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# Turkic Languages

Edited by Lars Johanson

Volume 16, 2012      Number 1

Károly: Intervocalic velars • Jankowski:  
Kazakh and Russian • Mawkanuli & Martin:  
A Kazak letter • Memtimin & Nevskaya:  
Uyghur depictives • Dawut: English loans  
in Uyghur • Ersen-Rasch: Relativsätze •  
Kaili & Çeltek & Georgalidou: Complement  
clauses in Greek-Turkish bilingual children •  
Payne: A LENCA workshop • Review



# Turkic Languages

Edited by  
Lars Johanson

in cooperation with  
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Éva Á. Csató, Peter B. Golden, Tooru Hayasi, Astrid Menz,  
Dmitrij M. Nasilov, Irina Nevskaya, Sumru A. Özsoy

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

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## Contents

### Turkic Languages, Volume 16, 2012, Number 1

Editorial note by Lars Johanson .....	1
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#### Articles

László Károly: History of the intervocalic velars in the Turkic languages .....	3
Henryk Jankowski: Kazakh in contact with Russian in modern Kazakhstan ...	25
Talant Mawkanuli & Virginia Martin: Nineteenth century Kazak correspondence with Russian authorities: Morphemic analysis and historical contextualization .....	68
Aminem Memtimin & Irina Nevskaya: Depictive secondary predicates in Modern Uyghur .....	80
Omer Dawut: A study on English loanwords in Uyghur .....	95
Hasan Kaili & Aytaç Çeltek & Marianthi Georgalidou: Complement Clauses in the Turkish variety spoken by Greek-Turkish bilingual children on Rhodes, Greece .....	106
Margarete I. Ersen-Rasch: Bemerkungen zu den Relativsätzen im Türkischen	121

#### Report

Thomas E. Payne: Typology of Languages of Europe and Northern and Central Asia (LENCA) .....	139
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#### Review

Béla Kempf: Review of Jan-Olof Svantesson (transl. and ed.), <i>Cornelius Rahmn's Kalmuck dictionary</i> .....	145
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## Editorial note

*Turkic Languages, Volume 16, 2012, Number 1*

The present issue of *TURKIC LANGUAGES* starts with a paper dealing with some general problems of linguistic Turcology. László Károly sketches the history of the Turkic intervocalic velars, which clarifies a number of important historical phenomena. One crucial question is the chronological ordering of degemination and voicing in the Kipchak languages.

Two papers concern the Kazakh language. Henryk Jankowski deals with contacts between Kazakh and Russian in modern Kazakhstan, describing the overwhelming dominance of the Russian language. Standard Kazakh, which is relatively little influenced by Russian, mostly functions in strictly limited situations. The article provides a number of illustrative examples of the typical linguistic behavior of Kazakhs in various settings.

Talant Mawkanuli and Virginia Martin present a linguistic and historical analysis of a letter in “Turki”, written by a member of the Kazakh elite to a Russian imperial officer in the 19th century. The authors are involved in a long-time project with the aim of illustrating the evolution of the literary languages used by the Kazakhs from the 18th until the early 20th century. The letter analyzed here shows the complex linguistic identity of the former literate Kazakh elite.

Two papers concern modern Uyghur. Aminem Memtimin and Irina Nevskaya deal with depictive predicates in modern Uyghur. Turkic languages express the same types of depictive predicates as found cross-linguistically. They share many techniques to express them, but also display some remarkable differences. In Uyghur, they may be adverbial adjuncts syntactically, while fulfilling a predicative function semantically.

Omer Dawut presents a study of early and recent English loanwords in modern Uyghur, suggesting a classification of their main types and describing their adaptation to the phonological structure of Uyghur.

Two papers deal with Turkish. Margarete I. Ersen-Rasch comments on the structure of Turkish relative clauses referring to the 3rd person. She demonstrates that nouns with possessive suffixes can, under certain circumstances, occur as genitive-marked subjects, and formulates rules for the choice between the *-(y)An* participle and participles of the possessive type, e.g. *-DIĞI*.

Hasan Kaili, Aytaç Çeltik, and Marianthi Georgalidou analyze complement clauses in the Turkish variety spoken by Greek-Turkish bilingual children on the island of Rhodes, more specifically the reasons for the use of clauses of the VO finite type copied from Greek. It is concluded that the children have a good command of different types of Turkish complement clauses, though there is a mismatch between this competence and the actual use of the clauses.



Thomas E. Payne reports on a workshop dealing with the typology of the languages of Europe and Northern and Central Asia (LENCA), organized as part of the 45th Societas Linguistica Europea meeting in Stockholm, August 2012. This workshop continued a tradition that began in 2001, a series of international symposia of which the last one took place in 2006 in Tomsk. The second symposium was held in Kazan in May, 2004. A collection of articles based on this symposium, dealing with various aspects of grammatical relations and argument structure, has just appeared: "Argument structure and grammatical relations. A crosslinguistic typology", edited by Pirkko Suihkonen, Bernard Comrie, and Valery Solovyev (John Benjamins, 2012).

Finally, Béla Kempf reviews Jan-Olov Svantesson's book on the Kalmyk dictionary compiled by the Swedish missionary Cornelius Rahmn (1785-1853).

\*

The prominent Russian Turcologist Èl'vira Aleksandrovna Grunina, passed away in Moscow on August 5, 2012, at the age of 86, after long and serious illness. She was Doctor of Philology, distinguished professor emeritus of the Lomonosov Moscow State University, and a leading member of the Russian Committee of Turcologists. She was born in Moscow on November 26, 1926. She finished her PhD ("candidate") studies at the Oriental Institute of the University of Moscow in 1949 and was employed there from 1952 on. In 1975, I had the privilege to make her personal acquaintance in Moscow. From 1983 to 1995, professor Grunina was the head of the department of Turkic philology at the Institute for the Study of Asian and African Countries.

Professor Grunina made important contributions to linguistic Turcology. She took a serious interest in theoretical linguistics, particularly in the semantics of grammar. Her PhD thesis (candidate dissertation) deals with complex sentences in modern literary Uzbek ("Сложноподчиненное предложение в современном узбекском литературном языке", 1952), which was later partly integrated in a volume devoted to studies on the grammar of Turkic languages ("Исследования по грамматике тюркских языков", 1961). Her monograph on the Turkish indicative ("Индикатив в турецком языке в сравнительно-историческом освещении") was published in 1975. She also contributed most actively to the monumental collective comparative grammar of the Turkic languages in six volumes ("Сравнительно-историческая грамматика тюркских языков").

In her publications, professor Grunina deals with the semantic structure of indicative temporal forms, the role of the impersonal verb forms in complex sentences, the history of the semantic development of the marker *-miş*, theoretical questions of Turkic voice categories, etc. At the university, she lectured on the comparative grammar of the Turkic languages, theoretical questions of the Turkish grammar, the history of Turkish, Turkish lexicology, written records of Turkish and Uzbek, problems of translation, and many other significant issues.

*Lars Johanson*

# History of the intervocalic velars in the Turkic languages

László Károly

Károly, László 2012. History of the intervocalic velars in the Turkic languages. *Turkic Languages* 16, 3–24.

The history of the intervocalic velars not only provides a colourful picture of sound changes, but, on the basis of a thorough analysis, clarifies some historical phenomena of the Turkic languages. It also supplies a key for the etymology and better understanding of certain Turkic words.

The initial part of the article briefly discusses and sums up those common sound changes of /VkV/ and /VgV/ which are already discussed in the Turkological literature. In the main section those cases are investigated which do not follow these regular tendencies. Interpretations and/or solutions are provided for many of these cases.

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## 1. Introduction

Throughout the history of the Turkic languages, the original Old Turkic velars, i.e. /k/ and /g/ with their allophonic variants, present various ways of sound changes.<sup>1</sup> This phenomenon makes it possible to use velars as key elements, e.g., in the classification of the Turkic languages. For instance, the word *taglıg* ‘having mountains, mountainous’, likely one of the most cited Turkic words, can present the history of /g/ in primary stems preceding consonants and in word final position. It was used in all the classifications proposed by Turkologists; e.g. in an article by Tekin (1990), where the previous classifications are also collected and analysed, six subgroups within the Turkic languages were defined on the base of the word *taglıg*: (1) the *taylıg*-group, i.e. Northern dialects of Altay; the Lower Chulym, Kondom and Lower Tom dialects; (2) the *tūlu*-group, i.e. Altay; (3) the *tōlū*-group, i.e. Kirghiz; (4) *taylıq*-group, i.e. Uzbek, New Uygur; (5) the *tawlı*-group, i.e. the Kipchak branch; and (6) the *Taylı*-group, i.e. Salar and the Oguzic branch.<sup>2</sup> In his new attempt to

1 One of the earliest papers discussing the history of the velars (gutturals) in Turkic is Bang (1915).

2 My *Taylı*-group puts two distinct groups together which are separate in Tekin (1990: 13) based on the initial consonant, i.e. *taylı* for Salar and *daylı* for the Oguzic branch, but it is not related to our discussion.

classify the Turkic languages, Schönig (1997–1998/1: 123, 124 and /3: 137) also uses the word *taglīg* as a key word.<sup>3</sup>

Similarly to the preconsonantal and word final positions, velar sounds render a colourful history in intervocalic position, too. In the present paper the history of intervocalic velars will be described with an emphasis on the analysis of those words which do not follow the regular, or sometimes referred to as strong, tendencies.

## 2. Intervocalic velars in Turkic<sup>4</sup>

There exist several books in which the history of the velars in intervocalic position is discussed, see e.g. Räsänen (1949: 112–124, 153–154), Ramstedt (1957: 85–86), Tenišev (1984: 190–192, 197–198, 200–201, 204–206) and Johanson (1998: 100–101). A common feature of these descriptions is that they operate with a limited number of examples, thus only describing some seemingly general tendencies. However, using the word *eki*, *ekki* ‘two’ in order to exemplify regular tendencies can lead to false conclusions. Another important point is that /VgV/ is divided into groups according to the surrounding vowels, e.g. *aga*, *ugu*, *ägä*, *ögü*, etc., because they strongly determined the history of the voiced velar. In this chapter I provide a brief but well-selected list of examples which will suffice to illustrate the typical traits. All the special cases, i.e. everything outside of the strong tendencies, will be discussed in the following parts of the article.

### *VkV*

The voiceless velar and uvular plosives are preserved in the Turkestan branch, in Khaladj, and in the Oguzic branch if the preceding vowel was short:

- (1) *čiqar*-<sup>5</sup> ‘zastavljat’ (ili) pozvoljat’ vyjti; otravljat’; puskat’’, *tükil*-<sup>6</sup> ‘vylivat’sja, prolivat’sja, razlivat’sja’, *buqa*<sup>7</sup> ‘nehološčennyj byk, byk-proizvoditel’ (Uzb),<sup>8</sup> *čiqar*- ‘vynosit’; vyvozit’, eksportirovat’’, *tökül*- ‘vylivat’sja, lit’sja, prolivat’sja,

3 It does not concern our present topic, but it is worth noting that the classification of Schönig (1997–1998), although it also has some problems, is much more adequate than the older ones proposed since the very beginning of Turcology up to Tekin (1990).

4 My corpus, on the base of which the strong tendencies were also defined, is based on the dictionary of Clauson (1972). All of its words containing /VkV/ or /VgV/ segments were analysed and compared with historical and modern counterparts.

5 Cf. OT *čikar*- ‘to bring out, send out’.

6 Cf. OT *tökül*- ‘to be poured out’.

7 Cf. OT *buka* ‘bull’.

8 In order to keep a reasonable limit in size, neither the standard abbreviation of the languages and sources, nor the bibliographical details of the frequently used dictionaries and works are given in the article. For further reference and a complete list of the abbreviations and literature, see Róna-Tas and Berta (2011).

razlivat'sja', *buqa* 'byk-proizvoditel', bugaj' (NUyg), *boqa, puqa* 'byk, vol' (YUyg);

- (2) *siqu-*<sup>9</sup> 'gepreßt, gedrückt werden', *tökül-* 'ausgegossen werden, sich ergießen' (Khal);
- (3) *çıkar-* 'to take out, extract, expel, bring out, push out', *dökül-* 'to be poured; to be shed', *akit-*<sup>10</sup> 'to cause to flow, to pour, to shed' (Tt), *čäkil-*<sup>11</sup> 'tjanut'sja, vtjagivat'sja; otstupat', otojti, otodvigat'sja' (Az), *čikar-* 'vytaskivat', otvinčivat', snimat', vyryvat', vydergivat', *čekil-* 'vzvešivat'sja (na vesax); byt' vyčerpnutym', *akit-* 'zastavit' (velet', dat'), teč' (lit', prolivat') (Gag), *čikar-* 'vytaskivat', izvlekat', vynimat', *čekin-*<sup>12</sup> 'stesnjat'sja, smuščat'sja, čuvstvovat' nelovkost'', *akit-* 'polivat', lit' (dlja umyvanija)' (Tkm).

In the Oguzic branch it became voiced if the preceding vowel was long. This voiced consonant has disappeared through spirantization, and the preceding vowel has become long due to compensatory lengthening in the Western Oguzic languages:

- (4) *yōgal-*<sup>13</sup> 'propadat', isčezat' (postepenno); terjat'sja' (Tkm);
- (5) *yoğal-* [yōal] 'to cease to exit, vanish' (Tt).

It has become voiced in the Kipchak branch, in the South Siberian branch and in Yakut.<sup>14</sup> Chuvash has *media lenis* in this position:

- (6) *čigär-* 'zastavljat' (ili) pozvoljat' vyjtu; vypuskat'; otpravljat', *buğa* 'bugaj' (Kum), *buğa* 'byk' (KrchBlk), *buğa* 'byk' (CtTat), *čigär-* 'dostavat', vynimat', vyvodit', *tögül-* 'vylivat'sja' (KarT, KarCr), *buğa* 'byk' (KarCr), *čigär-* 'polučat', dobyvat'; vynimat' (KarH), *čigär-* 'zastavljat' vyjti; vyvodit'; vynosit', *tügel-* 'lit'sja, vylivat'sja, vylit'sja, razlivat'sja, prolivat'sja', *buğa* '(dial.) byk' (Tat), *siğar-* 'vynosit'; vyvozit'; vyvodit'; vynimat', *buğa, boğa* 'byk' (Bashk), *šiğar-* 'to publish; to proclaim; to eliminate, to exclude', *šegin-* 'to move backward; to release, to give leave (of absence)' (Kaz), *šiğar-* 'vyvodit'; vypuskat', *buğa* 'byk' (Kklp), *šiğar-* 'vyvodit', vynosit', vyvozit', *buğa* 'byk' (Nog), *čigär-* 'vyvodit', vyvozit',

9 Cf. OT *sikil-* 'to be squeezed, compressed'.

10 Cf. OT *akit-* 'to make (liquid, etc.) flow; to send out (a party, etc.) to raid'.

11 Cf. OT *čäkil-* 'to be pulled'.

12 Cf. OT *čäkin-* 'to draw back, withdraw (Intr.)'.

13 Cf. OT *yōkal-* 'to perish, be destroyed or lost; to disappear'.

14 The voiced velar is often spirantized in the Turkic languages, but this phenomenon is not always indicated in the orthographies.

vypuskat'; vynimat'', *tögül-* 'vysypat'sja, ssypat'sja, rassypat'sja, prosypat'sja; vylivat'sja' (Kirg);

- (7) *sagīs*<sup>15</sup> 'um; mysl', zamysel' (Tuv), *coğīs*<sup>-16</sup> 'drat'sja, bit'sja (v meste s kem-čem-l.)', *sagīs* 'um; mysl'' (Khak), *soguš-*, *sogīs-* 'drat'sja, sražat'sja', *sagīs*, *sagīs*, *sagič* 'um, mysl', дума, serdce', *tögül-* 'vysypat'sja, rassypat'sja, razlivat'sja, prolivat'sja' (Alt);
- (8) *oğus-* 'udarjat', bit', kolotit'', *ağın-*<sup>17</sup> 'vspominat', upominat'; napominat'; toskovat', skučat'' (Y);
- (9) *šuxal-* [šuyal] 'propadat', isčezat', terjat'sja', *täkän*<sup>-18</sup> [tägän] 'lit'sja, vylivat'sja, razlivat'sja, prolivat'sja', *yuxäm*<sup>19</sup> [yuyäm] 'tečenie' (Chuv).

While Azerbaijani and Salar represent spirantization in velar environments, Tuvan has a voiceless glottal fricative in certain cases:

- (10) *čixar-* 'vynimat', vynosit', vysosivat', vyvodit'' (Az), *čixar-* 'vytaskivat'' (Sal);
- (11) *bu''ha* 'byk, bugaj' (Tof).

The following figure summarizes the history of /VkV/:

	debuccalization		spirantization		voicing		spirantization		elision	
	h	< x	<	k	>	g	>	γ	>>	ø
Tuvan		Azeri		Oguzic / V <sub>-</sub>		Kipchak		Oguzic / V̄ <sub>-</sub>		
[+velar]		Salar		Turki		South Siberian				
		[+velar]		Khalaj		Yakut				
						Chuvash [g]				

### VgV

The history of the voiced velar and uvular plosives is a bit more complicated than that of the voiceless ones, because the surrounding vowels, as noted above, strongly

15 Cf. OT *sakīs* 'counting, calculation; thought, care, worry'.

16 Cf. OT *sokuš-* 'to beat, crush one another'.

17 Cf. OT *sakīn-* 'to think'.

18 Cf. OT *dökün-* 'to pour (e.g. water) over oneself'.

19 Cf. OT *akīm* 'a single act of flowing'.

determined their development. In those languages where there was/is a tendency to change the /g/ to a semi-vowel in intervocalic position, rounded vowels can result in a /g/ >> /w/ change, and the unrounded vowels in a /g/ >> /y/ one. In palatal words even the rounded environment can result in a /g/ >> /y/ change; see the examples below. Another distinguishing feature is a stronger tendency for change between front vowels, see e.g. Khalaj where the position of the intervocalic /g/ in velar words is very stable, but in palatal environments it can change to /y/: *teyün*<sup>20</sup> ‘miteinander in Konflikt geraten, sich überkreuzen’.

The intervocalic /g/ has been preserved in the Turki branch; in Azerbaijanian, in Turkmen and in Khalaj usually in velar environments:

- (12) *âğil*<sup>21</sup> ‘xlev, korotnik, saraj dlja skota’, *bağir*<sup>22</sup> ‘pečen’, *tugun*<sup>23</sup> ‘uzel; uzelok’ (Uzb), *ağil*, *eğil* ‘xlev; korjušnja; skotnyj dvor’, *bağir*, *beğir* ‘pečen’, *tügün* ‘uzel; uzelok, zavjazka’ (MUyg), *ayil*, *âyil* ‘dvor, selenie’ (YUyg), *payir*, *payir* ‘pečen’ (Sal);
- (13) *ağir*<sup>24</sup> ‘tjaželyj, veskij, uvesistyj; trudnyj’ (Az), *agir* ‘tjaželyj; gruznyj; uvesistyj, imejuščij bol’šoj ves’ (Tkm);
- (14) *ayil* ‘Viehhürde, Schafstall’, *ayir* ‘schwer’ (Khal).

It has changed to a labial fricative in Chuvash:

- (15) *yivär* ‘tjaželyj’, *pëver* ‘(anat.) pečen’, *tëvë* ‘uzel, uzelok; petlja’ (Chuv).

Depending on the environment, the Kipchak and the Oguzic branches present a labial fricative, or one of the semi-vowels /w/ and /y/:

- (16) *avir* ‘tjaželyj’, *bavir* ‘pečen’, *pečenka*, *töyen* ‘uzel; uzelok, svërtok’ (Tat), *awir* ‘tjaželyj’, *bawir* ‘pečen’, *töyön* ‘uzel; vypuklost’ na čëm-l.; bugorok; komok’ (Bashk), *awir* ‘heavy; hard, difficult’, *bawir* ‘liver’, *tüyin* ‘(bot.) tuber; knot; (fig.) kernel, basic idea, nucleus’ (Kaz), *awir* ‘(v razn. znač.) tjaželyj; trudnyj’, *bawir* ‘pečen’ (Kklp), *avir* ‘tjaželyj, imejuščij bol’šoj ves, vesomyj’, *bavir* ‘pečen’, *pečenka*’ (Nog), *tüyün* ‘uzel’, *üyür* ‘kosjak; stado; staja’ (Kirg), *avur* ‘tjaželyj, gruznyj’, *bavur* ‘(anat.) pečen’ (Kum), *awur* ‘tjaželyj’, *bawur* ‘pečen’ (KrchBlk), *avur* ‘tjaželyj; trudnyj; medlennyj’ (CrTat), *avur* ‘tjaželyj’, *bavur*

20 Cf. OT *tägin*- ‘to reach, attain’.

21 Cf. OT *agil* ‘an enclosure for livestock; cattle-pen, sheep-fold; a settlement or group of tents’.

22 Cf. OT *bagir* ‘the liver’.

23 Cf. OT *tügün* ‘a knot’.

24 Cf. OT *agir* ‘heavy’.

‘pečen’, pečenka’ (Kar), *tivin* ‘uzel’ (KarH), *tüyünčik* ‘uzel, uzelok, svértok’ (KarCr);

- (17) *kavun*<sup>25</sup> ‘muskmelon, melon’, *kavur*<sup>26</sup> ‘to fry, to roast, to dry’, *dügün* [düyün] ‘wedding feast; circumcision feast’ (Tt), *buzov*<sup>27</sup> ‘telenok’, *düyün* ‘uzel, zavjazka; suk v brevne, v doske’ (Az), *gāvun* ‘dynja’, *buzav* ‘(ust.) telenok’, *düvün* ‘uzel; šiška, narost’ (Tkm).

Due to strong contraction the segment /VgV/ changed to a long vowel in the South Siberian branch, in Yakut, in Gagauz and in Kirghiz:

- (18) *āl* ‘selenie; tabor’, *bār* ‘pečen’ (Tuv), *āl* ‘selenie, naselennyj punkt, derevnja; (obl.) ulus’, *pār* ‘pečen’’, *ōr*<sup>28</sup> ‘stado; tabun; staja’, *tūnjek* ‘uzelok, svjazka’ (Khak), *pūr* ‘pečen’; serdce’, *ūs*<sup>29</sup> ‘rot; otverstie’, *ūr* ‘kosjak, tabun; stado, staja’, *tüyün*, *tün* ‘uzel’ (Oyr);
- (19) *iāy*<sup>30</sup> ‘djadja (po materinskoj linii bezotnositel’no k polu govorjaščego)’ (Y);
- (20) *ār* ‘tjaželyj, trudnyj; medlennyj’, *āz* ‘rot, usta, past’’, *dūn* ‘svad’ba; svadebnyj’ (Gag);
- (21) *ōr* ‘tjaželyj; trudnyj’, *bōr* ‘pečen’ (Kirg).

Yakut most often renders a diphthong in the place of the segment /VgV/:

- (22) *īar* ‘tjaželyj; gruznyj’, *bīar* ‘pečen, pečenka’, *uol* ‘syn; mal’čik; paren’, junoša’ (Y).

Turkish drops the /g/ in velar environment, and the preceding vowel becomes long:

- (23) *ağır* [āīr] ‘heavy, weighty; hard; grave, severe, dangerous’, *ağız* [āīz] ‘mouth; opening; entrance’, *yuğur-*, *yoğur-*<sup>31</sup> [yūur, yōur] ‘to knead’ (Tt).

In extreme cases, sometimes in the neighbourhood of a /y/, the segment /VgV/ contracts to a short vowel in the Kipchak and in the Oguzic branches:

25 Cf. OT *kagun* ‘melon’.

26 Cf. OT *kagur-* ‘to parch (grain and the like); to bake, roast’.

27 Cf. OT *buzagu* ‘a calf’.

28 Cf. OT *ōgūr* ‘a herd’.

29 Cf. OT *ağız* ‘the mouth’.

30 Cf. OT *tagay* ‘maternal uncle’.

31 Cf. OT *yugur-* ‘to knead (dough, etc.)’.

(24) *dayi* ‘djadja’ (Kklp), *tay ake* ‘djadja’ (Kirg), *ul*<sup>32</sup> ‘syn’ (Tat), *ul* ‘syn’ (Bashk), *ul* ‘son’ (Kaz), *ul* ‘syn’ (Nog);

(25) *dayı* ‘maternal uncle’, *yirmi*<sup>33</sup> ‘twenty’ (Tt), *dayi* ‘djadja (brat materi)’ (Az).

The following figure summarizes the history of the segment /VgV/:

<b>g / γ</b>	labialization >	<b>v</b>	elision >>	<b>∅</b>
<b>g / γ</b>	approximation >	<b>w / y</b>	elision >	<b>∅</b>
Turki		Chuvash		South Siberian (V̄)
Azerbaijani [+velar]		Kipchak		Gagauz (V̄)
Turkmen [+velar]		Oguz		Kirghiz (V̄)
Khalaj [+velar]		Khalaj [-velar]		Yakut (V̄, VV)
		Oyrot [-velar]		Turkish (V̄V)

### 3. Out of the strong tendencies

A detailed analysis of the whole corpus makes evident that there are a great number of words in the Turkic languages which do not follow the above described strong tendencies. These cases will be discussed and analysed in the following sub-chapters. This part of the article does not intend to present either the full corpus of the ‘irregular’ words, or a detailed analysis of the single items. The main goal is to define and establish the full set of characteristic and determining factors on the basis of which the detailed analysis can be realised in the future.

#### 3.1. Oguzic influence on some Kipchak languages

The Crimean Tatar and Crimean Karaim languages were strongly influenced by Ottoman Turkish. As a result of this contact situation, a great number of Oguzic loanwords can be found in both languages. Regarding the history of the intervocalic velars, the Kipchak and the Oguzic languages behave differently. This phenomenon can be used in the separation of certain Oguzic loanwords. For instance, the presence of an intervocalic /k/ in those words where the other Kipchak languages have a voiced /g/ indicates the status of the word: e.g. Crimean Tatar *çiqar-* ‘vyvodit’;

32 Cf. OT *ogul* ‘offspring, child’.

33 Cf. OT *yigirmi* ‘twenty’.



vypuskat'; vytjagivat'; vynimat'' and *yïqil*-<sup>34</sup> 'svalit'sja, padat'', as opposed to the Kipchakoid forms \**čïgar*-, \**yïgil*-, are loanwords from Ottoman Turkish. Sometimes both the Kipchakoid and the Oguzic variants are present; see e.g. Crimean Karaim *yïqil*-, *yïgil*- 'padat', opuskat'sja'. The following words also represent Oguzic elements in Crimean Tatar and Crimean Karaim:

Oguzic	Crimean Tatar and Crimean Karaim	Kipchakoid
<i>ağir</i>	→ <i>ağir</i> 'tjaželyj; trudnyj; medlennyj' (CrTat), <i>ağir</i> 'tjaželyj; trudnyj' (KarCr)	↔ * <i>awir</i>
<i>bağir</i>	→ <i>bağir</i> 'grud'; pečen' (ust.)' (CrTat), <i>bağir</i> 'pečen'; pečenka' (KarCr)	↔ * <i>bawir</i>
<i>oğul</i>	→ <i>ağul</i> 'mal'čik' (CrTat), <i>oğul</i> 'syn' (KarCr)	↔ * <i>ul</i>
<i>tügün</i>	→ <i>tügün</i> 'svad'ba' (KarCr) <sup>35</sup>	↔ * <i>tüyün</i>
	'wedding'	'knot'

### 3.2. Geminated velars in intervocalic position

There are words in the Turkic languages that have geminated velars in intervocalic position.<sup>36</sup> Many of them came into being on the boundary of two adjacent morphemes, see e.g. *baku* 'a look-out' < \**bak-gu* ← *bak*- 'to look at' with the suffix -*gU* and *tikän* 'thorn' < \**tik-gän* ← *tik*- 'to insert' with the suffix -*gAn*.

Investigating the words with geminated velars, a noteworthy phenomenon can be detected: while there is no difference between the development of the double velars /kk/ or /gg/ and the single velars /k/ or /g/ in most of the Turkic languages, the Kipchak branch renders different developments for the two types: as opposed to the single velars, the double ones are mostly resistant to sound changes such as voicing, spirantization or approximation. Although the sound group /VkV/ regularly changed to /VgV/ in the Kipchak languages, the Kazakh word *baqïla*- (*baqï+la*-) 'to observe, check, inspect' has preserved the /k/. This is the case with the Kirghiz word *tiken* 'koljučka; zanoza' which also preserved the voiceless velar.

A possible answer for this special behaviour is that the voicing of /k/ took place in the Kipchak branch earlier than the degemination of /kk/. As a result of this order, /kk/ could not change to /g/. Similarly, the voiced velar /gg/ also could not change to an approximant, because its degemination started later in time. For a summary of the typical scenarios in the Kipchak branch, see the following figure:

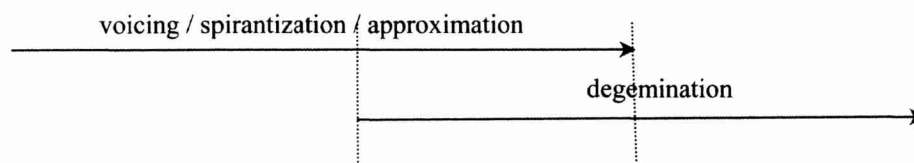
34 Cf. OT *yïkil*- 'to collapse, fall down'.

35 Not only the preservation of intervocalic /g/, but the meaning 'wedding' also strengthen the status of the word.

36 A short overview of the geminated consonants in Old Turkic was written by Bazin (1968).

$$\begin{array}{l}
 */kk/^{PT} > /k/^{Kip} > /g/ > /ɣ/ \\
 */k/^{PT} > /g/ > /ɣ/^{Kip} \\
 */gg/^{PT} > /g/ > /ɣ/^{Kip} > /w y/ > /ø/ \\
 */g/^{PT} > /ɣ/ > /w y/^{Kip} > /ø/
 \end{array}$$

In certain cases the voicing process could happen in the Kipchak languages even if a word originally had a double consonant, see below, e.g., the word *ywkaru* ‘upwards’ < *\*ywk-garu* with voiced /g/ in some Kipchak languages. Such words indicate that the two changes, i.e. degemination and voicing/spirantization/approximation, overlapped each other, and the process of degemination could happen in certain cases so early that some words with original geminates were able to take part in the voicing process:



In sections 3.2.1 to 3.2.3 those Turkic words will be discussed which do not follow the strong tendencies described under 2. The analysis of the data will be based on the two groups of overlapping sound changes (voicing / spirantization / approximation vs. degemination) in the Kipchak languages.

### 3.2.1. Words with clear etymological background

As mentioned above the word *baku* ‘a look-out’ comes from the verbal base *bak-* ‘to look at’, and it is a derivative in *-gU*.<sup>37</sup> Already Kāšgarī (545) correctly analysed this word, stating that it was ‘originally with double *qāf*’. Modern Uygur has another derivative of *bak-* in *-gUčī*, which also shows the same phenomenon, cf. *baquči* ‘prismatrivajuščij, uxaživajuščij’. The word is unfortunately not common in the modern Turkic languages, but the Kazakh form *baqila-* ‘to observe, check, inspect’, with the additional ending *+lA-*, may go back to the same origin. In this case the preservation of the intervocalic /k/ in Kazakh is the result of the original double consonant.

The word *soku* ‘mortar’ also shows the simplification of a geminate on morpheme boundary. It is a derivative of the verb *sok-* ‘to beat, crush’ with the same suffix *-gU*. Kāšgarī (545) gives its original form also with geminate (*soqqu*).

<sup>37</sup> The suffix *-gU* appearing already in the Old Turkic sources, was a projection participle, not a word formative element, but words in *-gU* sometimes were lexicalized. For further details on this, see Erdal (2004: 302–306).

Sanglax (245r18), the Middle Turkic dictionary of Muḥammad Maḥdī khan, cites the word with two *qāf*: *soqqu* ‘a large wooden mortar (*hāwan*)’. In some modern languages this geminate is still preserved, or there are other, sometimes very recent, derivatives also with geminated /kk/:

- (26) *suqī*, *awan-suqī*, *awan-sōqī* ‘stupa, stupka’ (SibTat), *soqqa* ‘mortar’ (Kaz), *zoku*, *zokgu*, *zokku* ‘büyük taş dibek’ (TiD), *soqqī* ‘stupka; stuk’ (KhakQbR, KhakSR), *sok*, *sokī*, *sokkī*, *sokpa* ‘stupa’ (Alt).

The unvoiced velar in Kirghiz *soku* ‘stupa (derevjannaja)’, instead of a Kipchakoid *\*sogu*, also argues for an original geminated velar.

The word *tikān* ‘thorn’, i.e. ‘the stinging one’, is most likely a derivate from the verb *tik-* ‘to insert’ with the participle-like formative *-gAn*; see also Erdal (1991: 385). Kāšgarī (202) has already noted in his dictionary that this word originally had a geminate, cf. *\*tikān* ‘thorn (šawk)’. This pronunciation is only for lightness. By rule one should double the *kāf* and say: *tikkān*. The modern Kipchak data also point to this original geminate:

- (27) *tiken* ‘koljučka; zanoza’ (Kirg), *tiken* ‘prickly bushes, thorn, thorny, splinter’ (Kaz), *tikān* ‘koljučki (u nek-ryx rastenij)’ (Bashk).<sup>38</sup>

The word *yaka* ‘the edge, or border’, if its widely accepted etymology is valid, also had a geminated velar: *yaka* < *\*yakka* < *\*yak-ga*. It is namely a derivative of the verb *yak-* ‘to approach, or be near’ in *-gA*, see e.g. Erdal (1991: 381). This word can be found in all the Turkic languages, and there is a great number of data supporting a geminated velar

- (28) *yaka* ‘vorot, vorotnik’ (Tat), *yaqa* ‘der Kragen, der Rand, der Ufer’, *jaqa* ‘der Kragen, der Rand, die Grenze’ (TatKR), *jaka* ‘vorotnik, (v nekotoryx mestax) odežda, kraj, bereg, predgor’e, (tjan’š. str.) mauërlat’ (Kirg), *yaqa* ‘vorotnik’ (CrTat),<sup>39</sup> *yaqa* ‘vorotnik’ (KarSh).

However there are examples with a voiced velar:

38 There are other derivatives from the verb *tik-* which also had geminates, see e.g. *tikū* ‘a piece’: *bīr tikū āt* ‘a slice of meat’. Kāšgarī (546) notes that ‘[i]ts root-form has a double *kāf* which was lightened...’ There appears a similar form in the Chagatay dictionary of Pavet de Courteille as *tikkā* ‘pièce’, *tikkā tikkā* ‘en pièces’. See further *bir tike* ‘nemnožko, čutočku’ (Kirg) and *tikā* ‘nemnogo, čut’-čut’ (Bashk). Another word is *tiküč* ‘pastry-cook’s prick’ in Kāšgarī (180) < *\*tik-güč* with the instrumental formative *-gUč*, see Erdal (1991: 358).

39 The Crimean Tatar word can also be a loanword from Ottoman Turkish.

- (29) *yāğa* ‘vorot, vorotnik, (étn.) nagrudnik (ženskoe nagrudnoe ukrašenie iz našityx materiju serebrjanyx monet, korallov i dragocennyx kamnej)’, s pritjaž. affiksom 3 l. ‘kraj, bereg’ (Bashk), *žağa* ‘shore, coast, beach, collar’ (Kaz), *žağa* ‘vorotnik, kraj, bereg, beregovoj’ (Kklp), *yaga* ‘vorotnik, bereg, beregovoj’ (Nog), *yāğa* ‘der Kragen, das Ufer’ (CrTatR), *yāğa* ‘bereg, konec, kraj, predel’ (KarH, KarCr), *yāğa* ‘vorot, vorotnik, bereg, kraj’ (Kum), *yaga* ‘Kragen, Ufer, Rand’ (KumN), *džağa* ‘bereg, poberež’e, beregovoj, vorotnik, vorot’ (KrchBlk), *jağa* ‘Kragen’ (KrchP).

In certain languages both forms are present:

- (30) *yaga* ‘szél, szegély, mellék [edge, border, environs]’, *yaka* ‘gallér [collar]’ (BashkP), *jağa* ‘der Kragen, das Ufer’, *jaqa* ‘der Kragen, die Rand, die Grenze’ (KazR).

This double representation of the original geminated /kk/ can be interpreted as two processes, i.e. voicing and degemination, having overlapped each other, and degemination could precede voicing in certain cases. As a result, /kk/ > /k/ > /g/ could appear.

Another well-known example is the word *ywkaru* ‘upwards’ which comes from the nominal base *ywk* ‘high ground’ with the directive ending +*gArU*. Although it is a clear example for a geminated velar,<sup>40</sup> most of the Kipchak languages render a voiced /g/, see e.g. *yoğari* ‘verx; vverx; naverxu; vysoko; vyše’ (Kar), *yugari* ‘verx’ (Tat), *yuğari* ‘vysoko; vyše’ (Bashk), *joğari* ‘height; top, upper part’ (Kaz), etc. The only languages where the velar remained unvoiced—always in alternation with a voiced variant—are: *joğari*, *joqari*, *yoqari* ‘verx’ (Kklp) and *joqoru* (južn.), *joqoru*, *joqor* ‘verx, vverx’ (Kirg).<sup>41</sup> The history of this word shows that the degemination of the original double consonant happened sometimes earlier than in other cases. Accordingly *ywkaru* could take part in the standard voicing processes of the words with original /VkV/.

It is a widely accepted view that the word *yaku* ‘a raincoat’ is a derivative of the verb *yag-* ‘to pour down; to rain’ and that it had a double consonant at the boundary of the first and second syllables.<sup>42</sup> Although this etymology raises a couple of difficulties, some modern Turkic data also point to a geminated velar, i.e. *yaku* < \**yakku* < \**yagku* or \**yaggu*, see:

40 Sanglax (344r2) still preserved the original form as *yoğğari* ‘upwards, above (bālā wa fawq)’ and Khalaj also has a double consonant: *yuqqar* ‘oben, nach oben’.

41 Crimean Tatar *yuqari* ‘vverx; staršij’ may be an Ottoman loanword.

42 See the first appearance of this etymology in Kāšğarī (454), who wrote that ‘[i]ts root form is *yāğqu*, which was lightened’.

- (31) *žaǰi* ‘winter colt-skin coat’ (Kaz), *yaqqi* ‘ein Pelz aus Rehfell, der mit den Haaren nach aussen getragen wird, ein Pelz mit Shawlkragen, gewöhnlich aus Murmeltierfell’ (AltR), *yaqqi, d’aqqi* ‘ein Pelz aus Rehfell, der mit den Haaren nach aussen getragen wird’ (AltTelR).

The word *yarlika-* ‘to be gracious, compassionate; to issue orders, to command’ < \**yarligka-* can also be mentioned here. It is from the noun *yarlig* ‘poor, destitute, pitiable’ with the derivative element  $+(X)(r)kA-$ .<sup>43</sup> Although it can be observed in some modern Turkic languages, it is a rather religious or technical term belonging to the written language and hardly used in the spoken varieties. Therefore the Kipchak examples with an unvoiced /k/ do not indicate a double consonant, but rather constitute a simple preservation of the original form written with a /k/, see:

- (32) *yarlika-* ‘(rel. razg.) milovat’, pomilovat’, proščat’, prostit’, otpuskat’ (otpustit’) grexi’ (Tat), *yarliqa-* ‘(rel.) proščat’, prostit’ (kogo), otpuskat’, otpustit’ grexi (komu)’ (Bashk), *yarlika-* ‘(ust.) odarivat’ (kogo-l.); (rel.) proščat’, otpuskat’ grexi’ (Nog).

Finally the word *yakīn* ‘near’ will be discussed, because its widely accepted etymology poses difficulties. According to a common view, it comes from the verbal base *yak-* ‘to approach, to be near to’ as an ergative formation in  $-Xn$ , see e.g. Erdal (1991: 302). It is always compared with the word *uzun* ‘long’ ← *uza-* ‘to be, or become, long, or long drawn’, because both are from intransitive verbs and used adjectivally. If we look at the modern Kipchak forms, it can be seen, however, that they preserved the unvoiced /k/ without exception:

- (33) *yakīn* ‘blizko, nedaleko; okolo, počti’ (Tat), *yaqīn* ‘blizko’ (Bashk), *žaǰīn* ‘near, by, beside, to; near relative’ (Kaz), *žakīn* ‘blizko; skoro; svoj (podnoj, rodstvennik); drug, prijatelj’; okolo, priblizitel’no’ (Kklp), *ǰakīn* ‘blizko; blizkij; svoj (rodnoj); drug, prijatelj’ (Kirg), *yakīn* ‘blizkij’ (CrTat), *yaqīn* ‘blizkij’ (KarCr), *yakīn* ‘(dial.) blizko’ (Nog).

Based on this etymology it is difficult to interpret the modern Kipchak counterparts. Interestingly, the vowel in the second syllable is long in both words in Turkmen: *uđīn* ‘dlinnyj’ and *yakīn* ‘blizkij; nedalekij, nedal’nij; približennyj; rodnoj’. As a working hypothesis we can suppose that the vowel in the second syllable was, or became very early, long and stopped the voicing process of the /k/. Another possibility is that the etymology, i.e. *yak-Xn* is not valid. However, further research is needed to prove which explanation is valid.

43 Bisyllabic words ending in a consonant take the short form  $+kA-$ , see further Erdal (1991: 458–465).

### 3.2.2. The case of the numerals

Some numerals in Turkic may point to geminated consonants (*eki* ~ *ekki* ‘2’, *yeti* ~ *yetti* ‘7’, *säkiz* ~ *säkkiz* ‘8’, *tokuz* ~ *tokkuz* ‘9’, *otuz* ~ *ottuz* ‘30’ and *elig* ~ *ellig* ‘50’). There are two different views about the origin of these geminated consonants. One may think that they are original and only seldom written in the sources, but some modern languages clearly show them. See. e.g., Clauson (1972: 823 and 1959: 20–22) who writes that ‘sekkiz ‘eight’; like ottuz, ékki., q.v., and three other numerals originally had a medial double consonant, but this is seldom written and in many languages not pronounced.’ The word *eki* ~ *ekki* ‘2’ has, e.g., relatively few examples with geminate in the historical sources:

- (34) *ekki* ‘the number ‘two’’ (AK), *äkki*, *iki* ‘dva’ (AIM), *iki*, *ikki* ‘dva’ (ANehF), *ikki*: *ikki böl-* ‘to divide in two’ (ARbg), *eki*, *ekki* ‘zwei’ (LCC), *ik(k)i kâz* ‘deux fois’ (ABul), *yäkki* ‘2 (sic!)’ (ADur).

All the other sources I checked render the word as *eki*.

