *-Xr* as focal presents (like standard Turkish *-Iyor*). While other Turkish dialects and Turkic languages have usually developed a focal present form based on a converb form and an auxiliary modal verb, such forms are quite rare in Cypriot Turkish. The author gives some possible reasons for this phenomenon: First, the Turkish settlers of Cyprus had spoken a dialect in which the renewal of the present had not taken place. Secondly, the standard language has only had a weak influence on this dialect so that the speakers are not motivated to replace the old focal present form. Thirdly, the Greek contact language has a form that expresses habitual as well as momentary actions. As a summary, the author gives a concise sociolinguistic report on the present situation of the Cypriot Turkish dialect and outlines possibilities concerning its future.

The Swedish scholar Joakim Enwall, who has been a Humboldt fellow at Mainz, writes on *Turkish texts in Georgian script: Sociolinguistic and ethno-linguistic aspects* (pp. 135–145). The author, an expert in the Georgian language, provides an aid for Turcologists dealing with Turkic texts of the West Oghuz type written down in Georgian script between the early 18th and late 19th centuries. These texts use the so-called *mxedruli* or cursive script. The material consists of five manuscripts: (i) the Four Gospels (dated 27 November 1739), (ii) the Georgian-Turkish/Tatar Textbook, (iii) the Old Testament story of Abraham and Isaac, (iv) Turkish poems, (v) The medical book *Karabadini kartul-somxur-turkuli* (dated 1753). The dialects of these texts are not identified yet. Enwall assumes that the texts may originate from the Samtskhe-Javakheti area in southwestern Georgia. The so-called 'Franks' or Georgian Catholics lived in this area. According to a Georgian scholar, "the Christian transcription texts could have been used by Georgian Catholics who had become turkified in language, but who kept their Christian faith. By using the Georgian script they were to some extent able to hide the contents of the books" (p. 144).

Marcel Erdal once worked at Mainz as a Humboldt fellow and has, after he became professor at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University in Frankfurt am Main, been in close contact with Turcology at Mainz. His contribution on *Inalienability*

and syncopation in Turkish (pp. 147–153) discusses cases of syncopation, i.e. dropping a high medial vowel in Turkish. Syncopation occurs before derivational suffixes, e.g. *bağır-ışmak* ‘to cry out in a group’ from *bağır-* ‘to shout’. Syncopation also occurs before a possessive suffix in words denoting body parts (inalienables), e.g. *beyin* ‘brain’ vs. *beyni* ‘his/her brain’. This syncopation, however, does not take place before case suffixes, e.g. *burnu* ‘his/her nose’ vs. *buruna* ‘to nose’. In Bang’s opinion, the syncopation of inalienable nouns is caused by the strong juncture between these nouns and the third person possessive suffixes, which become a part of them. That is why not-inalienables do not syncopate; hence the difference between *koyun* ‘bosom’ (inalienable) and *koyun* ‘sheep’ (not inalienable).

Dybo (2005) claims that 21 lexemes of which 18 represent inalienable nouns had final consonant-clusters in Proto-Turkic. Erdal finds this claim unacceptable for several reasons. He shows that the lexemes drop their final syllable through syncopation and that they belong to two classes: inalienable nouns with possessive suffixes, and verbs followed by derivational suffixes. Thus, he concludes, the final consonant clusters must be secondary.

Birsel Karakoç, who studied in Mainz with Lars Johanson and earned her doctoral degree there, wrote a paper on the etymology of *-ki* under the title *Mutmaßungen über die Etymologie des türkischen Suffixes {KI}* (pp. 155–166). Her contribution aims to demonstrate the participial origin of the Turkic suffix. In older sources, this suffix is always combined with case suffixes or appears, less frequently, after participles. Its plural and case forms are always provided with the pronominal *-n-*. It is mostly invariable, a rare feature in Turkic languages, but, as Karakoç observes, it causes lengthening of the vowel of a preceding locative suffix in Turkish. The author’s hypothesis is that {KI} emerged through contraction of **ārki*, where *ār-* was a copula.