Other scholars argue that these geminated consonants of the numerals are secondary. The Chuvash numerals may indicate that they are of emphatic origin:

one	<i>përre</i>	<i>për</i>
two	<i>ikkë</i>	<i>ikë, ik</i>
three	<i>viššë</i>	<i>višë, viš</i>
four	<i>tāvattā</i>	<i>tāvata, tāvat</i>
five	<i>pillëk</i>	<i>pilëk</i>
six	<i>ulttā</i>	<i>ultā, ult</i>
seven	<i>šiččë</i>	<i>šičë</i>
eight	<i>sakkār</i>	<i>sakār</i>
nine	<i>tāxxār</i>	<i>tāxār</i>
ten	<i>vunnā</i>	<i>vun</i>

Whatever may be the case, the appearance of the geminates is most likely older than the initial state of the voicing processes /k/ > /g/ in the Turkic languages. The following table gives the modern Turkic forms of the numerals *eki*, *säkiz*, *tokuz* and the word *ekiz* ‘twin’ as a clear derivative of *eki*:

languages	two	twin	eight	nine
Tatar	<i>ike</i>	<i>igez</i>	<i>sigez</i>	<i>tugiz</i>
Bashkir	<i>ike</i>	<i>igeđ</i>	<i>higeđ</i>	<i>tuğıđ</i>
Kirghiz	<i>eki</i>	<i>egiz</i>	<i>segiz</i>	<i>toguz</i>
Kazakh	<i>yeki</i>	<i>yegiz</i>	<i>segiz</i>	<i>toğiz</i>
Karakalpak	<i>eki, yeki</i>	<i>yegiz</i>	<i>säkkiz, segiz</i>	<i>toğuz, toqquz</i>

Nogay	<i>eki</i>	<i>egiz</i>	<i>segiz</i>	<i>togiz</i>
Karaim (Trakai)	<i>eki</i>	<i>egiz'ak</i>	<i>segiz'</i>	<i>toğuz</i>
Karaim (Halič)	<i>eki, iki</i>	<i>egizek</i>	<i>segiz</i>	<i>toguz</i>
Karaim (Crimean)	<i>eki</i>	<i>egiz</i>	<i>sekkiz</i>	<i>dokuz</i>
Crimean Tatar	<i>eki</i>	–	<i>sekiz</i>	<i>tokuz</i> <sup>44</sup>
Kumück	<i>eki</i>	<i>egiz</i>	<i>segiz</i>	<i>toğuz</i>
Karachay-Balkar	<i>eki</i>	<i>egiz</i>	<i>segiz</i>	<i>toğuz</i>
Turkish	<i>iki</i>	<i>ikiz</i>	<i>sekiz</i>	<i>dokuz</i>
Azerbaijani	<i>iki</i>	<i>äkiz</i>	<i>säkkiz</i>	<i>doğğuz</i>
Gagauz	<i>iki</i>	<i>ikiz</i>	<i>sekiz</i>	<i>dokuz</i>
Turkmen	<i>iki</i>	<i>ekiz</i>	<i>sekiz</i>	<i>sokuz</i>
Modern Uygur	<i>ikki</i>	<i>egiz</i>	<i>säkkiz</i>	<i>toqquz</i>
Turki dialects	<i>iki, ikki, işki</i>	–	<i>sekiz</i>	<i>toquz, toqquz</i>
Yellow Uygur	<i>iški, işke</i>	–	<i>sekes, sak'is</i>	<i>toqış, to'qis</i>
Salar	<i>iski, ički, işki</i>	–	<i>sēkis, sēkes, sekis</i>	<i>toqos</i>
Oyrot	<i>eki</i>	<i>egis</i>	<i>segis</i>	<i>togus</i>
Tuvan	<i>iyi</i>	<i>iyis</i>	<i>ses</i>	<i>tos</i>
Khakass	<i>ikī</i>	<i>ikīs</i>	<i>sigīs</i>	<i>toğīs</i>
Chuvash	<i>ikkē, ikē, ik</i>	<i>yěkēreš</i>	<i>sakkār</i>	<i>tāxxār, tāxār</i>
Khalaj	<i>äkki</i>	–	<i>säkkiz</i>	<i>toqquz</i>
Yakut	<i>ikki</i>	<i>igire</i> <sup>45</sup>	<i>ağis</i>	<i>toğus</i>

As can be seen from this table, the Kipchak languages show uncommon behaviour. Although all the four words have the same segment /VkkV/, only the word *eki* has preserved the original voiceless consonant, while the other three have a voiced /g/. A working hypothesis for this phenomenon was proposed by Berta (2001: 177) in one of his papers. He interprets it as a conditioned sound change, i.e. under the influence of the final /z/ the degemination /kk/ > /k/ happened much earlier in these words than in others, early enough to take part in the regular voicing process /k/ > /g/. In addition he notes (p. 182) that the word structure, found in some new Russian loanwords, (C)VkVz is not known from these languages. Most likely it is a regressive assimilation /k/ > /g/ triggered by the final /z/.

44 The Crimean Tatar and Crimean Karaim words for 'eight' and 'nine' are loanwords from Ottoman.

45 A loanword from Mongolic, cf. *ikire, ikere* 'twins'.

### 3.2.3. Words with dubious etymological background

There are Turkic words lacking a clear etymology that look like words with original /VkV/ or /VgV/, but the modern Kipchak counterparts may point to an original double consonant. In the following section some of these examples will be discussed and analysed.

In his etymological dictionary, Clauson (1972: 610) writes that the word *kakač* ‘dirt’ is perhaps a diminutive form of the word *kak* ‘something dried’.<sup>46</sup> There are at least two problems with this explanation: (1) there is no diminutive ending +Ač in Old Turkic known to me; and (2) the Kipchak languages have preserved the unvoiced /k/ which likely points to an original geminate, see:

- (35) *kakaš* ‘vjalenoje (ili) kopčenoje mjaso; (peren.) toščij, xudoj’ (Nog), *kakač* ‘perxot’; bran’ po adresu koz’ (Kirg).<sup>47</sup>

A possible solution for these problems is to analyse the word as a derivative in +gAč. Based on the form *kakač* < \**kakkač* < \**kakgač* the Kipchak data can be understood. However, this explanation raises semantic difficulties since the formative +gAč, as a class marker, is used only in animal and plant names.

The word *bogaz*, *boguz* ‘throat’ has an etymology proposed by Erdal (1991: 326). According to him it comes from the verb *bog-* ‘to strangle’, ‘the throat being the only part of a person’s body by which he can get strangled.’ This is, on the one hand, although very ingenious, semantically not very convincing; on the other hand, the modern Kipchak data may point to an original double consonant:

- (36) *bugaz* ‘(anat.) gortan’, gorlo, glotka; (geogr.) proliv’ (Tat), *boğad* ‘(anat.) gorlo; proliv’ (Bashk), *bogoz* ‘(južn.) mesto sxoženiya dvux ili neskol’kix ložbin’, *boguz* ‘otverstie v seredine verxnego mel’ničnogo žernova, večeja’ (Kirg), *bogaz* ‘dvojnoj podborodok; (geogr.) proliv’ (Nog), *boğaz* ‘proliv, zaton’ (KrchBlk).

It is worth noting that there is a homophone word *bogaz*, *boguz* ‘pregnant’<sup>48</sup> in the Turkic languages which behaves differently in the modern Kipchak languages, see the table below:

46 The other explanation of Clauson’s (1972: 610), according to which it is a quasi-onomatopoeic word, cannot be taken seriously.

47 The words *qaqač* ‘vjalenoje mjaso’ (CrTat) and *qaqač* ‘sušenoje, vjalenoje mjaso (bol’šej čast’ju koz’e)’ (KarCr) are not used here because they could be Ottoman loanwords, cf. *kakaç* ‘dried meat; salted and dried fish’ (Tt).

48 On the possible etymologies and explanations of this word already proposed in the Turkological literature, see Kincses Nagy (2005: 176–177).



	<i>bogVz</i> ‘throat’	<i>bogVz</i> ‘pregnant’
Tatar	<i>bugaz</i>	<i>buaz</i>
Bashkir	<i>boǵaǵ</i>	<i>bïwaz</i>
Nogay	<i>bogaz</i>	<i>buvaz</i>
Karachay-Balkar	<i>boǵaz</i>	<i>buwaz</i>
Kirghiz	<i>bogoz, boguz</i>	<i>bōz, buvaz</i>

Since there are no convincing etymologies for these words and, accordingly, their relation is unclear, completely different opinions can be formulated: (1) they are independent words without any relation; (2) they are different derivatives of the same base, i.e. *boggVz* vs. *bogVz*; or (3) the different forms in the modern Kipchak languages emerged as a result of an early split. However, further research is needed to make a solid statement.

Finally I mention here the word *ïgač, aǵač* ‘tree’. According to Erdal (1991: 84) it is a derivative from the noun *ï* ‘vegetation; bush’ with the class marker +*gAč* mentioned above at the word *kakač*. The word behaves uncommonly in the Turkic languages: (1) the first syllable shows the alternation: *a ~ ĩ ~ ya ~ yï ~ ha ~ hï*,<sup>49</sup> and (2) the intervocalic velar remained intact not only in the Kipchak, but in the South Siberian languages where the contraction of the segment /VgV/ is very strong, see:

- (37) *aǵač* ‘derevo; les, derevo (drevesina)’ (Tat), *aǵas* ‘derevo; les (material)’ (Bashk), *aǵaš* ‘tree, wood, timber’ (Kaz), *ïǵač* ‘derevo (obščee nazvanie: rastuščee, srublennoe, drevesina)’ (Kirg), *aǵač* ‘derevo’ (Kum); *aǵas* ‘derevo; les’ (Khak), *agas* ‘derevo’ (Oyr).<sup>50</sup>

Until an explanation is suggested, all we can do is register this phenomenon.

### 3.3. Onomatopoeic words

There are a great number of onomatopoeic words in Turkic with intervocalic /k/ which also cannot follow the strong tendencies. In the following, I present some typical cases of onomatopoeic verbs in +*kI-* and +*kIr-* falling into this category:

The verbs *tokï-* ‘to hit, knock’ and *okï-* ‘to call out aloud; to recite; to read’ are well documented since the Old Turkic period. The base of *tokï-* is the onomatopoeic word *tok*, cf. *tok tok etti* ‘something solid made a noise’ in Kāšǵarī (167). Discussing the verb *okï-*, Erdal (1991: 468) cites a word of exclamation in *w̄* as a possible stem for it, cf. *ũ* ‘a particle of response to a caller’ in Kāšǵarī (32). Another explanation

49 The same can be seen in the case of the word *agla-*, *ïgla-* ‘to weep’.

50 As an exception, Tofalar *ñeš* probably comes from *ñas* < \**ñās* < \**ñagač* < \**yagač*, cf. Róna-Tas–Berta (2011: 54).

could be that the word *okī-* comes from a stem like *ok* which was homophonous with, or maybe the same as, the enclitic particle *ok* known from the historical sources.

The modern Kipchak languages preserved the original unvoiced /k/ in both cases, see:

- (38) *tukī-* ‘tkat’, sotkat’; dolbit’, stučat’ (o djatle); (peren.) tverdit’ (dolbit’, govorit’) odno i to že’ (Tat), *tukī-* ‘tkat’, sotkat’ (čto); vzbaltyvat’, vzboltat’, vzbivat’, vzbít’ (čto); mesit’, zamesit’ (testo); (peren.) tverdit’, dolbit’ odno i to že’ (Bashk), *toqī-*, *toqu-* ‘to weave’ (Kaz), *toqī-* ‘tkat’; vjazat’; (peren.) osvoit’; osoznat’ (Kklp), *tokī-* ‘tkat’; (kn.) vjazat’ (Nog), *toku-* ‘tkat’; sedlat’ (Kirg);
- (39) *ukī-* ‘čitat’; učit’, učit’sja, obučat’sja; (peren.) uznavat’ (Tat), *uqī-* ‘čitat’ (čto); učit’sja, obučit’sja, zanimat’sja’ (Bashk), *oqī-* ‘to read; to learn, study’ (Kaz), *oqī-* ‘čitat’; učit’sja, obučat’sja’ (Kklp), *okī-* ‘čitat’; učit’sja, obučat’sja, zanimat’sja’ (Nog), *oku-* ‘čitat’; učit’sja (čteniju, pis’mu, naukam); (etn.) otčityvat’, zagovarivat’ (znaxarskij sposob lečenija)’ (Kirg), *oxu-* ‘čitat’; učit’sja’ (Kum), *oqu-* ‘čitat’ (KrchBlk).

Similar to the formative *+kI-*, *+kIr-* also creates verbs from onomatopoeic stems. Here we discuss two examples: *bakīr-* ‘to shout, bellow’ and *čakīr-* ‘to call out, shout’. On the basis of the Mongolic suffix *+kirA-*, which has the same function as *+kIr-*, it was proposed that the Turkic formative *+kIr-* goes back to Proto-Turkic *\*+kIrA-*, cf. Tekin (1982) and Erdal (1991: 467). The final vowel has regularly disappeared until Old Turkic times.<sup>51</sup>

The word *bakīr-* has a counterpart in Mongolic, see *barkira-* ‘to shout, cry, yell’. The base of this verb is *\*bar*, which can be compared with the Turkish form *bar bar* and *bağır bağır* ‘loudly, at the top of one’s voice’ in *bar bar bağır-* ‘to shout at the top of one’s voice’. Based on this parallel, Tekin (1982: 509) and Erdal (1991: 466) supposed that the Turkic form also had an /r/ which was dropped; thus a Proto-Turkic form *\*bārķira-*<sup>52</sup> can be reconstructed.

The loss of the /r/ happened very early. It could be a simple drop of the /r/ by dissimilation as Erdal (1991: 466) suggested, or it could have disappeared by means of assimilation: *\*bārķira-* > *\*bākkira-* > *\*bākīr-*. The Yakut word *bakkīrā-* ‘gromko plakat’, revet’ (o rebenke)’, as a loanword from Mongolic *barkira-*, represents the latter: Mongolic /rk/ > Yakut /kk/.

51 However, the relation between the two Old Turkic formatives, *+kIr-* and *°krA-* is not clear.

52 The length of the vowel in the first syllable is preserved in Turkmen: *bāğīr-* ‘revet’ (o verbljude); (peren.) žalobno plakat’; rydat’, vopit’ (Tkm). The Turkish form *bağır-* ‘to shout, yell, cry out’ also points to a long vowel.

Intervocalic /k/ has been preserved in the Kipchak languages, see:

- (40) *bakir-* ‘orat’, gromko kričat’, gorlanit’ (Tat), *baqir-* ‘kričat’, orat’ (razg.); gorlanit’ (prost.); revet’; myčat’; blejat’ (Bashk), *baqir-* ‘to howl, shout; cry out; to weep loudly; to scold loudly’ (Kaz), *baqir-* ‘kričat’, orat’; rugat’sja’ (Kklp), *bakir-* ‘kričat’, revet’, vopit’; gromko branit’ (kogo-l.), kričat’ (na kogo-l.)’ (Nog), *bakir-* ‘orat’, veret’, gromko kričat’, gorlanit’ (Kirg).<sup>53</sup>

The word *čakir-* represents the same phenomenon as *bakir-*. Although the Mongolic counterpart of this verb cannot be found, its existence can easily be supposed because some Turkic languages preserved it, cf. *čarkira-* ‘kričat’ (napr. o sil’no plačuščem rebenke ili o grače, galke’ (Kirg) and *čakkirā-* ‘učašč.-dlit. teč’ s šumom; zvonko struit’sja’ (Y). Moreover, the base *čar* exists in Mongolic, cf. *čar* ‘sound of voice, cry, clamour, noise’. On the base of these parallels we can reconstruct the Mongolic verb *čarkira-* and its Turkic pair *\*čarkira-*. The long vowel of the base can be secured by Turkmen *čāgīr-* ‘zvat’, vzyvat’; priglašat’; sozyvat’; prizyvat’ and Turkish *çağır-* ‘to call; to invite; to summon; to shout, to call out; to sing’.

Similarly to *bakir-*, the Kipchak languages have preserved the voiceless /k/:

- (41) *čakir-* ‘zvat’, pozvat’, vzyvat’, vzyvat’; trebovat’, potrebovat’; priglašat’, priglasit’; prizyvat’, prizvat’ (Tat), *saqir-* ‘zvat’, pozvat’, priglašat’, priglasit’ (kogo); prizyvat’, prizvat’ (Bashk), *šaqir-* ‘to call, to invite, to crow’ (Kaz), *šaqir-* ‘zvat’, priglašat’; sozyvat’; kričat’, oklikat’; pet’ (o petuxe)’ (Kklp), *šakir-* ‘zvat’, priglašat’, sozyvat’; prizyvat’ (napr. k zaščite rodiny); pet’ (o petuhe)’ (Nog), *čakir-* ‘zvat’, vzyvat’, priglašat’, sozyvat’ (Kirg), *čaqir-* ‘zvat’, priglašat’; vzyvat’ (Kum), *čaqir-* ‘zvat’ (KrchBlk).<sup>54</sup>

In the previous paragraphs, we argued that the words *toki-*, *oki-*, *bakir-* and *čakir-* did not receive the effects of the sound change /k/ > /g/ because they originally had a double consonant in intervocalic position – either /rk/ > /kk/, or /kk/. There is however one other linguistic fact which can be considered: the onomatopoeic words do not always take part in the general sound changes of a language, which might suggest that the preservation of the /k/ is caused by the onomatopoeic character of the word. It cannot however be a valid argumentation in our case because there are

53 Crimean Tatar *bağır-* ‘kričat’ is an old Ottoman loanword. Crimean Karaim presents both the original Kipchak form and an Ottoman loanword: *baqir-* ‘gromko kričat’, golosit’ and *bağır-* ‘kričat’, respectively.

54 Crimean Tatar has an Ottoman loanword: *čagır-* ‘zvat’; priglašat’. Crimean Karaim presents both *čaqir-* ‘zvat’, prizyvat’; vzyvat’; pet’; kričat’ and *čagır-* ‘zvat’, vzyvat’, vzyvat’. Note that other Karaim dialects also have forms with voiced /g/: *čagır-* ‘zvat’, vzyvat’, vzyvat’ (KarT), *cağır-* ‘zvat’ (KarH).

Turkic languages outside of the Kipchak branch where the voicing of /k/ and other regular sound changes could happen, see e.g.:

- (42) *ōgī-* ‘čitat’ (SibTat),<sup>55</sup> *čār-* ‘zvat’; *priglašat’*; *prizyvāt’* (Gag), *bağīr-* ‘orat’, *revet’* (Az).

Finally another word in this category is also worth mentioning: *baka* ‘frog’. Although it has no convincing etymology, it is likely a word of onomatopoeic origin. The base is usually defined as *\*bak±*. According to Severtjan (1974–1980/2: 40–42) the nominal stem *\*bak* has been preserved in some Turkish dialects as *bağ*, *bābā* ‘kaplumbağa; birkaç günlük kurbağa yavrusu’. From this onomatopoeic word a verb *bak-* has developed which served as a base for the word *baka*. Whatever the case is, there existed a suffix *°gA* in the Turkic languages which formed animal names such as *karga* ‘crow’, *kumursga* ‘ant’, *imga* ‘wild mountain goat’. Maybe some other words with a voiceless /k/ also belong to the same formative: *buka* ‘bull’, *tākā* ‘he goat’, *bökā* ‘a big snake’. Accordingly, the word *baka* can be interpreted as *\*bākka* < *\*bāk-ga*. Sanglax, the Middle Turkic dictionary, and some Oguzic dialects show the traces of the original geminate: *taš-baqqa* ‘tortoise, turtle (sang pušt)’ (San), *ğurbaya*, *ğurbaqqa*, *ğurbaya*, *ğurbayë*, *ğurbaqa*, *ğurbayï*, *ğurbaqğa*, *ğurbaqqa*, *ğurbaqqa*, *ğurbaqğa*, *ğurbaqğä*, *ğurbağğa*, *ğurbayï*, *ğurbaya* ‘Frosch’ (Khor). The length of the base is preserved in Turkmen *gurbāga* ‘ljaguška’, in Khalaj *bāqa* ‘Schildkröte’, *ğurbāya*, *ğulbāya*, *ğurmāya*, *ğurbāča*, *čur(r)ubāqa*, *čurpāq/ya*, *ğirmāqa*, *ğirbāya* ‘Frosch’ and the Turkish forms also point to that: *bağa* ‘tortoise shell’, *kurbağa* ‘frog’ (Tt). The Kipchak counterparts again point to an original double consonant:

- (43) *baka* ‘ljaguška, (fig.) zapor, derevjannyj zasov (dveri) basovaja klaviša, balansir (priposoblenie na mel’nice)’ (Tat), *baqa* ‘ljaguška, ulitka’ (Bashk), *baka* ‘ljaguška, (fig.) suxoparyj čelovek, čelovek (xudoj) kak palka’ (Kirg), *baqa* ‘frog’ (Kaz), *baqa* ‘ljaguška’ (Kklp), *baka* ‘ljaguška’ (Nog), *baqa* ‘ljaguška, ljagušačij’ (CrTat), *baqa* ‘ljaguška’ (KarC), *baqa* ‘ljaguška’ (Kum), *maq* ‘ljaguška’ (KrchBlk), *maq’a* ‘Frosch, Kropf’ (KrchP).<sup>56</sup>

### 3.3.1. The so-called Modern Uyğur umlaut

The Uyğur umlaut is a special kind of regressive assimilation, i.e. the sound /i/ in the second syllable changes the /a/ in the first syllable to an /e/: *seriq* < OT *sariğ* ‘yellow’, *eti* < OT *atī* ‘his/her/its horse’. Comparing the Uyğur words where the regres-

<sup>55</sup> Siberian Tatar is considered to be a group of Kipchakoid dialects, but it behaves differently regarding the intervocalic velars.

<sup>56</sup> See further *bağa* ‘ljaguška’ (KarH, KarT) with voiced /g/.



- (44) *sakal* ‘boroda, borodka plotničn’ego topora’ (Tat), *haqal* ‘boroda’ (Bashk), *sakal* ‘boroda’ (Kirg), *saqal* ‘beard’ (Kaz), *saqal* ‘boroda’ (Kklp), *sakal* ‘boroda’ (Nog), *saqal* ‘boroda’ (CrTat), *sakal* ‘boroda’ (KarT), *saqal* ‘boroda’ (KarSh), *saqal* ‘boroda’ (Kum), *saqal* ‘boroda, podborodok’ (KrchBlk).

From these data we can draw the conclusion that the word *sakal* could originally have had a geminated velar in intervocalic position.<sup>57</sup>

However the proper analysis of such words must be relegated to future papers.

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57 Some Oguzic dialects and Khalaj also point to this: *sağgal*, *sağgal*, *saqqal* ‘Bart’ (Khor), *saqqal* ‘Bart’ (SOg), *saqqal*, *sağgal* ‘Bart’ (Kh). Interestingly, the word *sakak* ‘pendulous; double chin’ considered to come from the same base as *sakal*, follows the strong tendencies: *sagak* ‘(u čeloveka) vtoroj podborodok’ (Kirg), *sağaq* ‘angle formed by the neck and chin’ (Kaz), *sağaq* ‘mesto pod podborodkom; žabry (u ryby)’ (Kklp), *sagak* ‘žabry (ryby)’ (Nog), *sağaq*: *sağaqla* ‘okoloušnye železny’ (KrchBlk), *sağaq* ‘žabra (u ryby)’ (RKrchBlk).

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# Kazakh in contact with Russian in modern Kazakhstan

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A visitor to Kazakhstan is struck by the dominance of Russian everywhere. A general impression is that both the official language and the first spoken language of non-Kazakhs and the majority of Kazakhs is Russian. Kazakh appears to play the role of a secondary language in all major cities and regions dominated by Russians. A specialist in Turkic languages who before visiting Kazakhstan worked with some Kazakh literary or folklore texts but does not know the real situation of language is astonished that instead of genuine Kazakh words he read in these texts he hears Russian words and phrases in almost every utterance. Naturally there also exists a high standard variety of Kazakh, free of code-mixing and code-switching, but in most cases it functions in strictly limited situations. The attempt of this paper is to show the linguistic behaviour of Kazakhs in Kazakh-Russian language contacts and to show the state of Kazakh in modern Kazakhstan. Material was collected during multiple trips to such major Kazakh cities as Almaty, Aqtaw, Aqtöbe, Astana, Atırav, Öskemen, Kökşetaw, Qızılorda, Şımkent and Taraz, as well as a few small towns and villages between 2006 and 2012. The recording was not systematic, although an attempt was made to register typical situations rather than untypical ones. It included spontaneous acts of discourse, dialogues on television as well as written inscriptions, ads, announcements and many other uses of language in most typical spheres of life.

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## 1. Kazakh in the past

Documentation of spoken Kazakh is late. The first Kazakh language material was published by Il'minskii (1861), Altinsarin (1879) and Radloff (1870).<sup>1</sup> Radloff evaluated the Kazakh language and the linguistic competence of Kazakhs very highly. He said that the Kazakhs were distinguished from all their neighbours by

<sup>1</sup> Sızdıq (2004: 102–104) and some other Kazakh linguists argue that the first preserved Kazakh text, Qadırğaliy's genealogy, is dated to the 16th century. However, when we look at the language of Qadırğaliy (Kadirgali), it is typical literary Eastern Turkic, though the final opinion must be formulated after a good critical edition of this work. For the first critically edited Kazakh text from the 18th century, see *Ädil Sultan* (Isin 2001); see also Äbilqasımov's study (1988).



their eloquence. He stressed that the Kazakhs were able to recite long improvisations in verse and that even their ordinary speech had a certain rhythm. Radloff did not hesitate to call the Kazakhs “Franzosen Westasiens” (Radloff 1893: 507). In the introduction to his collection of Kazakh texts, he claimed that the Kazakh language avoided the far-going impact of Islam and preserved a purely Turkic character (Radloff 1870: vii). Modern studies also stress that Kazakh is little affected by foreign languages (Menges 1959: 436).

However, the first language samples present oral and written literature or at least high style; they do not mirror spoken language in natural communication. As for the opinions formulated in modern studies, they are based on literature that was carefully prepared to purify the language from Russian borrowings. In fact, there is a great difference between written and spoken Kazakh, and it must have been so ever since the first Kazakh texts appeared, especially in the 18th–19th centuries when the Kazakhs came into close contact with the Russians. According to Balaqayev & Sızdıqova & Janpeyisov (1968: 49), Russian loanwords started appearing in Kazakh literature in the 1860s–1870s. Evidence may be provided from Abay’s poems. Abay introduced some Russian words and expressions purposely to show the Russian influence on school children, e.g. in the poem *Интернатта оқып жүр* ‘he studies in a boarding school’, *Прошение жазуғға тиісар* ‘he tries to write a petition’, *Bul iske кім виноват* ‘who is guilty of this’ or *Bolsañız здравомыслящий* ‘if you are wise’ (Abay 2005a: 58). However, the Russian copies are also present in Abay’s other works, which demonstrates that Abay not only purposely used, but also could not avoid them. Therefore, as a symbolic creator of Kazakh written literature, Abay first authorized Russian copies and code-switching, e.g. *военный қызмет* ‘military service’ (Abay 2005a: 58) or *bäri виноват* ‘everybody is guilty’.<sup>2</sup>

However, in written correspondence the Russian loanwords are attested earlier, namely in the first Kazakh documents of this type from the 18th century. Äbilqasimov (1988: 20) gives such examples as *yanaral* ~ *janaral* ‘general’ (Rus. *генерал*), *starşina* ‘sergeant’ (Rus. *старшина*), *krepos* ‘fortress, stronghold’ (Rus. *крепость*).

Russian copies are also present in the first Kazakh newspapers, e.g. *awılнай* ‘rural’ (*Qazaq* 1913, 4, 3); *государственный дума* ‘national assembly’ (*Qazaq* 1913, 4, 3). One can also evidence Russian copies in the articles of Duwlatulı (1885–1935), especially those published before 1917, e.g. *şkol* ‘school’ (Duwlatulı 2003: 109)<sup>3</sup> or *şkola*, e.g. *Ақмолдағи городской şkolada* ‘in the city school of Aqmola province’ and *окружной сот* ‘the regional court’ (Duwlatulı 2003: 97; 108). Duwlatulı was a Kazakh poet, writer, intellectual, author of textbooks for schools,

2 A quotation from Abay’s *Book of Words* (Abay 2005b: 123).

3 The use of this Russian loanword is attested by Balaqayev & Sızdıqova & Janpeyisov (1968: 89) in the 19th century beside *mektep* and *medrese*, of Arabic origin. Each of these terms denoted a different type of school, in this case a Russian school or a school of a Russian type.

and an influential representative of Kazakh enlightenment who proposed many terms used to date. As other intellectuals, he was obliged to use many Russian terms relating to Russian administration, some phonetically adapted to Kazakh, e.g. *sot* ‘court’, *nömir* ‘number’, *üyez* ‘district’, *oblus* ‘province’ (Duwlatulı 2003: 104, 109), some partially adapted, e.g. *sudebniy nalama* ‘law court’, some non-adapted, e.g. *gazeta* ‘newspaper’ (Duwlatulı 2003: 236).

Kazakh linguists are aware of Russian copies in spoken language, from which they sometimes penetrate written literature. For example, Balaqayev (1971 [2008]: 61) quotes such sentences as *Понимаеш, ol bugün kelmeydi* ‘You know, he will not come today’; *Stolda türlı tağat, vino, vodka, черт-морт tağı basqa şurım-burım boldı* ‘There were various sorts of stuff on the table: dishes, wine, liquor, devilment, different junk and rubbish’; *Men sağan звонить etip em* ‘I have rung you up’.

Although at the time of Russian dependence when the Kazakhs had no autonomy there was an inevitable need to use terms relating to Russian administration and public life, e.g. *istatiya* ‘article’ (*Qazaq* 1913, 4, 2; from Rus. *статья*); *duma* ‘representative assembly’ (*Qazaq* 1913, 4, 3; from Rus. *дума*); *oblus* ~ *oblas* ‘province’ (from Rus. *область*), the Kazakh language had not lost some productivity in this field, see such terms as *jarnama* ‘advertisement’ (*Qazaq* 1913, 21, 1), and the language of literary works and newspapers was in general clear and close to the spoken language, cf. such news as *Uralski qalasında on şaqtı nömır şıǵıp toqtağan, “Qazaqstan” cañıdan şıǵa bastağan* ‘After about ten issues had appeared in the city of Uralsk, the publication of *Qazaqstan* stopped, but then it started to appear again’ (*Qazaq* 1913, 4, 3); *Qazaqşa gazeta şıǵadı degen habar taralğan soñ tus-tusınan habarlar gazetağa basuw üşin sözder aǵıp kele bastadı* ‘As soon as the news that a newspaper in Kazakh would appear had spread, the materials for publications started coming from everywhere’ (*Qazaq* 1913, 4, 4); *Oñüstiktegi Qıtaylar soltüstiktegi-ermen soǵısıp jatır* ‘The Chinese in the south are fighting against the Chinese in the north’ (*Qazaq* 1913, 21, 2).

A remarkable rise of Kazakh took place in the 1920s when the Kazakhs gained autonomy and then their own republic within the Soviet Union. In this period Kazakh intellectuals made endeavours to kazakhize the administration in the republic and cleanse the language of Russian words, terms, suffixes and other elements. However, it is important to stress that this is not exclusively related to the initial Soviet concessions to national languages,<sup>4</sup> as it is frequently claimed, since this process started with political reforms in Russia at the beginning of the 20th century. The attempts to create terminology on the basis of genuine Kazakh structures and vocabulary, of which we have evidence from the time of Tsarist Russia, may be illustrated by Ahmet (Aqımet) Baytursınılı, who created modern Kazakh linguistics

4 This was part of the Soviet policy called *коренизация* (Olcott 1987: 169) i.e. indigenization (Fierman 2005a: 117), in Kaz. *bayırǵılandırıw*, to which the Kazakhs apply the term *qazaqtandırıw* (Rus. *казахизация*) (Omarbekov 2003: 110).

(Baytursınof 1914).<sup>5</sup> Baytursınoğlu's contribution is very different from similar works written at that time by Turks, Tatars, Crimean Tatars and Uzbeks who adhered to old literary styles of their languages. Baytursınoğlu created such terms as *buwın* 'syllable' (Baytursınof 1914: 4), *söz tulğaları* 'word forms' (Baytursınof 1914: 19), *jurnağ* 'word-forming suffix', *qosımşa* 'suffix', *tuwındı* 'derivative', *tübir* 'root' (Baytursınof 1914: 21), *sın esim* 'adjective' (Baytursınof 1914: 35), *san esim* 'numeral' (Baytursınof 1914: 36), which are used in Kazakh linguistics up to the present time. He continued his work in the 1920s when he created modern Kazakh literature theory (Baytursınoğlu 1926), also on the basis of the national language.<sup>6</sup> We can show Kazakh terms created in the 1920s in nearly all domains, e.g. *otarba* 'train',<sup>7</sup> *soğıs keme* 'warship', *awruwhana* 'hospital', *temir joldar* 'railways' (Duwlatulı 2003: 47, 109, 110).

The tendency for the kazakhization of loanwords and foreign proper names existed until the communist repression in the 1930s broke national movements in the Soviet Union. Stalinist persecutions led to a situation wherein any national sentiment could be interpreted as nationalism and severely punished.

A good example of kazakhization is *Jansügiruli*'s translation of Thomas Mayne Reid's novel *The Bush Boys*.<sup>8</sup> In his translation, *Jansügiruli*, a Kazakh writer known at present as *Jansügirov* (Äbdigaziyev 2005: 207), adapted most names and terms into Kazakh, e.g. Netherlander became *Qollandı*, Van Bloom (or Van Bloem) – *Bambulum*, Hans – *Qanış*, Jean – *Janıs*, and Hendrick – *Keñirik*; the giraffe became *jerapa* and the tse-tse fly – *sese*.<sup>9</sup>

The rise and the fall of kazakhization may be illustrated by changes in Kazakh surname forms. As is known, Kazakh surnames were adopted according to the Russian law and were initially written with Russian endings *-ov*, *-ev*, *-in*, etc. Initially the forms with Russian endings appeared in Russian texts and official documents, e.g. *Altın Sarı* → *Altınсарин* (*Алтынсаринъ*), but in the course of time they were adopted by the Kazakhs themselves. However, it must be stressed that Kazakh historical persons from the pre-Soviet period are frequently called by their given names, e.g. *Abay Qunanbayulı* (in Russian style *Qunanbayev*) and *Ibray* (*Ibrayim*, *Ibrahim*) *Altınсарı* (in Russian style *Altınсарин*) appear just as *Abay* and *Ibray* (e.g.

5 This book was reprinted a few times, e.g. in 1918 and 1923 in Arabic script, then in Cyrillic, the best edition in Cyrillic script being that of 2003.

6 This book appeared in Arabic script in 1926, and was reprinted in Cyrillic script a few times (e.g. 1989, 2003).

7 This term, used in Kazakh literature of the 1920s beside *temir arba* (Balaqayev & Sızdıqova & Janpeyisov 1968: 161, 168), is not used now. At present the Russian word *поезд*, mostly pronounced [pojiz] and sometimes also spelled *пойыз*, is used for 'train'.

8 Evidently translated from a Russian translation *В дебрях Южной Африки*.

9 Quoted from a modern edition of the original publication in 1928–1929, see Rid (1999: 4–24)

Balaqayev & Sızdıqova & Janpeyisov 1968: 87). Russian style dominated in the 1910s and at the beginning of the 1920s, while from 1924 on the surnames were converted into Kazakh style, mostly derived with the suffix *ұлы* *uli*, e.g. *Kemeluli*, *Dulatuli*, *Dosmuhambetuli* (Asqarbekova & Zamzayeva (2006: 85). This norm was retained in the period of Latin script 1928–1935,<sup>10</sup> e.g. *Аймағыт ұлы* (Asqarbekova & Zamzayeva 2007: 18), i.e. *Aymawituli*, at present *Аймауытов* (Äbdigaziyev 2005: 18); *Әwez ұлы* (Asqarbekova & Zamzayeva 2007: 21), i.e. *Äwezuli*, at present *Әwezов* (Äbdigaziyev 2005: 98); *Майлы ұлы* (Asqarbekova & Zamzayeva 2007: 25), i.e. *Mayluli*, at present *Майлин* (Äbdigaziyev 2005: 355). In 1936, with the rise of Stalinist's repression, the surnames gradually began to shift into Russian, e.g. *Сарыбағыр* (Asqarbekova & Zamzayeva 2007: 92), i.e. *Saribajır*, at present *Сарыбаев*. In addition, the Kazakhs were forced to adopt Russian patronymics. Today many Kazakhs are changing their surnames again according to Kazakh style and dropping the patronymics, but the Russian style is still common, though the use of patronymics among Kazakh-speaking Kazakhs has a falling tendency. Moreover, the Soviet custom of quoting Kazakh names of historical figures in Russian style, even if they were written in Kazakh style, is still very popular, e.g. *التين ساری* (Baytursinuli 1926: 36) in the 1989 edition was written *Алтынсарин* (Baytursinov 1989: 156).

The development of national languages in the Soviet Union started to fall at the end of the 1930s (Hasanuli 1992: 123) and this situation lasted until Gorbachev's reforms in the late 1980s.

## 2. Kazakh today

According to the constitution, Kazakh is the state language of the Republic of Kazakhstan. However, the same constitution and the language law in Kazakhstan grant Russian the position of 'another official language'.<sup>11</sup> Analysts say this situation is ambiguous (Schlyter 2003: 170). Studies on Kazakh language planning and language policy also claim that the *de facto* official language in Kazakhstan is Russian (Schlyter 2003: 171). A detailed assessment of Kazakh language policy in the twenty years of independent Kazakhstan from 1991 to 2011 requires another study, but it may be shortly assessed as inconsistent and ineffective, although the authorities pretend to claim that language policy is a very important component of their

10 Latin script was officially used in Kazakhstan in the years 1928-1940. However, some books printed in Arabic script appeared as late as 1932; see a catalogue by Asqarbekova & Zamzayeva (2006: 132-151), and some books in Latin script were also printed in 1941 when Cyrillic script was introduced, see Asqarbekova & Zamzayeva (2007: 141-147).

11 The first language law was adopted in September 1989. Although it was modelled after the laws in other republics, the situation of the titular language in Kazakhstan was less favourable than in other republics (Fierman 2005a: 119). The present language law was signed by the president in 1996 (QRTT).

policy (Hasanulı 1992: 228, Karin & Chebotarov 2002: 83).<sup>12</sup> Sometimes it is said that the administration of a new province of Kazakhstan shifts to Kazakh, but in reality Russian still remains the official language in most fields of public life (cf. Fierman 2005a: 120). This is because work in many sectors of central administration, including the president's office, government, army, police, prosecution, law courts, customs and other central public offices is still conducted in Russian. For example, in Hasanulı's opinion (2011: 102), only about 50%–70% of central institutions work in Kazakh, and the percentage of the institutions in public administration which carry out their duties in Russian amounts to 70%–80%.

Although at present Russian does not have the status of an interethnic language in Kazakhstan that it had in the Soviet Union, it is still taken as one. For example, one aged Tatar woman, a street cleaner in Şımkent, stressed in a conversation with me (2006) that I should speak Russian. She was fluent in both Tatar and Kazakh. When I asked why, she replied that Russian is a common language (*обуқуи*) that people speak everywhere. Moreover, the view of Russian as an interethnic language in Kazakhstan was publicly pronounced by some members of the Kazakh national assembly even a few years ago. It is very significant that people who make law in Kazakhstan do not know it.

Despite the fact that this paper focuses on colloquial and official variants of Kazakh, it is essential to shortly characterize modern literature. Literature is an important tool to maintain and develop Kazakh in its normative form, not contaminated by Russian. Unfortunately, modern Kazakh literature has only a minimal effect on spoken language, because few Kazakhs read it. There are a few reasons for this, such as the weakness of the literature, a shortage of readers and other factors.

12 The language policy (discussed by many analysts, e.g. Fierman 2005a, 2005b: 410–423, Dave 2007: 100–102) that came into effect before independence in 1989 and was confirmed in 1990 stipulated that the Kazakh language would achieve the status of state language by 2000 (Qasımbekov 1992: 3), whereas Russian would remain a language of international communication. This status of Kazakh was enacted in the first post-Soviet Constitution of 1993, but the new Constitution of 1995 granted the Russian language the status of an “official language employed equally with the Kazakh language in state and self-government organizations” (QRK, Article 7; see also QRTT, Article 12), which elevated Russian *de jure* and assured it a superior position *de facto*. Since the plans to promote Kazakh proved to be futile, the president issued a decree stipulating the elevation of Kazakh to the status of a fully-fledged state language by 2010 on 7 February 2001 (*Tilderdi qoldanuw men damıtuwdıñ 2001–2010 jıldarğa arnalğan memlekettik baǵdarlaması* ‘the state programme of the use and development of languages, 2001–2010’, for the full text see <http://abai.kz> or <http://prokuror.kz>). This also failed. As a result, on 29 June 2011, the president issued another decree with the same purpose of postponing this task for another ten years, to be achieved by 2020 (Hasanulı 2011: 103, for the full text see <http://anatili-almaty.kz>), though some requirements were modified. Dave (2007: 97) calls such language policy “symbolic”.

Modern Kazakh literature is weak in both volume and content. Some genres are almost non-existent, e.g. science fiction and detective novels. There are only a few writers who take on important, controversial, acute problems of Kazakhstan's contemporary reality, especially those who do not adulate the regime like Muhtar Mağawin, but living in Prague, he is independent from the regime and has a different perspective. There are very few attractive works for children and especially youngsters, such as those written by Maşqar Ğumar. Translations of world literature are only incidental. For this reason people who wish to read world literature buy Russian translations, and those children and youngsters who read also buy Russian books. As a result, no Kazakh publication will provide any author with a sufficient income. All authors writing in Kazakh therefore depend on government subsidies. Being dependent on the government, they cannot address real social or political problems. Therefore, the situation is paradoxical: there is no literature, because there are no readers, and there are no readers, because there is no literature that would satisfy them.

Among other factors, the most significant is the weak position of Kazakh in relation to Russian. Consequently, there are some bookstores that do not sell Kazakh books at all, and many have only one or a few Kazakh stands, while there are no bookstores that sell only Kazakh books. The books are either imported from Russia or are local products. Even in the *Atamura* bookstore network, designed to promote Kazakh culture and language, there are many Russian books.<sup>13</sup>

### 2.1. Spoken Kazakh and language contacts

Until recently, Kazakh was spoken only by those Kazakhs who knew it or wanted to use it. In all remaining communication situations Russian was preferred. Competence in the state language among Kazakhs varies, with some analysts estimating that half of the Kazakh population speak Russian and do not know Kazakh. This fact is difficult to verify and not all researchers agree with it. For example, Hasanuli (2007: 39) estimates that 99.4% of Kazakhs know their ethnic language. However, *владеет родным языком* "they know the native language", as he says, does not mean *использует родной язык* "they use the native language". Moreover, his opinion is based on census data that are not reliable in many details, for people often say what they feel they should say and not what is true. On the one hand, any educated Kazakh and other citizen of Kazakhstan should know the state language, since its instruction is compulsory also in Russian language schools. On the other hand, it is typical of the Russian-speaking population of Kazakhstan, either ethnic Kazakh or not, that they refuse any communication in Kazakh. If asked in Kazakh, they answer in Russian. However, when they reply in Russian to a question asked in Kazakh, it

<sup>13</sup> In Şahanov's calculation (2007: 2) the percentage of Kazakh books published in recent years is 44.2% per title and 48% per copy.

naturally means that they at least understand it. I have made many experiments trying to speak exclusively Kazakh to a wide range of young and middle-aged people of all national groups, and there were very few cases where people really did not understand what I was saying. Moreover, I also tried to force such people to shift to Kazakh when I was talking to them, pretending that I do not understand any Russian. Interestingly, some preferred to switch to English rather than Kazakh, but some others switched to Kazakh when they felt they had no other option. Therefore, the statement that nearly half of the Kazakh population do not speak Kazakh should be modified. They do not speak Kazakh not because they do not know it, but because they do not want to speak it. Naturally, the case of aged people and ethnic Russians is different. This question requires further study.

With regard to the non-Kazakh minorities of Kazakhstan in a non-local, countrywide dimension and public relations, only recently some of them speak Kazakh to Kazakhs. This fact was exploited by Qazaqstan TV station, which employed some Russian presenters to stress their competence in the state language. Normally the interethnic language was Russian. An exception to this situation may be evidenced by the case of local, especially rural communities where non-Kazakh residents used Kazakh in contact with the titular nation if they were in a minority.

Kazakh-Russian language contacts and the question of bi- and multilingualism was the object of many studies from the 1960s on, see Hasanov (1976, 1987, 2007),<sup>14</sup> Fierman (2005a), Muhamedova (2006) and others. According to Hasanov (1976: 156–157), the first Kazakh-Russian language contacts may be dated to the 16th century, and in the 19th century many Russians were fluent in Kazakh. Now the situation is completely different. Hasanov (1976: 155) argues that Kazakh-Russian bilingualism is predominantly subordinate and one-sided, that is the Kazakhs are typically Kazakh-Russian bilingual, while the Russians are typically Russian monolingual. It is clear when we compare the figures: in the mid-2000s, 83.9% of Russians and 25.2% of Kazakhs were monolingual (Hasanuli 2007: 286), which demonstrates that only 16.1% of Russians could use the titular language of the state in which they lived, whereas an overwhelming majority of Kazakhs could speak and use Russian.<sup>15</sup> Hasanov (1987: 178) quotes an opinion according to which practically all Kazakhs in Kazakhstan were able to speak Russian in the 1980s. In my opinion the situation is roughly the same nowadays.

Another characteristic feature of Kazakh-Russian bilingualism among the Kazakhs is that it is a common, nationwide phenomenon, whereas the Kazakh-Russian bilingualism among the Russians has a restricted, local character. As for the other ethnic groups of Kazakhstan, we may say that one component of their bilingualism

14 Called Hasanuli.

15 If we compare the percentage of 0.66 % Russians who were able to speak Kazakh in 1979 (Jankowski 2001: 37) with that at the end of the 2000s, we see that it grew but is still very low.

must normally be Russian, and Kazakh only appears in multilingual relations, if they are at least trilingual.

It is worth showing some typical communication situations in Kazakhstan. As was mentioned above,

(a) conversation between Kazakhs and non-Kazakhs is nearly always initiated by both sides in Russian; the only exceptions are some rural and local Kazakh-Uzbek and other Turkic communities (the Uighurs, Meskhetian Turks, Tatars, etc.) where the conversation may be conducted in either Kazakh or the two respective languages, e.g. an Uzbek person speaks Uzbek, and a Kazakh person speaks Kazakh;

(b) if a Kazakh person starts the conversation in Russian with another Kazakh person, the interlocutor in most cases answers in Russian; only in rare exceptions is the interlocutor's Russian competence low, and this happens only in rural areas;

(c) if a Russian-speaking Kazakh person, including a russified youngster who comes to his village for vacations from the city, speaks Russian, his mates very often shift to Russian as well;

(d) if a Russian-speaking non-Kazakh person joins a group of Kazakhs, they all shift to Russian; if he is Kazakh, the conversation may be mixed; only recently may some young Kazakhs not allow such a shift.