Mark Kirchner was one of Lars Johanson’s first Ph.D. students. His article *Tatarisch in der Russischen Föderation* (pp. 167–173) draws attention to the current sociolinguistic situation of the Tatar language in the Republic of Tatarstan in the Russian Confederation. The paper points out that Tatar is a dominated code although the Tatars constitute the majority of the population in their republic, where Tatar is one of the official languages. The author analyses the geographical, ethnographical, historical, political and social reasons why Tatar has become an endangered language. An important factor is that two-thirds of the speakers of Tatar live outside the territory of the republic. The main geographical reason is that Tatarstan is situated in a linguistic area in which the majority of the population speaks Russian. Tatarstan is geographically isolated from the other large Turkic languages and, thanks to the earlier minority politics of the former Soviet Union, the Tatars do not have good political relations with the neighbouring Bashkirs. The most important of the inner reasons is the absence of linguistic resources, i.e. the insufficient use of Tatar in the media and education. One example: a department of Tatar language and literature exists at the University of Kazan, but there is no university in which the language of

education is Tatar. The author draws the conclusion that the linguistic status of Tatar has to be changed in order to maintain the survival of the Tatar language.

Another early Ph.D. student of Lars Johanson, who later worked as assistant in Mainz, Astrid Menz, investigates *Klusile und Affrikate im Anlaut armenischer Globalkopien in den Dialektmaterialien von Erzurum* (pp. 173–190). Formerly mentioned by Dankoff 1995, Armenian loanwords in Turkish have a complicated history considering the process of copying and the contact language. The author uses Dankoff's corpus to demonstrate the realizations of affricates and plosives in initials of Armenian global copies of the Erzurum dialect of Turkish. In this corpus about 220 words are recorded from the Erzurum dialect. The word-initial voiced consonants of Armenian appear either voiced or voiceless in the copies. The author gives a very informative six-page comprehensive word list of the dialectal forms and of their West Armenian correspondences.

The Russian Turcologist Irina Nevskaya, an expert in Siberian Turkic languages, was a Humboldt fellow in Mainz. In her contribution *Converbs as depictive predicates in South Siberian Turkic* (pp. 191–200) she distinguishes three different syntactic functions of converb constructions: predicates in converbial clauses, depictive predicates and adverbial modifiers of manner. Depictive predicates (as in the example *he drank his tea cold*; or Tuvan *ol bisten xoradap čorbaan*) are syntactically dependent on the main predicate, and refer to the subject, object or to another nominal with a syntactic function different from the subject or object. In South Siberian Turkic a depictive construction contains a main predicate and a depictive one, which is related to one of the participants of the main predicate. It is dependent on the main predicate and belongs to the same prosodic unit as the main predicate. The predicates that allow use of a depictive predicate belong to certain semantic groups. Depictive predicates can describe physical or mental states of their controllers, and should be distinguished from manner adverbials, resultatives, complements of the main predicate, main predicates of subordinated clauses, and complex predicates. The contribution describes how depictive predicates can be expressed in South Siberian Turkic, and gives Khakas and Tuvan examples of converbs based on *-(V)p*, *-A* and *-GAš* which functions either as a depictive or a non-depictive predicate. The author discusses how depictive predicates can be distinguished from other types of predicates, and concludes that the test of negation is one of the most precise diagnoses of them: if the negation includes the converb in its scope, it is either a depictive predicate or an adverbial modifier of manner.

Elizabetta Ragagnin earned her Ph.D. under the supervision of Lars Johanson. She contributed to the volume an article on *Some observations on the fortis vs. lenis opposition of consonants in Sayan Turkic* (pp. 201–208). After representing today's speakers of Sayan Turkic, the author deals with the realization of fortis vs. lenis opposition in this group. Johanson in his article *Zur Konsonantenstärke im Türkischen* (1986) pointed out that in the history of Turkic languages the opposition between fortis and lenis consonants has played a crucial role. This claim is today widely accepted so that for Proto-Turkic an opposition between two syllable types is assumed:

a syllable type consisting of a long vowel + lenes (V:C^l) vs. a syllable type consisting of a short vowel + fortes (VC^f). According to Johanson (1986), the opposition of Proto-Turkic fortis and lenis in primary syllables is reflected in modern Turkic in different forms. Ragagnin discusses how the opposition is realized in Sayan Turkic, where, alongside short and long vowels, there is also a distinction between pharyngealized and non-pharyngealized / glottalized or non-glottalized vowels. The paper represents the morphophonological variants of fortis and lenis when a suffix with vowel onset is added to the base: before a long vowel, the pharyngealization can be observed.

Julian Rentzsch also completed his Ph.D. under Lars Johanson's supervision. His article *Zur Modalität in Türkischen* (pp. 209–225) aims at describing modal morphology in Turkish according to the functional approach of Dik (1997). The author gives a slightly different classification of modal operators than Dik and distinguishes three levels of modality. The three levels are defined in their relation to aspect operators. Whereas Modality 1 includes modality operators within the scope of aspect operators, Modality 2 operators are at the same level as aspect operators. The third level, Modality 3, includes modality operators that are operating on aspect operators. He argues that the proper criteria are intercombinability with each other and combinability with nomina and verbs, but not grammaticality or morphological transparency, since in other Turkic languages transparent operators function in the same way as opaque ones in Turkish, and vice versa. Since some operators analysed here seem to be able to cross the domains set by present classification, the question remains unsettled and inspires further research.

The Belgian scholar Martine Robbeets was a Humboldt-fellow in Mainz and later continued her collaboration with Lars Johanson in projects addressing different historical and theoretical aspects of Altaic genealogical relatedness. Her paper on *The 'intimate' parts of Altaic: Two velar verb suffixes* (pp. 225–238) discusses two velar suffixes that were probably once productive in Altaic verb derivation: the iconic suffix which she reconstructs as Altaic *-ki- and the inchoative suffix which she reconstructs as *-ga. Both suffixes have an initial velar. According to the author's investigation, these suffixes occur lexicalized to a certain extent in verb stems in Japanese, Korean, Mongolic and Turkic.

Heidi Stein was associated with Mainz as a researcher for many years. Her article on *Optativ versus Voluntativ-Imperative in irantürkischen Texten (15./16. Jh.)* (pp. 239–257) seeks to answer the question why the paradigm of the optative and voluntative-imperative coincide in modern Turkish. A comparison of the corresponding paradigms of Turkish with those of Azeri and other Iranian dialects leads to the question whether the latter preserved the optative vs. voluntative distinction because of its use as a subjunctive in complement clauses, thus as a result of code interaction with Persian, or not. The author compares four Iranian Turkic texts with Ottoman-Turkish and Persian. Her thorough examination of the diachronic change of the verbal forms of the mentioned category in main clauses and complement clauses shows that this is not the case. The use of optative and voluntative differs in

Persian and in Iranian Middle-Turkic. She sees the coincidence of the Turkish optative and volitive paradigm in a lower standard of Ottoman-Turkish prose, and leaves open the question of limitation of the optative in Turkish.

Erika Taube was on several occasions visiting scholar in Mainz. Her paper under the title *Zu einem außerlinguistischen Aspekt von Sprache* (pp. 257–267) examines the circumstances of storytelling among some Turkic and other Siberian peoples: why it is obligatory to tell stories when requested, why death is the punishment for denying storytelling, and why the story-teller occasionally denies storytelling. The answers are found in the tales of these peoples. They belong to the folklore and reflect the cultural background of the peoples in question, and have shamanistic origin. The author illustrates the answers with parallel examples taken from the material of each of the above-mentioned ethnic groups. The cultural background is considered as an extralinguistic factor that influences language use. For field researchers, it is useful to know these circumstances, since they can affect the outcome of material collection during linguistic fieldwork.

Mustafa Uğurlu earned his Ph.D. under the supervision of Lars Johanson. He wrote his contribution on *Probleme der Wiedergabe älterer türkischer Text im modernen Türkisch* (pp. 267–277). His paper points out possible mistakes of ‘intralingual translation’, in this case, translations of older Turkic texts into modern Turkish. Translation mistakes originate from the diachronic changes of the language, hardly perceptible for present speakers. The author classifies the possible pitfalls as lexical/semantic, morphological, and syntactic. These types of translation mistakes are illustrated by means of examples taken from different editions of *Dede Korkut Hikâyesi*. Since this field is considered rather new in Turcology, the author stresses the necessity of formulating guidelines and methods for future translations.

The Uyghur scholar Abdurishid Yakup was also a Humboldt-fellow in Mainz. His paper *Internal contact of Turkic languages: The case of some Inner Asian Turkic languages* (pp. 277–285) deals with contact linguistic issues. Abdurishid Yakup’s main interest focuses on Old and Modern Uyghur varieties. In this paper he provides new material from some little-known Turkic varieties that have internal contacts with neighbouring Turkic codes. In the introduction he calls attention to the importance of doing research not only on the Turkic-non-Turkic contacts but the less-observed internal contacts among Turkic languages as well. In the literature there are several examples of this subject but none of them is discussed sufficiently.

In the subsequent sections, using his own records, Yakup reports his observations of the three Turkic-Turkic contact areas: 1. Salar contact with Kazakh and Uyghur in the İli valley 2. Kirghiz under the influence of Uyghur in South-Western Xinjiang 3. Western Xinjiang where the new Tarbaghatay (Chöchäk) variety of Uyghur is evolving.