As for the Kazakh language as spoken in a natural, uncontrolled way, it may be characterized by the utmost penetration of Russian elements of all kinds as well as by permanent Kazakh-Russian code-switching. The vocabulary of spoken Kazakh appears to be very limited, since most basic objects and concepts are expressed in Russian. It is striking that even some words pertaining to Turkic, local Central Asian or Kazakh culture are pronounced in a Russian way, e. g. *юрта* (Kaz. *kiyiz üy*) 'traditional Kazakh felt-house; yurt'.

When one compares Kazakh with Turkic languages deeply affected by Arabic and Persian such as Turkish or Uzbek, one will see that in spoken Kazakh many concepts for which Turkish and Uzbek have Arabic or Persian words are expressed in a Russian way, either as loanwords or other copies, e.g. *разница* (Kaz. *ayırma-şılıq*) 'difference', cf. Tur. *fark*, Uz. *farq*; *вопрос* (Kaz. *suraq, мәsele*) 'question, problem', cf. Tur. *mesele, sorun*, Uz. *muammo, masala*.<sup>16</sup>

### 2.1.1. Code-mixing and code-switching

Code-mixing may occur within an utterance (intrasentential) and outside an utterance (intersentential). Code-switching from Kazakh to Russian has no restraints. An interlocutor may switch from Kazakh to Russian in any situation, cf. two characteristic cases: *Suw ішемiz, birew c cuponom, birew без cupona* 'We are going to drink water, one with squash, the other without squash'; *Достар это правда?...канша*

<sup>16</sup> In an utterance registered as *sol вопрощи biz qazir köteriyatımız* 'we are now dealing with this problem'.



*адам нақты каза тапкан?* 'Is that true, guys? How many people were killed, exactly?' (17.12.2011 00:13, Radio Free Europe; the original spelling retained).

The switching is not symmetrical when speaking Russian. Since some language situations allowed only Russian, switching from it to Kazakh does not normally occur. In other non-restricted situations, e.g. when two Kazakh-speaking Kazakhs converse in Kazakh, and one of them finds Russian more convenient to express his thought, he switches. However, if the topic changes so that it may be easier for him to verbalize his thought in Kazakh, he returns to it. Such a pattern may reappear many times in a conversation.

In the speech of some Kazakh speakers code-mixing and code-switching is a normal situation, whereas speaking in one code is untypical. It should be added that Russians do not normally mix codes when they speak Russian. Therefore, Kazakh-Russian code-mixing must be defined as the speech of Kazakhs and any other nationals who speak Kazakh in a natural, spontaneous way and want to copy the language behaviours of Kazakhs. For example, I noticed this practice in the speech of some Turks who do business with the Kazakhs and are not hindered by any national-linguistic ideology.

The inserted words pertain to the following word classes: nouns, adjectives, numerals, adverbs, modal words, onomatopoeic words, interjections, and conjunctions. Verbs are rarely and pronouns are not normally code-mixed, and there is only one preposition evidenced so far.

The simplest case of Kazakh-Russian lexical code-mixing is when a single Russian word is inserted into the body of a Kazakh utterance or conversely. Sometimes two words may be taken as a compound, e.g. *воспаление лёгких bastalat* 'it seems to be the beginning of pneumonia' (Qazaqstan Aqtaw TV channel, recorded 29.1.2012).

These are the most frequent cases, but insertions of longer units also occur quite often, e.g. the insertion of an adverbial phrase like *в тяжёлом состоянии ketti* 'he was taken to hospital in critical condition' (KTV TV channel, recorded 26.12.2011).

Naturally code-mixing may manifest itself on the level of morphology or other grammatical forms, i.e. when a simple unit of grammar is embedded into the matrix language.

An interesting case is when a sentence begins in Kazakh and ends with a Russian verb or nominal predicate, e.g. *ікіметтегілер ажрались* 'the authorities have become too choosy' or *bugünge xşamum* 'It is enough for today'.

Kazakh-Russian code-mixing was discussed in Krippes (1994), Auer & Muhamedova (2005) and Muhamedova (2006). From the viewpoint of uniformity and development of the national language, the appearance of code-mixing among those Kazakhs who previously were Russian monolingual speakers, as one can conclude from the public statements of some politicians and activists, should be regarded as a positive tendency, though a total switch to Kazakh would be better.

### 2.1.2. Russian discourse markers

The excessive use of many Russian words that function as discourse markers has not escaped the attention of specialists dealing with normative linguistics and ordinary conscious people. For example, in a letter addressed to the Kazakh weekly *Ana Tili*, a reader provided a list of such words: *даже* 'even', *уже* 'already, yet', *только* 'only', *значит* 'it means', *вот* 'well', *то есть* 'that is', *тоже* 'also, too', *но* 'but', *так* 'so, thus', *именно* 'namely', *конечно* 'certainly', *вообще* 'in general', *нормально* 'normally', *точно* 'exactly', *привет* 'hi', *пока* '1. for a while. 2. until', *наверно* 'surely', *ладно* 'all right', *мама* 'mum', *папа* 'dad', *еще* '1. yet. 2. more', *если* 'if', *часто* 'often', *срочно* 'urgently; immediately', *нет* 'no; not', *что* '1. what. 2. that', *хорошо* 'well', *пожалуйста* 'please', *может быть* 'maybe, perhaps', *ужас* 'it is awful', *просто* 'simply', *надоел* 'I am fed up', *короче* 'in short', *вдруг* 'unexpectedly' (Bekmağanbetova 2006: 6).<sup>17</sup>

Words like the above, except *привет* 'hi', *мама* 'mum', *папа* 'dad', *пожалуйста* 'please', *ужас* 'it is awful' and *надоел* 'I am fed up' are typical discourse markers. This list can be extended by many other words of this kind, i.e. *а* 'as for, but', *ничто* 'not at all', *обязательно* 'by all means; sure', *сразу* 'immediately'. Russian discourse markers are used in all types of dialogue, including telephone conversation. A telephone conversation usually starts with *да* 'yes' or *алло* 'hello' and ends with *ладно* 'well; alright', *давай* 'come on; all right, okay'.

Since discourse markers are multifunctional and one marker may be used in different functions, a detailed analysis should involve many aspects and they must be examined in various texts. The discourse markers quoted above may function as the elements of information structure, modality, cohesion, behaviour of the speaker, and speech acts. Some Russian discourse markers in Kazakh speech were studied by Muhamedova (2010: 450–452).

As parts of speech, they may be classified as adverbs, particles, modal words, conjunctions and interjections.

### 2.2. Copying grammar and meanings

Russian copies in modern Turkic languages were studied by Dmitriev (1962: 433–464) who called them barbarisms. More recently the problems of Turkic language contacts were discussed by Johanson (1992), who proposed a typology and presented many specific examples. Probably the most vulnerable word class in Kazakh is adjectives. As Äbilqasimov (1988: 20) observed, they are found among the first Russian loanwords in Kazakh. The Kazakhs did not translate them, but borrowed or adapted the forms like *войеннау* (*уайеннай*) 'military, war, warlike' (Rus. *военный*) and *войсковой* (*уойсковой*) 'military, army' (Rus. *войсковой*). It is

<sup>17</sup> Meanings provided by the author of this article.

noteworthy that some early borrowed adjectives were entirely adapted and used as nouns, e.g. *pařtabay* 'mailman' (Balaqayev & Sızdıqova & Janpeyisov 1968: 49, 165; from Rus. *почтовый*<sup>18</sup>) or *malay* 'servant, labourer' (from Rus. *малый*), now both being qualified as dated.<sup>19</sup> Such words are not perceived as adjectives. As demonstrated in section 1, Russian adjectives were used in adjectival phrases characteristic of administrative terms of Russian origin.

The next step was to adopt the Russian adjectival suffixes *-ный* (sometimes also in the variant *-ной*, incidentally transformed to the form *-най*) and *-ый* into Kazakh and employ them to derive adjectives from Kazakh stems, e.g. *awıl* 'village'+ *-най* → *awılнай* 'rural'. At present this suffix and its variants, which are not recognized by normative grammars, are rarely used, since the Kazakhs prefer to borrow Russian adjectives as complete copies. For most of these terms the Kazakhs later coined their own words or replaced them with Arabic and Iranian equivalents, and the Russian constructions disappeared from official use in the 1920s. However, the Russian copies have not disappeared from spoken Kazakh and they are still employed very often.

The use of Russian adjectives includes some specific semantic fields, such as:

(1) adjectives derived from the names of countries, states and nations, e.g. *германский* 'German', *китайский* 'Chinese', *российский* 'Russian', *турецкий* 'Turkish'; these adjectives are especially often used to denote the origin of wares and goods (most products at marketplaces and popular shops are imported from Turkey, China and Russia);

(2) adjectives derived from town and city names, e.g. *актауский* 'Aqtaw', *ташкентский* (*trassa*) 'Tashkent (road)'; *алматинский* (*шерсть*) 'Almatı (wool)', *шымкентский* (*sıra*) 'Şımkent (beer)', and even *өскеменский* '(of, from) Öskemen';

(3) adjectives used to denote qualities, character and type of products and goods, used in commerce and trade, e.g. *детский* *kiyimder* 'children's dresses', *женский* *jeñpirler* 'women's jumpers', *светлый* *tüs* 'light colour';

(5) adjectives used to denote material of which something is made, e.g. *шерстяной* 'woolen; made from wool', *кожаный* 'made from leather; leather', see 3. 8.

Some Russian adjectives of this type are used in petrified phrases and compound names, e.g. *болгарский перец* 'Bulgarian paprika', *копчёный балық* 'smoked fish'.

18 For other Russian loanwords in which the suffix *-вый* ~ *-вой* was adapted to the form *-бай* see Hasanov (1987: 56).

19 Also present in other Turkic languages spoken in Russia, and probably borrowed into Kazakh via Tatar; for the distribution and discussion of its etymology see ЁSTJa 7 (20–21).

Others are commonly used in Kazakh because people believe that they do not have Kazakh equivalents, such as *свежий* ‘fresh; new’, often used with *nan* ‘bread’, i.e. *свежий nan* ‘fresh bread’ (Kaz. *jaña pisirilgen nan*).

However, it seems that any other adjective may be embedded in a Kazakh utterance. Among recorded ones are the following: *любой* (*dükende*) ‘(in) any (shop)’, *основной* ‘basic, principal, fundamental’, *последний* ‘last’, *простой* (*maşına/mäşine*) ‘(an) ordinary (car)’, *самый основной* ‘most basic, most principal, most fundamental’, *умный* (*balalar*) ‘wise (kids)’.

Auer & Muhamedova (2005: 43) noticed that Russian adjectival phrases embedded into a Kazakh sentence lose their gender and number congruence with the head of the phrase. They showed this with such examples as *старый площадь-ті* ‘old square+ACC’ *транспортный милиция* ‘traffic police’, etc. Therefore, they argue that the morphological structure of the matrix language has been imposed on the structure of Russian. They show that adjectives inserted from Russian behave exactly in the same way as Kazakh adjectives, e.g. *частный bir näse-ler-ge* ‘in some private thing’ (Auer & Muhamedova 2005: 46).

Russian adverbs, especially adverbs of manner, frequency, continuity, permanency and completeness are used in Kazakh sentences as frequently as adjectives. Among frequently used ones are *вдруг* ‘unexpectedly’, *нормально* ‘normally’, *просто* ‘simply’, *сразу* ‘at once; immediately’, *срочно* ‘urgently; immediately’, *точно* ‘exactly’, *постоянно* ‘all the time’, *часто* ‘often’, *хорошо* ‘well’, e.g. *сразу ekevin al* ‘buy both at once’. These loan adverbs are naturally unnecessary, for there are genuine Kazakh adverbs for all of them, e.g. *jiyi* ‘often’, *älden, derew, ile* ‘urgently; immediately’, *ilğıy, qayta-qayta, udayı, ünemi* ‘all the time’, and in addition the Kazakh verb system is very rich and able to differentiate various types of action. They are especially frequent when used as discourse markers, see section 2.1.2, but may also be used as normal adverbs.

Some modal words may also be taken for adverbs of certainty, e.g. *конечно* ‘certainly’, *наверно* ‘surely’.

In a similar way some particles that emphasize or restrain one part of a clause may be regarded as focusing adverbs, e.g. *даже* ‘even’, *именно* ‘namely’, *тоже* ‘also, too’, *только* ‘only’, *уже* ‘already, yet’.

These words are also used as discourse markers, see above, but they may be used in their primary functions as well.

Verbs are little affected by Russian, but some verb stems are taken from Russian and derived with a Kazakh word-forming suffix, as in *zvonda-* ‘to ring sb up’ ← Rus. *звонить*, e. g. *zvondadım* ‘I have made a call’ or *zaryadta-* ‘to charge’ ← Rus. *зарядить*, e. g. *zaryadtadım* ‘I have charged [e.g. a battery]’.

Another way of using Russian verbs in Kazakh sentences is by taking the form of the verbal noun and adding the auxiliary verb *et-*, e.g. *звонить et-* ‘to ring sb up’. Such borrowings were registered in Turkic languages quite early, e.g. in 16th–17th-century Armeno-Kipchak documents and Western Karaim, i.e. in languages which were strongly affected by Slavic languages.

Another case of copying Russian grammatical structures into Kazakh is the preposition *через* 'via, through, across' instead of Kazakh *арқılı*, e.g. in such sentences as *через Ақтөбе бардық* 'we drove via Aqtöbe' or *через Бишкек барасиң* 'you go via Bishkek'. In these sentences the preposition is used as in Russian, i.e. before the word it determines.<sup>20</sup> The preposition *через* is also used in relation to time, but only with a Russian head word embedded in a Kazakh utterance, e.g. *через день* 'on the other day'. Therefore, if we take the names *Ақтөбе* and *Бишкек* as not real Kazakh words, *через* must be regarded as a Russian preposition that requires a Russian head word. Naturally *через* may not follow the head as the equivalent Kazakh postposition *арқılı* 'through, via', i.e. *Ақтөбе арқılı* but \**Ақтөбе через*.

There are also sentences in which the Russian construction of a main clause with the conjunction *что* 'that' is combined with a Kazakh verb used as a dependent clause. An example was given by Auer & Muhamedova (2005: 49): *Частенько получается, что (--)* aralastır-a-mız 'Quite often it occurs that we mix [the two languages]'.<sup>21</sup>

Another Russian grammatical copy is evident in the clauses of purpose introduced by the Russian conjunction *чтобы* 'to ...; in order to'. We may quote an example from Auer & Muhamedova (2005: 51) again: o-lar *ТОЖЕ заинтересованы чтобы* adam otır-siñ 'they are also interested that people sit down (in the bus, i.e., use public transport)'.<sup>22</sup>

Apart from the conjunctions demonstrated above, the Russian subordinate, e.g. *пока* 'until, till', coordinate, e.g. *и* 'and', *или* 'or', contrastive *но* 'but' and conditional conjunction *если* 'if' may be copied into Kazakh from Russian. However, in many cases they do not bind clauses, but take the position of a discourse marker at the beginning of an utterance, e.g. *и то жақсы шғаса* 'even if it were successful'.

An example of copying Russian word order and structure is the sentence *Ой рас* 'It's true'. This sentence reflects Rus. *Это правда*, while the proper Kaz. form should be just *Ras*.

Russian copies are encountered in idioms and expressions, e.g. in the greeting formula *jaña jılıñızben* '[I wish you a] happy New Year', from Rus. *с новым годом*, instead of the correct Kaz. *jaña jılıñız quttı bolsın*.

Many Kazakh terms are semantic copies from Russian. The Kazakhs are mostly aware of the fact that such terms as *quyma sira* 'keg beer' or *keñse tawarları* 'stationery, lit. office materials' are translations from Rus. *разливное пиво* and *канцелярские товары* ~ *канцтовары*, respectively; *дом продается* – *йү satıladı* 'house for sale; lit. house is being sold'. Semantic copying from Russian as a method of coining terminology has a long history. Many terms were created in this

20 I have noticed such a use of Rus. *через* also in other Central Asian Turkic languages and even as far as Azerbaijan.

way in the 1920s and 1930s, many of which are still in use (Balaqayev & Sızdıqova & Janpeyisov 1968: 161–162).

Other examples of copying Russian terms may be shown in the bilingual signs below:

Тех	байқау осмотр	‘examination of motor vehicles’
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and

Авто	жуу мойка	‘car wash’
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Russian calques are evident as soon as one arrives in Kazakhstan by air and sees such information as *tölpqıjattıq baqılaw* – *паспортный осмотр* – *passport control*. The Kazakh adjective *tölpqıjattıq* ‘passport’ is a copy from Russian *паспортный*, since the normal way of expressing this notice should be *tölpqıjat baqılaw*, i.e. by combining the noun *tölpqıjat* ‘passport’ and the verbal noun *baqılaw* ‘control; controlling’.<sup>21</sup>

### 2.3. Cyrillic script and pronunciation

Kazakh has been written in Cyrillic script since 1940. During the period when it was written in Arabic script, many loanwords and foreign names were adapted into Kazakh, e.g. *oblis* ‘province’ (*Qazaq* 1913, 4, 4; from Rus. *область*); *ıstansa* ‘station’ (*Qazaq* 1913, 21, 2; from Rus. *станция*);<sup>22</sup> *päter* ‘flat’ (*Qazaq* 1913, 4, 4; from Rus. *квартира*). This trend became even stronger in the period of Latin script when Kazakhstan obtained a certain degree of political and cultural autonomy. Many terms and names were written in Latin script according to their pronunciation, e.g. *telegiram* ‘telegram’, *Pransbja* ‘France’, *Gretsije* ‘Greece’, *Pinlandija* ‘Finland’ (*Satsbjaldı Qazaqstan* 218 (3019), 1934,1).

The tendency to write Russian words and names in forms adapted to Kazakh phonetics is weaker now than in the past. Phonetic adaptation may be retained in pronunciation, but the words are more frequently spelled as in Russian. However, some modern writers prefer the old forms, even if they are considered to be dated, e.g. *balşabek(tik)* ‘Bolshevik’ (Mağawin 2007: 100).

21 At some airports there are different signs, e.g. at the airport in Aqtaw the corresponding sign has the form *pasport baqılawı*.

22 Later also called *beket* (Balaqayev & Sızdıqova & Janpeyisov 1968: 161), now again *ıstansa*, spelled *станса* ~ *станция*.

Some words and names that once were accommodated to Kazakh are now used by many speakers in speech and writing according to Russian standards, e.g. [ras-sija] instead of *Resey* 'Russia' (Rus. *Росси́я*), [maskfa] instead of *Mäskew* 'Moscow' (Rus. *Москва́*), [kʰartira] instead of *päter* 'flat' (Rus. *кварти́ра*). This tendency may be the result of both the strong impact of Russian and the wish to use learned, high standard Russian forms.

The present alphabet contains all Russian letters and signs irrespective of whether they are appropriate to Kazakh phonology or not. Moreover, Russian words and nearly all international proper names, terms and words are written and pronounced in a Russian way. For example, Mirzabekov (1999: 35) has calculated that in the spelling and pronunciation dictionary of Kazakh published in 1978, about 20% of entries were Russian loanwords or borrowed via Russian, written and pronounced exactly as in Russian. Therefore, it is evident that such a high proportion and the manner of pronunciation will not remain without an impact on the target language. As a result, quite paradoxically, the Kazakh pronunciation of elderly people in rural areas is often better than that of educated people, and especially schoolchildren who excessively palatalize consonants after the vowel [e] as in Russian. For instance, the former pronounce the word written *ne* as [nʲe] 'what', while the latter pronounce it [ne]. The impact of Russian orthography on the writing of Kazakh proper names is also evident, see Hasanov's remarks on the name of a well-known Kazakh relaxation and sports complex *Medey*, used in the Russian form *Medeo* (Hasanov 1976: 172).

Since 1991 a prospective shift to Latin script has been the matter of a recurring debate in Kazakhstan. Probably the most complex work was undertaken after the President of Kazakhstan formulated the idea of an alphabet change at the 12th Session of the Assembly of Kazakhstan's Nations in 2006. A number of academic institutes, such as the Institute of Language, the Institute of Philosophy and Political Sciences, the Institute of Oriental Studies, the Institute of Literature and Arts, the Institute of History and Ethnology, the Institute of Economy and the Institute of Informatics elaborated various aspects of this project. A volume devoted to these questions appeared soon after the idea was first announced (Wäli & Küderinova & Faziljanova & Jubayeva 2007). Unfortunately, the president dropped the issue in 2007, and now a change in script is no longer on the agenda.

The shift to a new script based on Latin writing is not as difficult as some claim. Firstly, all educated Kazakhs know Latin letters. Secondly, Latin letters were used in a limited way in some abbreviations during Soviet times, e.g. P.S. '*post scriptum*', № 'number', and are still in usage. Their use is spreading along with the progress in high technology; note such terms as DVD, SMS, SIM, Bluetooth, which are gaining

popularity, though some words of this type are also spelled in Cyrillic script. Thirdly, Latin letters are used on automobile number plates.<sup>23</sup>

Although limited, Latin script is used in Kazakh, with some web portals and online newspapers offering texts in both Cyrillic and Latin script. The Romanized versions show various transliterations from the current Cyrillic script. There are some minor differences between them. Below are a few examples.

(1) Transliteration applied by *Jas Qazaq Üni*: *Bwl birinşi ret bolıp jatqan jağday emes, bwğan wqsas misaldar basqa oblastarda da bolğan* ‘This has not happened for the first time, similar cases are known from other provinces, too’ (JQÜ, 10.01.2012).<sup>24</sup>

(2) Transliteration applied by BNews.kz: Astana. 13 yanvarya. – Aqordanıñ resmī say`tı juma küni keşke Memleket başsınıñ aldağı Parlament Mäjilisi men mäslıxat say`lawına bay`lanıstı Ündewin jarıyaladı ‘Astana, 13 January. Last Friday, the official website of the President’s Office published the president’s address relating to the parliamentary and municipal elections’.

(3) Transliteration applied by KazInform: *Jerorta teñizinde qayırğa turıp qalğan «Kosta Konkorda» krwızdik kemesiniñ bortında Qazaqstannıñ üş azamatu boldı* ‘There were three citizens of Kazakhstan on board the Costa Concordia cruiser that has run aground in the Mediterranean’ (Kazinform.kz, 14.01.2012).

(4) Transliteration applied by Masa.kz: *Bizdiñ birinşi kemşiligimiz 20 jılı ideologıâ, âğni ulttıq ideologıâ jasay almadiq* ‘Our first drawback is that we have not worked out any national ideology for the past twenty years’(Masa.kz, 13.01.2012).

Probably the most important deficiency of these transliteration systems is the way that foreign proper names look in them; e.g. see such awkward and odd forms as *Iasawi* (Yasawi, Turkish Yesevi), *Koreya* (Korea), *Parij yunayted* (Paris United). But the transliteration and transcription of Kazakh proper names is also a great problem. In general, the Kazakhs Romanize their names using basic Latin letters without diacritic signs, thus adopting the English alphabet. However, they render

23 However, the order of province symbols on number plates still mirrors their old Russian names. The Soviet memory is also present in the international symbols for airports, e.g. on airline tickets *Astana* is still abbreviated as *TSE* which is an abbreviation for *Tselinograd* (Целиноград), the name of this city in 1961–1992, similar to *Aqtaw* which is abbreviated *SCO*, after the former name of this city, *Shevchenko* (Шевченко). *Aqtaw* is a new city established in 1963, and its name has been changed a few times. However, the city was first named *Aqtaw* in 1963 before it was called *Шевченко* (1964-1991). The name was changed back to *Aqtaw* in 1991.

24 Quite interestingly, one occasionally encounters news in Russian transliterated into this system, e.g. *Puı', proydenıy DPK «AK JOL» za poslednie polgoda, ubeditel'no dokazıvaet vostrebovannost' ee političeskoj linii v obşestve*, which is frequently the case in Uzbekistan.



some letters differently, e.g. <e> and the combination of vowels with diphthong-like <у и>. For example, the name *Еркін* is transliterated either *Erkin* or *Yerkin*. Moreover, one can see such forms as *Erkin* (*Еркін*) and *Yeskender* (*Ескендер*); *Sergebaev* (*Сергебаев*) and *Dairabayeva* (*Дайрабаева*) side by side. We encounter such transliterations as *Abylay* or *Абылай* on street signs, e.g. in Almatı. The Kazakh letter <ө> for [ö wö] is mostly rendered by Cyrillic <у> and Latin <u> or <o>, e.g. *Өтегенов* becomes *Утегенов*, *Utegenov* or *Otegenov*, while <ү> for [ü] is transliterated in Cyrillic script <у>, in Latin as <u>. It is noteworthy that these two letters were often exactly transliterated in German texts published by the Kazakhstani Germans, e.g. *küischi* for Kazakh *күйші* (Hasanov 1976: 204) ‘instrumentalist; performer of Kazakh national music’. In general, transcription of Kazakh words in German texts by Kazakhstani Germans, although also simplified, was more exact than other transcriptions, e.g. *Kalai, bala, tonyr kalmadyn ba?*, translated into German as ‘Bist du nicht gefroren, mein Söhnchen?’ (Hasanov 1976: 205).

#### 2.4. Perception of space

Perception of space still shows genuine Kazakh thinking, when it is not disturbed by Russian, a language of public life. The basic space categories like ‘here’, ‘there’, ‘below’, ‘at the top of sth’, ‘at the bottom of sth’, ‘near’, ‘far away’, ‘ahead’, ‘the middle part of sth/the central part of sth’, ‘left side’, ‘right side’ are expressed in Kazakh. However, sometimes the penetration of Russian is observable, e.g. *прямо* ‘straight’. Another example of a Russian way of expressing space is the spread of such expressions as *är jaqtan* ‘from everywhere’, cf. Rus. *с каждой стороны* instead of Kaz. *tus-tustan* or *tusi-tusinan* ‘id.’.

#### 2.5. Perception of time

Some concepts relating to time are verbalized in Kazakh, some are Arabic loanwords, e.g. *zaman, waqıt* ‘time’, *mawsım* ‘season’, probably also *mezgil* ‘period’ and *merzım* ‘term’, adopted into Kazakh a long time ago.<sup>25</sup> In addition to these, spoken Kazakh expresses some notions with Russian words, such as *сутки* ‘day and night; 24 hours’ (Kaz. *täwlik*) or the names of weekdays and months. The names of the days of the week are sometimes Russian, e.g. *понедельник* ‘Monday’, *вторник* ‘Tuesday’ etc., used instead of old local words such as *düysenbi, seysenbi*, adapted from Persian and common to all Central Asian Turkic languages.<sup>26</sup> The names of months are pronounced in Russian even more frequently, e.g. *январь* ‘January’,

25 The etymology of *merzım* and *mezgil* is not quite clear.

26 Kir. *düyşembü* [düyşömbü], Uz. *dushanba* [duşämbä], Trkm. *duşenbe*, Uig. *düşenbe* (KRS 202, EU-UED 244, TrkmRS 288, URS 452) ‘Monday’.

*февраль* 'February' etc., though the Kazakhs have their own names which are either genuine or adapted from Persian and Arabic.<sup>27</sup>

It is interesting how the Kazakhs refer to the past and the future. They mostly say *keşe*, which normally denotes 'yesterday', having in mind any event from yesterday to around one week ago, but sometimes even earlier. When they speak about the indefinite future, they say *erteñ*, which is a word for 'tomorrow'. They rarely use the words *aldıñkünü* or *aldıñğı күни* for 'day before yesterday' and *arğı күни* or *bürsigüni* for 'day after tomorrow'.

### 2.6. Expressing emotions

Expressing emotions in Russian is now commonplace among the Kazakhs. When praising someone, they say *malades ~ mäledes* 'attaboy; bravo; well done', from Rus. *молодец*, Kazakh equivalents are *jaraysıñ*, *jaraysıñdar*; *bärekelidi*. To express dislike, hatred, the Kazakhs say *ужас* 'it is awful' (Kaz. *sumdıq*, *qorqınıstı*). When bored, they say *надоел* 'I am fed up' or *хватум* 'enough!' (Kaz. *jeter endi*). In fact, any emotion can be expressed in Russian and frequently is.

One colleague of mine who had spent much time in Kazakhstan once told me that even staunch supporters of national values in Kazakhstan start singing Russian songs at the end of parties when everybody is open-hearted and sentimental. In a conversation with me at a ceremony to which I was invited, a great Kazakh-minded activist unexpectedly started mixing Kazakh and Russian words, especially adding Russian swear words to his Kazakh-framed monologue.

It is interesting that even Kazakh-speaking Kazakhs in big cities speak to animals in Russian. For instance, instead of Kaz. *Әйм* 'Scram!', they will drive a dog away saying *пойёл*, sometimes *кет* 'go away', which may be a Russian semantic copy of *пойёл*.

### 3. Some basic semantic fields related to man, his place in society and his activities

To see how deeply Kazakh is russicized, one can look at some basic semantic fields, such as the international dimension, life in urban areas, housing estates, dwellings and furniture, social relations, kinship relations, clothing and personal belongings. It is also important to see how Kazakh and Russian function in people's everyday activities such as shopping, commercial services, work and business relations, access to hi-tech, relaxation and advertising. I will also try to show the position of Kazakh in public services and the media.

<sup>27</sup> The Kazakhs in China and Mongolia, apparently influenced by Chinese and Mongolian, call the months 'first month', 'second month', 'third month', etc. However, these forms also are frequently heard in some regions of Kazakhstan.

### 3.1. International dimension

Globalization is a much-discussed topic in present-day Kazakhstan. More and more English ads and names with English words are seen in big cities. Some are English, others may be English-Russian or English-Kazakh. The Kazakhs have even coined their own term for globalization – *jahandanuw*. Although Kazakh is weak and the influence of English will be growing, the real danger is not globalisation, but russification. At present, the globalizing world is coming to Kazakhstan through the Russian medium. For example, international terms are used in Kazakh in Russian forms and contexts, e.g. *адреналин* ‘adrenaline’, *результат* ‘result’, *рейтинг* ‘rating’ or *сертификат* ‘certificate’. Therefore, in fact these words mirror the processes occurring in Russian and then affecting Kazakh.

The Kazakhs perceive the world through Russian. Russian is a medium through which the Kazakhs make themselves familiar with the world’s culture, literature, science, events, fashion, arts, technology, medicine, and many other domains of human activity. The main reason for this is language. Language is especially important in such fields as world literature, science and technology, since access to them is only possible via language. The Russian brand is therefore evident in the international terms and names through which the Kazakhs identify the outer world.

For instance, Alexander of Macedon is mostly referred to as *Александр Македонский*. It is only recently that some Kazakh intellectuals have tried to get rid of this Russian burden by taking recourse to the Arabo-Persian tradition and calling him *Eskendir Zulqarnayın* (*Ескендір Зұлқарнайын*).<sup>28</sup> Another example is Mağawin’s *Göte*, spelled in Cyrillic *Гөте* (2007: 20) for ‘Goethe’, normally copied from Rus. *Гёте*. It is even stranger that we encounter such transliterations as *донер кебаб* for Turkish *döner kebab* ‘doner kebab; thin slices of meat cooked on a vertical spit, served with vegetables’; the correct form should be *дөнер кебап*, which also demonstrates the impact of Russian.

Whenever I am asked my name for registration or other administrative procedures, I try to pronounce it clearly [‘henrik’], but Kazakhs nearly always identify it with Russian *Генрих*, which is the Russian form for English *Henry* and German *Heinrich*, and they say, “[g’eniɾɨx]?” Although I repeatedly say “No, [‘henrik]”, they are unable to write it in the nearest Kazakh spelling as *Һәңрык* or *Хәңрық*. Therefore, in most cases they copy its original spelling from my passport, writing *Henryk*.

28 [http://kk.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ескендір\\_Зұлқарнайын](http://kk.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ескендір_Зұлқарнайын).

### 3.2. Life in urban areas in Kazakhstan in the past and present

It is argued that Kazakh culture has predominantly nomadic roots. In 1897, according to the first census in Russia, only 1.1% of Kazakhs lived in towns.<sup>29</sup> Despite a steady growth of Kazakh urban population, Russians composed the majority in most cities in Kazakhstan in 1989, and the share of Kazakh urban population was only 27.1% (Fierman 2006: 100). In the pre-Russian period, i.e. prior to 1731, the sedentary population inhabited mainly medieval and ancient cities, towns and villages in the south. These regions basically included the banks of the Syr Darya and the Seven Rivers region south of Lake Balkhash. Many winter quarters, i.e. temporary sedentary dwellings, were also located in the western part of the country. The Russians who set out to conquer Central Asia moved up along the Syr Darya, the Ishym (Kaz. *Esim*) and the Irtysh (Kaz. *Ertis*) rivers and built military checkpoints and strongholds which came to be present cities, e.g. Semipalatinsk (Kaz. *Semey*) – 1718, Ust'-Kamenogorsk (Kaz. *Öskemen*) – 1719,<sup>30</sup> Petropavlovsk (first called Koryakovskii, Kaz. *Kereküw*, now *Petropavl*) – 1720, Orenburg<sup>31</sup> (Kaz. *Orınbor*) – 1743 (Bregel 2003: 59). Then the Russians established so-called external districts in North Kazakhstan with such towns as Akmolinsk<sup>32</sup> and Kökşetaw in 1824 (Bregel 2003: 63), Aktiubinsk (Kaz. *Aqtöbe*) in 1869 and Kustanai (Kaz. *Qostanay*) in 1879 (Bregel 2003: 65).<sup>33</sup> Although most Kazakh towns now have Kazakh or adapted names, sometimes the Kazakhs use old Russian names, especially when speaking Russian, e.g. *Актюбинск* for *Aqtöbe*. This is particularly valid for newly adopted names such as *Oral* for *Уралск* and *Aral* for *Аралск*, even in the Kazakh language context.

The Russians built the towns in the Russian style. In Soviet times most of the existing medieval and older dwelling places were redesigned in the style of typical south Russian villages and towns, with some characteristic Central Asian components such as Kazakh national ornaments on concrete panels, typical shapes of window frames in block houses and yurt-like sheds in the parks.

At this point it must be stressed that the earliest town-building terms in Kazakh are of Arabic, Iranian or unknown origin. They were borrowed from the local sedentary culture, predate Russian times and are quite old, e.g. *qala* 'city; town' (←

29 Although this statement is generally correct, the question is more complicated than it appears; see below. It is unknown whether this census took into consideration the sedentary Kazakh population in the south or considered them non-Kazakh.

30 According to Olcott (1987: 30) in 1720.

31 The first capital city of Soviet Kazakhstan, a city with a significant Tatar population, now in Russia.

32 Kaz. *Aqmola*; in 1961 renamed *Tselinograd*, after 1991 *Aqmola* again, and from 1997 on *Astana*, the capital city of Kazakhstan.

33 The present *Oral* (Rus. *Uralsk*) and *Atiraw* (Rus. *Guriev*) cities on the Ural River were established earlier, the former by the Cossacks in 1620, the latter by Russian traders in 1645 (Olcott 1987: 29).

Ar.), *köşe* 'street' (← Ir.), *tam* '(permanent) house built of stone, mud or mud brick' (origin unknown). Then the Kazakhs coined many important urban topography terms, e.g. *alañ* 'square', *awdan* 'region, district', *dañğıl* 'road (in a city); boulevard' (equivalent to Rus. *проспект*).

Names of the districts, regions and quarters in these Soviet cities were naturally Russian, with the addition of some local components, e.g. streets named after Kazakh poets, artists, scholars and local communist activists. Every town had a Lenin road, street, square or roundabout as well as streets commemorating the names of Marx, Engels, Rosa Luxemburg, Clara Tsetkin, Thälmann, Kirov, and Furmanov. There were also streets, roads and squares with characteristic communist and Soviet names such as *Комсомолская* 'Komsomol', *Коммунистическая* 'Communist', *Победы* 'Victory', *Дружбы* 'Friendship' in every town and city. The Russian world was represented by Pushkin, Gertsen, Gorkiy, Gogol, Gagarin, Panfilov and others.

After independence, the authorities tried to give the major cities a national, Kazakh character, but they only succeeded in applying some external make-up. In fact all major urban areas not only preserved but even enhanced their Russian character. We see this in the old metropolis Almatı, in northern cities with substantial Russian population such as Oral or Öskemen, in southern cities with predominantly Kazakh populations like Şımkent and Qızılorda, and in newly built or entirely redesigned cities such as Astana, Atyraw and Aqtaw.

It is worth outlining some basic trends observable in the changing of street, road and square names and signs, which have occurred since independence. In Soviet times, street signs on the sides of streets with even numbered houses were usually in Kazakh, and on the sides with odd numbered houses, were Russian. However, in many Russian areas and districts inhabited by Russians, many street signs were exclusively in Russian. This is still the case where the old street signs have not been removed or replaced with new ones. For instance, in Pavlodar, a city with a significant Russian population, most street names are still Russian, e.g. *Ленина*, *Кутузова*, *Суворова*, *Р. Люксембург*, *Российская*, *Украинская*, *Парковая*, *1 Мая*, *М. Горького*. A blogger complained in 2010 that all street names but *Estay* and *Qayırbayev* are Russian.<sup>34</sup>

Sometimes the Russian name of a street is left in a Russian morphological form and only the generic Kazakh name is added, e.g. *Украинская көжесі*. Naturally, such an odd name is never used and people refer to it in Russian.

In the mid-1990s, there was a tendency to place only Kazakh street signs; then in the 2000s municipalities in some cities placed signs with Kazakh names and their Romanized forms.<sup>35</sup> In Astana some street signs were posted with the generic word in three languages and the name of the street in the Kazakh alphabet only, e.g. *Kene-*

34 <http://www.kazakh.ru/talk/mmess.phtml?id=5181>, checked 8. 01. 2012.

35 As there is no standard transliteration of Cyrillic Kazakh into Latin script, see 2.3, these forms were not uniform.

*sarı köşesi*–*улица*–*street*. The town of Türkistan is exceptional in Kazakhstan. The street signs are either in Kazakh or, especially downtown, in Kazakh and Turkish, e.g. *Байбурт көшесі*–*Bayburt cad.*<sup>36</sup> In 2011 the municipality of Almatı started replacing old street signs with monolingual Kazakh ones in the official alphabet only. However, this will be a long process, and for the moment only the streets signs of the principal streets and roads in the city centre have been changed.

At present many Russian street names have been renamed, but the old names are still used, mainly by Russians but also by many Kazakhs. For example, *Dostıq dañǵılı*, one of the major, central roads in Almatı is still quite often called *проспект Ленина*, similar to *Abılay han*, sometimes called *проспект Коммунистический*; in Şımkent people still call a street *улица Фурманова*, although it was renamed *Elşibek Batur köşesi* a few years ago. It must be stressed that in many cities and towns dominated by Russians or having strong Russian influence the process of the kazakhization is limited to central districts and major transit roads. Many districts in the outskirts have preserved their Russian names almost untouched, with such street names as *Высоковольтная* ‘High voltage’ in Almatı.

The situation is similar with other common urban objects. Many landmarks had Russian names such as *ЦУМ (Центральный универмаг* ‘central department store’), *Зелёный базар* ‘Vegetable and fruit bazaar’, *Горсовет (Городской совет* ‘municipality’), *Больница* ‘Hospital’, etc. Some of these names were translated into Kazakh and double names are sometimes still in use, e.g. on the schedules of buses and minibuses (e.g. *Ashana – Столовая* ‘Canteen’, *Köl – Озеро* ‘Lake’, *Joǵarı Bazar – Верхний базар* ‘Upper Bazaar’, *Kök Bazar – Зелёный базар* ‘Vegetable and fruit bazaar’, *ÄSO (Ämbebar Sawda Ortalıǵı) – ЦУМ*<sup>37</sup> ‘central department store’. However, normally only the Russian names were used, even informally, and often this is still so.

When looking at such cultural institutions in Öskemen-Ust'-Kamenogorsk as *Восточно-Казахстанская областная библиотека им. А. С. Пушкина* ‘East Kazakhstani Regional Pushkin Library’, which in addition is integrated with the Russian WebIRBIS library system and features the website in Russian only, one will have the impression of visiting Russia, not Kazakhstan.

Most notices and directions in public places are written in Russian, e.g. *Не курить* ‘No smoking’, *Не сорить* ‘Do not litter’, *Въезд только для служебных автомашин* ‘Access only for authorized cars’ or *Вход свободный. Режим работы: пн-пт 9:00–18:00* ‘Access for everybody. Open: Mon-Fri 9:00–18:00’. Even if some basic signs are in Kazakh or in Kazakh and Russian, general information is given in Kazakh only in order to comply with the law, all the addi-

36 Aqtaw is also exceptional, for this is the only city in Kazakhstan that does not have street names and signs at all, even in the main roads in the city centre. The city is divided into districts and quarters and the buildings have quarter numbers.

37 Now more frequently called *торговый комплекс – sawda keşeni* or *супермакет*.

tional information being typically provided only in Russian. The same applies to announcements broadcast over loudspeakers in public places.

The pride of the Kazakh authorities, Astana, designed to be a magnificent capital city with ultramodern buildings and features, has a predominantly Russian character. For example, one of the main roads, *Jeñis*, is commonly referred to by its old Russian name *Победы*. One remarkable indication of the great failure in language policy in Kazakhstan is the nickname *зажигалка* 'lighter' given to one of Astana's characteristic skyscrapers in a new, representative district, constructed a few years ago.

Moreover, even some natural topographic terms like *речка* 'rivulet', if they are found in russified town and cities or around them, are encountered in Russian forms, e.g. in the Qarasay valley near Almaty.

The shift from Russian names and topographical terms to Kazakh ones is hindered by such names that have the same forms in Russian and Kazakh, e.g. *Автовокзал* 'Bus station'. Although there is a new word, *Avtobus beketi*,<sup>38</sup> it is rarely used.

Many inhabitants of towns and cities in Kazakhstan were either ethnic Russians or Russian-speaking Soviet minorities with a few exceptions such as Germans, Koreans and especially other Turkic minorities such as the Uighurs in Almaty province, the Kirgiz in Southern Kazakhstani province, and especially the Uzbeks in southern villages and towns like Sayram or Türkistan, who preserved their ethnic language fairly well. It is quite interesting that in such environments the Kazakhs also maintained their language much better than elsewhere.<sup>39</sup> Another characteristic feature of the local Uzbek-Kazakh contacts is that the Uzbeks and the Kazakhs understand each other and do not use Russian as a contact language, something that is not the case in other regions. Moreover, there are many Uzbek loanwords in the speech of Kazakhs who live in close proximity to the Uzbeks, e.g. *cüde* 'many; much', *bädireñ* 'cucumber', *közäyneк* 'glasses', *pul* 'money', *sim* 'trousers', *hanım* 'kind of meal' (Kaz. *orama*), and the Kazakh pronunciation of proper names is affected by Uzbek, e.g. *Çimkent* (Kaz. *Şimkent*). The same is true of the Uighur-Kazakh contacts (Hasanov 1976: 171, 190–192).

The cities in Kazakhstan always played an important role in the language shift. In Soviet times it was impossible to live and work in a city without knowledge of Russian. Russian was a more prestigious language and was the language used in all public spheres, such as education, work, transportation, shopping, public administration, politics, relaxation and the arts. Kazakh was only a language spoken with

38 The second component is also of Russian origin, but it is adapted to Kazakh pronunciation.

39 The same is true of Osh and Jalal Abad in Kyrgyzstan where Uzbek-Kirghiz contacts had similar features and where the maintenance of Kirghiz is much better than in the north of the country, including the capital city Bishkek.

family and friends. Therefore, mastering Russian was and still is a must for the Kazakhs who migrate from villages to cities. Otherwise they are contemptuously called *Mambet* or *Mambetka*.<sup>40</sup> The Kazakhs are aware of the fact that urban culture in Kazakhstan was created by the Russians and accept this as a reality that has not yet changed.

The attempts to create Kazakh equivalents to denote urban topography and urban life have so far been unsuccessful and Kazakh has been unable to challenge the predominance of Russian or replace it. The intellectuals only tried to maintain their national language as a second language after Russian.

This situation started changing a few years ago, and at present more and more Kazakh intellectuals struggle for their national language. However, they are still very few and their impact is almost non-existent. As a result, the shift from Kazakh to Russian is still ongoing, especially in the two biggest and most important cities, Almaty and Astana, where whole districts are completely russified. Concluding this point, we may say that Kazakh as reflected in traditional culture is quite different from modern culture in the urban areas. Dave (2007: 97) is right when she says that “Language politics in Kazakhstan have largely been played out on the symbolic plane, including the state-regulated media and public domain, rather than in the street, marketplace, schools or inter-personal domain”.