The İli variety of Salar spoken in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region has extensive contact with the dominant codes of the area, Kazakh and Uyghur. As an effect of lexemes copied from Chinese, diphthongs and Chinese retroflex consonants can be observed in Salar, but in the İli variety these have been replaced—under the

influence of Uyghur—by monophthongs, respectively the alveo-palatal *ʃ*, *ç* and the postalveolar *ʂ*. The author does not note here that Kazakh could also intensify this change as it also lacks the above-mentioned sounds of Chinese origin. The morphological and in some cases the lexical changes of Salar cardinal numerals, the possessive endings and the possessive of the reflexive pronoun with the Xinghai Salar and Uyghur correspondences, are shown in tables. Only one clearly Kazakh feature in the Ili variety of Salar is represented: the use of the instrumental postposition *menen* beside the postposition *la*, which is commonly used in Salar as an instrumental.

The Southern dialect of Kirghiz in Xinjiang differs in several features from the Northern one, which is probably a result of contacts with other languages, mainly Uyghur. The main phonological and morphological features of the Southern dialect are the following: devoicing of initial *b-*, secondary long vowels as a result of disappearance of intervocalic *-g-*, the infinitive is formed with the suffix *-(X)ʂ* instead of *-X*, the focal intraterminal is *-(X)vat*, the past copula article is *ele*. Yakup illustrates the declension of nouns in a table where he finds that pronominal *-n-* is missing in the locative and dative. He does not observe that pronominal *-n-* is also missing in the ablative case (*-nAn*) as it has suffix-initial *n-* and it represents both dialects of Xinjiang Kirghiz.

The Uyghur variety spoken in Tarbaghatay Prefecture in Xinjiang is under the strong influence of Kazakh, which is—apart from Chinese—the dominant code in this area. Tarbaghatay is one of the most multilingual regions of China where speakers of Chinese, Monghol, Daghur, Uzbek, Tatar, Kirghiz, Russian and Uyghur usually use more than one code in daily life. Especially Uyghurs evidence a strong bilingual status as Kazakh is used in administration and education. This has led to the development of a hybrid dialect of Uyghur. In effect, the alternation of linguistic features like *ʂ ~ s* (*baʂ ~ bas* ‘head’, *taʂta- ~ tasta-* ‘to throw away’), the genitive *+nlñ ~ +Diñ* (*mektepnñ ~ kitaptñ*), infinitive in *-(X)ʂ ~ -Uw* shows intensive bilingualism.

The contact-induced changes are the most extensive in the Tarbaghatay variety of Uyghur and the Southern dialect of Kirghiz in Xinjiang as case morphology and verbal inflection are affected as well. According to Yakup’s opinion, this situation diverges from other internal contacts in Turkic languages where mostly the lexical level of a certain language has changed, even in Sonqor Turkic—which he is referring to—where Iranian strongly influenced the phonology, morphology, lexicon and syntax, the system of verb paradigms remained stable. The author observes that the positive attitude of the speech communities of the three represented codes toward Kazakhs and Uyghurs speeds up the bilingualism and integration of these communities, and conversely, that the language change is less intensive where the dominated code’s speakers have a negative attitude toward the dominant code’s speakers.

In conclusion, Yakup points out that the convergence between Turkic varieties even challenges the current classifications of the Turkic languages.

László Károly: Review of Leland Liu Rogers, *The Golden Summary of Činggis Qayan. Činggis Qayan-u Altan Tobči*. (Tunguso-Sibirica 27.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009. xii+151 pages, ISBN 978-3-447-06074-5.

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In the book reviewed here, the author, Leland Liu Rogers, presents a Mongolian source entitled *Činggis Qayan-u Altan Tobči* (hereinafter ČQAT) in a diplomatic edition. The edition was based on a manuscript published by Dorongy-a (1998) in a facsimile edition. The original manuscript, unearthed in 1958 near Hohhot, comprises 48 folios, with an average of 14 lines per page. Since Dorongy-a's publication is hardly accessible to Westerners, the work of Rogers can be considered as a welcome source for the study of ČQAT.

ČQAT is a compilation of 17 shorter or longer stories about certain episodes in Činggis Qan's life. The stories are based on historically existing personages, but they are full of impossible, legendary elements. This literary genre, sometimes referred to as *čadig* compilation, is well known from other Mongolian chronicles, such as the *Altan Tobči* (see, e.g., Bawden 1955), the *Altan Tobči (nova)* (see, e.g., Vietze and Lubsang 1992) and Sayang Sečen's *Erdeni-yin Tobči* (see, e.g., Krueger 1967). Also well known similar stories in a different narrative can be found in the *Mongyol-un Niyuča Tobčiyin* (cf. de Rachewiltz 2004).

In the introduction to the edition, Rogers briefly describes the source, discusses its origin and some of its writing peculiarities. In addition, he gives an ordered list of the stories appearing in the compilation, and places the whole source among the above-mentioned Mongolian works. However, the reader misses such introductory notes that form an obligatory part of a traditional text edition: description of the manuscript (e.g. its measurements), overview of the literary genre, the historical and linguistic background, etc. This is a deficiency of the edition; especially for those who are not familiar with the subject. The interested reader may consult *The Mongol chronicles of the seventeenth century* by Žamcarano (1955). Another useful source is a book by Heissig (1959) in which he analyses the available chronicle composition; see chapter 2 titled 'Chroniken der frühen Mandju-Zeit (1644–1700)' on pages 50 to 111.

In chapter 3, where the English translation is placed, the author starts each story with a lengthy note in which he makes a systematic comparison with the corresponding stories of the above-mentioned Mongolian sources. These notes are valuable parts of the edition and help the reader to find the position of the actual stories among the already known chronicle compositions of the 17th century. However, the reviewer would prefer a compact discussion of these questions in the introduction, under a title such as 'Literary position of' ČQAT according to Bawden or Hangin.

The author devotes chapter 1 to a detailed discussion of the dating of the manuscript. Although its sections (reviewing the *ductus*, comparing materials, and dates of the lexicon) partly cover what may be missed in the introduction, everything here is subordinated to the main question, i.e. the dating.

Concerning the *ductus*, the author uses Kara's framework (Kara 2005) on the basis of which he suggests a period for the writing of the manuscript. However, he does not include a single page of the facsimile, and thus the reader has to rely on his or her own imagination.

In the following passages Rogers continues his analysis, which turns to a speculative and partly controversial chain of statements. For example, he overestimates the role of the lexicon in the dating of the text. The terminology, the grammatical characteristics etc., can indeed provide invaluable information about the formation of a written source, but they are by no means a tool for an accurate definition of the decade of writing.

Another shortcoming of this chapter is that Rogers does not consult two important chronicles of the 17th century: the *Asarayči* (Kämpfe 1983) and the *Šara tuŋi* [Sira turyŋi] (Šastina 1957), and a short fragment from Khara Khoto, which is an early record about the wisdom of Činggis Qan, cf. Kara (2003: 5–7; G110 verso) with additional literature on the topic.

As a summary of Rogers' dating efforts we read that "the most probable date of the compilation of the first copy of the ČQAT was likely somewhere between 1570 and 1620" (Rogers 2009: 10). This wording amounts to nothing less than the author's stating that the ČQAT compilation is the earliest known example of this sort; cf. also "...the peculiarities of this manuscript suggest that it is an earlier version of the Činggis Qayan legends than any of the other compilations known" (Rogers 2009: vii). Unfortunately, such a result cannot be deduced from the source.

In the following chapter Rogers gives the transcription of the text with a great number of notes: possible typographic errors, inconsistent spellings, corrupt forms, etc. Additionally he provides corrections on the base of the other chronicles, e.g. the name *Naqun* is correctly changed to *Nekün* (Rogers 2009: note 6), since all the other sources read it with front vocalism. For special vocabulary, such as proper names, names of plants and animals, Rogers adds detailed explanations. For example, he writes that "An *aryamay* is translated by Tsevel as 'pure-blood central Asian horse' (1966: 50a), and *tobočay* is translated as 'hillock' by Kowalewski (1964: 1819b), suggesting that the animal is a 'pure bred central Asian hill horse'. *Aryamay tobičay* is translated by de Rachewiltz as 'Arabic race horse' (2004: 1008)" (Rogers 2009: 19, note 22). These are without question useful comments for the better understanding of the source, but they should not be discussed alongside the transcription. Transcription has two aims: (1) to reconstruct the contemporary reading of a text, and (2) to indicate the peculiarities of the spelling. Accordingly, such etymological remarks as "The word *Čambudvib* is from the Old Uyghur version of the Sanskrit word *Čambudvīpa*, or *ġambudvīpa*, literally 'rose apple island' ..." (Rogers 2009: 23,

note 27) have nothing to do with the transcription and could have been relegated to another chapter where they belong.

The next chapter, namely the English translation, is no doubt the best part of the edition. Rogers has made a smooth, easily intelligible translation of the original. His comments about the personages appearing in the stories, and about the problematic words and phrases make the translation an elaborated work.

After the core chapters of the book, the reader will find a complete list of the Mongolian words, which is a handy tool for further linguistic analyses. The end of the book presents the bibliography, which can easily be supplemented with other important publications.