### 3.3. Housing estates

All that is present outside a flat in an apartment block is Russian, e.g. *этаж* ‘storey, floor’ (Kaz. *qabat*), *подъезд* ‘entrance (to an apartment block)’ (Kaz. *kireberis*), *корпус* ‘apartment block’ (Kaz. *üy, ğyumarat*). All notices in the stairwells, such as those relating to emergency exits, electric, gas and other installations are Russian. Advertisements for services, sale, purchase, rent and hire placed on notice boards in housing estates are also Russian, e.g. *куплю квартиру* ‘I will buy a flat’ (Kaz. *päter alatin*), *сниму квартиру* ‘I will rent a house’ (Kaz. *päter jalğa alatin*), *ремонт бытовой техники* ‘repair of household appliances’ (Kaz. *turmıstıq qural-jabdıqtar jöndew*), *ремонт компьютеров* ‘computer repair’ (Kaz. *kompyuter jöndew*), *сантехник* ‘plumber’, *требуется...* ‘... needed’ (Kaz. ... *kerek, ... izdelip jatır*), *срочно* ‘immediately’ (Kaz. *jedel*), *работа* ‘job’ (Kaz. *jumis*), *сборка, разборка мебели* ‘assembling and dismantling furniture’ (Kaz. *jihaz qurastıruw jäne bölsektendirüw*).

### 3.4. Dwellings and furniture

The name for a flat, *квартира* ‘flat’ (Kaz. *päter*), as well as the names for all other parts of it and things belonging to it are copied from Russian, e.g. *комната* ‘room’ (Kaz. *bölme*), *кухня* ‘kitchen’ (Kaz. *asüy*), *ванная* ‘bathroom’ (Kaz. *juwatın bölme*),

40 Conversely, the russified Kazakhs are pejoratively called *mängürt* or *şala Qazaq*.



*коридор* ‘hallway, corridor’ (Kaz. *däliz*), *подвал* ‘cellar’ (no commonly accepted Kazakh equivalent). Some other parts of a room, such as a ‘door’ (*esik*), ‘wall’ (*qabırğa*) and ‘window’ (*tereze*) are Kazakh, but others are borrowed from Russian, e.g. *пол* ‘floor’ (Kaz. *eden*).

Most furniture, e.g. *кресло* ‘armchair’ (no commonly accepted Kazakh equivalent), *шкаф* ‘wardrobe’ (no commonly accepted Kazakh equivalent), *стол* (Kaz. *üstel*, an old adapted version of this word), kitchen appliances and utensils, e.g. *холодильник* ‘refrigerator’ (Kaz. *toñizatqıś*), *кружка* ‘mug’ (Kaz. *saptı ayaq*), *вилка* ‘fork’ (Kaz. *şanısqı*), *тарелка* ‘plate, dish’ (Kaz. *idis, tärelke*, also an adapted version of the Russian word), bathroom utensils, such as *тазик* ‘bowl, basin’ (Kaz. *ilegen, şılapşın*), *порошок* ‘washing powder’ (Kaz. *untaq*), and even such words as *одеяло* ‘quilt, blanket’ (Kaz. *körpe*) are commonly copied from Russian.

### 3.5. Social relations

The Kazakhs often refer to their friends, acquaintances and even more often to unknown people using Russian words and address them so, e.g. *подруга* ‘female friend, girlfriend’ ((*birewdiñ*) *qız dos(i)*), *подружка* ‘female friend, girlfriend’ (id., a diminutive form), *брат* (from Rus. *брат*) ‘brother’ (a common form of address to a young peer); *девушка* ‘young woman’, *женщина* ‘woman’, *мужчина* ‘man’, *молодой человек* ‘young man’, *сестра* ‘sister; nurse’.<sup>41</sup> Needless to say, all languages have their own words for these notions. The Kazakhs very often start a conversation with unacquainted people in Russian, greeting them *здравствуйте* ‘good morning, good afternoon’ etc. and say farewell *счастливого* or *до свидания* ‘goodbye’. Similarly, when people wish to be polite they are expected to use Russian expressions of politeness, e.g. *пожалуйста* ‘please’ (Kaz. *minekeyñiz*) or *извините* ‘sorry, excuse me’ (Kaz. *keşiriñiz, aybetmeñiz*).

However, this situation is currently changing. In the past Kazakh politeness was rarely heard. I never heard a Kazakh ask another Kazakh ‘May I pass by?’ in a public place. They either said it in Russian or just grasped somebody’s arm or pushed them saying nothing. This was because Kazakh was not considered a language of public communication in Kazakh cities or outside close local communities. Now one hears such expressions also in public transportation, e.g. *ötıp keteyiñsi* or *Meni ötkiziñsi* ‘Let me pass by’.

Social life is full of Russian calques wherever Kazakh appears as a language of social relations, e.g. *грамота* ‘certificate of merit’ (Kaz. *taqtaw qağaz*), *награда* ‘prize’ (Kaz. *jülde*), *подарка* ‘gift, present’ (from Rus. *подарок*, Kaz. *sıylıq*).

Kazakh personal names are still an important component of Kazakh ethnic identity. There are many genuine Kazakh names, some shared with Karakalpaks, Kirghiz

41 As a term for ‘sister; nurse’ the word *сестра* was offered by Musabayev & Süleymenova (1961: 122).

and Uzbeks, as well as many names that are compounds of Persian and Arabic words, common to other Turkic and non-Turkic Muslim peoples of the ex-Soviet Union. However, many personal names take Russian suffixes, especially in forms of address, e.g. *Gulnara* instead of *Гүлнар*. If somebody is known by the name, e.g. *Jüsip Aydarov*, *Muqan*'s son, he is addressed *Jüseke* in Kazakh style (formally *Jüsip murza*), while in Russian style *Jusup Mukanovich*. The same applies for women, e.g. *Toti Aydarova*, *Muqan*'s daughter will be *Töke* (formally *Toti hanım*) in the Kazakh style, whereas the Russian style is *Toti Mukanovna*.

Interethnic relations in Kazakhstan are generally very good. The relationships of Kazakhs with Russians, both those in Russia and in Kazakhstan, are friendly. The Kazakhs do not blame the Russians for the communist persecutions; they regard the repression as the atrocities done by a regime, not by the Russian nation and used to say that the Russians were also victims. The reverse relationship is generally also good, though the Russians consider themselves culturally and socially more sophisticated and sometimes treat the Kazakhs with disdain, especially those who are not russified. Some behaviours of Russians towards Kazakhs are unthinkable from the point of view of European standards. For example, a notice such as the following, posted in a public place in the centre of Almatı in 2011, exhibits Russian racial discrimination, *Сниму. Семья европейцев* 'I am looking for a flat to rent from a European family'. In 2006, I noticed another ad of this type on Qazaqstan Şimkent TV channel: *Требуются официанты европейской национальности* 'Waiters of European nationality needed' (31. 08. 2006, 8:50 am). When I asked my Kazakh friends for their opinion about it, they responded, 'Oh, it's quite common'.

### 3.6. Kinship relations

The Kazakhs refer to even their closest relatives using Russian kinship terms, e.g. *мама* 'mum', *мамашка* 'mummy', *папа* 'dad', *бабушка* 'grandmother, grandma', *племянник* 'nephew'. Especially the words *тата* and *пapa* have replaced their Kazakh equivalents, such as *apaş+PS*, *apatay*, *apeke* and *äketay*, *köke*, respectively. The Kazakh word *apaş* with a possessive suffix, e.g. *apaşım* 'my mum' is mostly heard in foreign TV films dubbed into Kazakh.

### 3.7. Clothing and personal belongings

Parts of the human body are referred to in Kazakh, but the terminology of personal hygiene, fashion, clothing and personal belongings is predominantly Russian. This is not strange, for fashion is international and words frequently come along with the objects they denote. Therefore, in the speech of many Kazakhs such generic words as *kiyim* 'clothes; dress', *ayaq kiyim* 'shoe' are Kazakh, but nearly all specific words relating to this semantic field are Russian or borrowed through Russian. For instance, one may hear such names of different types of clothes and shoes as *kalgotke* (from Rus. *колготки*), 'tights', *кофта* 'woman's blouse, woman's knitted jacket' *футболка* 'undershirt', *naski* 'socks' (from Rus. *носки*; cf. Kaz. *şulıq* ← Rus. *чулок*

← Trk.), *туфли* ‘open-toe; slippers’. Some words denoting clothing and shoes are phonetically adapted and in some dictionaries they are glossed accordingly, e.g. *bäteñke* ‘boots, booties’ (from Rus. *ботинки*), *жемпір* ‘jumper, sweater, cardigan’ (from Rus. *джермпер*), *тәрішке* ‘slippers’ (from Rus. *тапочки*).

Among personal belongings that we use every day and carry with us are objects for which the Kazakhs use Russian names such as *кошелоқ* ‘wallet’ (Kaz. *ämiyan*), *ақкі* ‘glasses’ (from Rus. *очки*, Kaz. *közildirik*) and the phonetically adapted *sömke* ‘bag’ (Rus. *сумка*).

### 3.8. Shopping

Shopping is a kind of activity in the course of which a buyer is especially exposed to aggressive advertising of goods, new collections, sale and promotion. The language of advertisements is full of Russian words and slogans, e.g. *скидка* ‘sales promotion, price reduction’ (Kaz. *жеңілдік*), *распродажа* ‘sale’ (no generally accepted Kaz. equivalent), *новая коллекция* ‘new collection’ (Kaz. *jaña kolleksiya*), *мы открылись* ‘we have opened’, copied into Kaz. as *біз ашылдық*. Even the word for ‘shop, store’ (Kaz. *düken*) is mostly Russian *магазин*, or *супермаркет* ‘supermarket’, if it is large or pretends to be large.

Most instructions, directions, announcements and notices encountered in stores, especially written ones, are Russian, e.g. *внимание закрывайте пожалуйста двери* ‘shut the door, please’. The names of many basic goods and products are also Russian: *пиво* ‘beer’ (Kaz. *sıra*), *вино* ‘wine’ (Kaz. *şarap*), *напиток* ‘beverage, drink’ (Kaz. *işimdik*), *мороженое* ‘ice cream’ (Kaz. *balmuzdaq*), *малина* ‘raspberry’ (Kaz. *tañqıraq*), *картошка* ‘potatoes’ (Kaz. *kartop* ← Rus.), *patidor* ‘tomato’ (from Rus. *помидор*, Kaz. *qızanaq*), *чеснок* ‘garlic’ (Kaz. *sarımsaq*), *сыр* ‘cheese’ (Kaz. *irimşik*). If a shopkeeper or attendant gives change to a client, he will certainly say *сдача* (Kaz. *qalğan aqşa, artıq aqşa*).

One must be aware that even Kazakh names and advertisements in Kazakh displayed in shop do not reassure a client that service will be provided in Kazakh.

In contrast to the shops and supermarkets, especially luxurious ones in the city centres of Astana and Almatı, a marketplace offers more Kazakh, since it is visited by lower class Kazakhs and its sellers are also from the lower social classes. However, even if people speak Kazakh, their language is full of Russian words, expressions and terms relating to shopping, e.g. *цвет* ‘colour’ (Kaz. *tüs*), also *qanday цвет?* ‘what colour’, *последний* ‘last (pair of shoes)’. The same is seen in written notices, e.g. *Ауақкіуім; отдельно продается* ‘Shoes; retail outlet’.

The word for ‘size’ is always Russian *размер* (Kaz. *ölsem*). The Kazakhs are unable to express in Kazakh the words for basic materials and fabrics, e.g. ‘silk’ is *шёлк* (Kaz. *jibek*), ‘wool’ is *шерсть* (Kaz. *jün*), ‘leather, hide’ is *кожа* (Kaz. *teri*). The respective adjectives are also Russian, i.e. *шёлковый* ‘from silk; silk’, *шерстяной* ‘woolen; from wool’, *кожанный* ‘from leather; leather’. I have conducted much of my fieldwork at different bazaars in Kazakhstan and have never

heard any of these words in Kazakh.<sup>42</sup> The only Kazakh word of this kind commonly used was *maqta* ‘cotton’.

Moreover, many bazaar dealers are Russians, Koreans, Tatars and other nationals who serve the clients in Russian. If a Kazakh buyer is served in Russian, he normally shifts to this language.

However, at present at least some bazaars may be totally different. For example, I was astonished when in 2012 I visited two bazaars in Aqtaw. In one called *Sarı Bazar* almost all signs were in Russian and the spoken language was also predominantly Russian, while the other one, called *Äsem-Bereket Arzan bazarı*, located not far away on the same road was exclusively Kazakh, with the majority of signs such as *aşıq* ‘open’, *matalar* ‘fabrics’ only in Kazakh, some bilingual, but no Russian monolingual ones. I asked some sellers about this, but the only explanation they gave was ‘because we are Kazakhs’.

### 3.9. Commercial services

Most commercial services are provided in Russian. For example, in copy shops we see such words as *ксерокопия* ‘photocopy’, *переплёт* ‘binding’, *ламинация* ‘lamination’, *сканер* ‘scanning’, *фото (за 5 мин.)* ‘photographs (in 5 minutes)’, the Kazakh equivalents only sporadically being provided, i.e. (*ksero*)*köşirme* ‘photocopy’, *laminattaw* ‘laminating’, *tüptew* ‘binding’.

The servicing of technological devices, such as computers or mobile telephones is also predominantly in Russian, i.e. *ремонт сотовых* ‘repair of mobile telephones’, *ремонт компьютеров* ‘computer repair’.

Not only hi-tech terminology, but also the terminology of other branches of technology is for the most part Russian. For example, if one drives a car, one must know such Russian terms as *руль* ‘(steering) wheel’ or *кузов* ‘bodywork’. Beyond the unspecific auto parts such as a wheel, a door or a window, almost all specific parts and components are Russian loanwords. Naturally any car service will also be offered in Russian. Even if a car mechanic knows Kazakh, he will normally be unable to speak it or will at least mix the two languages because of the terms, e.g. *баллон авустирuw* ‘tyre change’. Automobile documentation is also in Russian, e.g. *право* ‘driving licence’ or *технопаспорт* ‘registration certificate’.

42 However, in this case the use of Russian words may be explained by semantic difficulties. When I studied this problem in detail, it turned out that Kazakh does not have generic words for some concepts and objects which would be equivalent to Russian. For instance, what the Russians call *кожаный* ‘from leather; leather’ for wallets, bags, handbags, shoes, gloves, the Kazakhs may call *bilğari*, *teri* or *jarğaq*, according to the article; what the Russians call *шерстяной* ‘woolen; from wool’, the Kazakhs will call *jün* for sheep’s wool, but *tübüt* for goat’s or camel’s wool, and *jün* is also used to denote ‘feathers; plumage’.

At a petrol station one will hear such common Russian words as *заправка* ‘filling-up’ or *полный* ‘full (tank)’.

### 3.10. Work and business relations

Many jobs force young Kazakhs educated in Kazakh schools to employ Russian in their daily work routine. This is because most directors, managers, leaders, especially those appointed by central and local administration, are Russian speaking. As for the names of professions, they are also typically Russian, e.g. *агроном* ‘agronomist’, *бухгалтер* ‘bookkeeper’, but surprisingly even such simple words as ‘workman’ are often said in Russian. I have registered this word with the Kaz. plural suffix *-LAR*: *рабочийлер* ‘workmen’. A similar example was provided by Auer & Muhamedova (2005: 43): *заведующий+лар* ‘directors’.

Another strange thing is that some basic terms used by farmers are also copied from Russian, e.g. *агарот* ← *огород* ‘garden’, *поля* ← *поле* ‘field’.

### 3.11. Access to hi-tech

If we read an operating manual of an appliance or just look at the entry ‘computer’ on a website with Kazakh terminology, we find nearly everything translated to Kazakh or coined in Kazakh. However, the producers and distributors of appliances, just like advertisers and public officials, know numerous tricks to eliminate Kazakh as much as possible. For example, the Kazakh cellular telephone operator Activ sends all written messages only in Russian, though operating manuals are bilingual. Another operator, Beeline, sells computer USB modems with bilingual operating manuals, but the installation and setting software is in Russian and English. Moreover, little of Kazakh hi-tech terminology is used and people normally have recourse to such common Russian words as *флешка* ‘pen-drive’, *мышка* (Kaz. *tintüwir*) ‘mouse’, *собачка* (Kaz. *ayqulaq*) ‘@ sign’, *сотка* ‘mobile’ (Kaz. *uyali*).

The situation is similar with other electronic devices, e.g. such domestic appliances as irons, washing machines, refrigerators, microwave ovens, etc. Many of them are sold with exclusively Russian instructions and inscriptions, sometimes also English, Chinese or Turkish, depending on the producer.

### 3.12. Relaxation

Besides their traditional forms of relaxation such as singing Kazakh songs and playing Kazakh music, the Kazakhs love Russian music, songs and entertainment. Modern restaurants and hotels in big cities are operated according to Western or Russian style. However, even simple cafeterias, restaurants and hotels have strange signs such as *Встреча dämhanası* ‘Café Meeting’, *Ласточка qonaq üyi* ‘Swallow Hotel’, *Блинная Kafesi Абая, 21* ‘Pancake Café, Abay [street] 21’. Many signs display notices in Russian or in mixed Russian-English, as this one: *Cream Café – Завтраки|Breakfast с 7.30 до 12.00 – Грилл меню|Grill menu – Система Take away*.

Sometimes signs and billboards written in double language forms have generic words wrongly positioned, e.g. a café in Qızılorda had the following sign: *кафесі Восток кафе* 'Café Orient', the correct layout being *кафе Восток кафесі*, since this is the normal word order in Russian (*кафе Восток*) and in Kazakh (*Восток кафесі*).

Even when speaking Kazakh, one is expected to say *заказ бер-* 'to order'. A menu is naturally only in Russian, with such words as *первое блюдо* 'first dish', *второе блюдо* 'second dish'. Even typical Central Asian dishes are given in Russian forms, e.g. *плов* 'dish made of rice, meat, garlic, carrot etc.' (Kaz. *palaw*). There are some dish names borrowed by Russian from Turkic languages together with the products on the menu, e.g. *samsa* 'kind of shepherd's pie', *mantı* 'meat dumplings', but many Kazakhs do not understand such Kazakh words as *қуытақ* 'pancake', a dish which is exclusively ordered by its Russian name *блин(ы)*. The Kazakhs do not use Kazakh words for meals. 'Lunch' or 'dinner' is *abet* (from. Rus. *обед*, Kaz. *tüski as*) and the other meals are just *şay* 'tea', which means that there will be tea and something else.

### 3.13. Advertisements

Advertisements on TV are either in Kazakh or Russian. Russian advertisements are the only non-Kazakh components of the monolingual Kazakh channel Qazaqstan. The proportion is changing in favour of Kazakh when we compare 2006 with 2011. The situation is similar in radio broadcasting, in Kazakh newspapers and magazines, as well as online advertising. However, it is not symmetrical, since there are no Kazakh ads in the Russian media and websites. As for street advertisements, banners, billboards and wall charts, they are mostly bilingual, for the language law requires advertising in two languages, and since this type of advertising is more durable, most advertisers adhere to the regulations. However, the advertisers know many tricks to emphasize Russian. A commonly applied trick is to position a double-language ad on two sides of a board so that the Russian part is seen on the right hand side of a street from a car, whereas the Kazakh part, placed overleaf is not normally seen. Other tricks include applying a larger size font for Russian, a more visible colour or displaying the Russian text in a more visible part of a banner or billboard.

### 4. Kazakh in public services

The official language of the Soviet Socialist Kazakh Republic was Russian. Russian was also a language of interethnic communication. Although Kazakh had the status of the official national language, it was not used in this role in reality. Its role was limited to Kazakh literature, some newspapers and journals, national cultural events, a few theatre plays and films, some programmes on radio and television, and some subjects in schools.

The official status of Russian imposed the use of Russian in all domains of public life, even in contacts among native Kazakhs who had good command of their

native language except among family, friends and close acquaintances. Therefore, if two acquaintances met at an official or public place they normally spoke in Russian. Russian was also preferred among Kazakhs at larger meetings. When a non-Kazakh, but especially a man or woman whose appearance indicated that he or she may be Russian joined a group of Kazakhs, they immediately switched to Russian. This pattern included all social and age groups, beginning with small children playing outdoors. All these strategies and behaviours were underlined by a general acceptance of Russian as the dominant language.

#### 4.1. President, government and administration

Anyone familiar with Kazakh reality knows that all important decisions including language policy are in the hands of the president. The president's relation to the Kazakh and Russian languages is ambiguous. On the one hand he often stresses that the Kazakhs and all Kazakhstani citizens should speak Kazakh and use it in the public sphere, but in practice he does not support Kazakh at all. It is typical of his speeches that he starts in Kazakh, but after a few sentences switches to Russian and continues in this language. Only some inconvenient issues such as the tragic events in Jañaözen in 2011 are discussed in Kazakh. When the president met with people in Aqtaw and Jañaözen, he spoke Kazakh, probably in order not to irritate people and not to publicize these events to non-Kazakhs.

According to *Jas Alaş*, Radio Free Europe has calculated the proportion of Kazakh and Russian words in the president's addresses to the people in the years 2006–2011 (*Jas Alaş*, 22.02.2011):

Year	Number of Kazakh words	Number of Russian words	Kazakh in %	Russian in %
2006	6323	6395	49.7	50.3
2007	570	11164	4.6	95.4
2008	1000	3660	21.4	78.6
2009	460	3118	12.9	87.1
2010	852	4533	15.8	84.2
2011	611	3278	15.7	84.3

Table 1. The share of Kazakh and Russian words in the president's addresses

Needless to say, this attitude of the first man in Kazakhstan serves as a model to other people and many members of government, central administration and public institutions, ambassadors and other high-ranking representatives of the state. On the one hand, the president's attitude is a sign of tolerance for the non-Kazakh citizens and Russian-speaking population of the state, but on the other hand it is an expres-

sion of his Russian and Soviet sentiments as well a concession made to Russian-speaking Kazakhstanis who are his basic political supporters.

It is commonly known that most officers in public administration do not use the Kazakh language. In Hasanuli's opinion (2007: 163) only 34.8 % of them have a good command of Kazakh, but according to Şahanov (2007: 4), only 5–10% of them employ it. In his later work, Hasanuli (2011: 102) claims that administrative procedures in public institutions carried out in Kazakh do not exceed 70%–80%. There are many representatives of the highest authorities who are unable to use the Kazakh language, e.g. the President of the Kazakh National Bank Grigorii Marchenko, the Chairman of the Constitutional Council Igor Rogov, or the Minister of Emergency Vladimir Bozhko.

A similar situation exists in such sectors as the military forces, police and prosecutors. For example, the current Attorney General in Kazakhstan, Ashat Dawilbayev always speaks Russian in public.

This situation is mirrored in language. Many Russian terms relating to administration like *посольство* 'embassy', *министерство* 'ministry', *консульство* 'consulate' are used in Kazakh speech.<sup>43</sup> Note that the term *ministrlik* for 'ministry' was used by Duwlatuly (2003: 29) as early as 1907, and the Kazakh terms for 'embassy' and 'consulate' are *elşilik* (Musabayev & Süleymenova 1961: 102) and *konsuldiq* or *konsuldiq bölim* 'consular department', respectively. When we read online such a sentence as *кеше генпрокуратура предупредить етті* 'Yesterday the Prosecutor General's office warned [sb]', it suggests that they did it in Russian, since the sentence is clearly modelled on Russian.

The Russian character of the government is visible in such sentences with mixed codes as *Министерство культуры и связи qoldaydı meni* 'The Ministry of Culture and Communication [in fact, it should be 'information'] supports me' (KTV TV channel, recorded 27.12.2011). One may risk a thesis to say that it is unlikely that a citizen would refer to a ministry in Russian if its procedures were conducted in the state language. Naturally it does not mean that all ministers and their officials are completely russified or indifferent to the language issue. In this particular case, the current Minister of Culture and Information, Darhan Miñbay is an outspoken supporter of the Kazakh language. However, the government as a whole and the prime minister must take responsibility for this state of affairs.

Many bureaucratic procedures are inherited from the time of the Soviet Union and they still function in Kazakhstan. Although they are translated into Kazakh, they are mostly used exactly as earlier in Russian. For example, if one needs a visa to Kazakhstan, one should submit an invitation and in some cases get formal visa sup-

43 It is noteworthy to stress that even many official governmental websites provide their addresses abbreviated in a Russian or mixed way, e.g. [www.mz.gov.kz](http://www.mz.gov.kz), in which "mz" stands for *Министерство здравоохранения* 'Ministry of Health'. Naturally, when we click on it, it will open its Russian version, set as the default one.



port from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It is called in Russian *визовая поддержка* and the Kazakh equivalent is a word-for-word translation *vizalıq goldaw*.

At the outset of Kazakh independence, there were attempts to create socio-political and administrative terminology and to revive the existing terms. A selection of these terms with Russian equivalents was provided by Qasimbekov (1992: 148–155, 156–160, 284–285). In fact, the Russian language and terminology as well as Russian administrative procedures could have been helpful, for Russia and the Soviet Union possessed a long tradition of administration, though highly bureaucratic. There were also Kazakh-Russian bilingual manuals for administration (e.g. Qasimbekov 1992). It is only recently that manuals for administration appear in Kazakh as monolingual guides (e.g. Hasanulı 2011, though with Kazakh-Russian and Russian-Kazakh term lists).

Although some basic terms are recommended in all terminological dictionaries and administration guides, their Russian equivalents are still predominantly used, e.g. *удостоверение* ‘certificate’ for what is *küälik* in Kazakh (see Musabayev & Süleymenova 1961: 141, Qasimbekov 1992: 154, Hasanulı 2011: 257).

#### 4.2. Courts and law

Most judges conduct lawsuits in Russian; see a verdict published by Radio Free Europe,<sup>44</sup> and this is the case with both the Supreme Court and regional courts. For this reason, most judicial services offered by lawyers are provided in Russian. Also notaries prefer preparing legal documents in Russian, though some of them are prepared to do it in Kazakh. For example, at a notary’s office in Almatı in 2011, a clerk was unable to understand Kazakh and offered me another, bilingual notary. In 2006, I interviewed a notary at her office in Şımkent with my friend. They spoke in Kazakh, though using Russian words for such legal terms as *доверенность* ‘letter of attorney’ (Kaz. *senimhat*), but when it came to writing the document, the notary composed it in Russian, not asking what language the client wanted. Therefore, I asked if she automatically issues a document in Russian if a client does not request otherwise. The notary denied this. My last question was how many clients requested documents in Kazakh. She replied that she did not know exactly, but that there were very few.<sup>45</sup>

44 [http://www.azattyq.org/content/kazakhstan\\_agyzbek\\_tolegenov\\_supreme\\_court\\_verdict/24387056.html](http://www.azattyq.org/content/kazakhstan_agyzbek_tolegenov_supreme_court_verdict/24387056.html).

45 It must be noted that Şımkent is the centre of the South Kazakhstan province with a dense Kazakh population which is said to be a stronghold of the Kazakh language in Kazakhstan. This province is one of those that declared it had switched its administrative procedures from Russian to Kazakh. However, practice shows that this is not true and Russian is still the basic language in many public sectors, especially paperwork. In other provinces, which nominally switched to Kazakh, the situation is even worse.

### 4.3. Health service

Most Kazakhs use the Russian words for such key medical terms as ‘physician, doctor’ (*врач*), ‘nurse’ (*медсестра*) and ‘pharmacy’ (*аптека*), although they all have Kazakh equivalents, i.e. *däriger*, *medbiyke* (a term modelled on Russian) and *därihana*, respectively. Doctors start their conversations with the patients in Russian. The terms for illnesses and diseases are normally Russian adaptations of Greek names, e.g. *гастрит* ‘gastritis’. The most typical medical procedures such as measuring blood pressure are also normally referred to in Russian, e.g. *давление*, even *давление ölçe-* ‘to take blood pressure’ or *укол sal-* ‘to give an injection’.

### 4.4. Public transportation

Kazakh airlines, both international and domestic, as well the airports respect the Kazakh language better than the railways do. Although there are still non-Kazakh ethnic employees at the airports who do not speak Kazakh, the Kazakh personnel is in most cases well trained to serve passengers in the titular language of Kazakhstan. When I flew on Air Astana to Öskemen-Ust'-Kamenogorsk on 28 August 2011, some notices such as *Выход – Exit* were in Russian and English, but others were in English and Kazakh, e.g. *kürsiñizdiñ astında* ‘under your seat’. This new term for ‘seat’<sup>46</sup> was in use on the Kazakh aircraft, while the Lufthansa aircraft flying to Almatı on 19 August 2011 used the Rus. word ‘*кресло*’.

The whole Kazakh railway network is deeply rooted in the Soviet system. Timetables, information desks and notices at railway stations and on trains are in Russian. Even new carriages imported from Spain have Russian signs, such as *Построено в Испании завод Talgo* ‘Made in Spain, Talgo factory’ and *Мест до сидения 25* ‘25 seats’ (registered in 2006).

Intercity bus and coach lines and public transportation in towns are diversified. On most buses signs are in Kazakh, on some in Kazakh and Russian. Service is predominantly offered in Kazakh. In the past in all minibuses, even if the driver, conductor and all passengers were Kazakh-speaking Kazakhs, formal verbal communication was in Russian. In such situations most passengers asked conductors to let them out in Russian, e.g. *Остановитесь на остановке; на остановке*,<sup>47</sup> while informal conversation between two individual passengers and between the driver and the conductor was in Kazakh. Now this is changing, and on many minibuses and city buses the conductors speak Kazakh or mixed languages even in Almatı and As-

46 *Kürsi* is an old ‘learned’ term of Arabic origin, used in Turkish, Chaghatai and Tatar to denote ‘chair’ etc.

47 I evidenced identical orientation terms in Bukhara and Tashkent in Uzbekistan in 2009, the difference being that in Bukhara people normally communicated in Tajik, in Tashkent either in Russian or Uzbek.

tana. This is probably because these employees belong to lower social classes and have migrated to the cities from Kazakh-speaking rural areas.

Such new phenomena as ‘traffic jam’, practically unknown in Kazakhstan before independence, are also copied from Russian, i.e. *пробка*, the Kazakh equivalent being *keptelis*. The terminology relating to traffic, street and road networks is also full of Russian loanwords, e.g. *мост* ‘bridge’, *разъезд* ‘passing track; crossing’, *поворот* ‘turn’.

#### 4.5. Education

Russification starts with pre-school education. The figures are alarming. According to Hasanuli (2007: 151) in 2005 only 39.9% of children in towns went to Kazakh-language kindergartens, while 59.9% went to Russian ones. The word for ‘kindergarten’ is a Russian loanword *садик*, also *детсад* and *детский сад*, and the Kazakh equivalents *balabaqşa* or *balalar baqşası* are rarely employed. Not the Russian term, of course, but the Russian system of pre-school education has a fatal effect on children.

The percentage is better for schools, but it is still low.<sup>48</sup> In 2005/2006 only 45.6% of Kazakh pupils studied in Kazakh-medium language schools (Hasanuli 2007: 150). However, in vocational schools the proportion is even lower, with 32% for Kazakh language and 68% for Russian language instruction (Hasanuli 2007: 159). Fierman (2006: 102–103) sees a final barrier to the promotion of Kazakh language in mixed schools, since much or all communication outside the classroom there takes place in Russian.

Even those Kazakh children who speak Kazakh at home shift to Russian as soon as they go to mixed groups in kindergartens. The number of Russian kindergartens is still very high. Some parents send their kids to Russian kindergartens or groups by choice, but some do so only because they do not have another option. Namely, it is often the case that there is no Kazakh kindergarten in a district. Naturally the situation is much better in predominantly Kazakh-speaking regions.

High schools and universities offer more possibilities for Kazakh-medium instruction, though several courses are taught in both Kazakh and Russian and some only in Russian. Administration and paperwork is carried out in Russian at nearly all universities I visited except at Türkistan, though some institutes do it in Kazakh or

48 Independent Kazakhstan inherited a fatal state of national education from the time of the Soviet Union. In 1954 only one Kazakh-medium school was left in Almaty and 700 such schools were closed in the northern provinces, while 100 remaining ones were transformed into mixed schools (Kärimuli 2012: 5). Harsh measures against Kazakh resulted in even such Soviet-minded intellectuals as Särsen Amanjолоv, renowned Kazakh linguist and one of the principal supporters of the shift from Latin script to Cyrillic in the 1930s, being threatened (see Amanjолоv’s letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party in 1954, published in Amanjолоv 2005: 155–158).

mixed. I also observed admission procedures at two universities (Shymkent College of International Kazakh-Turkish Ahmet Yasawi University in 2006 and Shokan Walihanov University in Kökshetaw in 2009). Both the oral and written communication surrounding registration were in Russian.

## 5. Media

The Kazakh media cover events in three basic geographical areas. The most important is naturally the local Kazakhstan scene, followed by coverage of Russia and Central Asia. The remaining is the global dimension featuring Europe, the US, the Middle East and other countries.

### 5.1. Television

Until 2011, there was no TV station in Kazakhstan to transmit all programmes in Kazakh. All channels were mixed, Russian-Kazakh and Kazakh-Russian, some only Russian, and some also provided short programmes for language minorities. At present the most popular TV channels registered in Kazakhstan are *31 Telearna*, *Almati*, *Astana*, *Balapan* (for children), *Elarna*, *Habar*, *Jetinshi Arna*, *KTK*, *Mädeniyet* and *Qazaqstan*.<sup>49</sup>

The first monolingual Kazakh channel was set up in 2010; it was *Balapan* for children. The next was *Qazaqstan*, which switched to Kazakh completely in 2011. Both are part of the *Qazaqstan TV* station. Mixed channels still transmit either Russian-speaking films with Kazakh subtitles, sometimes conversely, Kazakh-speaking ones with Russian subtitles. It is quite indicative that even some Turkish serials, very popular in Kazakhstan, are broadcast in Russian. The foreign films on *Qazaqstan TV* channel are dubbed into Kazakh with Russian subtitles.

A common practice is for Kazakhs interviewed in Russian language programmes to be asked questions in Russian and to reply in Russian. I have never seen anyone answer in Kazakh on such programmes. This is also because all channels are state-controlled and do not interview representatives of the opposition or people who could refuse to act slavishly. In Kazakh-language programmes the answers or statements of people speaking in Russian are translated into Kazakh. Since according to the law each public servant should know Kazakh, some try to speak this language, sometimes with great difficulty. For example, in a programme broadcast by *Habar TV* channel a rescuer reporting on an accident could not tell the story in Kazakh and shifted between the two languages several times, using such Russian copies in Kazakh sentences as *водитель* 'driver' (Kaz. *jürgizüwşi*), *сменам командиры* 'the commanding officer of my shift' (Kaz. *kezekşiliktiñ qolbaşısı*; *Habar* 21.08.2006, 22:10).

<sup>49</sup> *Caspionet*, the only satellite channel, is designated for abroad and is rarely watched in Kazakhstan.

## 5.2. Radio

There is only one nationwide radio station that broadcasts news in Kazakh, *Şalqar*, which belongs to *Qazaq Radiosı* state broadcasting agency. Most programmes broadcast by *Qazaq* are in Kazakh, but feature news and advertisements also in Russian. The radio *Habar* which belongs to the Habar Agency, as it states on its website, broadcasts 53% of its programmes in Kazakh and 47% in Russian (<http://khabar.kz/kaz/radio/>, accessed 14.01.2012). Most commercial radios like *Love Radio*, *Energy FM*, *Retro FM*, *Tengri FM*, *NS Radio*, *Mir*, *Delovaya Volna* are in Russian, some with Kazakh components.

## 5.3. Newspapers and periodicals

The problem of the low number of both titles and printed copies of Kazakh press has been touched upon many times by Kazakh intellectuals, e. g. Hasanuli (2007: 157, 224–226) and Şahanov (2007:2). For example in Şahanov's calculation based on official data, the number of periodicals in Kazakh was 453 (half of them in the South Kazakhstan province), while there were 2,303 periodicals in Russian, the proportion being 19.7% to 80.3%. However, if we add as many as 5,248 Russian periodicals imported from Russia (according to official data 2,728), the share of Kazakh press is only 6% (Şahanov 2007:2). When we compare these data with the latest figures provided by Kärimuly, we see that despite a steadily growing number of Kazakh titles, nothing has changed, and the proportion is shocking and alarming: it is not growing, but diminishing. Namely, in Kärimuly's opinion 90% of the 4,115 periodicals registered and distributed in Kazakhstan are in Russian, 6% in other languages, and only 4% in Kazakh (Kärimuly 2012: 5).

There is only one Kazakh newspaper that appears daily in Kazakhstan, *Alaş Aynası*. Among the newspapers of nationwide character, there is *Egemen Qazaqstan* (the official newspaper of the Kazakh government, published five times a week), which boasts the highest number of copies, but this is because it is bought by public institutions and read for the official government announcements published there. It has an online version. Quite interestingly, although the online version is only in Kazakh, some folders, e.g. *Memlekettik satıp aluw* 'Governmental purchase' feature all announcements in Russian (e.g. documents dated 27.10.2010–3.01.2012), which shows that trade is still a domain of the Russian language. All other newspapers are in fact weekly periodicals or come out from two to four times a week, e.g. *Almati Aqşamı* (with the Russian version *Вечерний Алматы*, which is not the same and has its own editorial board), *Ana Tili*, *Ayqın*, *Dala men Qala*, *Jas Qazaq Üni*, *Qazaq Ādebiyeti*, *Qazaq Eli*, *Türkistan*, *Zaň Gazeti* (with its Russian version *Юридическая газета*). Many local newspapers are still mixed, with some articles in Kazakh and some in Russian, e.g. *Aqtaw Aqparatı*.

There is only one opposition newspaper, *Jas Alaş*, which also has an online version. The access to it is difficult in some regions, but the same is also true of many other newspapers.

There are a few colourful, attractive journals, such as *Āliya*, but only the pulp magazine *Juldızdar Otbası* is sold at many newspaper sellers. Among other magazines, worth mentioning are such titles as *Alaş Ordası*, *Aqyqat*, *Aruwjan*, *Dos*, *Densawlıq*, *Jalın*, *Juldız*, *Juldızben Sırlasuw*, *Möldir Bulaq*, *Önege*, *Parasat*, *Stars.Kz* and *Ūrker*. There are also some popular and pulp magazines belonging to *Zamana* group such as *Awırmañız*, *Kälima*, *Qısır Āñgime*, *Qızıq Gazet*, *Säwegey*, *Şartarap*, *Tılsım Düniye*, *Tünjarım*, *Zañnama*, and many others targeting women, family and popular readerships, mostly published in Şımkent but distributed countrywide, like *Āyel Qupıyası*, which are mostly sold in the bazaars.

Almost all Kazakh press is sold at limited places, and there is no clear key to their distribution. In addition, many journals are printed in low numbers of copies, often not exceeding 200 or so. In short, it is not easy to purchase a good Kazakh newspaper or magazine, especially in some regions and districts.

#### 5.4. Websites

Probably the best linguistic situation is online. There is a constantly growing number of websites that offer Kazakh language news, e.g. *Abai.kz*, *BAQ.kz*, *Dastan-studio.kz* (only in Kazakh) and some others with Kazakh, Russian and sometimes English versions, e.g. *BNEWS.kz* (Kazakh version in Cyrillic and Latin scripts and Russian version), *Didar.kz* (Kazakh, Russian), *KazInform.kz* (Kazakh version in Cyrillic, Russian and Arabic scripts, as well as Russian and English versions), and *Stan.kz* (Kazakh and Russian).

One should add international websites such as Radio Free Europe's Kazakh section to those mentioned above. There are a few social networking services such as *Mässağan* (i.e. *Mäccazan*, <http://www.massagan.com/>). The Committee for Language at the Ministry of Culture runs a website *Memlekettik Til Portalı* 'State language website' ([til.gov.kz](http://til.gov.kz)) which contains many materials on the language law and language issues, as well as some online dictionaries, which however do not work properly.

#### 6. Conclusion

There is no doubt that the position of Kazakh and the correlation between Kazakh and Russian is politically dependent. Kazakhstan is the only Central Asian post-Soviet independent state where a great number of ethnic citizens do not speak their native language and whose president, prime minister and public servants of the highest rank openly and publicly make statements in Russian. It is the single Central Asian post-Soviet state in which leaders of highest institutions, ambassadors and consuls at embassies abroad are unable to speak the state's titular language. Kazakhstan is the only post-Soviet country that has Russian inscriptions on its national

banknotes.<sup>50</sup> After all, we may say that language is only one aspect of the strong relations unifying Kazakhstan with Russia. For instance, Kazakhstan is the only post-Soviet country that has not introduced its own country code for telephone communication and shares the code with Russia; and beside Belarus, Kazakhstan was the first to re-establish close relations with Russia.

It is evident that the ongoing integration with Russia in culture, politics, trade, industry, law and customs union will further favour the dominant position of Russian. Although the Kazakhs are very tolerant towards Russian, the language issue has become a political factor, though few open language conflicts can be reported.<sup>51</sup> For example, representatives of many non-governmental organizations and opposition parties in an open letter addressed to the authorities and published in *Jas Alas* (22.02.2011) demanded that the issue of the state language be solved within a short period of time, preferably three years. However, the regime is not eager to engage in any dialogue with the opposition nor make any concessions. Therefore, the struggle for the national language is one of the common demands of the political opposition.

It is indisputable that the situation of Kazakh has changed positively since 1989, but the changes are very slow and limited to only some areas of Kazakhstan's reality. As for the future, there are hardly any perspectives for a spectacular strengthening of the state language as long as the present authorities remain in power, e.g. as long as the president publicly speaks to the prime minister in Russian. Enhancing the state language requires a range of changes, such as legislative (change in the constitution and language law), political (shift to Latin script, changes in the education system) and practical (obeying the rules and the law, favouring changes in people's attitudes towards language). Therefore, these are the tasks for both language planning and language policy. Needless to say, all this will be a long process, lasting at least one generation, once it really starts. It must be added that some analysts see more perspectives for Kazakh. For example, Fierman points out the factor of independence, demographic processes leading to a growing number of Kazakhs, migration within Kazakhstan, the good economic situation of the country which may finance the costs of reversing the language shift (Fierman 2005a: 120–121). However, in another paper he says that President Nazarbayev "has overseen and often

50 The Kazakh currency, *tenge*, was issued in 1993 to replace the Russian ruble. All the inscriptions on banknotes were in Kazakh. Amid the ardent protests of many Kazakh intellectuals, the National Bank of Kazakhstan—whose president is an ethnic Russian unable to produce a single Kazakh sentence—issued a new banknote design with double Kazakh and Russian language inscriptions. It should be noted that the Tajikistani *somoni* has English inscriptions on the reverse side, similar to Georgian *lari*.

51 Any problem relating to language receives a great interest and popularity in Kazakhstan. For example, Düräli Düysenbay's thoughts 'Some reflections on language' on *Mässağan* website was visited 4,088 times over a short period of time (Дүрәлі Дүйсебай *Тіл төңірегіндегі толғамдар*, checked 28.07.2008).

orchestrated a system in which there have been almost constant changes in law, personnel, and even administrative borders.” (Fierman 2005b: 412). All Kazakhs agree that the situation may radically and quickly change if the president will want it to, but the history of independent Kazakhstan and the president’s policy over more than twenty years would indicate that there is no chance of this.

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# **Nineteenth century Kazak correspondence with Russian authorities: Morphemic analysis and historical contextualization**

**Talant Mawkanuli & Virginia Martin**

Mawkanuli, Talant & Martin, Virginia 2012. Nineteenth century Kazak correspondence with Russian authorities: Morphemic analysis and historical contextualization. *Turkic Languages* 16, 68–79.

This article presents a linguistic and historical analysis of a letter written by a member of the Kazak elite to a Russian imperial official in the year 1832. The letter, written in Turki and accompanied by a Russian translation, is an example of a corpus of documents, which the authors have collected from regional archives and which form the source material for a long-term collaborative project, the goal of which is to give an account of the evolution of the Kazak literary language from the 18th to the early 20th centuries, and of the historical context in which that evolution occurred. This article presents a morphemic analysis of the Turki letter, historical background of its production, and translation of the Russian version.

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## **Introduction**

This article presents results of the first steps of a long-term collaborative project that joins linguistic and historical analysis of documents written by Kazaks to Russian imperial officials in the period from the late 18th through the early 20th century.<sup>1</sup> The dual purpose of our project is to give an account of the language and of the historical context in which the documents were written, as both evolved over time. Documents written by Kazaks to Russian imperial officials are valuable data for the study of the history of Kazak literary language, yet no comprehensive study of the language of these documents has yet been undertaken.

In the first stage of the project, exemplified by the analysis in this article, we focus only on documents from the early 19th century, predominantly the 1820s and 1830s, when the Russian government opened the first locally-staffed administrative

<sup>1</sup> This article is a slight revision of a research report previously published in *Central Eurasian Studies Review*, 8:1, pp. 21–28.

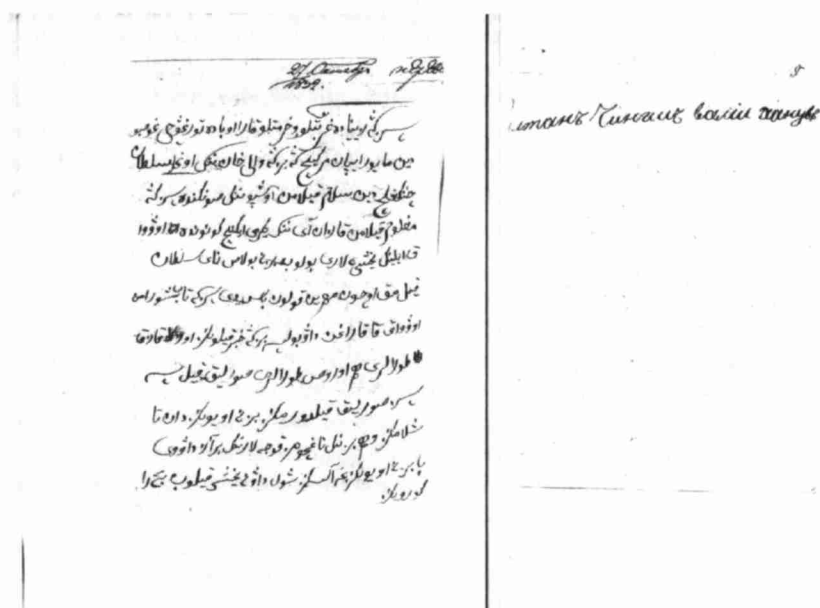
offices within the Kazak steppe territory. We investigate in detail the language of these documents and give a comprehensive account of the morphosyntactic properties of the language from a synchronic perspective. Accompanying a morphemic analysis and English translation of each document is historical information, such as information about the author and addressee and a descriptive analysis of its contents. We provide the official Russian translation as well, so as to highlight the divergences in language and meaning between the texts and therefore the challenges to historians' interpretations when working only with the Russian translations. The results of the synchronic investigation of this particular written language will lay a foundation for further diachronic and comparative study of the Turkic languages in the steppe region in order to provide an account of the development and changes to them through time.

The documents that we are analyzing in this first stage of our project come from archives in Omsk, Russia (the administrative center for Russian rule over Middle Horde Kazaks beginning in 1822) and Almaty, Kazakhstan.<sup>2</sup> They were handwritten in Turki<sup>3</sup> and include vernacular Turkic forms as well as Russian loan words, making them linguistically rich and challenging sources of analysis. The authors of the texts were generally Kazak *töre*—"Sultans" with Chinggisid lineage—who had gained positions in the newly formed Russian imperial administration in the Kazak steppe in the 1820s and 1830s and who corresponded with officials as prompted or required by their positions. The contents of the documents are generally local-level administrative and political topics, and the language in them reflects the local origin of both the author and his/her concerns. In terms of the history of written Turki, they demonstrate an evolution beyond the "old-Tatar official written language" in earlier eras of diplomatic correspondence between Russian rulers and neighboring Turkic/Tatar leaders (Khisamova 1999), in that they now contain vernacular words and localized subject matter, and the authors and addressees are local political figures. They appear in the archival record along with Russian translations.

The present article analyzes a letter written by Chingis Sultan to Cossack Commander Shvabskii in October 1832. It consists of the following pieces: 1) a facsimile of the Turki document, 2) a morphemic analysis of the Turki document, 3) historical information about this specific document, 4) a facsimile of the Russian version, 5)

- 2 These are locations where Martin has conducted historical research. In the near future, she will return to Omsk, and over the longer term she also plans to work in archives in Orenburg (Russia), which was the administrative center of Russian rule over Little Horde Kazaks, and in Moscow. In each case, one object of her work will be to collect more samples of these Turki-language documents to supplement the approximately fifty that she has in hand.
- 3 Turki is used here to refer to a variety of Chaghatay with typical Kipchak features and reflecting the spoken varieties of the steppe region.

an English-language translation of the Russian document, and 6) brief observations on some differences between the Turki and Russian versions.



Facsimile of the original Turki document<sup>4</sup>

### Morphemic analysis

The text of the letter from Sultan Chingis to Ivan Markovich Shvabskii is presented here in five lines. The first line presents it in the Turki orthography used by Kazaks at the time, as seen in the original, handwritten document (see facsimile). The second line is a transliteration<sup>5</sup> (original spelling in the Arabic script) and the third line is a morphophonemic transcription (reconstruction of the language in the text). We used both transliteration and transcription of the text in the morphemic analysis in order to highlight the divergences between each Arabic letter (grapheme) used in the text and the various phonemes that each letter denotes. The fourth line provides a

4 Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan [TsGA RK], f. 338, op. 1, d. 751, ll. 9–9ob. The Cyrillic-script signature appears on its own page (l. 9), but it clearly belongs with the Arabic-script letter (l. 9ob).

5 When inflectional suffixes are not connected to words in the original text, morpheme boundaries are marked by underline marks in our transliteration.

morphemic analysis in the form of morpheme-by-morpheme glosses, and the fifth line offers an English-language translation that is as close as possible to the original literal meaning. The symbols and abbreviations mainly follow the conventions used in “Eighteenth Century Kazak Glossary” (Mawkanuli 1993). Morphological categories are represented in small capitals and lexical glosses are in ordinary type.

سېزگە زىيادە غەزەتلىرىمىز قارا اوبادە تورغۇچى غوصبودىن ماپور ايپان ماركىچ گە  
 syzkh zyyadh ġzztlw w xrmtlw qara ʔwbadh  
 siz-ge ziyadā yzzat<sup>6</sup>-lu wa xurmat<sup>7</sup>-lu qara oba-da  
 you.POL-DAT (A)superior (A)esteem-ADJ (A)and (A)honor-ADJ Qara Oba-LOC  
 twrgvčy ġwšbwdyn maywr ʔypan mrkyč  
 tur-γuwčī yospodin<sup>8</sup> mayor Ipan markič-ge  
 stay-NM (R)Mister (R)major Ivan Markič-DAT  
 ‘To you, superior, esteemed and honored Mr. Major Ivan Markič, who is residing at  
 Qara Oba (Lake).’

سېزگە والى خان نىك اوغلى سلطان چىنگىچ دىن سالام قىلامن  
 syzkh waly xan\_nnk ʔwġly sltan čnkġč\_dyn  
 siz-ge Wali xan-niġ oyl-i sultan čiġġič-din  
 you.POL-DAT Wali Xan-GEN son-3SG.POSS (A)Sultan Chingis-ABL  
 slam qylamn  
 salam qil-a-miġ  
 (A)greetings make-PF-1SG  
 ‘I, Sultan Chingis, son of Wali khan, send my greetings.’

اوشپونىك صونكىندە سېزگە مەلۇم قىلامن  
 ʔwšpwnnk šwnkndh szkh mġlwm qylamn  
 ošbu-niġ soġ-i-nda siz-ge mäylüm qil-a-miġ  
 this-GEN end-3SG.POSS-LOC you-DAT (A)known make-PF-1SG  
 and herewith I inform you that,

قازان اى نىك يكرمى ايكنچ كونونده  
 qazan āy\_nnk ykrmy ʔyknč kwnwndh  
 qazan ay-i-niġ yigirmi iki-nči kün-ü-nde  
 ‘October month-3SG.POSS-GEN twenty two-NUM.ORD day-3SG.POSS-LOC  
 on the 22nd day of the October month,’

اوڭواق ايلينك يخشى بى لارى بولوب  
 ʔwɯwaq ʔylynk yxšy by\_lary bwlwb

- 6 *yzzat* < *izzat* عَزَتْ  
 7 *xurmat* < *hurmat* حُرْمَةٌ  
 8 *yospodin* < *gospodin*

uwaq el-<n>iŋ yaxš'i biy-lar-ï bol-up  
 Uwaq people-2SG.GEN good Biy-PL-3SG.POSS be-CV  
 'The good *biys* of the Uwaq people gathered.'

بزنی بولاص نای سلطان قیل مق اوچون  
 bzny bwlaş\_nay sltan qyl\_mq ʔwčwn  
 biz-ni bolasnay sultan qil-maq üčün  
 we-ACC (R)volost<sup>9</sup> (A)Sultan do-VN for  
 'in order to make us the volost' Sultan'

مهرین قولون باس دی  
 mhryn qwlwn bas\_dy  
 möhr-i-n qol-u-n bas-ti  
 (P)seal-3SG.POSS-ACC hand-3SG.POSS-ACC press-PST-3  
 'placed their seals and signatures.'

سزکه تابشورامن  
 syzh tabšwramn  
 siz-ge tapšur-a-mın  
 you.POL-DAT submit-PF-1SG  
 'I will submit (it) to you.'

اوڭواق قا قاراغن داڭ بولسه بزگه خبر قیلونکز  
 ʔwvwaq\_qa qaraŋn dav bwlsh bzkh xbr qylwnkz  
 uwaq-qa qara-yan daw<sup>10</sup> bol-sa biz-ge xabar qil-uŋuz  
 Uwaq-DAT belong.to-PSTPRT (A)claimbe-COND we-DAT (A)information do-2POL.IMP  
 'Please inform us if there is a claim related to the Uwaq.'

اوزکا قازق طورالری هم اوروص طورالری  
 ʔwzka qazq<sup>11</sup> ʔwra\_lry hm ʔwrwş ʔwra\_lry  
 özge qazaq töre-ler-i häm orus töre-ler-i

9 *Volost'* means county; *volostnoy* is the adjectival form upon which the word *bolasnay* is presumably based. In the early 19th century, Russian administrators used *volost'* as the term for a group of nomads who were or would eventually be organized into administrative units at the local level. Chingis makes use of the Russian terminology to describe this grouping of nomads, even though they are not yet officially integrated into the imperial structure. In other regions of the Middle Horde steppe (and beginning in 1834 in this particular territory), *volost'* *Sultan* [county administrator] was the official title of the Kazak head of a county within an *okrug* [district].

10 *daw* < *da'waa* دعوی 'allegation, claim, pretension'.

11 In the manuscript at the beginning of the eighth line, the text in square bracket between this word and the next represents later emendation.

other Kazak *töre*-PL-3POSS (P)and Russian *töre*-PL-3POSS  
 ‘If other Kazak *töres* and Russian *töres*’

صورلىق قىل سه سبز صورلىق قىلدورمنكز  
 şwrlyq qyl\_sh sz şwrlyq qyldwrnknz  
 zor<sup>12</sup>-liq qil-sa siz zor-liq qil-dur-ma-ñiz  
 (P)violence-NM do-COND you.POL (P)violence-NM do-CAUS-NEG-2POL.IMP  
 ‘provoke violence, please do not let them provoke violence.’

بىزنى اويونكز دان تاشلامنكز  
 bzny ʔwywnkzdan tašlamnkz  
 biz-ni oy-uñuz-dan tašla-ma-ñiz  
 we-ACC mind-2POSS-ABL throw.away-NEG-2POL.IMP  
 ‘Please do not forget us’

و هم بىزنىك ناغچومز  
 w hm bznknk nağčwmz  
 wa häm biz-niñ nayaču-muz  
 (A)and (P)and we-GEN maternal.relatives-1PL.POSS  
 ‘And also our maternal relatives,’

قوجه لارنىك براز داۋوى با  
 qwjälarnnk brāz davwy ba(r)  
 qoja-lar-niñ biraz dawu-ī ba<r>  
 Qoja-PL-GEN some (A)claim-3POSS EXIST  
 ‘*Qojas*, have some claims.’

بىزنى اويونكز غه آلسنكز  
 bzny ʔwywnkzğh ālsnkz  
 biz-ni oy-uñuz-ğa al-sa-ñiz  
 we-ACC mind-2POSS-DAT take-COND-2POL.IMP  
 ‘If you think of us,’

شول داۋنى يخشى قىلوب بتى را كورونكز  
 šwl davny yxšy qylwb bytra kwrwnkz  
 šol daw-ni yaxšī qil-up bitir-e kör-üñiz  
 that (A)dispute-ACC good do-CV finish-CV see-2POL.IMP  
 ‘please resolve that dispute well.’

Sultan Chingis Vali Khanuv

12 *zor* < *zor* زور “violence, force” It should be noted that in this text, voiced fricative /z/ was indicated by the grapheme ص /š/.



### Historical background

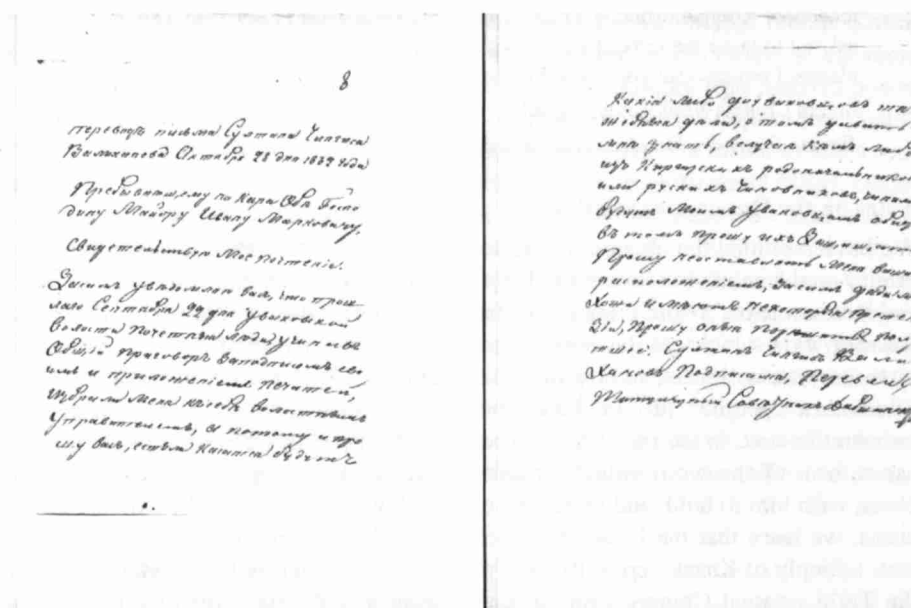
The document analyzed linguistically above was written by Chingis Walixanov (1811–ca.1896), son of Khan Wali (1781–1821) and Ayġanım (1783–1853), Wali’s second wife. In 1832, when Chingis wrote this letter, he was enrolled in the Asiatic section of the Omsk Cossack School as one of its first Kazak students. He completed three years of schooling, officially to train as a translator, and then in summer 1834, he was elected and confirmed to the post of Senior Sultan [*starshii/aġa Sultan*], the main Kazak administrator of the district office [*okruzhnyi prikaz/diwan*] of the newly-created Aman-Karagay outer district [*vneshnii okrug*] in the northwestern corner of the Middle Horde steppe region. He would continue to serve the imperial Russian government in several different capacities for 34 years, until major reforms of the steppe region in 1868 forced him to retire (Martin, forthcoming).

In 1832, the Aman-Karagay territory from which Chingis wrote his letter had not yet been structured as a separate administrative region; formal administrators were not yet in place, and Russian authority was only present in the form of a Cossack military detachment. This meant, among other things, that only some of the Kazak nomads migrating within the territory had proclaimed their allegiance to the Russian tsar and requested that administrative order be created there, while others refused to acknowledge Russian rule. Among the latter were the “Uwaq people” mentioned in Chingis’ letter.

Rather than submit to Russian rule, these Uwaq people submitted to Chingis. In some ways, this was simply Central Eurasian nomadic politics. Chingis was a Chinggisid, the nomadic political elite of the Eurasian steppe who claimed aristocratic status based on genealogical descent from the Mongol empire-builder, Chinggis Khan. The wealthiest and most powerful Kazak Chinggisids controlled patrimonial lands and the people and livestock that migrated on those lands (Martin 2010). These Uwaq nomads “belonged” to Sultan Chingis: they were among the *tüलगüts* [loyal servitors] of his father, and now they professed allegiance to Chingis. Probing more deeply into the archival record, we find their purpose here was to proclaim that they were a group of Uwaq distinct from other Uwaqs who had submitted to a different Sultan in neighboring Kokchetav [Kökšetaw] district in 1828, that they had never professed loyalty to the tsar, and that they therefore were not obligated to pay *yasak* [in-kind taxes]. In the early 1830s the imperial administration in Omsk was attempting to enforce for the first time since 1822 the collection of *yasak* from among the Kazaks who had become subjects of the empire.<sup>13</sup>

13 This topic of collection of *yasak* and the accusation that Uwaq were evading their obligations takes up the entire file in which Chingis’ 1832 letter is found (TsGA RK, f. 338, op. 1, d. 751, 139 ll.). By 1835, an investigation involving numerous Kazak and Russian officials resulted in the determination that all Uwaq owed some level of *iasak*, and at least some of it was extracted from them.

Chingis' letter is addressed to the commander of the local Cossack military detachment, Captain Ivan Markovich Shvabskiy, and it entered the archival record when Shvabskiy sent it on, with attached Russian translation, to his superior, the commander of Omsk province.<sup>14</sup> Shvabskiy and his men were stationed as imperial border guards in a territory not yet formally incorporated into the administrative structure of the empire. Chingis apparently viewed Shvabskiy as the imperial official to whom he should turn in his attempt to protect his claim to this group of Uwaq Kazaks.



Facsimile of the Russian-language document<sup>15</sup>

The letter is very brief; its contents may seem terribly mundane and unrevealing. Yet as the above background information hopefully conveys, we can learn important details about nomadic politics and the people who practiced it; indeed, it is just these sorts of documents, used as one piece of evidence among many other types of sources, which reveal to the historian otherwise little-known features of the social, cultural, political, and linguistic history of the steppe from a distinctly Kazak nomadic point of view.

14 Omsk province (*oblast'*) was administratively part of the Governor-Generalship of Western Siberia at this time. Middle Horde nomads (called *Sibirskie kirgizy* in Russian statutes) fell within the jurisdiction of Omsk officials.

15 TsGA RK, f. 338, op. 1, d. 751, ll. 8–8ob.

### The Russian-language version in English translation

Letter of Sultan Chingis Valikhanov, October 28, 1832

To Mr. Major Ivan Markovich, residing on the Kara Ob:

I hereby convey my esteem.

With this I inform you that last September 22nd, honored people of Uvak county, having made a common agreement shown by their signatures and affixing of their stamps, chose me as their county administrator, and so I ask you, if there are any disputes concerning the Uvakovtsy to let me know. In case any Kirgiz [Kazak]<sup>16</sup> clan leaders or Russian officials inflict harm on my Uvakovtsy I request to defend them. I ask not to leave me to your resolution, [for] after this my uncles, Khozhi, have several claims. I request that you resolve them better.

Sultan Chingis Valikhanov, signed

Titular Councilor Dabshinskiy, translated

### Notes on the Russian translation

We have provided the above translation of Sultan Chingis' letter in order to reflect briefly on the subtle but important differences in language and meaning in the Turki and Russian texts. While there are in fact a number of differences in the Turki and Russian texts which can be noticed in our literal English translations of the two texts, here we will pause to note just three examples. First, the Uwaq/Uvak are identified as a "people" [el] in Turki, but as a "volost" [county], a Russian administrative unit, in the translation. Second, in the Turki original Chingis chooses to use a form of the word volost' (*bolasnay*) when identifying the position that the Uwaq wish him to hold, and he retains the title Sultan, whereas in the Russian translation, we learn that the Uvak chose him as a volost' "administrator." Finally, and very tellingly of Kazak versus Russian perspectives on their political relationship, in the Turki original Chingis refers to both Kazak and Russian elites with the word "töre", thus signaling that he considers them equals, but the Russian version uses words signifying specific positions that cannot be compared directly to each other: Kazak "clan leaders" (*rodonačal'niki*) and Russian "officials" (*činovniki*). The liberties taken by the Russian translator, identified as an official with rank named Dabshinskiy,<sup>17</sup> are very typical of 19th century imperial representations of nomads: a language of evolutionism is employed to create a hierarchical relationship in which the nomadic political elite occupy a political space lower than the Russian imperial

16 Before 1917, Russians called Kazaks "Kirgiz" and the neighboring nomadic Kyrgyz, "Kara Kirgiz".

17 The question of the role of translators/interpreters and scribes is of course germane to our analysis. Beginning in the 1820s, each district office in the Kazak steppe had one or more interpreter or scribe assigned to its salaried staff. We intend to compile profiles of these individuals and consider the extent to which their identities may have influenced the language of these documents.

powerholders on a developmental scale (see, e.g., Sneath 2007). This exercise should signal to historians that original language documents may hold keys to understanding identity issues in steppe nomadic politics, and should be used whenever possible. Comparing the original and translated versions can provide insights into the politics of the empire builders as well.

### Conclusion

Our project opens a unique window onto the Kazak steppe of the past. The documents reveal striking evidence of the complex linguistic identity of literate Kazak elites, which should be of substantial value for comparative philology; at the same time, they provide historians with clear voices of those Kazaks who asserted power and authority within the imposed structures of Russian imperial rule in the steppe. This is a long-term project that will have many components. We intend to add to our collection of archival documents, so that the source base is sufficiently broad. Documents from Little and Middle Horde Kazak *töre*, including men who held official positions, men who were active in politics outside of imperial structures, and women who maintained positions of power and respect, as well as high-level non-Chinggisid administrators, are among representative groupings that we expect to analyze. The goals of the linguistic research for the project are twofold. First, we are planning to create a database of interlinear glossed texts from this corpus in order to represent morphosyntactic information and to enable research into the morphosyntactic and syntactic properties of the language. Second, we will investigate how Kazak has been used and how other languages have influenced it, both historically and sociolinguistically.

### Acknowledgements

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### Transliteration and Transcription System

Grapheme	Transliteration	Transcription
ا	a, 'a	a, ä
آ	a	a
ب	b	b, p
پ	p	p
ت	t	t
ث	j	j
ج	ḥ	ḥ
چ	č	č
خ	x	x
د	d	d
ر	r	r
ز	z	z
س	s	s
ش	š	š
ص	s, z	s, z
ط	t	t
ظ	'	'
غ	ğ	y
ق	q	q
ك	k	k
گ	k	g
ل	l	l
م	m	m
ن	n	n
نگ	nk	ŋ
ه	h	h, ä, e, a
و	w	w, o, ö, u, ü
ی	y	y, ĩ, i
و	v	w

**Abbreviations**

-	morpheme boundary	IMP	imperative
<	infix element	LOC	locative case
<	derived from	NEG	negative
1	first person	NM	nominalizer
2	second person	NUM.ORD	ordinal numeral
3	third person	PST	past tense
A	Arabic	PSTPRT	past participle
ABL	ablative case	PF	present/future tense
ACC	accusative case	P	Persian
ADJ	adjectival suffix	PL	plural
CAUS	causative	POL	polite
COND	conditional	POSS	possessive suffix
CV	converb marker	R	Russian
DAT	dative case	SG	singular
EXIST	existential	VN	verbal noun maker
GEN	genitive case		

# Depictive secondary predicates in Modern Uyghur

Aminem Memtimin & Irina Nevskaya

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Depictive predicate constructions are embedded predicative constructions of the types *He came back wounded* or *He eats his meat raw*. *Came back* and *eats* are the primary predicates of these sentences while *wounded* and *raw* are their secondary predicates called ‘depictive’; the former qualifying the subject and the latter, the object. They fulfill a predicative function semantically while being adverbial adjuncts syntactically.

This type of constructions has recently been described for Turkish, Kazakh and some Siberian Turkic languages. This paper is the first look at such predicates in Modern Uyghur. It turns out that there is some overlapping in the strategies used by different Turkic languages for expressing depictives of various semantic types, but there are also some remarkable differences.

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## 1. Introduction

Depictive predicate constructions in various languages have attracted much attention recently. They are embedded predicative constructions of the type: (a) *He came back wounded*, or (b) *He eats his meat raw*, where *wounded* and *raw* are depictive predicates. They contain two semantic predicates—a main one expressed by a verb form, and a secondary one, often expressed by a nominal form or a non-finite verb form. Depictive predicates often refer either to the subject (a) or to the object (b) of the depictive predicate construction, and sometimes to further participants; the participants connected with depictive predicates by predicative relations (*he* in example (a) and *meat* in example (b) above) are their controllers. What makes depictive predicates interesting for study is that they can fulfill a predicative function semantically and at the same time are adverbial adjuncts syntactically. Thus, they concern the domains of both semantics and syntax.

Languages differ in the ways they express secondary depictive predicates. For Turkic, depictive predicates in South Siberian languages (Shor, Tuvan, Altay and Khakas) were described by Nevskaya (2008), in Turkish by Schroeder (2008). Nevskaya and Tazhibaeva (2010) dealt with Kazakh depictives, and some interesting

data about Sakha depictives were presented by Ebata (2010). Depictives in Uyghur, a South Eastern Turkic language, show some differences from South Siberian, Turkish and Kazakh depictives, which makes them worth a separate investigation.

## 2. Properties of the depictive secondary predicate

### 2.1. The depictive secondary predicate versus other adjuncts (manner adverbs and resultatives)

The depictive predicate has some similarities with other adjuncts, which sometimes makes it difficult to distinguish them; however, several criteria and tests have been developed for this purpose. A recent study (Himmelman & Schultze-Berndt 2005) has paid specific attention to distinguishing manner adverbials from depictive secondary predicates. An important feature of depictive predicates is that they are participant-oriented (1), not event-oriented like pure manner adverbials (2):

- (1) *He left the room angry.*  
 (2) *He left the room angrily.*<sup>1</sup>

In (1), the depictive *angry* expresses the psychological state of the subject in the time frame of the main predicate *left*, while in (2) *angrily* as a manner adverbial indicates the manner of action expressed by the main verb.

- (1a) *He was angry when he left the room.*  
 (2a) *He left the room in an angry manner.*

The depictive construction differs from the adjunct one in being paraphrasable by a bi-clause construction where the element corresponding to the depictive functions as a primary predicate (Himmelman & Schultze-Berndt 2005: 11); see (1a) in contrast to (1b). Sentence (3) is ambiguous, because Uyghur *yeni* 1) 'new', or 2) 'recently' can either refer to the object (interpretation a), or to the event (interpretation b); the former is an object oriented depictive while the latter is a temporal adjunct.

- (3) *Bu kiyim-ni yeni al-d-im.*  
 this dress-ACC new buy-PST-1SG  
 'I bought this dress recently.' (a)  
 'I bought this dress new.' (b)

This sentence can be paraphrased in two different ways according to its different interpretations:

<sup>1</sup> Example from Himmelman & Schultze-Berndt 2005: 2.



(3a) *Bu kiyim-ni al-yan-da yeŋi-ti.*  
 this dress-ACC buy-PRFP-LOC new-COP.PST  
 ‘This dress was new when I bought it.’

(3b) *Bu kiyim-ni yeqinda al-d-im.*  
 this dress-ACC recently buy-PST-1SG  
 ‘I bought this dress recently.’

Only in the case of the interpretation (3a) can the sentence be paraphrased as a bi-clause.

The resultative is another type of adjunct that differs from the depictive. Depictive actions or states take place in the same time frame as the action of the main verb, whereas resultatives express the states that are achieved as results of the actions denoted by the main predicates. In (4) – (5), *pak-pakiz* and *qizil* are the results of *cleaning* and *painting* respectively.

(4) *U öy-ni pak-pakiz qil-ip tazili-wät-t-i.*  
 he house-ACC very.clean make-CONV clean-ACT(AUX)-PST-3SG  
 ‘He cleaned the house perfectly (literary: very clean).’

(5) *Män öy jahaz -lir-i-ni qizil sirli-d-im.*  
 I house furniture-PL-POSS3-ACC red paint-PST-1SG  
 ‘I painted the house furniture red.’

## 2.2. The depictive secondary predicate versus the main predicate of a subordinate clause

The depictive secondary predicate can be differentiated from the main predicate of a subordinate clause with the help of a negation test. In the case of the secondary predicate, the negation on the main verb negates a combination of the actions expressed by the secondary predicate and by the main one, whereas in the case of the main predicate in a subordinate clause, the negation on the main verb only negates the predicate in the main clause.

(6) *U aččiqla-p ket-ip qal-d-i.*  
 he get.angry-CONV go.away-CONV stay-PST-3SG  
 ‘He went away angry.’

Thus, (6) is ambiguous and can be understood as a depictive construction or as a construction of a complex sentence with the converb *aččiqla-p* as the predicate of the subordinate clause. In the latter case, it can be understood as (7).

- (7) *U aččiy-i-da ket-ip qal-d-i.*  
 he angry-POSS3-LOC go.away-CONV stay-PST-3SG  
 ‘He went away out of anger.’

The negation test shows that it is a secondary predicate construction here. See (8), which can be understood as signifying ‘he did not go away’ or ‘he was not angry’; i.e. we can negate both the depictive and the main predicate. In fact, we negate the combination of two actions: ‘be angry’ and ‘go away’. This proves that the depictive shares some modal characteristics (the scope of negation) with the main predicate and does not form a predicative unit of its own.

- (8) *U aččiqlin-ip ket-ip qal-mi-d-i.*  
 he get.angry-CONV go.away-CONV stay-NEG-PST3  
 ‘He did not go away angry.’  
 = ‘He was angry, but he did not go away.’  
 = ‘He was not angry when he went away.’

One additional criterion is the intonation: we pause after the converb *aččiqlap* in the function of the predicate of the subordinate clause in the complex sentence construction, see (9):

- (9) *U aččiqla-p, ket-ip qal-d-i.*  
 he get.angry-CONV go.away-CONV stay-PST-3SG  
 ‘He got angry and went away.’

### 2.3. The depictive secondary predicate versus a complement of the main predicate

We should distinguish depictives and complements of main predicates. In (10)–(12), *ilyar qil-ip*, *čirayliq qil-ip* and *baxliqliq-i-ya* are complements of the main verb. The *-ip* converb form of the verb *qil-* ‘make, do’ has been grammaticalized as a status postposition meaning ‘as, like’.

- (10) *Biz Aynur-ni ilyar qil-ip sayli-d-uq.*  
 we Aynur-ACC pioneer make-CONV elect-PST-1PL  
 ‘We elected Aynur as a pioneer.’
- (11) *Män uni čirayliq qil-ip yasa-p qoy-d-um.*  
 I she:ACC beautiful make-CONV decorate-CONV put(AUX)-PST-1SG  
 ‘I made her beautiful.’

- (12) *Aynur-ni sinip başliqliq-i-ya sayli-d-uq.*  
 Aynur-ACC class leadership-POSS-DAT elect-PST-1PL  
 ‘We elected Aynur as a monitor of the class.’

### 3. Depictive secondary predicates in Modern Uyghur

In Modern Uyghur, depictive secondary predicates are expressed in different ways; they can have subject or object controllers and denote various semantics (physical or mental property of their controllers, individuality and collectivity, just to mention a few).

While depictives often express similar semantics, they can differ in their forms in various languages. Although Modern Uyghur and most other Turkic languages are close relatives, they can express depictive predicates by different language means. Below, we describe the formal types of depictive predicates in Uyghur alongside their semantics.

#### 3.1. Bare adjectives as depictive secondary predicates

Depictive secondary predicates in the form of bare adjectives occur frequently in Uyghur. Some of the examples below are with a subject controller (13)–(15), others with an object controller (16)–(19).

- (13) *U mäst uxla-p qal-d-i.*  
 he drunk sleep-CONV stay(AUX)-PST-3SG  
 ‘He fell asleep drunk.’
- (14) *U uruş-tin hayat qayt-ip käl-d-i.*  
 he war-ABL alive return-CONV come-PST-3SG  
 ‘He came back from the war alive.’
- (15) *U yaş ket-ip qal-d-i.*  
 he young go.away-CONV stay.AUX-PST-3SG  
 ‘He died young.’
- (16) *Ular u-ni tirik köm-iwät-t-i.*  
 they he-ACC alive bury-ACT-PST-3SG  
 ‘They buried him alive.’
- (17) *Män tamaq-ni issiq yä-y-män.*  
 I food-ACC hot eat-PRS-1SG  
 ‘I eat the food hot.’

- (18) *Bu kiyim-ni yeji set-iwal-d-im.*  
 this dress-ACC new buy-ACT-PST-1SG  
 'I bought this dress new.'
- (19) *Män u-niŋya täksi-ni quruq bär-d-im.*  
 I (s) he-DAT plate-ACC empty give-PST-1SG  
 'I gave him the plate empty.'

These depictives express a mental or a physical state of their controllers. Some of the depictives expressed by bare adjectives in Modern Uyghur are rendered by adjectives with the dative case marker in South Siberian Turkic; this is a very prominent feature of depictives there (Nevskaya 2008).

### 3. 2. Compound adjectives as depictives

Compound adjectives also express a mental or physical state of their controllers.

- (20) *U öy-gä quruq qol käl-d-i.*  
 he home-DAT empty hand come-PST-3SG  
 'He came home empty-handed / with nothing in his hands / without success.'
- (21) *U yalaŋ ayaq qayt-ip käl-d-i.*  
 he naked foot return-CONV come-PST-3SG  
 'He came back barefoot.'

### 3. 3. Abstract nominals in the locative case as depictives

In Uyghur, depictive predicates often appear as nominal phrases headed by grammaticalized nouns like *çay* 'time' or *hal* 'state' in the locative case, as in (22). Adjectives or participles appear as their formal attributes and express the mental or physical state of the controllers of the whole depictive phrase. By adding the possessive suffix after *çay* 'time', one can make the nominal phrase a depictive expressing age; cf. (23).

- (22) *U ayal-i-ni eyir ayaq (hal-da) taşla-p kät-kän.*  
 he wife-POSS3-ACC heavy foot state-LOC throw-conv leave-PRFP  
 'He left his wife pregnant / he left his wife in a pregnant state.'
- (23) *U yaş (çey-i-da) öl-üp kät-t-i.*  
 he young time-POSS3-LOC die-conv go.away-PST-3SG  
 'He died (when he was) young.'

If the grammaticalized noun is omitted, the adjective gets the locative case marker and acts as a depictive (24). The adjective gets the possessive suffix co-referent with

its controller. This structure resembles that of a subordinate clause where the adjective is its main predicate. However, the negation test shows that the adjective phrase does not possess independent modal characteristics, see (25); so, we treat it as a depictive predicate here. The additional criterion is the intonation pattern of the sentence. In the case of the complex sentence the subordinate clause gets its own intonational characteristics – there is, e.g., a pause after the predicate of the dependent clause. This is not the case in (25).

- (24) *Čay-ni qiziy-i-da ič-iwal!*  
 tea-ACC hot-POSS3-LOC drink-ACT(AUX)  
 ‘Drink your tea while it is hot, please!’
- (25) *Čay-ni qiziy-i-da ič-iwal-mi-d-ij.*  
 tea-ACC hot-POSS3-LOC drink-ACT(AUX)-NG-PST-2SG  
 ‘You did not drink your tea while it was hot.’

We can understand (25) in two ways: ‘You did not drink your tea while it was hot’, or ‘You drank your tea, but it was not hot anymore.’ Thus, the negation on the main verb denies the combination of the two predications: *you drank tea* and *the tea was hot*.

The semantics of (24) is different from that in (26) in that (24) implies a gradual change from one state (here ‘hot’) to another (‘not hot’), whereas (26) implies a contrast. In (24), the adjective is used as an abstract (‘the state of being hot’ from ‘hot’) as in Old Turkic *kičig+im+tä* ‘when I was small, in the state of being small’ from *kičig* ‘small’ (Erdal 2004: 143).

- (26) *Män tamaq-ni qiziq yä-y-män.*  
 I food-ACC hot eat-PRS-1SG  
 ‘I eat the food (only) hot.’

In Modern Uyghur, the *-GAN* participle has to be used with the abstract noun *hal* ‘state’ in order to denote the state of its controller—the subject of the constructions, as shown by (27), while in South Siberian Turkic, the perfect participle can be used as a depictive also alone (Nevskaya 2008). The depictive of this structural type expresses a physical or mental state of its controller which is a result of a previous action.

- (27) *U aččiqla-n-yan hal-da ket-ip qal-d-i.*  
 she get.angry-REFL-PRTC state-LOC go.away-conv stay(ACT)-PST-3SG  
 ‘She went away angry (literally: in an offended state).’

### 3.4. Nominals with the postposition *bilän*

This type of depictives is very rare in Uyghur. It describes the physical or mental state of its controller. Normally, *bilän* has comitative or instrumental functions. In the following examples, (28) contains a depictive predicate, since it describes the appearance of the controller (wearing torn pants). In (29), however, the postposition has comitative functions, while in (30) it expresses instrumental semantics.

- (28) *U yirtiq iştan bilän qayt-ip käl-d-i.*  
 he torn pants with return-CONV come-PST-3SG  
 'He came back with torn pants.'
- (29) *U aki-si bilän bazar-ya kät-t-i.*  
 he old.brother-POSS3 with market-DAT go.away-PST-3SG  
 'He went to the market with his old brother.'
- (30) *Män poyiz bilän käl-d-im.*  
 I train by come-PST-1SG  
 'I came by train.'

### 3.5. Adjectives expressing a grade of quality

In examples (27)–(29), the degree of a quality referred to by an adjective is expressed by a partial reduplication of the adjective, or by other means. The depictive of this structural type expresses a physical or mental state of its controller.

- (31) *U uruš-tin sap-saq qayt-ip käl-d-i.*  
 he war-ABL undamaged / without.injury return-CONV come-PST-3SG  
 'He came back from the war without any injuries (completely undamaged).'
- (32) *Män u-ni koçi-da qip-yaliñač kör-d-üm.*  
 I he-ACC street-LOC totally.naked see-PST-1SG  
 'I saw him on the street totally naked.'
- (33) *U hazir eliş-ip qal-d-i şuğa u*  
 He now be.mad-CONV stay(AUX)-PST-3SG, so he  
*koçi-da qip-yaliñač mañ-i-du.*  
 street-LOC totally naked walk-PRS-3SG  
 'He became mad now, so he walks on the street totally naked.'

### 3.6. Nominals with the postpositions *bolup* and *qilip*

The converbs *bol-up* and *qil-ip* are used as postpositions for forming depictive phrases. The development of the postposition *bolup* in South Siberian Turkic is described in Nevskaya 1989. The main arguments for considering *bolup* a postposition

in depictive and some other constructions is its phonological reduction (*bolup* > *bop*), semantic generalization ('being' > 'as', 'like'), loss of its government patterns and of the predicative potential; see *bolup* as the main predicate in an adverbial construction (39) and its discussion in 3.6.1. Similar arguments prove also the grammaticalization of *qilip*.

Nominals governed by the postposition *bolup* serve as depictive predicates with subject controllers, whereas nominals governed by the postposition *qilip* serve as predicates with object controllers. With this distribution, *bolup* and *qilip* in Modern Uygur have similar functions as English *as*, German *als* and Russian *kak*.

### 3.6.1. Nominals with the postposition *bolup*

Both adjectives and nouns are used with the postposition *bolup*. With nouns, the depictive predicate expresses the status of its controller: to work as a teacher, to come as a director, etc., see (34)–(37). In (37), the main predicate of the depictive predicate *išligän* is the predicate of a subordinated clause.

- (34) *U oqutquči bol-up işli-gän.*  
 he teacher be-CONV work-PRFT  
 'He worked as a teacher.'
- (35) *Şuna (biz) ikkiylän başqi-lar-ğa malay bolup*  
 thus (we) two:COLL other-PL-DAT servant be-CONV  
*işlä-p yür-i-miz.*  
 work-CONV walk(ACT.AUX)-PRS-1PL  
 'Thus the two of us live as servants for other people.'
- (36) *U ötkän yil direktor bolup käl-gän.*  
 he last year director be-CONV come-PRFP  
 'Last year he came as director.'
- (37) *U meni oqutquči bol-up işli-gän дәп hörmät qil-i-du.*  
 he I-ACC teacher be-CONV work-PRTC POSTP respect-PRS-3SG  
 'He respects me because of my working as a teacher.'
- (38) *U hoş bop / bol-up çiq-ip kät-t-i.*  
 he happy be-CONV go.out-CONV go.away-PST-3SG  
 'He went out happy.'

Adjectives used in the depictive phrase formed by the postposition *bolup*, denote a physical or mental state of their controllers. If the postposition *bolup* is obligatory with depictive nouns expressing the status of their controllers, adjectives can also be used without the postposition (see section 3.1).

Depictive predicates, in which an adjective is governed by the postposition *bolup* / *bop*, should not be confused with adverbial clauses of reason with the verb *bol-* in the converb form *-(X)p* as their predicate, as in (39), although they have the same structure.

- (39) *U xapa bo-p / bol-up, čiq-ip kät-t-i.*  
 he angry be-CONV go.out-CONV go.away-PST-3SG  
 ‘Being angry, he went out.’, e.g. ‘He went out because of anger.’

The negation test can distinguish them:

- (40) *U xapa bop / bol-up čiq-ip kät-mi-d-i.*  
 he angry be-CONV go.out-CONV go.away-PST-3SG  
 ‘He did not go out angry.’

If (40) were a construction with a depictive predicate expressed by a postpositional phrase with *bolup*, (40) could be understood as (a) *He went out, but he was not angry*, as in (41); (b) *He was angry, but he did not go out*, as in (42). The negation on the main verb would negate the combination of the two actions: *be angry* and *go out*.

- (41) *U xapa bol-mi-d-i.*  
 he angry be-NG-PST-1SG  
 ‘He did not become angry.’
- (42) *U čiq-ip kät-mi-d-i.*  
 he go.out-CONV go.away-NG-PST-1SG  
 ‘He did not go out.’

In the case of a causal adjunct clause, the negation on the main verb negates only the main action, as in (43); also note the intonation pattern of this sentence – the pause after the dependent predicate.

- (43) *U xapa bop / bol-up, čiq-ip kät-mi-d-i.*  
 he angry be-CONV go.out-CONV go.away-PST3  
 ‘He did not go out because of anger’, i.e. ‘He was angry, but he did not go out.’

Also possessive adjectives can appear with *bolup* (44). Interestingly, in South Siberian Turkic, such adjectives can be used as depictives alone, without any postposition (Nevskaya 2008), while we find a similar structural type in Kazakh (Nevskaya & Tazhibaeva 2010).

- (44) *U öy-lük očaj-liq bolup*  
 he family-with (POSS) fireplace-with (POSS) POSTP



*qayt-ip*      *käl-d-i*.  
 return-CONV    come-PST-1SG  
 'He came back with a family.'

### 3.6.2. Nominals with the postposition *qilip*

The postposition *qilip* is used only with depictives with object controllers. In this respect, it is a counterpart of the postposition *bolup*. However, its use seems to be rather limited in comparison to the use of the postposition *bolup*. Only possessed adjectives appear as depictives with *qilip*. In (45), *qilip* should not be understood as the main predicate of a subordinate clause which governs the possessive nominal *göşlük*, as *etiptu* is the main predicate.

(45) *U*    *polu-ni*    *göş-lük*    *qil-ip*    *et-iptu*.  
 he    polo-acc    meat-with    POSTP    do-EVID  
 'It turns out that he made the polo-dish with meat.'

### 3.7. The construction with the possessor as the controller of the depictive

Whereas most of the structural types mentioned above were already noted for other Turkic languages (Schroeder 2008, Nevskaya 2008, Nevskaya & Tazhibaeva 2010), this type of depictives is argued to exist in Turkic in this article for the first time. Normally, the constructions of the type *köñli yerim* (46), *qorsiqim ač* (47), *ištini yirtiq* (48) are considered to be possessive constructions as parts of complex sentences where the subject of the subordinate part is an inalienable part of the subject of the main clause, or an object possessed by the subject of the main clause. Here we argue that such constructions can be constructions with depictive predicates since they have the properties of depictive predicates: The negation test shows that such entities do not possess their own modal characteristics, independent of the modal characteristics of the main predicates; they do not bear a separate clausal accent, but are integrated into the intonation scope of the main predicates. They express a physical or mental state of their controllers. For such 'possessed depictives', their controller is the possessor of the entity. Such constructions remind us also of Russian depictives of the type found in (49). Similar depictives are sure to be present also in other Turkic languages, and we will describe them in the future. Their semantics is that of the physical or mental state of the controller.

(46) *U*    *köñl-i*      *yerim*    *qayt-ip*      *käl-d-i*.  
 he    heart-POSS3    half    return-CONV    come-PST-1SG  
 'He came back upset', literally: 'His heart being half, he came back.'

(47) *Män* *qorsiq-im*      *ač*      *töt*    *kün*    *tala-da*      *yür-d-üm*.  
 I    stomach-POSS1    hungry    four    day    outside-DAT    walk/be-PST-1SG

'I was outside hungry for four days',  
literally, 'My stomach being hungry, I walked outside for four days.'

- (48) *U iştin-i yirtiq qayt-ip käl-d-i.*  
he pants-POSS3 torn return-CONV come-PST3  
'He came back with torn pants.'

Russian:

- (49) a. *On şjol ruki v brjuki.*  
he go:PST:3SG:masc hand:PL:NOM in trousers:PL:ACC  
'He went with his hands in the (pockets of his) trousers.'

- b. *Ona stojala ruki v boki.*  
she stand:PST:3SG:fem hand:PL:NOM in hip:PL:ACC  
'She was standing with her arms on her hips'.