In the followings I add some minor remarks to the edition:

A significant group of Mongolian proper names are transparent, their connection with common words being easily detectable; see, e.g., *Buq-a čayan*, which is possibly related to ‘bull’ and ‘white’ (p. 88, n. 90) and *Gürbeljin yoo-a*, which highly likely means ‘beautiful lizardess’ (p. 98, n. 117). However, many such names are not etymologizable. For example, Roger remarks:

“The meaning of *Küsbalad* is uncertain; it is possible that the *s* was orogianlly [sic!] a *ke*, making it *köke* ‘blue’, [sic!] It is also possible that *küs* has been incorrectly written for the old Turkic *koš* ‘a led, or spare, horse’ (Clausen [sic!] 1972: 670a), or *küse-* ‘to wish, desire’ (Clausen [sic!] 1972: 749). The word *balad* may be a distortion of *bolud* ‘steel’ (Lessing 1995: 118a), or of the Old Turkic *bulit/bulut* ‘cloud’ (Clausen [sic!] 1972: 333a), but neither is certain.” (p. 48, n. 79)

This is not realistic, or to be more exact, rather unscientific.

As for the name-giving strategies of the Mongols, the reader can profit from Rybatzki’s voluminous work titled *Die Personennamen und Titel der mittelmongolischen Dokumente* (2006), available on the Internet.

The term ‘transformation’ used by Rogers in such contexts as “The transformation of *-ngn-* into *-gn-* has been a common sound transformation in Khalkha Mongol” (p. 20, n. 23) seems very odd to me. In this usage the standard word would be ‘change’.

Rogers sometimes incorrectly writes the name of the authors quoted in his work, e.g. Clausen (p. 19, n. 22; p. 43, n. 69; p. 48, n. 79), Kowelewski (p. 5, n. 9) and Gyorgy Kara (p. 8, n. 16) instead of Clauson, Kowalewski and György Kara, respectively.

In conclusion, I can state, despite my mostly methodological critiques, that Rogers’ edition has partly reached its goal. On the one hand, the reader interested in the cultural and historical aspects of the Mongol peoples will enjoy and profit from the English translation. On the other hand, specialists of the field *may* find the transcription of the text a useful addition for the further study of the Mongolian chronicle compositions of the 17th century.

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Ludwig Paul: Review of Lars Johanson & Christiane Bulut (eds.), *Turkic-Iranian contact areas. Historical and linguistic aspects*. Wiesbaden 2006. vii, 333 p.

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Der Band ist hervorgegangen aus zwei Konferenzen, die im Rahmen des von Johanson an der Universität Mainz initiierten und geleiteten Sonderforschungsbereichs 295 („Linguistische und Kulturkontakte in Südwestasien und Nordostafrika“) in den Jahren 1998 und 2002 abgehalten wurden. Die insgesamt 18 Beiträge sind unterteilt in nicht-linguistische (historisch, kulturell, literaturwissenschaftlich) und linguistische; letztere sind weiter in eine türkische und eine persische Sektion untergliedert. Im folgenden soll eine Auswahl der Beiträge vorgestellt werden.

Auf einen Überblick des Herausgebers über den Inhalt der einzelnen Beiträge (1–14) folgen zunächst diejenigen zu historischen, kulturellen und literaturwissenschaftlichen Themen. Peter B. Golden („Turks and Iranians: a historical sketch“, 17–38) spannt einen weiten historischen Bogen zum Thema iranisch-türkischer Kulturkontakte von den Hsiung-nu (2. Jh. v. Chr.) bis zu den Osmanen, mit gelegentlich etwas unscharfen Aussagen (etwa S. 33: „structurally, the Ottoman state ... runs in a straight line from that of the Sasanids“ – was bedeutet dies genau?). Bert G. Fragner („Das Persische als Hegemonialsprache in der islamischen Geschichte: Überlegungen zur Definition eines innerislamischen Kulturraums“, 39–48) stellt die Kernthese(n) seines Buches *Persophonie* (1999) in Form eines Essays vor, d.h. ohne bibliographische Nachweise. Es geht um das Persische als „bestimmenden Faktor einer Großregion innerhalb des islamischen Kulturraums (10.–19. Jh.)“. Fragner beschreibt viele interessante und für die Fragestellung relevante Fakten und Zusammenhänge. Die historische Kausalität des Phänomens wird jedoch noch nicht klar; es fehlt eigentlich das Modell bzw. die Methode zur Untersuchung der Frage, wie „das Persische“ als historisches *movens* Kulturen und Regionen beeinflussen konnte. Bezeichnet Fragner z.B. Osmanisch-Türkisch und Urdu als „strukturell zu verstehende Tochtersprachen“ des Persischen (S. 47), so wäre zunächst zu klären, was eine „strukturelle Tochtersprache“ ist bzw. im Rahmen welchen Modells oder welcher Theorie es sinnvoll sein könnte, von einer solchen zu sprechen.

Hendrik Boeschoten („Translations of the Koran: sources for the history of written Turkic in a multilingual setting“, 69–89) unternimmt erste Schritte, um das sprachlich und kulturhistorisch wichtige Thema der türkischen Koranübersetzungen (Tafsire) vor allem des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts zu untersuchen. Zu Recht weist Boeschoten darauf hin, daß die syntaktischen Strukturen dieser Texte, obwohl zum Teil „sklavische“ Übersetzungen, hochinteressant sein können (etwa in Bezug auf den verallgemeinernden Relativsatz, S. 74). Sehr nützlich ist Anhang I (78–88) mit Beispielen übersetzter Passagen aus jeweils sechs verschiedenen Tafsiren.

Im linguistischen Teil (türkische Sektion) untersucht Peter Zieme („Hybrid names as a special device of Central Asian naming“, 114–127) die Frage früher türkisch-iranischer Kulturkontakte anhand des Namensmaterials im Alttürkischen und Uigurischen. Während bei islamischen Turkdynastien wie den Seldschuken die persisch-arabischen Bestandteile von Personennamen eindeutig kulturelle und religiöse Einflüsse widerspiegeln, ist diese Frage bei den zusammengesetzten Namen im Uigurischen, die mindestens einen nicht-türkischen Bestandteil enthalten, noch ein „offenes Feld“ (S. 114). Marcel Erdal („The palatal glide in Oghuz Turkic and Western Iranian morphophonemics“, 128–142) erhärtet in einer genauen Analyse die Richtigkeit von Bailey's These (von 1930), daß der Gleitlaut und Hiatusstülger -y- im Westoghusischen das Ergebnis einer arealen Konvergenz ist und seinen Ursprung im Westiranischen hat.

Mark Kirchner („Same source – different paths. Remarks on temporal clauses in Turkish, Azerbaijanian and Persian“, 158–164) gibt einen gut strukturierten, wenn gleich knappen Einblick (m. E. mit zu wenigen Beispielen) in die Einflüsse des Per-

sischen auf das Osmanisch-Türkische und das Aserbaidshanische im Bereich von Temporalsätzen der Gleichzeitigkeit. Éva Á. Csató („Gunnar Jarring’s Kashkay materials“, 209–225) präsentiert interessantes Dialektmaterial, aufgezeichnet vor über 50 Jahren, mit einigen in der Sprache inzwischen nicht mehr vorhandenen grammatikalischen Merkmalen wie z.B. dem Nezessitativ (S. 219). Bernt Brendemoen („Ottoman or Iranian? An example of Turkic-Iranian language contact in East Anatolian dialects“, 226–238) behandelt den Vokalismus arabisch-persischer Lehnwörter im Türkischen. Während das Westanatolische und das heutige Standardtürkische das arabische *a* in pharyngaler Umgebung unverändert übernommen haben, zeigen ostanatolische Dialekte hier ein *e*, das auf persischen Einfluß zurückgehen mag. Brendemoen entwickelt die These, das Reich der Aq Qoyunlu im Ostanatolien und westlichen Iran der 2. Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts habe gewissermaßen als Scharnierregion zwischen dem iranischen und türkischen Sprachgebiet gedient und den persischen phonetischen Einfluß nach Ostanatolien vermittelt (S. 232).

Bo Utas leitet die iranische Sektion des linguistischen Teils ein („A multiethnic origin of New Persian?“, 241–251). Zu Recht hinterfragt er überkommene Meinungen in Bezug auf die Entstehung des Neupersischen. So sei das entstehende (geschriebene) Neupersisch nicht einfach die Entsprechung einer gesprochenen Sprache gewesen, sondern vielmehr eine komplexe kulturelle Struktur, zu der viele Völker beigetragen haben (S. 241). Das Fehlen (geschriebener) frühneupersischer Texte aus Zentraliran beweise nicht deren Nichtexistenz, die generell akzeptierte Einteilung des frühneupersischen Sprachgebiets in „Nordost“ und „Süd“ gebe deshalb das Bild unter Umständen nicht vollständig wieder (S. 245). Utas fragt, wie ein Händler aus Singkiang im Jahr 760 einen Brief in sprachlich bereits relativ standardisiertem Persisch schreiben konnte, wenn man nicht annehme, daß es bereits ein auch in arabischer Schrift geschriebenes „koine-isiertes“ Persisch gegeben habe (S. 249).