### 3.8. Adverbs as depictives

Only a very limited number of adverbs have a subject valence while most adverbs modify the predicate or the whole proposition. These are the adverbs *alone* and *together* also acting as depictives in languages of other genetic affiliation and language types.

- (50) *Ular bir ömür billä yaşı-yan.*  
they one life together live-PRFP  
'They lived together their whole life.'

### 3.9. Collective and distributive numerals

Referring to subjects of the main predicate, collective and distributive numerals can be their secondary depictive predicates expressing collectivity or distributivity of their controllers. Distributive numerals are formed in Uyghur by the ablative case marker.

- (51) *Ular ikki-ylän billä čiq-ip kät-t-i.*  
they two-COLL together go.out-CONV go.away-PST-3SG  
'The two went out together.'
- (52) *Bir-din kir-iŋlar.*  
one-ABL enter-IMP.2PL  
'Come in one at a time/one by one!'

### 3.10. Converbs as depictives

The converb form  $-(X)p$  can be a depictive predicate if it expresses a physical or mental state of the subject of the main verb and does not have modal and intonational characteristics of its own, necessary to form a separate clause. As depictives they express an action accompanying the main action, often referring to a physical or mental state of the controller. The controller of such depictives is always the subject of the main predicate. Such depictives are described in Nevskaya 2010.

- (53) *U yiyla-p qeš-im-ya käl-d-i.*  
 she cry-CONV beside/side-POSS1-DAT come-PST-3SG  
 'She came to me crying.'

- (54) *U u yär-dä azablin-ip tur-d-i.*  
 he that place-LOC be.upset-CONV stand-PST-3SG  
 'He stayed there feeling upset.'

Such depictives should be distinguished from  $-(X)p$  converbs in the function of manner adjuncts, denoting the manner of the action of the main verb, as in (55)–(56); their semantic connection with the predicate is much stronger than that with the subject, although they do not possess independent modal and intonational characteristics of their own either.

- (55) *U säkrä-p maᅇ-d-i.*  
 he limp-CONV walk-PST-3SG  
 'He walked limping.'

- (56) *U u yär-dä ikki put-i-ni ker-ip tur-d-i.*  
 he that place-LOC two foot-POSS3-ACC stretch-CONV stay-PST-3SG  
 'He stayed there stretching out both his legs.'

Converbs as depictives should also be distinguished from converbs as main predicates of subordinate clauses as described in 2.2.

## 4. Conclusion

Turkic languages express the same semantic types of depictive predicates that we find also cross-linguistically (Himmelmann & Schultze-Berndt 2005; Schroeder 2004): physical or mental state, social status and roles, integrity, age, state of possession / non-possession (also in the metaphorical sense: that of social status, appearance, physical state, mental state), equality, states as action results, accompanying actions, collectivity/individuality, distribution; sometimes temporary and permanent states are expressed by specialized means (Nevskaya & Tazhibaeva 2010).

Turkic languages also share many strategies in forming depictive secondary predicates, e.g. they use bare adjectives, nominals in the locative case forms, nominals with postpositions, possessive nominals, some adverbs, collective and distributive numerals, fully or partially reduplicated adjectives and converbs as depictives.

The main semantic types of depictive predicates correlate with their formal types. Different states of the semantic subject are expressed by adjectives and nominal phrases, collectivity and distribution by collective and distributive numerals, states as results of previous actions by participles, accompanying actions by converbs, roles and social status by nominal phrases with *bolup*.

Nevertheless, Turkic languages differ in means of expressing depictives in individual languages and branches of Turkic.

A previous research on South Siberian Turkic depictives representing the North-Eastern branch of Turkic (Nevskaya 2008) showed that alongside all-Turkic means of expressing depictives, one of the most striking features here is the use of the dative case with depictives expressed by adjectives. On the one hand, such depictives “compensate” for the lack of abstract nouns expressing the notion ‘state’ that are typical for other branches of Turkic, on the other hand, they allow adjectives to occur with both subject and object depictives. In Siberian languages, which allow the use of bare adjectives both with subject and object depictives, the dative case depictives mark temporary states while bare adjectives seem to express permanent states.

A comparative study of Kazakh depictives representing this category in the North-Western branch of Turkic (Nevskaya & Tazhibaeva 2010) showed that the North-Eastern and the North-Western branches of Turkic encode minor semantic types of depictives in similar ways: distributive numerals for distributivity, converbs for accompanying actions, converbs or perfect participles for states as results of preceding actions, possessive nominals for the state of possession (including various metaphorical semantic shifts of the possession semantics). Distinguishing features of depictives in the North-Western branch are as follows: a) Kazakh has an even richer system of encoding depictives than North-Eastern Turkic languages do; b) Kazakh makes use of numerous abstract nouns expressing the notion ‘state’ borrowed from Arabic or Persian: *tür/küy/qal/häl*; c) Kazakh consequently uses the postposition *bolip* for marking subject controllers, while *qilip/edip* marks object controllers. In North-Eastern Turkic, only Tuvan uses a similar opposition; here, *polip* is a marker of subject controllers while *qildir* appears with object controllers. Kazakh also marks temporary states, but in a different way than South Siberian languages do: the auxiliary noun *kez* ‘interval’ in the locative case governing adjectives describing various states of their semantic subjects expresses temporally limited states.

In Modern Uyghur representing the South-Eastern branch of Turkic, the ways of expressing secondary depictive predicates are basically the same as those in other branches of Turkic, but adjectives in the dative case form found as depictives in Siberian Turkic do not exist in Uyghur; in Uyghur, their task is fulfilled by bare adjectives, similar to Kazakh. Nor does the perfect participle *-GAN* exist as a depictive in Uyghur, unlike South Siberian Turkic and Kazakh. In Modern Uyghur, the use of

bare adjectives to express secondary depictive predicates is the most frequent strategy. Like Kazakh, Uyghur uses abstract nouns with the meaning ‘state’ in the locative case form to express depictive predicates.

In Modern Uyghur, we have found one type of depictives that has not yet been described for Turkic languages—that with the possessor as the depictive controller. This opens perspectives for revising our results also for other Turkic languages.

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### Abbreviations

ABL	ablative	DAT	dative	PL	plural
ACC	accusative	DISTR	distributive	POSS	possessive
ACT	actionality marker	EVID	evidentiality	POSTP	postposition
AOR	aorist	IMP	imperative	PRS	present
AUX	auxiliary	INST	instrumental	PST	past
COP	copula	LOC	locative	PTCL	participle
CONV	converb	NG	negation	REFL	reflexive

# **A study on English loanwords in Uyghur**

**Omer Dawut**

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English loanwords constitute a relatively small portion of loanwords in Uyghur, and might be divided into two types: (i) early English loanwords and (ii) new English loanwords. They cover borrowings in various fields, including economy, society, science, technology and culture. In this paper, a background on borrowing will be provided, followed by a classification and analysis of English loanwords in Uyghur. At the end, problems relating to the standardization of English loanwords will also be briefly discussed.

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Although English loanwords constitute a small portion of loanwords into Uyghur, they are still important component parts of modern Uyghur vocabulary. During the past thirty years of reform and opening, China has made giant strides in every field, including economy, society and culture. As a frontier of China's westward development, the Xinjiang region, where the Uyghur language is mainly spoken, has also made speedy changes in recent years, especially in the fields of education, culture and economy. In a related development, various English terms pertaining to science and technology as well as brands and trademarks have been continually adopted, and their function has also expanded rapidly in many fields. Few of these have ever been included in correlative Uyghur dictionaries, though most are dispersed through media such as newspapers, magazines and videos. The continual emergence of numerous English loanwords has exerted a considerable influence on the structure of Uyghur vocabulary, which in turn has resulted in some new problems for descriptive research and standardization.

In the past few years, some articles (Li 2003, Song 2005, Liu 2007 and Dawut 2008) concerning English loanwords in Uyghur have been published. These have mainly dealt with topics such as reasons for borrowing and classifying and discussing characteristics of the English loanwords. Nonetheless, the research on English borrowings in Uyghur remains insufficient. First, authors fail to draw conclusions on the reasons why the English words were borrowed and do not carefully analyze the characteristics of English loanwords in the Uyghur language; some papers even contend that English loanwords in Uyghur are uncommon, literary and temporary. Second, English loanwords in Uyghur have not been carefully collected and classified, though some articles (Li 2003: 106) simply divide them into types according to spe-

cific criteria. Third, no research has yet been done on the standardization of English loanwords in the Uyghur language.

The data used for analysis and description of the English loanwords in Uyghur in this paper are mainly taken from *An explanatory dictionary of Uyghur* (XUAR 1999) and *An explanatory dictionary of loanwords in Uyghur* (Abdurahman et al. 2001); some data are taken from the *Chinese-English-Uyghur computer dictionary* (Letip 2003). In addition, some data have been collected from the Uyghur edition of the *Xinjiang Daily*, *Urumqi Evening Paper* and advertisements on the Uyghur language channels of the Xinjiang TV network.

### **1. Background on Uyghur borrowing of English words**

The appearance of English words in modern Uyghur is a reflection of English influence on the Uyghur lexicon. There are 10,000 loanwords included in *An explanatory dictionary of loanwords in Uyghur* (Abdurahman et al. 2001); these originate from 15 languages, including Arabic, Persian, Chinese, Russian, Greek, Dutch, Latin, German, French, Indian, Italian, English, Spanish, Japanese and Sanskrit. As Gao (2005: 132-137) noted, in the course of its historical development the Uyghur language has constantly borrowed lexemes from other languages in order to keep pace with the trends of the world, and thus make Uyghur a language with much vitality.

Loanwords already existed in the medieval Uyghur languages. However, the proportion of loanwords in the entire Uyghur vocabulary varied from period to period and from source language to source language. Chinese, Sanskrit and Tocharian loanwords in Uyghur existed in the early period of Old Turkic. Arabic and Persian loanwords were borrowed mainly after the Islamization of Central Asia, and loanwords from European languages were introduced into Uyghur through Russian when Russian started exerting influence on Uyghur from the beginning of the 20th century. As early as the 1880s, some Uyghurs from Ili arrived at the Yättisu region and settled there. These people had ample opportunities to come into contact with Russians. Thus, from the early 20th century on, Russian loanwords began to be borrowed in great quantities into the Uyghur language as used among the Soviet Uyghurs (Kazakhstan Academy of Social Science SSR 1987: 60).

Russian loanwords or international lexemes that came through Russian were gradually absorbed into Uyghur, mainly after the October Revolution in Russia. Starting from the 1930s to 1940s, and especially after the 1950s to 1970s, the former Soviet Union exerted great influence on China in various aspects, including politics, economy, science, technology, and culture. Thus, the Uyghur language was subjected to Russian and took in a large number of Russian lexemes.

Alongside the rapid development of the Chinese economy over the past 30 years, as well as the huge successes of the reform and opening, China has steadily risen to a higher political position on the international stage. These factors have made China the focus of global attention, and have also driven the economic and cultural development of Xinjiang. At the same time, this development has affected the social

outlook of Xinjiang, changing the value concepts, cultural ideas and language notions, as well as the social mindset of people in Xinjiang, and thus has inevitably affected the development of the Uyghur language, the principal ethnic language of Xinjiang.

In the midst of the rapid development brought on by the information age and economic globalization, some English vocabulary has been borrowed into the Uyghur language. This trend results from the development of the modern economy, science, technology, culture, politics as well as increased communication among nations, which has enabled the Uyghur language to keep up with new trends of internationalization in the information age.

As English is a mainstream foreign language, China is also making every effort to promote English education. In recent decades, especially after the implementation of reform and opening, the Uyghur language has borrowed a great deal of English loanwords.

## 2. Main types of English loanwords

In *An explanatory dictionary of Uyghur*, there are 122 English loanwords collected, accounting for 0.24% of the entire lexicon in the dictionary. *An explanatory dictionary of loanwords in Uyghur* includes 118 English loanwords, four fewer than the other. The English loanwords found in these dictionaries are mostly nouns—though there are a few adjectives and verbs—relating to aspects of daily life. Examining the aforementioned two dictionaries and the *Xinjiang Daily*, *Urumqi Evening Paper*, *The Journal of Computer and Life*, as well as Uyghur programs on TV and radio, we see that English loanwords in Uyghur were primarily taken in two distinct time periods: modern (1930s-1970s) and contemporary (1980s-present).

The first refers to the period from the 1930s through the end of the 1970s, when the Uyghur language absorbed many Russian loanwords, through which many English terms indirectly entered the Uyghur language. Through an exhaustive study on the English loanwords included in *An explanatory dictionary of Uyghur* it becomes clear that the great majority of English loanwords in this dictionary are old English loanwords. During this period, words like *wat* 'watt', *radar* 'radar', *totem* 'totem', *soda* 'soda', *filim* 'film', *tunel* 'tunnel', *kombajin* 'combine' were introduced indirectly into the Uyghur language via Russian.

The second period refers to the 1980s to the present, when the Uyghur language has been subjected to English influence both directly and indirectly through Chinese, and thus has absorbed a significant number of English words. English words borrowed during this period have largely appeared in contemporary Uyghur newspapers, magazines and professional dictionaries, as well as on television programs. For example: *kompjuter* 'computer', *klon* 'clone', *χerojin* 'heroin', *maus* 'mouse', *kod* 'code', *motorola* 'Motorola'. It is not clear how many English loanwords have been borrowed into Uyghur during this period because of the absence of relevant statistics.



English loanwords in Uyghur may be classified into the following ten types according to the semantic fields they cover:

(1) Loanwords related to politics: *kapitalistik* 'capitalistic', *diplomat* 'diplomat', *diplomatik* 'diplomatic', *bajqut* 'boycott', *GDP* 'gross domestic product'.

(2) Loanwords related to business and trademarks: *import* 'import', *eksport* 'export', *kapital* 'capital', *marlboro* 'Marlboro', *kadilak* 'Cadillac', *adidas* 'adidas', *dzeep* 'jeep', *nokija* 'Nokia'.

(3) Loanwords related to sports: *putbol* 'football', *sport* 'sport', *valibol* 'volleyball', *vasketbol* 'basketball', *tirener* 'trainer', *tsempijon* 'champion', *boks* 'boxing'.

(4) Loanwords related to literature and the arts: *folklor* 'folklore', *χip-χop* 'hip-hop', *gitar* 'guitar', *disko* 'disco'.

(5) Loanwords related to chemistry and medicine: *astatin* 'astatine', *babbitt* 'babbitt', *tetрил* 'tetryl', *limonin* 'limonene', *maltoza* 'maltose', *den'ge* 'dengue', *gandon* 'condom', *vitamin* 'vitamin', *kortizon* 'cortisone', *nilon* 'nylon', *lavrentsey* 'lawrencium', *viagira* 'Viagra', *DNA* 'Deoxyribonucleic Acid'.

(6) Loanwords related to biology: *palma* 'palm', *mangro* 'mangrove', *luminal* 'luminal', *ken'gero* 'kangaroo', *roller* 'roller'.

(7) Loanwords related to physics: *mikrofon* 'microphone', *dʒol* 'joule', *lazer* 'laser', *faradi* 'faraday', *mil* 'mil'.

(8) Loans related to computer science: *parallel buffer* 'parallel buffer', *format* 'format', *kontakt* 'contact', *voltmeter* 'voltmeter', *diagonal* 'diagonal', *mega bayt* 'megabyte'.

(9) Loanwords related to diet: *brandi* 'brandy', *pepsikola* 'Pepsi Cola', *sendwif* 'sandwich', *makdonald* 'McDonald's', *χot dog* 'hot dog'.

(10) Loanwords related to daily life: *viza* 'visa', *pasport* 'passport', *kulub* 'club', *bikini* 'bikini'.

Structurally, the English loanwords in Uyghur show the following types:

(1) Simple stems, e.g. *kirisin* 'kerosene', *gallon* 'gallon', *disko* 'disco', *signal* 'signal', *karton* 'cartoon', *model* 'model';

(2) Derived words, e.g. *kapitalizm* 'capitalism', *kapitalist* 'capitalist', *materijalizm* 'materialism', though suffixes such as '-izm' and '-ist' are considered suffixes added to stems, which cannot be added to native Uyghur words to form new words;

(3) Compounds: some English compounds have retained their forms after being borrowed into Uyghur, e.g. *elektron volt* 'electron volt', *mikrovat* 'microwatt', *parallel register* 'parallel register', *vidio kamera* 'video camera', *foto elektron* 'photo electron'.

(4) Blend words: some English loanwords have been borrowed into Uyghur by transliteration and adding a modifier. These kinds of words are called "blend words." The first part of a blend word is of English origin, while the second part is Uyghur, e.g. *eydiz kesili* 'Aids', *dzens kiyim* 'jeans', *tenis top* 'tennis', *janfon* 'mobile phone', *kodsiz* 'codeless', *CT va ifyimek* 'examined by CT scan';

(5) Abbreviations: the Uyghur language has borrowed many English abbreviations and acronyms. Since the 1980s, English abbreviations in the Uyghur language

have gradually increased. Although the *Chinese–Uyghur dictionary of standardized new words and terms* only collected 15 English abbreviations, in fact, many more English abbreviations than those included in this dictionary are in use in contemporary Uyghur. They are directly transcribed with English capital letters, being pronounced according to appellations of the English letters.

English abbreviations in Uyghur include simple abbreviations, which are formed by combining the initial letters of main words in a phrase, e.g. *BBC* ‘British Broadcasting Corporation’, *ATM* ‘Automated Teller Machine’, *MBA* ‘Master of Business Administration’, *ISBN* ‘International Standard Book Number’ and blend abbreviations, in which a Uyghur word is added just after an English abbreviations to denote the category to which this word belongs, e.g. *HB qerindaf* ‘HB pencil’, *BP apirati* ‘beeper’, *GRE imtihani* ‘GRE’, *KTV ayrimxanisi* ‘KTV karaoke room’. The above blend abbreviations are formed by adding Uyghur morphemes at the ends of English abbreviations. The first type of English abbreviations can be used independently; they also can be used interchangeably with some Uyghur words, e.g. *WTO* with *dunja soda teskilati*, *WTA* with *dunja tennis top birlesmisi*, etc.

English loanwords that relate to science and technology account for a major portion of loanwords in Uyghur, while loanwords related to daily life are quite rare. Most English loanwords are specific to a single field, with fixed meaning, explicit conception and strong specialization. Moreover, they are mainly used in scientific and technological literature with no need for emotional coloring. For instance, English words such as *format* ‘format’, *kod* ‘code’, *mega* ‘mega’, *mega bait* ‘megabyte’, *bit* ‘bit’, *fotometir* ‘photometer’ belong to computer science and show extremely specialized characteristics.

As a large portion of English loanwords are quite specialized and so are restricted to a certain domain when they are utilized, many of them are not known to common people. For example, the meaning of the English abbreviations *ATP* ‘adenosine triphosphate’ and *GPS* ‘Global Positioning System’ are hard to understand at first. Moreover, *ATP* has three additional meanings: Agricultural Trade Policy, Array Transform Processor and Astronautics Test Procedure; similarly, *GPS* also has two additional meanings, General Purpose Radar and Gunner Primary Sight. It is difficult to confirm which concrete meaning is expressed when these abbreviations are utilized. In addition, some scientific and technical terms can only be understood after studying a specific field, and others are only used for certain professional realms. Thus, these are rarely used and remain unfamiliar to most. For example, some old English loanwords which have been used for more than half a century in Uyghur—such as *astatin* ‘astatine’, *tetiril* ‘tetryl’, *maltoza* ‘maltose’, *den’ge* ‘dengue’, *kortizon* ‘cortisone’, *lavrentsey* ‘lawrencium’—are only used in the domains of chemistry and medicine. They have low frequency and are unfamiliar to common people in contemporary Uyghur.

For the sake of increasing efficiency, attracting attention, and making memorization easier, the Uyghur language has absorbed more and more English abbreviations over time, such as *UFO*, *NBA*, *MBA*, *Mp3*, *DDT*, *DDV*, *FBI*, *CIA*, and *CBA*. The

author, by reviewing current media such as newspapers and magazines, has discovered that many abbreviations are in common use among English loanwords of the modern Uyghur language. This trend helps the Uyghur language pursue terseness and refinement to employ the economic principle of language usage.

Some English loanwords have special word-building structures when they are used as root morphemes to form new words. Generally, additive or compound words are formed by adding Uyghur roots or suffixes at the ends of loanwords, e.g. *pas* 'a pass [as in soccer]': *pas+tʃi* 'passer', *pas+tʃiliq* 'passing skills', *pas+ber-* 'to pass'; *tʃempijon* 'champion': *tʃempijon+luq* 'title of champion', *tʃempijon+bol-* 'to be a champion'; *traktor* 'tractor': *traktor+tʃi* 'tractor driver', *traktor+tʃiliq* 'tractor industry', *traktor+sazliq* 'tractor manufacturing', *traktor+lafur-* 'to mechanize'; *reper* 'referee': *reper+liq* 'the referee profession', *reper+bol-* 'to be a referee'; *xerojin* 'heroin': *xerojin+tʃi* 'drug addict', *xerojin+tʃiliq* 'occupation in trafficking narcotics', *xerojin+kef* 'drug addict'; *wagon* 'wagon': *wagon+tʃi* 'railway worker', *wagon+tʃaq* 'small wagon', *wagon+luq* 'with a wagon', *wagon+lap* 'by wagon'.

### 3. Adaptation of English loanwords

Some adaptations take place in the Uyghur language in order to fit English loanwords into the structure of Uyghur.

(1) Adaptation in phonetic structure. English loanwords in Uyghur must obey the phonetic rules of Uyghur. Therefore, some loanwords which have the same phonetic forms as those of corresponding words are different to some extent when pronounced. For example, the pronunciation of *fax* in English is /fæks/, but it is pronounced as /faks/ when borrowed into Uyghur; *cable* is pronounced /keibl/ in English, but it became /kabil/ in Uyghur. It is thus clear that change in the phonetic combinations of English loanwords is a common phenomenon. In addition, English loanwords have retained double consonants at the beginning of words, and thus a C-C-V-C syllable type has gradually emerged in Uyghur language, e.g. *traktor* 'tractor', *skanner* 'scanner', *flannel* 'flannel', *flan'ge* 'flange'.

(2) Adaptation in semantic structure. The meaning of English loanwords in Uyghur is often different from their English origin. More specifically, English terms with multiple meanings have become limited to a single meaning in Uyghur. For instance, the English word "record" has the meanings of "put down in writing", "achievement" and "tape", but it has only one meaning in Uyghur, namely "achievement"; the English word "lift" holds the meanings of "elevator", "crane", "raise" and "steal", but it only means "elevator" in the Uyghur language. The words *direktor* 'director' and *operator* 'operator' also fall into this category.

Some English words have been altered in their meaning after being borrowed into Uyghur. For instance, *lider* 'leader' possesses several meanings—such as "head", "chief", "editorial," "aqueduct", "forerunner" and "conductor"—but it does not have these meanings in Uyghur; rather it expresses "chief executive officer" and "chairman of the board." Similarly, in English VCD is short for "Video Compact

Disc”, but in Uyghur it refers to a VCD player, while a VCD itself is indicated by *VCD texsisi* ‘video disc’. However, this is a rare phenomenon.

Some loanwords display an aggregation of lexical meaning. Some English loanwords form synonyms with corresponding terms in the Uyghur language, e.g. *standard* ‘standard’ is a synonym of *óltfem, fampu* ‘shampoo’ has become a synonym of *tfatf sopuni*, and *model* has become synonymous with both *moter* and *modikef*. Still other English loanwords engender homonyms with their counterparts in Uyghur. For example, *sapa* ‘sofa’ produces a homonym with *sapa* ‘level of competence’, and the chemical term *mol* ‘mole’ engenders a homonym with *mol* ‘abundant’ in Uyghur.

(3) Adaptation in grammatical structure. When some compound English words are borrowed into Uyghur, a few adaptations are made in their structures to fit the syntactic rules of Uyghur. For example, in *formatliq record* ‘format record’ *-liq* is added after the root *format*, and in *vektorluq voltmeter* ‘vector voltmeter’ *-luq* is added after the root *vektor*. Both are suffixes added to nouns to form adjectives. Similarly, the last element *-i* of *format kodi* ‘format code’ and of *printer bufferi* ‘printer buffer’ is a terminative that indicates the third person possessive. Adding these elements makes the loanwords fit the word derivation rule of Uyghur to a certain extent. According to Johanson (2002: 15), in Turkic languages including Uyghur, this ‘loan syntax’ is manifested in the structure of words, word order patterns, word-internal morpheme order, and the relationships between synthetic analytic structures.

#### 4. Identification and Standardization of English loanwords

Standardization of loanwords in all languages is an important problem to be solved. This is also true in modern Uyghur. To standardize English loanwords in Uyghur, we should first identify them correctly.

##### 4.1. Identification of English loanwords

What kind of words might be considered English loanwords? Words that come directly from English or words with English origins that come through other languages?

While loanwords in Chinese that are equivalent to *mator* 马达 ‘motor’, *salon* 沙龙 ‘salon’, *taksi* 的士 ‘taxi’, *aspirin* 阿司匹林 ‘aspirin’, *tan’go* 探戈舞 ‘tango’, and *salat* 沙拉 ‘salad’ are considered English loanwords in relevant studies (Gao 2005: 136, Shi 2000: 64-69), according to Abdurahman et al. (2001: 509, 311, 133, 14, 136, 310) these loanwords in Uyghur are considered to be borrowed from Latin, French and other European languages. This is due to the fact that though these terms have been used in English for a long period of time, because they originally entered English from other languages, they were not considered English loanwords in this dictionary. This is a defective way of identifying English loanwords in the Uyghur language. If we do not consider these and similar words to be English, then as much as half of the vocabulary of English cannot be considered English. Furthermore, the

majority of new terms borrowed from other languages were borrowed by means of English.

Statistical and classificatory analysis has been carried out on loanwords contained within the *Longman Pocket Dictionary with English–Chinese Explanation*, published by Shanghai Translation Press in 1994, on the basis of semantic and written similarity. 320 English loanwords were collected in total (Li 2003: 106, 107, 108). Clearly, it is necessary to carry out further studies on the identification of loanwords, including English loanwords featured in *An explanatory dictionary of loanwords in Uyghur*. This study is essential to properly solve the problem of identifying English loanwords in Uyghur. In the author's opinion, the following criteria must be adhered to in order to confirm the origins of loanwords:

#### (1) Pronunciation

To affirm whether a specific loanword is borrowed from English, its pronunciation and transcription should be examined. According to this standard, the word *boks* 'boxing' remains among English loanwords, since its pronunciation in English corresponds with the spelling in Uyghur language. On the other hand, if the word *jumor* 'humor' were an English loanword, it ought not to take the form of *jumor* in transcription. In fact, it is a Russian loanword due to the fact that its Russian pronunciation—"юмор"—fits with the spelling in the Uyghur language. In addition, other words, like *tip* 'type', *diagnoz* 'diagnose', *gen* 'gene', *kontrol* 'control', *talant* 'talent', *normal* 'normal' also fall into this category. The transcriptions for these words separately are /taip/, /daiəgnəuz /, /j:in /, /kən'trəul /, /tələnt /, /no:məl/. Their pronunciations are more similar to Russian than to English. Therefore, these words must be considered Russian loanwords in Uyghur.

#### (2) Etymon

Certain English loanwords must be identified on the basis of textual research on the etymon. Owing to geographical location, the Uyghurs have had direct contact with Russians, Central Asian peoples who speak Russian—such as Tatars from the Russian Federation—and people from Siberia. After the establishment of Sino-Soviet friendly relations, the number of Uyghur people with good Russian steadily increased, which in turn gave rise to the borrowing of Russian words, even though these words were also originally loanwords into Russian from other languages. A fact which cannot be neglected is that many loanwords in Uyghur came from Russian. For example, the word *tanka* 'tank' was borrowed from the Russian *танка*, not from the English *tank* /tæŋk/. Similarly, the word *banka* 'bank' was borrowed from the Russian *банка*, not from the English word *bank* /bæŋk/; the word *morfema* 'morpheme' was borrowed from the Russian word *морфема* not from the English word morpheme /mo:fi:m/. The words *sistema* 'system' and *programma* 'program' also fall into this category. We must maintain a practical and realistic attitude to this problem, and should not neglect imprudently the historical process of the Uyghur

language. Thus, there remains the difficulty of confirming the etymons of loanwords.

### (3) Frequency

Judgment whether a word is a loanword or not can also be done by analyzing its frequency. Language is a sign system established by usage. In order to ascertain whether a word has been borrowed or not, one should have a statistical basis. Words such as *kompyuter* and *internet* can certainly be considered borrowings on account of their high frequency. Some words such as *foran* 'furan', *fermi* 'fermi', *ifelo* 'cello' are seldom utilized. If one carries out a field investigation, there would likely be few people who understand them. Low-frequency words cannot be taken into consideration, and must be discussed as separate cases.

## 4.2. Standardization of English loanwords

English loanwords in Uyghur must follow linguistic standardization. However, we see that some loanwords have not yet been standardized, and thereby have given rise to trouble and disorder in language usage. In the modern Uyghur language, arranging and standardizing new words, including English loanwords, is an important project.

First of all, it is necessary to consider whether derivative and compound words of English origin should be regarded as a single-morpheme word or should still be considered derivative or compound words made up of multiple morphemes after being borrowed into Uyghur. For example, in Uyghur there is no noun derivative suffix "-er", therefore the English loanword *printer* cannot be considered a derivative word consisting of *print* and the suffix *-er*. By the same token, *mikrosoft* is not considered a compound word composed of *micro* and *soft*. This is because the roots *print* and *soft* neither have true meaning in Uyghur nor can they be used independently. Therefore, English loanwords like these in Uyghur should be considered single words. Knowing this, we can pronounce them correctly and add suffixes properly.

Secondly, it is understood that all borrowed words should adapt to the phonetic rules of the host language. However, this is complicated when the pronunciation of English acronyms is concerned. English acronyms have two kinds of pronunciations. One is pronounced on the basis of each initial letter. For instance, *IOC* /ai əu si/ = International Olympic Committee. Another is pronounced according to the phonetic system. For example, *NATO* /nei təu/ = North Atlantic Treaty Organization. There should be a standardized criterion for English acronyms in the Uyghur language. It is necessary to emphasize that acronyms in the Uyghur language, such as *b d t* 'United Nations' and *dʒ χ i* 'police department', are spelled by directly using current Uyghur letters, and pronounced on the basis of each initial letter. If the transcription and pronunciation of English acronyms, such as *WTO* and *DNA* is looked upon as the same as those of Uyghur, it must be considered a form without standardization.

Thirdly, there are unnecessary borrowings from English in the Uyghur language. Some unwanted English words are introduced into Uyghur though Uyghur already has corresponding Uyghur words that denote the same concept as the English borrowing. In the *Chinese-Uyghur-English dictionary of standardized nouns and terms*, there are two terms for United Nations: *UN* and *b d t*. Among them, *b d t* is the abbreviation of the Uyghur word *birleşken döletler teşkilati*, which has already been widely accepted and used in Uyghur. Thus there is no need to introduce the English acronym *UN* as well. Similarly, in the *Chinese-English-Uyghur computer dictionary*, there are three terms for e-mail: *elektronluq jollanma*, *email* and *elektronluq xet*. In addition, the Uyghur-language journal *Computer* uses *elxet*, a contracted form of *elektronluq xet*. This word has become familiar with more and more people as computer use has become more prevalent. So, it is not necessary to borrow the English word *e-mail*.

Finally, there also exist examples of re-borrowing loanwords. For instance, the Uyghur language already has the Russian loanword *kopije* ‘копия’, but an English loanword *kopi* ‘copy’ that corresponds to the Russian loanword has also been borrowed. Similarly, there is already the Russian loanword *karta* ‘карта’, but an English loanword *kart* ‘card’ that corresponds to the one in Russian was borrowed. We must undertake standardization in order to solve the problem of such redundant terms. Scholars engaged in language research ought to promptly collect and probe these redundant words to popularize and extend their dissemination and public function in the process of standardizing new terms, including English loanwords.

The current standardization of English loanwords is far from satisfactory. The standardization work of new words, including new English loanwords, in the Uyghur language has fallen far behind the creation and usage process of new words. Before creating a corresponding new word for an English loanword that has been recently borrowed into the Uyghur language, usually its transliterated form first comes into use. For example, *хип-хоп* ‘hip hop’ was borrowed first and then its translation *kotfa ussuli*; the same is also true of *хaker* ‘hacker’ and its translation *qestkar*. Thus, translations or semantic copies will become redundant.

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# Complement Clauses in the Turkish variety spoken by Greek-Turkish bilingual children on Rhodes, Greece

Hasan Kaili & Aytaç Çeltek & Marianthi Georgalidou

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This article deals with the use of different kinds of complement clauses in the Turkish variety spoken by Greek-Turkish bilingual children on Rhodes, Greece. We examine the reason(s) of the profound use of VO Finite-type Complement Clauses in the speech of the children. Based on the analysis of our data, we claim that extensive usage of the structures under discussion is due to copying from Greek in regard to prolonged and intense contact and/or incomplete acquisition.

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## 1. Introduction

Recent research has shown that in numerous distinct cases language contacts have played an important role in the change of local Turkish varieties. In very different regions of the world, Turkish has been in contact with several languages of different typology (Demir & Johanson 2006: 2); therefore, studies on language contact between Turkish and other languages have currently increased (Boeschoten & Johanson 2006, Doğruöz & Backus 2009, Johanson 2000, 2002a, Matras 2009, among many others). In this context, the present study will focus on structural changes that have occurred due to contact between Turkish and Greek on Rhodes, Greece. Preliminary research on the properties of Rhodian Turkish (henceforth RT), the variety under study, has revealed substantial *copying* from Greek (Georgalidou et al. forthcoming, Çeltek & Kaili forthcoming). In the present study, we will focus on the structures of complement clauses and, in particular, we will deal with the question of which structural features of complement clauses in RT are in the process of changing under the impact of Greek.

## 2. The community

The present-day Greek-Turkish bilinguals (henceforth GTBs) on Rhodes are Greek citizens of Turkish origin whose ancestors first settled on the island after 1522, as subjects of the Ottoman Empire. During the Italian occupation (1912–1943), they were recognized as a religious community and after the annexation of the Dodecanese islands to Greece in 1947, they became Greek citizens. They were not deemed as covered by the *Treaty of Lausanne*, but special status was acknowledged as far as the *Vakf* and the schools were concerned. The teaching of the Turkish language was *de facto* abolished in 1972 (Tsitselikis & Mavrommatis 2003: 9). Nowadays, the estimated population of GTBs is about 2500–3000 people on the island of Rhodes. In this particular sociolinguistic situation, Turkish has acquired the status of a minority language whereas Greek is the language of the majority of the population.

Older speakers (80+) of the community under investigation, who are fluent in the local variety of Turkish, also use a *contact vernacular* (in the sense of Winford 2003: 236), which is based on the local Greek dialect of Rhodes with substantial interference from Turkish (Georgalidou, Spyropoulos & Kaili 2011). Later generations speak a variety of Greek with less interference and are inclined to use Greek more, so as to become fully functional members of the Greek-speaking community. Very often, Turkish (family and heritage language) remains the home language, while the children are educated in monolingual Greek state schools. As a consequence, in the last 65 years, almost the entire bilingual community has shifted from near monolingualism in Turkish to bilingualism in Turkish and Greek. Owing to the attendance of monolingual state schools, which introduce children to literacy in Greek from a very early age, almost all members of the third generation (community members younger than 30) exhibit preference for Greek. As for Turkish, they exhibit different levels of competence (Georgalidou, Kaili & Çeltek 2010). They acquire Turkish at home and they do not participate in any formal literacy practices in Turkish. As a result of the decreased use of Turkish and the systematic *copying* (Johanson 2002a, 2006) of lexical and structural patterns from Greek, each upcoming generation gets reduced input, which may cause “incomplete acquisition in specific grammatical areas, depending on age and level of grammatical attainment” (Montrul 2008: 120).

## 3. Language Contact

### 3.1. Theoretical framework

Language contact, in the simplest sense, is the use of two or more languages in a linguistic community at the same time (Thomason 2001: 1). As shown by many studies in the field, when two or more languages are spoken by groups of speakers in the same geographical area over a long period of time, they influence one another (Weinreich 1953, Thomason & Kaufman 1988, Thomason 2001, Johanson 2002a, Winford 2003, Heine & Kuteva 2005). However, predicting the outcome of a language contact situation has been a very challenging task (Siemund 2008: 3) as it

varies depending on the length and intensity of the contact. More specifically, the social factors of language contact which also include the respective sizes of the linguistic communities involved and the power relation between the communities (Winford 2003: 2) play a crucial role on the linguistic outcome of the contact situation. Following Winford, we see the dominant language, in terms of size and power, as the *source language* and the subordinate one as the *recipient language* (2003: 12).

In addition to social factors, linguistic factors also determine the outcomes of language contact, among which the degree of typological similarity between the languages involved (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 73, Winford 2003: 2). According to Thomason, typologically different languages need more intense contact for the borrowing of structures (2001: 71). What Thomason refers to as ‘borrowing’ is one of the terms that has been used to explain linguistic procedures triggered by contact which are also traditionally referred to as *transfer*, *interference*, *importation*, *calquing*, *copying*, etc. However, as Johanson convincingly claims (2002a: 8, 2000: 88), the source language does not lose the borrowed element, therefore borrowing is really a kind of copying, and the metaphor “borrowing” is hardly appropriate. According to Johanson (2006: 7), copying never means direct transfer of elements from code to code, but always implies linguistic creativity. Following Johanson (2006), we will adopt the term ‘structural copying’<sup>1</sup> to refer to the use of a structure from the source language, in this case Greek, in our analysis of complement clauses in RT.

### 3.2. Structural factors in Turkic language contact<sup>2</sup>

The recipient language may copy a number of features of the source language. It may acquire new elements in lexicon, phonology, morphology, syntax, pragmatic organization, etc., mostly substituting them for native elements (Johanson 2002b). As far as syntactic or structural copying is concerned, to minimize the difference between their languages, bilingual speakers manipulate the syntax of the relevant languages in various ways. As Gardner-Chloros indicates “where a bilingual speaker’s two languages share a common syntactic structure, the speaker will tend to use that common structure rather than any alternative ones which fulfill the same function but do not exist in both languages” (2008: 56). In this study we refer to this ‘tendency’ as *preference*, because the bilingual speakers mostly exhibit preference for the common structure(s) over the alternative one(s).

Concerning the structures that are the subject matter of the present discussion, by the influence of a source language, Turkic languages prefer abandoning left-branching subordinative constructions with nonfinite elements, which form a significant typological feature of Turkic languages. The reduction or elimination of nonfinite constructions means a certain simplification of the inflectional systems (Johanson

1 For a detailed discussion about the terms borrowing and copying see Johanson (2002b).

2 Copied from the title of the seminal monograph of Lars Johanson (2002a).

2006: 18). Examples of infinitive reduction include a number of Turkic varieties, strongly influenced by Indo-European languages, e.g. the dialect of Turkish spoken in the Balkans, Turkish spoken in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia<sup>3</sup> [Macedonian Turkish] (Matras 2009), Gagauz (Menz 2006), and West Rumelian Turkish (Johanson 2006). All these varieties adapt the prevailing pattern of finite marking of the modal complement clause. In FYROM Turkish, for example, infinitive construction disappears almost entirely, and in its place an existing finite option is generalized (Matras 2009: 249). According to Johanson, however, before concluding that Turkish has copied word order patterns of the source language, one must take into account the variational possibilities already present in the Turkish word order system (2002a: 111). In Turkish, there are deviations from SOV order in order to fulfill certain pragmatic functions. Johanson also adds that this kind of variation in Turkish can facilitate the foreign influence especially when analogous features are involved (2002a: 112). In this respect, in RT, the extensive use of SVO order together with right-branching complement constructions and finite elements irrespective of pragmatic functions can be explained by the influence of prolonged contact with Greek, which is essentially a SVO language. In a similar way, under Slavic influence, Gagauz has copied right-branching patterns with clauses based on finite predicates that are introduced by conjunctions (Menz 2006). Instead of using a complementizer like *da* in Macedonian, *na* in Greek and *te* in Romani, Turkish, in contact with Indo-European languages, makes use of its rich inflectional potential and assigns optative mood to the subjunctive position (Matras 2009: 249), with the exception of Gagauz, which usually introduces complement clauses as postpositive finite clauses by means of *ani* 'where' and Turkish spoken in FYROM, which uses the junctor *ki* only for factual complements of verbs of cognition, utterance and perception (Johansson 2006:18-19).

In the context of this discussion, the aim of our study is to investigate the types of complement clauses mostly preferred by the GTB children on Rhodes. While in standard Turkish there is a robust coexistence of finite and non-finite complement clauses, Greek makes use of only finite type complement clauses. We argue that as a result of long and intense contact with Greek, GTB children in Rhodes make extensive use of the finite complement clauses instead of the predominant non-finite complement clauses despite the fact that they do exhibit good command of these structures.

#### 4. Complement Clauses

Complement Clauses (CCs) are “sentential structures that function as an argument of a matrix verb. The complement clause can occupy the subject argument slot or the

<sup>3</sup> Henceforth Turkish spoken in FYROM.

object slot” (Kidd, Lieven & Tomasello 2005: 50). In this study we will only deal with those that occupy the object slot.

In most languages, there are two distinct types of CCs: The (F)inite and (N)on-(F)inite type complements. “Languages which lack complement clause construction, on the other hand, are likely to employ some other construction type as a complementation strategy” (Dixon 2006: 6).

As we will see below, there are cases in which although a language possesses some kind of complement clause construction, it may also employ some other complementation strategy.

#### 4.1. Complement Clauses in Turkish

Although the non-finite (NF) type of CCs is regarded as the predominant subordination strategy, in Standard Turkish there is actually a robust coexistence of finite (F) (i.e. identical in structure to a full sentence) and non-finite (NF) (i.e. with their verbal constituent marked by one of the subordinating suffixes *-mA*, *-DIK*, *-(y)AcAK* or *-(y)Iş*) CCs (Göksel & Kerslake 2005, Kerslake 2007). Examples (1-4) below are NF type of CCs.

- (1) *Ali kitap oku-mak istiyor*  
 Ali book read-INF want-PROGR.3SG  
 ‘Ali wants to read a book’
- (2) *Ali kitap okuma-yı sev-iyor*  
 Ali book read.VN-ACC love-PROGR.3SG  
 ‘Ali likes to read books’
- (3) *Ayşe ben-im kitap okuma-m-ı ist-i-yor*  
 Ayşe I-1SG.GEN book read-VN-1SG.POSS-ACC want-PROGR.3SG  
 ‘Ayşe wants me to read book(s)’
- (4) *Deniz’in dün sinema-ya git-tiğ-i-ni duy-du-m*  
 Deniz.GEN yesterday cinema-DAT go-VN-3SG.POSS-ACC hear-PST-1SG  
 ‘I heard that Deniz went to the cinema yesterday’

The (F) category can be further divided in (i) the bare-F CCs with either the use of a verb in the imperative/optative mood in the CC when the superordinate clause expresses volition (5)

- (5) *Çocuk anne-si-ne yardım et-sin iste-di*  
 child mother-3SG.POSS-DAT help-IMP.3SG want-PST.3SG  
 ‘The child wanted to help his/her mother’

or with the use of a verb in the indicative mood, when the CC is interrogative and the superordinate clause expresses cognition (6)

- (6) *Ahmet nere-ye git-ti bil-mi-yor-um*  
 Ahmet where-DAT go-PST.3SG know-NEG-PROGR.1SG  
 'I don't know where Ahmet went'

and (ii) the bare-sub-Final CCs with a preceding *ki* or a following *diye* or *gibi* (when the verb of the main clause is *gel-*) *sub*(ordinator) (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 404) (7–9).

- (7) *Duy-du-m ki dün okul-a git-me-miş-sin*  
 hear-PST.1SG ki yesterday school-DAT go-NEG-EV-2SG  
 'I heard that you didn't go to school yesterday'
- (8) *Konser bit-ti diye duy-du-m*  
 concert end-PST.3SG diye hear-PST.1SG  
 'I heard that the concert ended'
- (9) *Bana yemeğ-I beğen-me-di-n gibi gel-iyor*  
 I.DAT food-ACC like-NEG-PST-2SG gibi come-PROGR.3SG  
 'It seems to me that you didn't like the food'

Another way of complementation in Turkish is the noun clause known as small clause (when we have a verb of perception/cognition as the verb of the main clause) (Göksel & Kerslake 2005, Özsoy 2001) (10–12).