Utas sucht die positivistische Philologie von Forschern wie Lazard, die seiner Ansicht nach der Komplexität des historischen Phänomens „Frühneupersisch“ nicht gerecht wird, zu überwinden. Letztlich bietet sein Beitrag jedoch auch keinen wirklichen methodischen Neuansatz, außer Anregungen wie derjenigen, das entstehende Neupersisch unter dem Aspekt der Kreolisierung zu betrachten (S. 246). Es erscheint fraglich, ob solche Neuansätze auf Basis der lückenhaften überlieferten Primärquellen entscheidend Neues bringen und substantiell über die hervorragende (m. E. mehr als positivistische) Darstellung von Lazard (1975) hinausgehen können. So kann man zwar aus dem Fehlen historischer Belege nicht zwingend auf das Fehlen eines „zentralen“ Dialekts des Frühneupersischen schließen. Die Zugehörigkeit zentraliranischer Provinzen wie Esfahan zur Region Bahla/Fahla mit ihren starken „parthoiden“ Dialekten macht es jedoch unwahrscheinlich, daß diese Regionen im 8./9. Jahrhundert n. Chr. einen entscheidenden Beitrag zur Entstehung des Neupersischen geliefert haben. Geht man davon aus, daß sich das Persische schon in sassanidischer Zeit im Nordosten Irans verbreitet und dort das Parthische in einer mehr oder weniger einheitlichen Variante ersetzt hat, kann der jüdische Händler aus Khotan im Jahre 760 n. Chr. durchaus ein bereits normalisiertes Spät-Mittelpersisch

/ Früh-Neupersisch geschrieben haben, auch ohne die Kenntnis bzw. Existenz eines in arabischer Schrift geschriebenen Persisch.

Gernot Windfuhr („Language change and modeling modal axes: Irano-Turkic convergence“, 252–282) zeigt, wie in den eng miteinander verwandten Sprachen Persisch, Tati und Tadschikisch ein System von Modi entsteht, zum Teil im Kontakt mit Nachbarsprachen wie Azeri-Türkisch. Windfuhr entwickelt ein Modell, mit dem sich die Verbalsysteme der drei Sprachen (und weiterer) methodisch miteinander vergleichen lassen. Geoffrey Haig („Turkish influence on Kurmanji: Evidence from the Tunceli dialect“, 283–299) untersucht anhand ausgewählter grammatikalischer Merkmale den Einfluß des Türkischen auf den Kurmanji-Dialekt von Tunceli. Eine Tabelle (S. 295) zeigt überraschende Ähnlichkeiten zu anderen, geographisch weiter entfernten kurdischen Dialekten, zum Beispiel zu dem von Le Coq (1903) ausgezeichneten. Vielleicht nicht überraschend, ist der Kurmanji-Dialekt von Tunceli der am stärksten türkisierte (S. 296). Die Verwendung des *xwe/xa* als nicht-reflexiver grammatikalischer Marker in diesem Dialekt hat eine Parallele im nördlichen, d.h. auch in Tunceli gesprochenen Zazaki, die hier erwähnt werden sollte (Paul 1998, § 237). Interessant ist die Bemerkung, daß *û* „und“ als *clause coordinator*, anders als in anderen Kurmanji-Dialekten, in demjenigen von Tunceli praktisch nicht vorkommt (S. 291f.). Auch in nördlichen Zazaki-Dialekten scheint (nach den Texten in Paul 1998) das entsprechende *û* sehr selten zu sein. Zum Abschluß des Bandes demonstriert Donald L. Stilo („Circumpositions as an areal response: The case study of the Iranian zone“, 310–333) am Beispiel von Circumpositionen mehrerer iranischer und nicht-iranischer Sprachen, wie allgemein-typologische und areale Faktoren miteinander interagieren. Das von ihm vorgestellte Modell kann helfen, „inkonsistente“ Merkmalsausprägungen als Überlappungen unterschiedlicher Typenklassen zu erklären.

Für den Band insgesamt sei angemerkt, daß sich auch dem geübten Rezensenten die intendierten Kernaussagen einiger Beiträge (sowohl von den hier vorgestellten als auch von den nicht vorgestellten) erst nach mehrmaligem Studium, und auch dann nicht ohne weiteres, erschlossen. Die Komplexität und Kompliziertheit eines Themas würde jedoch nicht nach Kompliziertheit, sondern im Gegenteil nach Einfachheit der Darstellung verlangen.

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