- (10) *Herkes ben-I yat-tı san-dı*  
 everyone I-ACC go to sleep-PST.3SG think-PST.3SG  
 'Everyone thought (that) I went to sleep'
- (11) *Biz sen yat-tı-n san-dı-k*  
 we you go to sleep-PST.2SG think-PST.1PL  
 'We thought (that) you went to sleep'
- (12) *Herkes ben-I yat-tı-m san-ıyor*  
 everyone I-ACC go to sleep-PST.1SG think-PROGR.3SG  
 'Everyone thought (that) I went to sleep'

Finally, when the predicate of a main clause is a certain motion verb like *git-*, *gel-* (in a purposive function) we may also have the so-called serial verb constructions (SVCs) (Roussou 2006) (13–14). All types of CCs above, with the exception of those formed with *ki* and the SVCs, are clauses which are regularly embedded in other clauses (thus, OV).<sup>4</sup>

4 For an analytic account of CCs in Turkish cf. Göksel & Kerslake (2005), Kerslake (2007).

- (13) *Ali git-ti yat-ti*  
 Ali go-PST.3SG go to sleep-PST.3SG  
 'Ali went to sleep'
- (14) *Gel otur*  
 come-IMP.2SG sit-IMP.2SG  
 'come and sit'

#### 4.2. Complement Clauses in Greek

Unlike Turkish, CCs in Greek are introduced by one of the subordinators *oti*, *pos*, *mipos*, *pu* or the particle *na* (the subjunctive marker). They all contain a finite-type verb and follow the word order of a main clause that is VO (Holton, Mackridge & Philippaki-Warburton 1997, Roussou 2006) (15–18).

- (15) *Nomizo oti/pos les psemata*  
 think.IMP.1SG SUB tell.IMP.2SG lie.PL  
 'I think that you are lying'
- (16) *Lipame pu ehase o Nikos ti ðulia tu*  
 Be.sorry.IMP.1SG SUB lose.PST.3SG the Nikos the job.ACC CL:3-SG.GEN  
 'I am sorry that Nick lost his job'
- (17) *Fovate mipos ton ðune*  
 be.afraid.IMP.1SG SUB CL:3-SG.ACC see.PF.3PL  
 'He is afraid they might see him'
- (18) *θelo na kanis ta maθimata su*  
 want.1SG.IMP.1SG PCL do.2SG.IMP.1SG the lesson.PL.ACC CL: 2-SG.GEN  
 'I want you to study'

The CCs introduced by *oti*, *pos*, *mipos*, *pu* contain a F verb in the indicative mood, and the ones introduced with *na* contain a F verb in the subjunctive. Like Turkish, Greek has small clauses (Spyropoulos 1998) (19).

- (19) *I epitropi ekrine ton ipopsifio*  
 the comission judged.3SG the candidate.ACC.SG.MASC  
*aneparki*  
 inadequate. ACC.SG.MASC  
 'The commission judged the candidate inadequate'

and with motion verbs it allows serial verb constructions (Roussou 2006) (20).

- (20) *ela kathise mazi mas*  
 Come.IMP.2SG sit.IMP.2SG with CL: 1-PL.GEN  
 'Come sit with us'

## 5. The Research

### 5.1. The subjects and methodology

The data used for this study were collected from 16 bilingual children (11 girls and 5 boys) all members of the GTB community. The age range of the subjects is between 9 and 18 (mean age 13.06). For the integrity of our results,<sup>5</sup> the following social variables were homogenized as much as possible: (i) both the subjects and their parents were born and have been living in Rhodes; (ii) the subjects had not lived in a (Standard) Turkish speaking environment for more than six months; (iii) the parents of the subjects are small business owners or employees and have had no formal education in Turkish.

Our analysis is based on data coming from four different sources. The first and main source of information was the CCs we isolated from recordings of naturally occurring discourse produced by the children in earlier stages of our research (Georgalidou et al. forthcoming, Kaili et al. 2009, Çeltek & Kaili forthcoming). The second source of data was an indirect acceptability judgment task. The subjects were read/shown 12 groups of sentences which consisted of four different variants of the same sentence<sup>6</sup> (with different word order or including F or NF verb types) and were asked to indicate if they have encountered the sentence they had just heard and if they had, they were asked to indicate how (un)common each variant in their local dialect is (in a scale from 1[uncommon] to 4 [common]). (21–22) are two examples of the twelve groups of sentences they were asked to judge.<sup>7</sup>

(21)	<i>Encounter</i>	<i>uncommon-common</i>
(a) <i>Ali kitap okumayı seviyor</i>	yes/no	1 – 2 – 3 – 4
(b) <i>Ali seviyor kitap okumayı</i>	yes/no	1 – 2 – 3 – 4
(c) <i>Ali kitap okumak seviyor</i>	yes/no	1 – 2 – 3 – 4
(d) <i>Ali seviyor kitap okusun</i>	yes/no	1 – 2 – 3 – 4
(22)	<i>Encounter</i>	<i>uncommon-common</i>
(a) <i>Ahmet'in sinemaya gittiğini duyduk</i>	yes/no	1 – 2 – 3 – 4
(b) <i>Ahmet sinemaya gitti diye duyduk</i>	yes/no	1 – 2 – 3 – 4
(c) <i>Duyduk ki Ahmet sinemaya gitmiş</i>	yes/no	1 – 2 – 3 – 4
(d) <i>Ahmet'in sinemaya gittiğini diye duyduk</i>	yes/no	1 – 2 – 3 – 4

Our third source of data was obtained via story telling. We asked our subjects to narrate the fairy tale *Little Red Riding Hood* in Turkish (after having confirmed that they knew the tale), in a semi-guided manner. We showed our subjects a sequence of

5 As indicated in Cornips and Poletto (2005: 949).

6 In some cases ungrammatical.

7 All sentences were uttered by the interviewer with a neutral intonation so that they were not perceived as marked.



pictures and asked them to tell the story. We interrupted the narration at certain points and posed questions that were expected to obtain a CC as an answer. For example, after showing the relevant picture we asked:

- (23) *Annesi Kırmızı Başlıklı Kızın elindeki sepeti ne yapmasını istiyor?*  
 ‘What is Little Red Riding Hood’s mother asking her to do  
 with the basket in her hands?’

Finally, we asked our subjects to translate twelve Greek sentences into Turkish. These sentences were similar (in regard to their form and meaning) to the ones of the first task. In the former three tasks, each subject was recorded separately. Recordings took place in July and August 2010. The reason for collecting data from both naturally occurring speech and constrained interviews was to get an overall idea of the subjects’ performance and competence in Turkish as far as the CCs are concerned.

## 5.2. Summary of the results

The results of our study show that our subjects possess a kind of ‘contact/mixed’ grammar of CCs. It seems that they have a good command of the different types of CCs in Turkish, but there is a mismatch between their competence in CCs and their actual use of them.

More specifically, our recordings of naturally occurring discourse reveal the following:<sup>8</sup>

Our subjects are inclined to use F-type CCs, mostly with a VO word order.

- (24) *Bil-mi-yo-m*                      *ne*                      *di-ce-m*  
 know-NEG-PROGR-1SG    what                      say.FUT-1SG  
 ‘I do not know what to say’  
*Anne-m-ler*                      *iste-mi-yo*                      *çalış-e-m*  
 mother-1SG.POSS-PL    want-NEG-PROGR.3SG    work.SUBJ-1SG  
 ‘My parents don’t want me to work’

Also, there are examples of our subjects using the VO word order even when they use a NF complement.

- (25) *İsti-yo-n*                      *gör-mek*  
 want-PROGR-2SG    see-INF  
 ‘You want to see (it)’

8 One anonymous reviewer pointed to the need of presenting a statistical analysis of our results. The distribution of frequency of CCs in the community under study will be the subject matter of a forthcoming contribution.

Often, when the verb of the main clause is the motion verb *git-*, they use SVC instead of a CC.

- (26) *Git-ti yat-sın*  
 go-PST.3SG lay down-IMP.3SG  
 'He went to sleep'

There are cases in which even if they use the predominant NF-type OV CCs, the subject of the embedded clause has no genitive marking.

- (27) *Ahmet ne söyle-diğ-i-ni duy-ma-dı-m*  
 Ahmet what say-VN-3SG.POSS-ACC hear-NEG-PST-1SG  
 'I didn't hear what Ahmet said'

Despite the fact that they are very few in number, there are cases of non-co-referential sentences in which the verb of the CC is not marked for person or case and its subject has no genitive marking, as in (28a) or the cases in which the verb is marked for case but still not marked for person, as in (28b).

- (28) *Anne kız yemek götür-mek söylü-yor*  
 mother daughter food take-INF say-PROGR.3SG  
 (Intended meaning: the mother tells her daughter to take some food  
 (to her grandmother))  
*Ayşe ben kitap oku-ma-yı isti-yor*  
 Ayşe I book read-VN-ACC want-PROGR.3SG  
 (Intended meaning: Ayşe wants me to read books)

Our subjects sometimes use a F-type VO CC in cases where the meaning in Turkish is expressed with a causative verb.

- (29) *Öğretmen proje koy-uyo öğrenci-ler-e yaz-sın-lar*  
 teacher project put-PROGR.3SG student-PL-DAT write-IMP-3PL  
 'The teacher is getting the students to write a project'

In those cases in which the verb of the superordinate clause is *duy-*, they use a bare-sub-Final CC with a preceding *ki* and when the event described in the CC is in the past tense, they prefer *-DI* instead of the evidential *-miş*.

- (30) *Duy-du-m ki Ahmet git-ti*  
 hear-PST-1SG ki Ahmet go-PST.3SG  
 'I heard that Ahmet has gone'

In the indirect acceptability judgment test they exhibited an overwhelming preference<sup>9</sup> for the predominant NF-type OV CCs as the most common variant in their dialect<sup>10</sup> as shown in Table I.

Table I. Acceptability judgments test results

Sentences	Preference percentages
Bu filmi görmek istiyorum	79.5%
Ne diyeceğimi bilmiyorum	71.75%
Ahmet yatmaya gitti	92%
Herkes senin gittiğini sanıyor	73.25%
Ahmet'in sinemaya gittiğini duydum	65.5%
Ayşe benim kitap okumamı istiyor	81.25%
Ahmet'in ne söylediğini duymadım	78%
Ali kapıyı kapatmayı unuttu	89%
Ali kitap okumayı seviyor	93.75%
Ayşe'nin gittiğini duydum	76.5%

There were only two cases where something different from a NF-type OV CC was preferred (31).

- (31) 'Çocuk düşecek sandı' (64%) surpasses the NF version  
'Çocuk düşeceğini sandı' (59.25%)

and

- (32) 'Bana yemeği beğenmedin gibi geliyor' (60.75%) surpasses the NF  
'Yemeği beğenmediğini düşünüyorum' (51.5%).

Moreover, in those cases in which a group of sentences included a variant which was neither grammatical nor seemed Greek-like, all our subjects marked it as a sentence they had never encountered. For example in (33) the fourth version received negative answers from all our informants (16/16).

- (33) Encounter uncommon-common  
(a) Ahmet yatmaya gitti yes/no 1 – 2 – 3 – 4

9 The term *preference* used in the present paper refers to our subjects' intuitive choice of the most common variant in their local dialect.

10 For the possible reasons of this mismatch see discussion below.

(b) <i>Ahmet gitti yatsın</i>	yes/no	1 – 2 – 3 – 4
(c) <i>Ahmet gitti yatmaya</i>	yes/no	1 – 2 – 3 – 4
(d) <i>Ahmet yatsın gitti</i>	yes/no	1 – 2 – 3 – 4

In the narration of the fairy tale our subjects again exhibited an overwhelming preference for the predominant NF-type OV CCs in the first parts of their speech (when they paid maximum attention to monitoring their performance) but also produced many F-type VO CCs by the end of story (when they got used to the process and paid minimum attention to monitoring their speech). Also, they produced sentences with a CC in infinitival form where a verbal noun plus a case marker was required (34):

- (34) *Kurt ne yap-ma-yı düşün-üyor?*  
 wolf what do-VN-ACC think-PROGR.3SG  
 ‘What is the wolf planning to do?’  
*‘Büyükanne-nin kılığ-ı-na gir-mek ve*  
 grandma-GEN vesture-3SG.POSS-DAT enter-INF and  
*Kokinoskufitsa* <sup>11</sup> *’yı yi-mek’*  
 Red Riding Hood-ACC eat-INF  
 ‘to dress up like the grandmother and eat Little Red Riding Hood’

Similarly, in the translation of Greek to Turkish task our subjects mostly preferred the NF-type OV CCs. However, in two cases they were in favor of a VO CC introduced by *ki* and followed by a F verb type (84,37%), despite the fact that this was their less preferred version in the judgment task (32,75%) (35).

- (35) *Duy-du-k ki Ahmet sinema-ya git-ti/git-miş*  
 hear-PST-1PL ki Ahmet cinema-DAT go-PST/EV.3SG  
 ‘We heard that Ahmet went to the cinema’

## 6. Discussion, conclusions, extensions

Our goal in this paper was to explore the use of CCs in the GTB children on Rhodes and to discover whether the profound use of VO F-type CCs is due to copying from Greek (in regard to the intense contact) and/or incomplete acquisition. Naturalistic data gave us evidence for the assumption of the use of VO F-type CCs. This finding is in complete agreement with the situations discussed in Johanson 2002a. The extensive use of VO order together with right-branching complement constructions and finite elements irrespective of pragmatic functions can be explained via the in-

11 The name of *Little Red Riding Hood* in Greek.

fluence of prolonged contact with Greek. Still, there is need for both quantitative and qualitative analysis of more extensive data.

However, the data derived from the judgment task, the narration of the fairy tale and the translation of sentences from Greek to Turkish in the context of constrained interviews revealed a mismatch between the judgments of the GTB children about the CC constructions and their actual use of them. The data have also shown that the GTB children have implicit knowledge of the predominant OV NF CCs of Turkish. This fact brings to the forefront two important factors. On the one hand, it highlights the well-known unreliability of speakers' judgments as well as their exhibited preference for well-established linguistic variables<sup>12</sup> (cf. Labov 1972, 1996). On the other hand, while RT usage may be restricted to specific social domains, i.e. in the home as well as at social gatherings of the community such as religious celebrations and various social events (marriages, etc.), it is also true that periodic traveling to Turkey and watching Turkish TV channels via satellite facilitate contact with Standard Turkish and thus improve the competence of the speakers in Turkish.

Therefore, we need to juxtapose judgment with actual use in further research that would control the sociolinguistic factors that affect the use of CCs in RT, irrespective of how extended this use is.

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12 The children participating in the project knew that the researchers who conducted the tests (Aytaç and Hasan) were both academic staff and teachers of Turkish.

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### Abbreviations

ACC	Accusative	INF	Infinitive	PST	Past
CL	Clitic	MASC	Masculine	SG	Singular
DAT	Dative	NEG	Negation	SUB	Subordinator
EV	Evidential	PCL	Particle	SUBJ	Subjunctive
GEN	Genitive	PL	Plural	VN	Verbal noun
IMP	Imperative	POSS	Possessive		
IMPF	Imperfective	PROGR	Progressive		

# Bemerkungen zu den Relativsätzen im Türkischen

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This article addresses two phenomena that pertain to Turkish relative clauses in the 3rd person.

The first phenomenon involves the question as to whether nouns with possessive suffixes can also occur as subjects marked as genitive. It is demonstrated that this variant is possible in certain specific circumstances.

The second phenomenon involves the choice between a *-(y)An* participle or a possessive participle. It is shown here that the propositions are made productive for either the general action or the individualized case, as well as for new information or given information.

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Die Relativkonstruktionen im Türkischen waren und sind seit Jahrzehnten Lieblingsthemen einer Reihe von Turkologen und am Türkischen linguistisch Interessierten. In diesem Beitrag soll es jedoch nicht darum gehen, das bereits Erarbeitete noch einmal in allen Einzelheiten auszubreiten. Eine ausführliche Bibliographie findet sich bei Haig (1998: 235–248).

Dieser Beitrag wird sich auch der Frage enthalten, ob man das Possessivpartizip *-DIĞI* (entsprechend *-(y)AcAĞI*) überhaupt zu den Partizipien zählen soll oder nicht eher als Verbalnomen einordnen sollte (Römer 1991: 304–319). Ich halte auch die Begriffe ‚subject participle‘ und ‚object participle‘ (Underhill 1972: 88, siehe auch Dede 1978) für nicht geeignet und werde *(y)An*-Partizip und Possessivpartizip (abgekürzt *-(y)An* und *-DIK*) verwenden.

Aufgegriffen werden sollen zwei Phänomene, die Relativsätze in der 3. Person betreffen. Für das erste Phänomen findet sich bei Haig (1998: 165) folgendes Beispiel:

- (1) *\*[kız-ı-nın ağla-dıĝ-ı] kadın*  
girl-poss3s.gen. cry-PP.poss3s woman

Er fügt hinzu, dass solch eine Konstruktion unmöglich sei. Die richtige Form in dieser Konstellation sei *kız-ı*, sodass das *(y)An*-Partizip (bei Haig FP) gewählt werden



muss. Somit lässt er dieses Beispiel auch unübersetzt. Das nach seiner Meinung einzig korrekte Beispiel ist (2):

- (2) [*kız-ı ağla-yan*] *kadın*  
 girl-poss3s. cry-FP woman  
 the woman [whose daughter is crying]

In einer Fußnote verweist Haig allerdings auf Zimmer (1996), nach dessen Ausführungen einige Informanten solche Konstruktionen mit Genitiv markiertem Subjekt akzeptieren.<sup>1</sup> Haig selbst hingegen sei nie solcherart authentischen Beispielen begegnet.

Ein sehr ähnliches Beispiel findet sich bereits bei Csató (1993: 97):

- (3) *O partiyi hatırlıyor musun?*  
*Orada sevgili-sin-in ağla-dığ-ı adam var ya?*<sup>2</sup>  
 dort Geliebte-POSS.3.GEN wein-PART.POSS3 Mann vorhanden ja  
*İşte o adam şimdi buraya geldi.*  
 ‚Erinnerst du dich an jene Party? Es war ein Mann da, dessen Geliebte geweint hat, nicht wahr? Guck mal, jetzt ist dieser Mann hierher gekommen.‘

Csató führt aus, dass die Relativkonstruktion *sevgilisinin ağladığı adam* signalisiere, dass das Ereignis schon stattgefunden hat. Der gleiche Satz mit *sevgilisi ağlayan adam* gebildet, würde diesen Umstand unspezifiziert lassen. Sie bezieht sich auf einen Beitrag von Zimmer,<sup>3</sup> wonach ein *DIK*-Komplementsatz etwas tatsächlich Stattfindendes oder Stattgefundenes mitteile, und zieht daraus zu recht Vergleiche zu den Relativsätzen.

In der Tat, die Beispiele (1) und (3) sind ausgefallen. Folgende Hauptsätze können ihnen *nicht* zugrunde liegen:

- (4) *Kadın-in kız-ı ağlı-yor/ ağla-dı.*  
 Frau-GEN Tochter-POSS3SG wein-PRÄS3SG/ wein-PRÄT3SG  
 ‚Die Tochter der Frau weint/hat geweint.‘

- 1 Da mir der Beitrag von Zimmer nicht zugänglich ist, übernehme ich die Quellenangabe von Haig (1998: 248): Zimmer, K. (1996): Overlapping strategies in Turkish relativization. In: Rona, B. (ed.), 159–164.
- 2 Hier und später sind zur Verdeutlichung Trennstriche eingefügt, obwohl sie im Original fehlen.
- 3 Die entsprechende Quellenangabe fehlt im dazugehörigen Literaturverzeichnis; im Text ist die Jahreszahl 1990 angegeben.

- (5) *Adam-in sevgili-si ağlı-yor/ ağla-di.*  
 Mann-GEN Geliebte-POSS3SG wein-PRÄS3SG/ wein-PRÄT3SG  
 ‚Die Geliebte des Mannes weint/hat geweint.‘

So müsste meines Erachtens das Beispiel von Csató folgendermaßen lauten, damit es zu ihrer Übersetzung passt:<sup>4</sup>

- (6) *O partiyi hatırlıyor musun? Orada sevgili-si ağla-yan adam var ya? [besser: vardı ya?] İşte o adam şimdi buraya geldi.*  
 ‚Erinnerst du dich an jene Party? Da war doch der Mann, dessen Geliebte geweint hat. Eben, dieser Mann ist jetzt hierher gekommen.‘

In diesem Beispiel muss nicht auf *-DIK* ausgewichen werden, um das Ereignis als etwas Stattgefundenes einzuordnen. Dafür trägt der Nachsatz eindeutig bei. Sollte der Kontext tatsächlich einmal nicht eindeutig sein, kann *-miş olan* eingesetzt werden. Mehrdeutigkeiten tauchen im Regelfall nur bei Fragmenten auf, und zwar dann, wenn der Relativsatz ein atelisches Verb ohne begrenzenden Zusatz enthält wie in (7):

- (7) [*kedi-si kayıp ol-an] çocuk*  
 Katze-POSS3SG vermisst wird-(y)An Kind  
 ‚das Kind, dessen Katze vermisst wird/wurde‘
- (8) [*kedi-si kaybol-an] çocuk*  
 Katze-POSS3SG verschwind-(y)An Kind  
 ‚das Kind, dessen Katze verschwunden ist/war‘
- (9) [*kedi-si öl-en] çocuk*  
 Katze-POSS3SG sterb-(y)An Kind  
 ‚das Kind, dessen Katze gestorben ist/war‘

Somit stellt sich die Frage, ob das Beispiel (3) ungrammatisch ist, und wenn nicht, warum nicht. Meines Erachtens ist es nicht falsch, aber die Übersetzung mit ‚der Mann, dessen Geliebte geweint hat‘ muss geändert werden. Für den fraglichen Satz in (3) kann man folgenden Hauptsatz zugrunde legen:

- (10) *O adam-a sevgili-si ağla-di.*<sup>5</sup>  
 Jener Mann-DAT Geliebte-POSS3SG wein-PRÄT3SG  
 ‚Über den Mann hat seine Geliebte geweint.‘

4 Die Übersetzung in (6) wurde von mir geringfügig geändert.

5 Für diese Interpretation danke ich Erdoğan Onası (Bursa/Türkei).

Folglich hätte die Übersetzung lauten müssen „Da war doch der Mann, über den seine Geliebte geweint hat“. Wir haben es bei *sevgilisinin ağladığı adam* mit einer Relativkonstruktion zu tun, in der ein erschließbares Satzglied ausgespart ist, damit der Aktant *adam* nicht doppelt genannt wird. Dieser ausgesparte Aktant muss im Deutschen als Pronomen aufgenommen werden. Problematischer ist die Wahl der Präposition, denn außer *o adama* „über den Mann“ ist auch *o adam için* „um diesen Mann“, *o adam yüzünden* „wegen dieses Mannes“ denkbar. Hier wäre weiterer Kontext vonnöten.<sup>6</sup>

Das Beispiel von Csató passt in folgendes Paradigma (ich tausche das intransitive *ağla-* „weinen“ in das ebenfalls intransitive *gül-* „lachen“ aus):

- (11) [*ben-im gül-düğ-üm*] *adam* ‚der Mann, über den ich lache/gelacht habe‘  
 [*sen-in gül-düğ-ün*] *adam* ‚der Mann, über den du lachst/gelacht hast‘ etc.  
 [*kız-in gül-düğ-ü*] *adam* ‚der Mann, über den das Mädchen lacht/gelacht hat‘  
 [*kız-in-in gül-düğ-ü*] *adam* ‚der Mann, über den seine Tochter lacht/gelacht hat‘

Für die von Csató gewählte Übersetzung kommt nur die Konstruktion *sevgili-si ağla-yan adam* in Frage, bei der das Subjekt des Relativsatzes der ‚Kopf‘ einer Genitiv-Possessiv-Verbindung in dem zugrunde liegenden Hauptsatz *adam-in sevgili-si ağla-di* ‚die Geliebte des Mannes hat geweint‘ ist. Das mit Possessivsuffix versehene Subjekt ist *spezifisch* und *bekannt*. Dieser Typ Relativsatz kann sowohl mit transitiven als auch mit intransitiven, somit auch mit passiven Verben gebildet werden:<sup>7</sup>

- (12) [*anne-si sen-i bekle-yen*] *çocuk*  
 Mutter-POSS3SG du-AKK wart-(y)An Kind  
 ‚das Kind, dessen Mutter auf dich wartet/gewartet hat‘  
 < [*çocuğ-un anne-si sen-i bekle-yor/bekle-di*]  
 Kind-GEN Mutter-POSS3SG du-AKK wart-PRÄS3SG/PRÄT3SG  
 ‚die Mutter des Kindes wartet auf dich/hat auf dich gewartet‘

- (13) [*oğl-u çal-ış-ma-yan*] *adam*  
 Sohn-POSS3SG arbeit-REZ-NEG-(y)An Mann  
 ‚der Mann, dessen Sohn nicht arbeitet‘

- 6 Ein aufschlussreiches Beispiel enthält Erkman-Akerson & Ozil (1998: 254), die das Syntagma *Hırsızın çarp-tığı kadın* in je zwei verschiedene Kontexte einbetten, damit es einmal als „die Frau, die der Dieb geprellt (beklaut) hat“ (die Frau als direktes Objekt) und zum anderen als „die Frau, auf die der Dieb geprallt ist“ (die Frau als direktionales Komplement) verstanden werden kann.
- 7 Demirçan (2003: 153–154) lehnt einen Begriff *geçişsiz edilgen* ‚intransitives Passiv‘ ab und schlägt dafür *geçişsizleme* ‚Intransitivierung‘ vor. Unabhängig davon hält er für das Türkische den Terminus ‚Passiv‘ für gänzlich inadäquat.

< *adam-in oğl-u çal-ıŝ-mı-yor*  
 Mann-GEN Sohn-POSS3g arbeit-REZ-NEG-PRÄS3SG  
 ‚der Sohn des Mannes arbeitet nicht‘

- (14) [*cep telefon-u çal-ın-an adam*  
 Handy-POSS3SG stehl-PASS-(y)An Mann  
 ‚der Mann, dessen Handy gestohlen wurde‘  
 < *adam-in cep telefon-u çal-ın-mıŝ*  
 Mann-GEN Handy-POSS3SG stehl-PASS-PERF3sg  
 ‚das Handy des Mannes wurde gestohlen‘

Das genannte Subjekt kann auch die ‚indefinit‘ formulierte *neue* Information beinhalten:<sup>8</sup>

- (15) [*kedı-sı ol-an çocuk*  
 Katze-POSS3SG sein-(y)An Kind  
 ‚das Kind, das eine Katze hat‘  
 < *çocuğ-un kedı-sı var*  
 Kind-GEN Katze-POSS3SG vorhanden  
 ‚das Kind hat eine Katze‘

Das zweite Phänomen, das hier aufgegriffen werden soll, bezieht sich auf die oben genannte Aussage von Csató, wonach -DIK etwas tatsächlich Stattfindendes oder Stattgefundenes mitteile, während ein gleicher, mit dem (y)An-Partizip gebildeter Satz diesen Umstand unspezifiziert lasse. Die Möglichkeit, ein- und denselben Inhalt – wenn auch mit unterschiedlicher Perspektive – mit dem (y)An-Partizip oder dem Possessivpartizip zu transportieren, gilt fast ausschließlich für intransitive sowie passive Verben. Somit kommen Beispiele wie in (16)–(19) nicht in Betracht:

- (16) [*sev-en çocuk*  
 lieb-(y)An Kind  
 ‚das Kind, das liebt/geliebt hat‘

- (17) [*sev-diğ-i çocuk*  
 lieb-DIK3SG Kind  
 ‚das Kind, das er liebt/geliebt hat‘

- (18) [*bekle-yen tren*  
 wart-(y)An Zug  
 ‚der Zug, der wartet‘

8 Zu Thema-Rhema und Spezifität-Nichtspezifität siehe Johanson (1990: 197).

- (19) [bekte-diğ-i] tren  
 wart-DIK3SG Zug  
 ‚der Zug, auf den er wartet/gewartet hat‘

Die Nebensätze in (16) und (18) enthalten kein Subjekt.<sup>9</sup> Die Nebensätze in (17) und (19) hingegen enthalten einen Aktanten, der an *-DIK* als Possessivsuffix 3. Pers. SG. repräsentiert ist und repräsentiert sein muss.<sup>10</sup> Er dient als Personalmarkierer.<sup>11</sup> Dieser Aktant ist nicht koreferent mit dem Bezugsnomen.

Die Subjekte der Nebensätze in (17) und (19) können explizit genannt sein, was bei Ersteinführung oder Themawechsel der Fall ist. Sie werden mit dem Genitiv markiert wie in (20) und (21) und sind *spezifisch* gebraucht, wie es bei transitiven Verben üblich ist. Beispiele wie (22) mit einem *nicht spezifisch* gebrauchten Subjekt in Abhängigkeit von einem transitiven Verb, dem dann ein (*y*)An-Partizip folgt, sind äußerst selten. Sollte solch ein nicht spezifisch gebrauchtes Subjekt vom dazugehörigen Verb getrennt sein wie in (23),<sup>12</sup> wird es genitivmarkiert, ist aber ohne weiteren Kontext nicht eindeutig zu interpretieren:

- (20) [öğretmen-in sev-diğ-i] çocuk  
 Lehrer-GEN lieb-DIK3SG Kind  
 ‚das Kind, das der Lehrer mag/lieb gewonnen hat‘

- (21) [yolcu-lar-ın bekle-diğ-i] tren  
 Reisender-PLUR-GEN wart-DIK3SG Zug  
 ‚der Zug, auf den die Reisenden warten/gewartet haben‘

- (22) [Köpek ısır-an] Maradona taburcu oldu.<sup>13</sup>  
 Hund beiß-(y)An Maradona entlassen wurde  
 ‚Maradona, den ein Hund gebissen hat, ist aus der Klinik entlassen worden.‘

- (23) [Köpeğ-in yüz-ün-den ısır-diğ-i] Maradona  
 Hund-GEN Gesicht POSS3SG-ABL beiß-DIK3SG Maradona  
 taburcu oldu.  
 entlassen wurde  
 ‚Maradona, den ein Hund/der Hund ins Gesicht gebissen hatte, ist aus der Klinik entlassen worden.‘

9 Siehe Johanson (1990: 202) und Ersen-Rasch (2011: 171).

10 Nur die negiert vorkommenden *-mAdik*-Formen enthalten keine Personalmarkierung.

11 Johanson (1990: 195–197) nennt diese Markierung ‚Subjektvertreter‘.

12 Siehe Johanson (1990: 215–217) und Ersen-Rasch (2011: 201).

13 (www.habervitrini.com) (31/03/2010), zitiert nach Ersen-Rasch (2011: 179).

Wenden wir uns zunächst denjenigen Partizipialphrasen in der 3. Person zu, die ein Subjekt enthalten und die mit intransitiven oder passiven Verben gebildet sind. Wenn das Subjekt im Nominativ steht und von einem Possessivpartizip gefolgt wird, wird dieser Typ Nebensatz nach gängiger Meinung, die wir nicht gänzlich teilen, den Adverbialsätzen zugeordnet.<sup>14</sup> Da das nicht zu unserem Thema gehört, wollen wir Partizipialphrasen mit einem temporalen Bezugsnomen nur kurz streifen.

Laut Lewis (1967: 184–185) haben wir es in (24) mit einem Adverbialsatz zu tun;<sup>15</sup> in (25) hingegen mit einem Attributsatz, da das Subjekt im Genitiv steht:

- (24) [*Baykal istifa et-tiğ-i gün*], *komplocuların bayram günüdür.*  
 B. zurücktret-DIK3SG Tag  
 (<http://www.internethaber.com/baykal-istifa-etmeyecek-9838y.htm>)  
 ‚Der Tag, wenn Baykal zurücktritt, ist der Festtag der Verschwörer.‘

- (25) [*Baykal'in istifa et-tiğ-i gün*] *ağladım.*  
 B.-GEN zurücktret-DIK3SG Tag  
 ([www.gazeteturka.com/news\\_detail.php?id=9212](http://www.gazeteturka.com/news_detail.php?id=9212))  
 ‚An dem Tag, als Baykal zurückgetreten ist, habe ich geweint.‘

Der Unterschied von (24) zu (25) ist ein mitteilungspektivistischer; in (24) äußert sich der Sprecher über den Rücktritt von Baykal (der zum Zeitpunkt dieser Nachricht noch gar nicht stattgefunden hatte), also „Am Tage des Rücktritts von Baykal ist der Festtag der Verschwörer“; in (25) ist die wichtigere Information der Tag, an dem Baykal zurückgetreten ist, also „An demjenigen Tag, als Baykal zurückgetreten ist, habe ich geweint“.

- (26) (...) *soralım bakalım Iraklılara 'teşekkür' ediyorlar mı*  
 [*Saddam idam ed-il-diğ-i gün*] *'dönüşen' kaderlerine!*  
 S. hinricht-PASS-DIK3SG Tag  
 (<http://www.turkmedya.com/V1/Pg/ColumnDetail/ColID/45434>)  
 ‚(...) fragen wir mal die Iraker, ob sie sich für ihr Schicksal bedanken, das sich am Tage der Hinrichtung von Saddam ‚gewendet‘ hat!‘

Somit können wir mit Lewis (1967: 184) das Beispiel (24) als ‚gerund-equivalent‘ und (25) als Attributsatz betrachten oder die Auffassung von Kornfilt (1997: 69)

14 So führt Erdal (1981: 33) aus: ‚Having *-DIK-I ~ -(y)AcAK-I* and no genitive for a SUBJECT gives us a combination we have not met so far, except in the adverbial expressions mentioned in the beginning of this paper, which are a different thing altogether‘.

15 Die von Lewis (1967: 185) vorgeschlagene Ersatzprobe ergibt keinen korrekten Satz:  
 \**Baykal istifa edince/ettiğinde komplocuların bayram günüdür.*

vertreten, die Sätze mit *gün, gece, sabah* als Relativsätze einstuft. Wir denken, dass sowohl (24) als auch (25) als Adverbialphrasen eingeordnet werden können. Das Subjekt ist in beiden Fällen ein referierender Ausdruck: steht er im Nominativ, ist das gesamte Syntagma als Thema zu betrachten; steht er im Genitiv, ist nur das Subjekt Thema.

Das gilt auch für nicht referierende oder nicht spezifische Subjekte, bei denen die Genitivmarkierung zusätzlich für Spezifität nutzbar gemacht wird. Die folgenden beiden Beispiele beziehen sich auf ein- und dasselbe Ereignis, das bereits stattgefunden hat. In (27) äußert sich der Sprecher lediglich über die Anzahl der Teilnehmer, in (28) darüber, dass es für ihn spezifische Teilnehmer waren:<sup>16</sup>

(27) [*Yirmi beş kişi kat-ıl-an*]                      *parti iyi geç-ti.*  
 zwanzig fünf Person teilnehm-PASS-(y)An Party gut verlauf-PRÄT3SG  
 ‚Die Party, an der fünfundzwanzig Personen teilgenommen haben, ist gut verlaufen.‘

(28) [*Yirmi beş kişi-nin kat-ıl-dığ-ı*]                      *parti iyi geç-ti.*  
 zwanzig fünf Person-GEN teilnehm-PASS-DIK3SG Party gut verlauf-PRÄT3SG  
 ‚Die Party, an der fünfundzwanzig (bestimmte) Personen teilgenommen haben, ist gut verlaufen.‘

Wenden wir uns der Frage zu, wie die Wahl von (*y*)An-Partizip oder Possessivpartizip beschrieben werden kann. Zunächst noch einmal Beispiele, von denen je eines als Adverbialsatz betrachtet werden kann:

(29) a. *Bizde su ak-ma-yan günler salı ve cumartesidir.*<sup>17</sup>  
 ‚Bei uns sind die Tage, an denen *kein Wasser* läuft, Dienstag und Samstag.‘  
 b. *Su ak-ma-dığ-ı günler şişe suyu alırız.*  
 ‚An den Tagen, an denen *kein Wasser* läuft, kaufen wir Wasser in Flaschen.‘

16 (27) und (28) sind aus Ersen-Rasch (2011: 190). Siehe auch Ersen-Rasch (2010: 47), wo vergleichbare Beispiele mit dem Akkusativ angegeben sind: *Doğum gününe birkaç arkadaş çağırdım* ‚Ich habe ein paar Freunde zu meinem Geburtstag eingeladen‘ (*Frage*: Wie viele Personen?) und *Doğum gününe birkaç arkadaşı çağırdım* ‚Ich habe einige Freunde zu meinem Geburtstag eingeladen‘ (*Frage*: Welche Personen?). Göksel & Kerslake (2005: 445) geben ähnliche Beispiele an und schreiben, dass ‚in the case of an indefinite subject (i.e. one in which a numeral or indefinite determiner is present), either kind of participle is possible‘. Ihre Beispiele [*içine birkaç çiçek konmuş olan/çiçeğin konmuş olduğu bir vazo*] lauten in der Übersetzung ‚a vase [into which a few flowers have/had been put]‘, allerdings ohne weitere Erklärung.

17 Die Beispiele (29a–c) sind aus Ersen-Rasch (2001: 222). Die Übersetzung von (29c) habe ich leicht geändert.

c. *Suy-un ak-ma-dığ-ı günler felaket olur.*

„Die Tage, an denen *das Wasser* nicht läuft, sind eine Katastrophe.“

In (29a) ist das Subjekt *su* nicht spezifisch gebraucht, das Syntagma *su akmayan* ist die *neue* Information. Außerdem wird das Ereignis als ein *generelles* dargestellt. In (29b) ist das Subjekt *su* weiterhin nicht spezifisch gebraucht, aber mit *akmadığı* wird das Ereignis als individualisiert und bekannt dargestellt. Das ganze Syntagma ist Thema. In (29c) ist *su* Thema, dem ein Possessivpartizip folgen muss.

Der erste Satz von (29a) könnte vom Sprecher wie in (30) fortgesetzt werden. Im Folgesatz ist das explizit genannte Subjekt *su* getilgt, wird aber als Subjektvertreter an *-DIĞI* aufrechterhalten. Allerdings ist nicht ersichtlich, ob der Sprecher, wenn er es noch einmal genannt hätte, im Nominativ wiederholt oder bereits im Genitiv aufgenommen hätte. Das bedeutet zwei Übersetzungsmöglichkeiten:

(30) *Bizde su ak-ma-yan günler salı ve cumartesidir. Ak-ma-dığ-ı günler şişe suyu alırız.*  
 „Bei uns sind die Tage, an denen kein Wasser läuft, Dienstag und Samstag. An den Tagen, an denen *keines/es nicht* läuft, kaufen wir Wasser in Flaschen.“

Auch bei intransitiven Verben wird das Subjekt genitivmarkiert, wenn es vom dazugehörigen Verb getrennt ist:

(31) [*Suy-un hiç ak-ma-dığ-ı gün-ler*]  
 Wasser-GEN nie fließ-NEG-DIK3SG Tag-PLUR  
 „Tage, an denen überhaupt kein Wasser fließt/das Wasser überhaupt nicht fließt“

Das für (29) Gesagte gilt auch für Partizipialphrasen, die mit passiven Verben gebildet sind:<sup>18</sup>

(32) a. [*Ekmek dağıt-ıl-an] aile sayı-sı art-ti.*  
 Brot verteil-PASS-(y)An Familie Zahl-POSS3SG steig-PRÄT3SG  
 „Die Zahl der Familien, an die Brot verteilt wird, ist gestiegen.“

b. [*Ekmek dağıt-ıl-dığ-ı gün] kalabalık var-dı.*  
 Brot verteil-PASS-DIK3SG Tag Menge vorhanden-SUFF.IDI  
 „Am Tage, an dem Brot verteilt wurde, war Massenandrang.“

c. [[*Ekmeğ-in dağıt-ıl-dığ-ı gün] kalabalık var-dı.*  
 Brot-GEN verteil-PASS-DIK3SG Tag Menge vorhanden-SUFF.IDI  
 „An dem Tag, an dem das Brot verteilt wurde, war Massenandrang.“

18 Für ein vergleichbares Beispiel bemerkt Ersen-Rasch (2011: 179): „Das *-(y)An*-Partizip kann ein Geschehen bezeichnen, das im allgemeinen stattfindet/stattgefunden hat, das *-DIĞI*-Partizip hingegen ein individuell durchgeführtes Geschehen“.



Die nächsten authentischen Beispiele mit Passivverben dürfte es gar nicht geben, wenn man unterstellt, dass Nominativsubjekte in Kombination mit dem Possessivpartizip nur in Adverbialsätzen vorkommen:<sup>19</sup>

- (33) *Bilirim ki bundan 40–45 yıl önce ağabeylerimiz ve sonra da okula giden ikinci kardeşlerin ders yapıp çalıştıkları masa, ev halkının yemek yediği, [çay iç-il-diğ-i, mutfak eşyaları-nın ko-n-ul-duğ-u] Tee trink-PASS-DIK3SG Küchengeschirr-GEN stell-PASS-PASS-DIK3SG masa olmuştur.*  
(www.kumluca.gov.tr/ortak\_icerik/kumluca/http.doc)  
,Ich weiß noch, dass der Tisch, an dem vor 40–45 Jahren zuerst unsere älteren Brüder und dann die zur Schule gehenden jüngeren Geschwister ihre Schulaufgaben erledigten und lernten, der Tisch geworden war, an dem die Familie gegessen und man Tee getrunken hat und auf dem das Küchengeschirr abgestellt wurde.'
- (34) *Eğer siz şeker olmadığı için [ kuru üzümle çay iç-il-diğ-i], mit Rosinen Tee trink-PASS-DIK3SG [ekmeğ-in karne ile ver-il-diğ-i] o karanlık günlere dönmek istemiyorsanız, Brot-GEN Karte mit geb-PASS-DIK3SG (... ) 12 Haziran'da AK Partisine oy vereceksiniz.<sup>20</sup>*  
(http://www.koroglugazetesi.com/habergoster.php?id=1357) (10.06.2011)  
,Wenn ihr nicht zu den düsteren Tagen zurückkehren wollt, an denen Tee mit Rosinen getrunken wurde, weil es keinen Zucker gab, und an denen das Brot gegen Lebensmittelkarten verteilt wurde, (...) dann müsst ihr am 12. Juni der ,Partei für Gerechtigkeit und Aufschwung' eure Stimme geben.'
- (35) *Şehirlerarası otobüslerde [ sigara iç-il-diğ-i], Zigaretten rauch-PASS-DIK3SG sokak aralarında [halı yıka-n-diğ-i] yıllar geçmişe ait. Teppich wasch-PASS-DIK3SG*  
(http://friendfeed.com/sehirleraras-otobuslerde-sigara-icildigi)  
,Die Jahre, in denen in den Überlandbussen geraucht und zwischen den Straßen Teppiche gewaschen wurden, gehören der Vergangenheit an.'

Zur Verdeutlichung dieser Thematik bringen wir ein nachvollziehbares Beispiel einmal mit dem (*ν*)An-Partizip und zum anderen mit dem Possessivpartizip:

19 Zu diesem Komplex führt Erdal (1981: 33) einige Aussagen von Kononov (1956: 452–453) an und zitiert folgende Beispiele – laut Erdal ,apparently made up by himself' –: *dondurma satıldığı/satılan yer* ,a place where ice cream is sold'.

20 Aus einer Wahlrede der *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi* ,Partei für Gerechtigkeit und Aufschwung'.

- (36) [*sigara iç-il-en*] *salon*<sup>21</sup>  
 Zigaretten rauch-PASS-(y)An Raum  
 ‚Raum, in dem man raucht/rauchen darf = Raucherraum‘

Hier wird keine Aussage darüber gemacht, ob das Rauchen schon stattgefunden hat oder nicht. So ein Schild könnte sogar an der Tür eines Raumes angebracht werden, in dem noch niemand geraucht hat, den man aber dafür zur Verfügung stellen will. Wer immer so etwas sagt oder schreibt, verlegt seine Perspektive auf die Handlung des Rauchens. Es ist ein unpersönliches Passiv, dem man auch keine fakultative Agensangabe hinzufügen könnte.

Anders sieht es aus, wenn der Sprecher auf das Possessivpartizip ausweicht. Dann bringt er sein Wissen<sup>22</sup> samt einem oder mehreren ausgeblendeten, nicht spezifizierten Referenten ein. Bezogen auf das obige Beispiel, würde ein *sigara içildiği salon* ‚der Raum, in dem geraucht wird/wurde‘ bedeuten, dass es um einen Raum geht, in dem irgendwer tatsächlich raucht/geraucht hat. Nicht die Handlung stellt der Sprecher in das Zentrum seines Interesses, sondern deren individuelle Ausführung durch irgendwen, unabhängig davon, ob sie parallel zur Sprechzeit liegt oder davor stattfand. Dieser ‚irgendwer‘ ist am Possessivpartizip markiert.

Weiten wir das Beispiel aus: Im Erdgeschoss eines Hotels gibt es für die Gäste mehrere Aufenthaltsräume. Nur in einem darf geraucht werden. Einer der Gäste betritt eines der Zimmer, in denen das Rauchen untersagt ist. Er sieht, dass da geraucht wird oder merkt am Geruch, dass da geraucht wurde. Er beschwert sich an der Rezeption. Der Angestellte an der Rezeption könnte nachfragen:

- (37) [*Sigara iç-il-diğ-i*] *oda hangi-si?*  
 Zigaretten rauch-PASS-DIK 3SG Zimmer welches-POSS3SG  
 ‚Welches ist das Zimmer, in dem geraucht wird/wurde?‘  
 < *Hangi oda-da sigara iç-il-iyor/ iç-il-miş?*  
 welches Zimmer-LOK Zigaretten rauch-PASS-PRÄS rauch-PASS-PERF  
 ‚In welchem Zimmer wird/wurde geraucht?‘

Oder: Einer der Raucher-Gäste, der schon das Jahr zuvor da war, merkt, dass das ihm bekannte Raucherzimmer nicht mehr als solches gekennzeichnet ist. Er fragt mit einer Deutegeste an der Rezeption nach:

21 Siehe Ersen-Rasch (2001: 222) und (2010: 156).

22 Siehe Erguvanlı Taylan (1993: 168), die darauf verweist, dass *-Diğl* weder etwas mit Zeit noch mit Aspekt, sondern mit Modalität zu tun hat. Ersen-Rasch (2001: 222) schreibt über *-ildiği*, dass der Sprecher einen Ereignisträger einbringt, der jedoch nicht bekannt oder genannt ist.

- (38) [*Sigara iç-il-en*]            *oda bu değil mi-ydi?*  
 Zigaretten rauch-PASS-(y)An Zimmer dieses nicht PART-SUFF.IDI  
 ‚Was das nicht das Zimmer, in dem man raucht/geraucht hat?‘  
 Intention: War das nicht das Raucherzimmer?  
 < *Bu oda-da sigara iç-il-ir-di, değil mi?*  
 dieses Zimmer-LOK Zigaretten rauch-PASS-AOR-SUFF.IDI nicht wahr?  
 ‚In diesem Zimmer rauchte man/das war das Raucherzimmer, nicht wahr?‘

Genannt seien zwei authentische Beispiele, in denen *içil-* mit *-(y)An* und/oder mit *-DIĞI* vorkommt:

- (39) [*Sigara iç-il-en*]            *yerleri sınırlayan kanun kabul edildi*  
 Zigaretten rauch-PASS-(y)An  
 ([www.haberler.com/sigara-icilen-yerleri-sinirlayan-kanun-kabul-haberi](http://www.haberler.com/sigara-icilen-yerleri-sinirlayan-kanun-kabul-haberi))  
 ‚Das Gesetz, das die Orte, an denen geraucht wird (werden darf), festlegt, wurde verabschiedet.‘
- (40) *Cumhurbaşkanlığının kristal bardaklarında* [*iç-il-en*]            *bir sürü*  
    trink-PASS-(y)An        eins Menge  
*demli çay-ın iç-il-diğ-i]*            *toplantılar*  
 stark Tee-GEN trink-PASS-DIK3SG  
 ([www.genckolik.net](http://www.genckolik.net))  
 ‚Zusammenkünfte, bei denen eine Menge starker Tee getrunken wurde, der aus Kristallgläsern des Staatspräsidentenamtes getrunken wird.‘<sup>23</sup>

Wir halten für die passiven Verben fest: Mit *-(y)An* wird das Ereignis als solches beschrieben, unabhängig davon, ob es eingetreten ist, im Allgemeinen eintritt oder eintreten kann. Ein Referent im Sinne eines ausgeblendeten Agens existiert nicht. Das, was der Sprecher ausdrücken möchte, ist entweder eine generalisierende Handlung oder eine neue Information.

Mit *-DIĞI* hingegen wird im Regelfall ein individualisiert stattfindendes oder stattgefundenes Ereignis angegeben, das dem Sprecher aufgrund seines Wissens bekannt ist und das er als Faktum darstellt. Er bezieht sich mittels des Possessivsuffixes 3. Pers. Sg. auf einen oder mehrere nicht identifizierbare Referenten. Mit anderen Worten: Der Sprecher verlegt sein Interesse von der reinen Handlung weg auf deren Ausführung, an der ein ‚irgendwer‘ beteiligt ist/war. Eine Zeitstufe wird nicht ausgedrückt.

Allerdings beschränkt sich *-DIĞI* nicht auf stattfindende oder stattgefundenere Ereignisse, wie das schon genannte Beispiel (24) zeigt. Aber für die Folgerungen, die der Journalist aus seiner Sicht ziehen wollte, musste er diesen Tatbestand als vor-

23 Zitiert nach Ersen-Rasch (2011: 180).

weggenommenes Faktum unterstellen. Der gleiche Satz mit *-(y)AcAğI* wie in (42) ergibt eine Hypothese:

(41) [*Baykal istifa ettiği gün*], *komplocuların bayram günüdür.*  
(<http://www.internethaber.com/baykal-istifa-etmeyecek-9838y.htm>)  
,Der Tag, wenn Baykal zurücktritt, ist der Festtag der Verschwörer.'

(42) [*Baykal istifa edeceği gün*], *komplocuların bayram günüdür.*  
,Der Tag, wenn Baykal zurücktreten wird, ist sicher der Festtag der Verschwörer.'

Zu den obigen Ausführungen passen die Beispiele (43) und (44):

- (43) a. *Burada yemek yenir.* → *Burası yemek ye-n-en yer.*  
,Hier speist man. → Das hier ist der Ort, an dem man speist.'  
(im Allgemeinen)  
b. *Burada yemek yendi.* → *Burası yemek ye-n-diğ-i yer.*  
,Hier wurde gespeist. → Das hier ist der Ort, an dem gespeist wurde.'  
(wir und andere)  
c. *Burada YEMEK yendi.* → *Burası yemeğ-in ye-n-diğ-i yer.*  
*Yemek burada yendi.* → *Burası yemeğ-in ye-n-diğ-i yer.*  
,Hier wurde das Essen eingenommen. → Das hier ist der Ort, an dem das Essen eingenommen wurde.' (von uns und anderen Leuten)

- (44) *Zindan, ölmeden önce ölünen yer,*<sup>24</sup>  
*Zindan, ağlarken birden gülünen yer.*  
*Zindan, hamların piştiği yer,*  
*Zindan çoğu zaman,*  
*Masumların düştüğü yer.*  
,Der Kerker ist der Ort, an dem man stirbt, bevor man gestorben ist,  
Der Kerker ist der Ort, an dem man plötzlich lacht, während man weint.  
Der Kerker ist der Ort, an dem die Unreifen reifen,  
Der Kerker ist oftmals  
der Ort, in den die Unschuldigen geraten.'

Die Passivkonstruktionen bieten allerdings einige Stolpersteine, wenn ein explizit genanntes Subjekt nicht vorkommen kann. So vertritt Johanson (1990: 213) mit seinen Beispielen *eve gidilen yol/eve gidildiği yol* die Ansicht, dass bei passiven Rela-

24 Aus dem Gedicht *Hasret Ve Sabır* von İsmail Bayar (<http://www.siirevim.com/siir/siir-25142-ismail-bayar-hasret-ve-sabir&dil=ing>). Die fehlenden Diakritika wurden ergänzt.

tivsätzen die Wahlmöglichkeit zwischen *-(y)An* oder *-DIĞI* keinen wesentlichen semantischen Zwecken dient.<sup>25</sup>

Problematisch ist die zeitliche Einordnung bei diesen Fragmenten. Bei einem *eve gidilen yol* ist man geneigt, einen „Weg, auf dem man nach Hause geht/der Nachhauseweg“ zu verstehen, bei einem *eve gidildiği yol* hingegen „der Weg, auf dem man nach Hause gegangen ist“.

Mit *-DIĞI* individuell dargestellte Ereignisse können sehr gut auch als einmaliges Geschehen verstanden werden. Mit *-(y)An* formulierte Ereignisse hingegen entziehen sich dieser Spezifizierung. Bei Kornfilt (2000: 144) finden sich die Beispiele (45) und (46), von denen sie (46) als ungrammatisch einstuft:

(45) [*otobüs-e bin-il-en*]                      *durak*  
 bus-DAT    board-PASS-(y)An    stop  
 ‚The stop where one boards the bus (i.e. where the bus is boarded)‘

(46) \**[otobüs-e bin-il-diğ-i]*                      *durak*  
 bus-DAT    board-PASS-DIK3SG    stop  
 (Intended reading: The same as in the previous example)

Das Beispiel (46) ist meines Erachtens nicht ungrammatisch, aber ungewöhnlich, weil eine Bushaltestelle im Regelfall zum Ein- und Aussteigen da ist. Es ist jedoch möglich (so in Frankfurt/Main an der Bockenheimer Warte), dass ein Bus an der Endhaltestelle ankommt, die letzten Fahrgäste aussteigen lässt und der Fahrer Pause einlegt, bevor er seine Route wieder aufnimmt. An der genannten Bockenheimer Warte ist die Endhaltestelle nicht identisch mit der Haltestelle, an der der Fahrer seine Route wieder aufnimmt und die Fahrgäste einsteigen können. Angenommen, ein Busfahrer hätte zwei ortsfremde türkische Fahrgäste bereits an der Endhaltestelle einsteigen lassen (weil es z.B. in Strömen gießt), aber das nächste Mal würde das nicht erlaubt, könnte einer der Fahrgäste (47) oder (48) äußern:

(47) *Otobüs-e bin-il-en durak bu değil miydi?*  
 ‚War das nicht die Haltestelle, an der man eingestiegen ist?‘  
 ‚War das nicht die Einsteigehaltestelle?‘

(48) *Otobüs-e bin-il-diğ-i durak bu değil miydi?*  
 ‚War das nicht die Haltestelle, an der eingestiegen wurde?‘

In (47) geht der Sprecher davon aus, dass diese Haltestelle diejenige war, die generell zum Einsteigen gedacht ist. Bei (48) greift er auf sein Erinnerungsvermögen und

25 In einem persönlichen Gespräch hatte Lars Johanson diese Ansicht zugunsten der von Zimmer aufgegeben.

die Tatsache des damaligen Einsteigens zurück. Zweifelsohne sind die generalisierenden Beispiele (36), (45) und (47) die üblichen Varianten; die anderen sind marginal, können aber vorkommen, sofern eine entsprechende Situation gegeben ist. Wenn der Sprecher sich für *-DIğİ* entscheidet, obwohl *-(y)An* erwartet werden könnte, koppelt er die Aussage mit seinem Wissen: Er beschreibt eine individuelle Situation und stellt das Ereignis als bekannt dar.<sup>26</sup>

Die von Erguvanlı Taylan (1993: 168) angesprochene Modalität von *-DIK* ist nicht von der Hand zu weisen. Sie wird bei Relativsätzen kaum genutzt, bei temporalen Adverbialsätzen und Komplementsätzen etwas stärker, bei *-mAdlk* stark.

Noch zwei Beispiele, bei denen für den Nichtmuttersprachler nicht ersichtlich ist, warum einmal mit *-(y)An* und zum anderen mit *-DIğİ* operiert wurde:

- (49) [*Kal-in-an*]                      *yer-den*                      *devam ed-il-ecek.*  
 verbleib-PASS-(y)An      Stelle-ABL              fortfahr-PASS-FUT3SG  
 (www.turkhaberler.net)  
 ‚Es wird da fortgefahren, wo man verblieben ist.‘

- (50) *Güneydoğu'da Dicle nehri üzerinde yapılan 1.2 milyar avroluk baraj inşasına*  
 [*kal-in-diğ-i*]                      *yer-den*                      *devam ed-il-ecek.*  
 verbleib-PASS-DIK3SG      Stelle-ABL              fortfahr-PASS-FUT3SG  
 (http://disbasindaturkiye.com/kategoriler/kaynaklar/)  
 ‚Der 1,2 Milliarden Euro teure Staudammbau, der im Südosten am Tigris in Angriff genommen worden war, wird da fortgeführt, wo er unterbrochen wurde.‘

Das Beispiel (49) ist die Überschrift zu der Antrittsrede des im Frühjahr 2011 neu ernannten Innenministers Osman Güneş. Es wird ausgesagt, dass da fortgeführt wird, wo der Übergang eintrat. Diese Information ist als *neu* zu verstehen. Bei (50) hingegen wird ausgesagt, dass der Sprecher weiß, dass an einer Stelle unterbrochen wurde. Dieses Ereignis wird als *bekannt* und individualisiert dargestellt. Sowohl *kal-in-an* als auch *kal-in-diğ-i* müssten in einem entsprechenden Hauptsatz mit *kalındı* wiedergegeben werden.

26 Erdal (1981: 35) bemerkt bei dem Beispiel *Yangının çıktığı bir Amerikan uçak gemisinde 47 ölü sayıldı*, dass es verwendet wird ‚if the listener can be expected to have heard about this particular fire (...)‘ und fährt fort ‚This would, in other words, be a thematization for the ‘fire’‘.

Individualisierte und thematisierte Subjekte müssen mit Possessivpartizipien kombiniert werden. Wir meinen aber auch, dass mit *-DIğİ* das Ereignis individualisiert und vom Sprecher als bekannt dargestellt wird.

#### Zusammenfassung für Relativsätze in der 3. Person

1. Das genannte Subjekt ist der ‚Kopf‘ einer zugrunde liegenden Genitiv-Possessiv-Verbindung im entsprechenden Hauptsatz:  
Das (y)An-Partizip wird gewählt, unabhängig davon, ob das Subjekt definit (spezifisch) oder indefinit dargestellt wird. Die Regel gilt sowohl für transitive als auch für intransitive Verben.
2. Das genannte Subjekt ist *nicht* der ‚Kopf‘ einer zugrunde liegenden Genitiv-Possessiv-Verbindung im entsprechenden Hauptsatz. Die hier betrachteten Verben sind fast ausschließlich intransitiv:
  - Das Subjekt enthält ein *Possessivsuffix* und steht im *Genitiv*. Es löst das Possessivpartizip aus. Die syntaktische Struktur entspricht denjenigen Genitivsubjekten, die ohne Possessivsuffix verwendet werden.
  - Das Subjekt ist *spezifisch*, steht im *Genitiv* und bildet das Thema. Es löst das Possessivpartizip aus.
  - Das Subjekt ist *nicht spezifisch* und steht im *Nominativ*. Es folgt das (y)An-Partizip. Das Ereignis wird *generalisierend* und/oder als *neu* dargestellt.
  - Das Subjekt ist *nicht spezifisch* und steht im *Nominativ*. Es folgt das Possessivpartizip. Lediglich das Ereignis wird als *individualisiert* und für den Sprecher *bekannt* dargestellt; diese Verwendung ist marginal.
3. In subjektlosen Relativsätzen mit Passivverben steht das (y)An-Partizip für das *generelle* Ereignis und/oder die *neue* Information, das Possessivpartizip für das *individualisierte* Ereignis und die *bekannte* Information.

Was die Mitteilungsperspektive bei transitiven Ausgangsverben anbelangt, wird auf Johanson (S. 214ff.) verwiesen.

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**Abkürzungen:**

3SG, 3s	3. Person Singular	PASS	Passiv
-(y)An	-(y)An-Partizip	PERF	Perfekt
ABL	Ablativ	PLUR	Plural
AKK	Akkusativ	POSS	Possessivsuffix
DAT	Dativ	PP	Possessivpartizip
DIK	DIK-Partizip	PRÄS	Präsens
FP	-(y)An-Partizip	PRÄT	Präteritum
GEN	Genitiv	REZ	Reziprok
NEG	Negation	SUFF	suffigiert
PART.POSS	Possessivpartizip		





## Report

# Typology of Languages of Europe and Northern and Central Asia (LENCA)

**Thomas E. Payne**

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A workshop entitled “Typology of Languages of Europe and Northern and Central Asia” (LENCA) was held during the 45th Societas Linguistica Europea conference 2012 in Stockholm, Sweden. In this workshop, thirteen papers were presented representing languages from Turkic, Uralic, Mongolic, Tungusic, Indo-Iranian, Indo-European and Dardic languages. This report describes the background, history and motivations for such “LENCA” gatherings, the activities of the workshop, and some possible future directions.

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### Background

A broad band of typologically similar indigenous languages stretches from Japan and Korea, across Asia and into Eastern and Northern Europe. These languages belong to several genetically distinct language stocks and families, notably Japanese-Ryukyuan, Korean, Mongolic, Palaeo-Siberian, Yeniseyan, Tungusic, Turkic, Uralic, and Indo-European, as well as several unclassified languages, and languages for which genetic relationships are controversial. In Central Asia, the area interfaces with Tibeto-Burman, Indo-Aryan, Indo-Iranian, Dravidian, and Austro-Asiatic languages. During the course of history, this huge area has been a meeting place of many cultural and linguistic strands, and represents a fertile field for typological, comparative and sociolinguistic research.

For the past several decades, much important linguistic work has been done, and is still being done, in Russia and other countries where these languages are spoken. Unfortunately, because of political, economic and language barriers, much of this research has been unknown to the international community. For this reason, about the turn of the millennium, Pirkko Suihkonen and Bernard Comrie organized a series of three international symposia to bring together researchers working in various countries to coordinate typological linguistic research in a broad geographic area

defined as “Europe and Northern and Central Asia” (ENCA). No language in this region was excluded, and no *a priori* assumptions made as to whether the area constitutes a unified *Sprachbund* or not. The intent was not primarily historical reconstruction, though historical and comparative papers were welcome. Rather, the motivation was to foster and disseminate typological, descriptive and documentation work between Europe and the vast territory of Russia and other republics, countries and regions east of Boğaziçi and the Ural Mountains.

One principle of the original LENCA concept was that symposia should be held in various locations where indigenous languages of the region are actually spoken, rather than in major capital cities. Though this made travel to and from the symposia more challenging for international participants, it was hoped that convening symposia closer to the homelands of local languages would make it easier for speakers and scholars without institutional funding to participate.

Thanks largely to the efforts of Suihkonen and Comrie, support for three symposia was obtained from the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Department of Linguistics, the University of Helsinki, and several other institutions in Finland and Russia, and the first symposium was convened on 21 May, 2001, at Udmurt State University, Izhevsk, Udmurt Republic, Russia. The theme of the first LENCA symposium was Deictic Systems and Quantification in Languages Spoken in Europe and North and Central Asia, and featured contributions by well-known scholars from both sides of the Urals. Selected proceedings from that symposium were published in a proceedings volume edited by Suihkonen & Comrie, and published in 2003 (see references cited, below).

The second LENCA symposium convened at Kazan State University, Kazan, Russia, in 2004. The theme of “LENCA II” was “Typology of Argument Structure and Grammatical Relations in Languages Spoken in Europe and North and Central Asia”. Again, linguistic typologists working in indigenous languages across Eurasia participated. Among the keynote speakers was Anna Siewierska, whose importance to language typology in general, and specifically to research on languages spoken in Europe and Northern and Central Asia cannot be overestimated. We are deeply grateful for her, her work as a linguist and typologist, and also her work in various administrative duties involved in linguistic research. The proceedings volume from LENCA II (Suihkonen, Comrie & Solovyev 2012) is dedicated to Anna, and contains one of her last publications (Siewierska & Bakker 2012).

The third and last LENCA symposium took place in Tomsk, Siberia, Russia, in June, 2006, with the theme “Clause Combining in Languages Spoken in Europe and North and Central Asia”, with selected papers published by John Benjamins (Vajda 2008).

Since 2006, linguistic research has continued in the indigenous and minority languages of Europe and Northern and Central Asia, but unfortunately, the original funding dried up years ago. Therefore creative approaches need to be devised in order to bring together researchers in the area. One such approach was to organize a gathering under the umbrella of an existing linguistics conference. In 2012 an orga-

nizing committee consisting of Thomas E. Payne (University of Oregon and SIL International), Pirkko Suihkonen (University of Helsinki, General Linguistics), Andrey Filchenko (Tomsk State Pedagogical University), and Lindsay Whaley (Dartmouth) proposed a workshop at the annual *Societas Linguistica Europea* meeting. This workshop was informally dubbed the “Daughter-of-LENCA”, or “Neo-LENCA”, symposium, as it seemed a bit presumptuous to call this very limited gathering “LENCA IV”. Continuing in the tradition of the original three LENCA symposia, the workshop consisted of presentations and discussions dealing with the typology of languages of Europe and Northern and Central Asia, with emphasis on understudied indigenous languages. The location of SLE 2012 in Stockholm seemed particularly auspicious for this workshop since several minority language varieties in Sweden meet the LENCA profile, among them at least four varieties of Saami, Meänkieli (a minority variety of Finnish also known as Tornedalen), all belonging to the Uralic stock, and Romani. In recent decades, as a result of active immigration, Sweden hosts a large number of “new” minority languages.

### Topics addressed

The workshop proposal listed the following research questions for the languages of the region:

1. What are the similarities and range of variation among tense, aspect, modality, and evidential systems in the region?
2. To what extent is locational and directional marking used to express aspectual and modal categories?
3. How are medial clauses, converbial clauses and other dependent clause types used in discourse?
4. Is constituent ordering more sensitive to pragmatic categories, semantic roles or grammatical relations?

Over 40 abstracts were received in response to the call for participation, which indicates that the level of interest in linguistic studies in Eurasia is still high. Unfortunately, only thirteen abstracts could be accepted therefore not all of the original questions were addressed in the workshop. But of course, this means that there is still much work to be done, and provides additional motivation for future gatherings of this sort. Other areas we had hoped to include were sessions on phonological typology, and the creation and maintenance of electronic databases, both of which are potential fruitful areas for future research and future workshops.

There were three topically organized sessions within the workshop. These were: 1) Verbal Categories, specifically tense, aspect and modality, 2) Participant reference and Clause combining in discourse, and 3) Negation and Copular clauses.

Session one consisted of an introduction by the organizers, and two papers dealing with tense, aspect and modality: 1) Benjamin Brosig (Stockholm University): “Tense and evidentiality in Mongolian in an areal perspective”, and 2) Irina

Nevskaya (Freie Universität Berlin): “Locational and directional relations, and their extension to tense and aspect in South Siberian Turkic”.

Session two, on participant reference and clause combining in discourse, attracted the largest number of abstracts. Eight papers were presented in this session: 1) Monika Rind-Pawłowski (Goethe-Universität Frankfurt): “The function of Dzungar Tuvan – (*lptlr* and *irgin* in relation to the speaker’s perspective”, 2) Oleg Belyaev (Russian Academy of Sciences and Sholokhov Moscow State University): “Towards an anaphoric approach to Ossetic correlatives”, 3) Brigitte Pakendorf (CNRS and Université Lumière Lyon 2): “Information structure in a situation of language contact: Sakha influence on Lamunxin Even”, 4) Andrej A. Kibrik, (Russian Academy of Sciences): “Origins of the Russian referential system: alternative scenarios”, 5) Natalia Serdobolskaya (Russian State University and Sholokhov Moscow State University): “Semantics of complementation in Ossetic”, 6) Lenore Grenoble (University of Chicago): “Clause combining in Evenki”, 7) Carina Jahani (Uppsala University): “Participant reference in original and translated text, examples from English, Swedish, Persian and Balochi”, and 8) Henrik Liljegren (Stockholm University): “The linguistic identity of the Greater Hindu Kush, a transit zone between South and Central Asia.”

The paper by Oleg Belyaev won a prize as one of the best presentations by a graduate student at the conference-concluding ceremony.

Finally, session three consisted of three papers on “negation and non-verbal predicates”: 1) Martine Robbeets (Universität Mainz): Negation in the Transeurasian languages from a historical-comparative perspective. 2) Éva Ágnes Csató (Uppsala University): Areal features of copular clauses in Karaim. 3) Birsal Karakoç (Uppsala University): Typology of copular clauses and copular markers in modern Turkish.

The last slot in session three consisted of a general discussion conducted by Lindsay Whaley, of Dartmouth. In that discussion informal evaluations of the workshop were solicited, and ideas for future collaborative efforts discussed. Topics raised included:

1. What constitutes a LENCA language?
2. Future conference venues.
3. A possible proceedings volume of papers from the current workshop.

As for the first topic, we were reminded by Andrej Kibrik that the original intent was to unite linguistic typological work in Europe and the former Soviet Union. All languages that are in or around that region were considered “LENCA languages”. At LENCA II, Andrej was even allowed to give a paper on an Athabaskan language because of the intercontinental cultural and linguistic connections between Asia and Alaska. Support was voiced for keeping the definition open-ended, rather than restricting it typologically (e.g., only verb-final languages), or geographically (e.g., to a narrow definition of Eurasia), or genetically (e.g. only to particular language families). No one voiced an opinion in favor of limiting the scope of LENCA.

Some discussion ensued concerning the possibility of convening a dedicated LENCA symposium. Those who spoke in favor of such an idea expressed regret at

the relatively small number of papers that were given in the SLE workshop. Such a limited setting did not begin to do justice to the breadth and scope of linguistic research in the region. Then again, others reminded us of the fact that there are so many conferences that not many linguists would be able to afford or make time for yet another one. Also, the fact that the LENCA workshop took place within the larger SLE meetings meant that the papers were available to a wide range of scholars. Many attended the workshop sessions who were at the SLE for other reasons. Thus there was “cross-fertilization” and exposure to the wider linguistic community that would not have occurred in a dedicated LENCA symposium. The general conclusion was that, yes, a future LENCA workshop or symposium would definitely be worthwhile, but that at this point the best approach would be to hold it as a sub-conference to a larger conference, such as the SLE or the ALT (Association for Linguistic Typology). Thomas Payne was tasked with the job of approaching the SLE with a proposal for a larger symposium associated with the SLE, but outside the normal SLE workshop structure.

Finally, the possibility of a proceedings volume was raised. It was generally agreed that, with only thirteen papers, a non-peer-reviewed proceedings/work papers volume would be appropriate. Lindsay Whaley and Pirkko Suihkonen expressed their willingness to be involved in editing such a volume.

### Conclusion

In summary, the LENCA workshop at the SLE 2012 meeting brought linguists working on minority languages of Europe and Northern and Central Asia together to discuss typological trends in a large region extending from Japan to Norway. The languages that formed the subject matter of the workshop clearly belong to several distinct language families and stocks, and the workshop did not address the many unresolved questions of genetic relationships in the region. Rather it was a typological workshop, aimed at documenting the degree of linguistic similarity and range of diversity in a very important area, and providing, insofar as possible, substantive explanations for better-than-chance similarities. By interfacing with other linguists attending the SLE, the workshop stimulated research on many linguistic projects in Eurasia, while at the same time promoting the unique characteristics and value of LENCA languages within the larger, international linguistics community.

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## Review

Béla Kempf: Review of Jan-Olof Svantesson (trans. & ed.), *Cornelius Rahmn's Kalmuck dictionary*. (Turcologica 93.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. 2012.

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The recent publication of several source-works of Kalmuck language history and Oirad linguistics (cf. Svantesson 2009, Birtalan 2009, Birtalan 2011, Birtalan 2012) confirms that this field of study has entered a period of renaissance. Through these publications, Kalmuck is becoming one of the chronologically best-documented Mongolic languages.

The volume under review is based on a Kalmuck–Swedish dictionary compiled from the materials of Cornelius Rahmn (1785–1853), a Swedish missionary. As we learn from the *Introduction* (p. 1–12), this Kalmuck dictionary was most probably composed during his missionary activities in 1819–1823.

To make it more accessible, the material of the manuscripts kept in Uppsala has been rearranged, and the Swedish meanings have been translated into English by Jan-Olof Svantesson. The number of headwords included exceeds 7,000.

In addition to the basic data, the *Introduction* provides information on *The Kalmuck language* (p. 1–2), the life of *Cornelius Rahmn* (p. 2–3), *Rahmn's manuscripts* (p. 3–4), *The Kalmuck script and its transliteration* (p. 4–8), the *Information given in the dictionary* (p. 8–9), *Rahmn's Swedish glosses and some translation problems* (p. 9–10), and the *Relation to other Western works on Kalmuck* (p. 10–11). The remaining part of the book (p. 19–199) consists of Rahmn's lexical material.

On the very first page of the *Introduction*, we meet the highly interesting statement that “Rahmn calls the people and the language ‘Kalmuck’ (or sometimes ‘Mongolian’), never ‘Oirad’; the latter term is in fact not even listed in his dictionary.” This reflection on the self-identification of the Kalmucks may be compared with the statement of Gábor Bálint of Szentkatolna, who visited the land of the Kalmucks some half a century later (1871–1872). He writes: “I am convinced that, had I lived under the tents of the Oirat- (Öiräd)-Mongolians—so call the Khalmiks themselves when speaking with confidence—many years long, I could hardly have a better opportunity to the pursuit if my purpose than I had in the mentioned Institute” (Birtalan 2009: xii–xiii).

One might argue with what Svantesson tells us about the present-day speakers of Kalmuck: “The Cyrillic alphabet has replaced the old script among the Kalmucks



living in Russia as well, but the written language used by them is based on the Kalmuck/Oirad language, rather than on Mongolian. However, the great majority of Kalmucks living in Russia do not speak or write Kalmuck any more, using only Russian.” (p. 1–2) The 2002 Russian census (*www.perepis2002.ru*) concluded that the number of ethnic Kalmucks on the territory of the Russian Federation was 173,996 with the number of speakers put at 153,602.<sup>1</sup> My own observations suggest that these numbers are somewhat excessive, but the Kalmuck language is indeed spoken by more than 100,000 people. While it is true that the Kalmucks are tending to make less use of their language, in favor of Russian, the situation is probably not as dramatic as depicted by Svantesson and still seems to be potentially reversible.

From the sub-chapter on the life of Cornelius Rahmn (p. 2–3) we learn that he was originally recruited by the London Missionary Society to open a mission for the Buryats at Irkutsk, together with the English missionary Edward Stallybrass. In the company of their wives and Rahmn’s daughter, they left Moscow on January 19th, 1818 and reached Irkutsk on March 16th.

Due to the poor health of his wife, slightly more than a year later, in May 1819 Rahmn left Irkutsk, and they moved to Sarepta to work among the Kalmucks. After he had spent four years there, the Russian authorities forced him to terminate his activities. He then moved to Saint Petersburg, where he stayed until 1826. He next lived for a long period in London, but in 1841 moved back to Sweden, where he remained until his death in 1853.

As Rahmn was dissatisfied with the Kalmuck translation of the Bible made by Isaac Jacob Schmidt,<sup>2</sup> while working among the Kalmucks he himself started to prepare a new Kalmuck translation. Unfortunately, this work has been lost. Svantesson presumes that the dictionary and the grammar were written in preparation for the Bible translation.

The lexical material presented by Svantesson is based on three manuscripts of Rahmn (R162, R163 and R164) preserved in the Uppsala University Library. The first is a Kalmuck – Swedish dictionary consisting of “more than 7,000 Kalmuck words, written in the old Kalmuck alphabet” (p. 3). Manuscript R163 is a Swedish–Kalmuck wordlist (probably an index of the Kalmuck–Swedish dictionary), while R164 is a Kalmuck grammar, the English translation of which was published by Svantesson in 2009 in the present journal. (It might well have been useful to publish it here in this later volume.)

As concerns the *Transliteration* (p. 4–8), the Kalmuck words are given in a slightly differing system from the one that Rahmn used in his grammar (e.g. where

1 Uwe Bläsing (2003: 229), who used the data of the Russian census of 1989, mentions 165,800 ethnic Kalmucks.

2 Schmidt’s Kalmuck edition of the New Testament is usually dated to 1827 with a question mark (e.g. in Walravens 2005). If Rahmn had access to it while working in Sarepta, then Schmidt’s edition must be somewhat earlier.

Rahmn wrote *ä*, Svantesson gives *e*; Rahmn's *ö* is rendered here as *ø*; instead of Rahmn's *sch*, we find here *š*; etc.)

One of the few ambiguities coded in the Clear script is the writing of the phonemes /j/, /z/, /č/ and /c/ with only two letters. The solution of this ambiguity (reading *č* before a historical *\*i* and *c* before other historical vowels; reading *ĵ* before a historical *\*i* and *z* before other historical vowels), which was retained in the transliteration by Svantesson, does not cause a problem for Mongolists, but it would have been worth explaining this to make the material more accessible for non-specialists.

It is a little strange in a publication on a Mongolic topic that *ü* is rendered in the transliteration as *y* (Mongolic *y* is written as *j*), *ö* as *ø*, and *ng* as *ŋ*.<sup>3</sup>

From the sub-chapter *Relation to other Western works on Kalmuck*, we learn that "Rahmn's dictionary is earlier than the published dictionaries in European languages (Zwick 1852, Golstunskij 1860) and contains a relatively large number of words" (p. 10). Although it is natural that the work places the focus on Rahmn's dictionary, it could have been very useful to compare it with earlier sources in a broader historical context (cf. Doerfer 1965).

The compilation of Cornelius Rahmn contains highly valuable lexical material. To inspire readers to take the book in their hands and gain a closer picture of its fascinating contents, I will now present some peculiarities and problems that characterize the material, with examples taken merely from entries under the letters A and B.

It was stated that in Rahmn's manuscripts the words are given in Written Kalmuck, or Written Oirad. Indeed, the impact of the colloquial language is traceable in forms such as R *ajiga/ajaga* 'drinking vessel' < *\*ayaga*, R *ajis* 'ring, voice, tone' < *\*ayas*, R *alxoūdall/alxadal* '(in a) stride with legs parted as widely as possible' < *\*alkudal*; R *amidara-xu/amidura-xu* 'become alive' < *\*amidura-*; R *araxixan/arēxan* 'with difficulty, hardly'.

A clear sign of this impact may be observed in some verbs derived with the denominal verb suffix *+lA-*, but their form in the dictionary does not contain a final vowel, e.g.: R *aršal-xu* 'consecrate, sprinkle with holy water'; R *arxal-xu* 'tie, tether, e.g. a horse or cow', R *barimdal-xu* 'hold each other, be confirmed in God's words', but cf. R *axala-xu* 'take precedence, command', R *balbala-xu* 'pound to pieces, beat to pieces'; R *balbari* 'sunshade, parasol'.

It is very interesting to consider the meaning of the verb R *amurli-xu* 'satisfy', which in LM is *amurli-* 'to become quiet or calm; to become gentle; to rest; for an illness to improve; to be(come) blissful'. The meaning that appears in Rahmn's dictionary may originate from some shamanistic medical practice.

<sup>3</sup> As Svantesson's transliteration differs somewhat from the traditionally used ones, I use the abbreviation R (= Rahmn) before words quoted from the dictionary.

The word R *ajan* ‘moving out, moving away; slow walk’ also shows a slight difference in its meaning as compared e.g. with Ramstedt’s *ajñ ~ ajn* ‘Reise, Weg, Richtung’ (KWb 4b).

The meaning of R *agoɣlza-xu*, which is given as ‘put in order’, was probably slightly misunderstood by Rahmn, since this word means ‘to meet’. Similarly, R *badag* is not ‘word, phrase, saying’, but ‘stanza, verse’, and R *bogoni(n)* ‘low’ should probably have been ‘short’. It is not clear for what reason the word for ‘wheat’ appears in the dictionary in the form R *bojidai*, for which cf. Kalm. *būd’ā/būd’ā* ‘Weizen’ (KWb 64b).

The form R *ajišinai/āšinai* ‘he is coming; be going to come’ is quite strange. It is derived from the Mongolic verb \**ayis-*, cf. LM *ayis-* ‘to approach, draw near’ and shows an unexpected change of *si > ši*.

The *-u-* in the second syllable of R *alburn* ‘tax, tribute’ is also unexpected.

If not an error the *-r-* in the verb R *altarla-xu* is very interesting. I think it may originate from the assimilative and dissimilative processes *altan+IA- → altanla- > altalla- > altarla-*.

I presume that in R *anilga* ‘maltreatment’ we actually have a derivative of \**ana-* ~ LM *ana-* ‘to get well; to heal (of a wound)’. If that is right, then the meaning given by Rahmn needs some emendation.

The word R *ajodān* ‘when an opportunity arises’ is probably connected with the Kalmuck word *ayīd* ‘eine Weile, nicht sogleich, nicht so dringend’ (KWb 4b), cf. Kalm. *aydāxā* ‘ein wenig warten, eine kurze Zeit vergehen lassen’ (KWb 4b).

A secondary meaning appears in the case of R *akād* ‘monster’, for which cf. Kalm. *akād/ākād* ‘sonderbar, wunderbar, merkwürdig’ (KWb 5a), and which is a Turkic loanword in Kalmuck, but ultimately of Arabic origin, cf. Arabic *hakāyat* ‘tale’.

Another example of secondary meaning is R *aŋkizir-xu* ‘shine, appear superior to all others’, which comes from \**algijira*<sup>4</sup> ~ LM *anggiŋira-* ‘to detach oneself; to separate from; to become free from; to leave; to be reduced’.

Similarly, a secondary meaning may appear in R *albin* ‘quick, swift, who can move; irresponsible, inconstant’, for which cf. Kalm. *äl’wn* ‘spielend, spasshaft; Müssiggänger’. The question arises as to whether this word might be connected with LM *albin* ‘demon, devil, evil spirit, sprite’.

The exact meaning of R *arcan*, which is given here as ‘a kind of berry’, may be reconstructed from the quoted expression R *arcan idēn* ‘juniper berry’.

An inaccurate meaning is given for R *ariydxaxu* ‘be cleansed’ which is a transitive verb, and means something like ‘to purify’.

In Rahmn’s word *alai* ‘good-for-nothing, incompetent person’, we probably see Kalm. *äl’ān* ‘Müssiggänger, Spitzbube, scherzend, spielend’ (KWb 22a) < \**aliya*.

4 On the sporadic change *-l- > -n-* before guttural consonants, see Kempf 2012.

The word R *amadaci* ‘advocate, spokesman’ is probably a neologism in contemporary Kalmuck.

The form R *arbici-xu* ‘wax (only of the moon)’ should be read as *arbiji-*, cf. LM *arbiji-* ‘to grow in number, increase, multiply, accumulate’.

One of the reasons why Rahmn’s material is so valuable is because it includes words that are not found in other dictionaries, cf. R *albaŋ* ‘anus’; R *an(a)-xu* ‘destroy by grief and sorrow, disable’; R *asar* ‘urine, piss’, R *babjam* ‘quickly’; R *bagcirni utul* ‘a kind of fish’; R *bajiri*<sup>5</sup> ‘battle’; R *bajisaŋ*<sup>6</sup> (*gyyn*) ‘three-year-old mare’; R *balan* ‘cattle’; R *belter*<sup>7</sup> ‘wolf cub’.

It is a little humorous that the word R *babagai*, which in other languages means ‘bear’, has the meaning ‘legal wife’ in Rahmn’s material.

The word R *ba* ‘a means of witchcraft’ ← Turkic *bag* ~ Old Turkic *bag* ‘bond, tie, belt’ could be a recent Turkic loanword in Kalmuck.

A lexical rarity appears in R *arālmag* ‘hut’, which is probably connected with the Kalmuck word *arāljn* ‘Spinne’, cf. R *aralzin* and may denote a hut with braided walls.

As one expects from a Kalmuck dictionary, there are several words showing a long vowel. In some cases, however, long vowels appears in words in which they do not seem to be etymological, e.g. R *arād bykyn* ‘common people, rabble’<sup>8</sup> or R *bolōd* ‘steel’.

A question of great interest demanding further investigation is Svantesson’s statement (p. 7) concerning the chronology of vowel reduction in Kalmuck. He writes: “There is a great deal of spelling variation in Rahmn’s manuscripts. In modern Kalmuck, originally short vowels in non-initial position are reduced to non-phonemic schwas or even completely deleted (see e.g. Svantesson et al. 2005:186), and the schwas are not written in the Cyrillic Kalmuck orthography. This development must have started in Rahmn’s time, since there is a great deal of variation in his spelling of non-initial vowels; very often the same word is written in two or even three different ways because of this.” Although it could be a result of later editorial work and a knowledge of Literary Mongol, as far as I can judge, this kind of variation is not characteristic of Gábor Bálint’s texts.

In summary, the volume *Cornelius Rahmn’s Kalmuck dictionary* by Jan-Olof Svantesson is an extremely useful edition of a highly valuable source on the history of the Kalmuck language, and is recommended for specialists in both Mongolic and

5 For this word, cf. R *bayildu-xu* ‘fight’.

6 This is a corrupted form of LM *bayidasun* ‘a three to four-year-old animal which has not yet borne young’.

7 The usual forms of modern languages go back to the form *\*belterge*.

8 Even the meaning of the word is somewhat unusual. An expression such as *\*arad бүкүн* should mean something like ‘all people, everybody’.

Altaic linguistics. The editorial work by Svantesson is very precise. I am sure that the published material will be a source for a good number of publications in the future.

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Stephan Guth

### **Die Hauptsprachen der Islamischen Welt**

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Wie ‚funktionieren‘ die wichtigsten Sprachen der Islamischen Welt? Was kennzeichnet, was verbindet, was unterscheidet sie voneinander? Welche Schwierigkeiten hat man zu meistern, wenn man diese Sprachen erlernen möchte, und welche Welten eröffnen sich den Lernenden, wenn sie eine solide Sprachkompetenz erwerben?

Stephan Guth bietet anhand von linguistischen Kurzporträts einführende Überblicke über ausgewählte islamwissenschaftlich relevante Sprachen. Behandelt werden neben den an islamwissenschaftlichen Instituten vertretenen ‚Basissprachen‘ des Islams – Arabisch, Persisch, Türkisch – auch seltener gelehrt, aber dennoch in Vergangenheit und/oder Gegenwart bedeutsame ‚islamische‘ Idiome wie Urdu, Indonesisch, Swahili, Berber, Hausa und Somali. Neben Grundinformationen über Sprecherzahlen, Verbreitung und grammatische Strukturen vermittelt die Darstellung Einsichten in die Sprachgeschichte sowie in die sich mit Kenntnis der betreffenden Sprache erschließenden Literaturen (und Oraturen) – und somit in die Lebenswelten der sie sprechenden Menschen. Dank der in der Islamischen Welt anzutreffenden sprachlichen Vielfalt ermöglicht der Band gleichzeitig einen ersten Einstieg in die Allgemeine Linguistik. Vor allem aber ist Sprachkenntnis das Tor zur Beschäftigung mit Geschichte und Kulturen der betreffenden Regionen.

Petra Himstedt-Vaid, Uwe Hinrichs,  
Thede Kahl (Hg.)

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Das *Handbuch Balkan* erfasst den Balkan kompakt als eigenen europäischen Kulturraum, der nicht mit der Region Südosteuropa identisch ist, sondern per definitionem jenen Raum beschreibt, der im Hochmittelalter unter osmanischer Herrschaft stand und von ihr kulturell geprägt wurde – *grosso modo* also (das heutige) Bulgarien, Serbien, Montenegro, Bosnien, Makedonien, Kosovo, Albanien sowie spezieller und mit Einschränkungen Rumänien und Griechenland. Das Handbuch gliedert sich dabei in vier thematische Blöcke, ‚Geschichte‘, ‚Europäisierung‘, ‚Sprachen‘ und ‚Materielle und geistige Kultur‘, mit insgesamt 33 Einzelbeiträgen von international bekannten Spezialisten der jeweiligen (Sub-)Disziplinen.

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Margarete I. Ersen-Rasch

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Margarete I. Ersen-Raschs neue Grammatik ist ein systematisches Nachschlagewerk des modernen Türkischen, das sich an Türkischlernende mit geringen bis guten Vorkenntnissen wendet (Lernstufen A1–C2). Die Darstellung der Grammatik ist kontrastiv Türkisch–Deutsch angelegt. Fachbegriffe sind auf ein Minimum beschränkt und werden klar und verständlich erläutert.

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Angelika Landmann

### **Uighurisch**

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Marcel Erdal, Irina Nevskaya,  
Astrid Menz (Eds.)

**Areal, historical and typological  
aspects of South Siberian Turkic**

Turcologica 94

2012. 246 pages, 7 tables, 20 diagrams, pb  
ISBN 978-3-447-06734-8  
€ 62,- (D)

The volume contains a selection of articles on areal, historical and typological aspects of the South Siberian Turkic language group, written by linguists from Germany, the Netherlands, Russia, Turkey and the United States. Beside dealing with South Siberian Turkic languages (Altay Turkic, Tuvan, Shor, Khakas), the volume also presents papers on Tuvan varieties spoken in Mongolia and China and on Yellow Uyghur, a language spoken in the Qinghai-Gansu region of China which appears to be genetically close to South Siberian Turkic. Kazakh, a contact language to several of these idioms, is also discussed. The papers cover the typology of the sound, morphological and syntactic systems as well as the areal features and the historical development of these languages.

Berna Moran

**Der türkische Roman**

Eine Literaturgeschichte in Essays  
Band 1: Von Ahmet Mithat bis A.H. Tanpınar  
Aus dem Türkischen übersetzt  
von Béatrice Hendrich  
Mizân 22,1

2012. XVI, 225 Seiten, br  
ISBN 978-3-447-06658-7  
€ 34,- (D)

Berna Moran (1921–1993) gilt als der Urvater der türkischen Literaturwissenschaft. Seine insgesamt dreibändige Geschichte des türkischen Romans ist in der Türkei bis heute das Referenzwerk schlechthin. Band 1 spannt einen Bogen von den großen osmanischen Autoren des 19. Jahrhunderts (der sogenannten Tanzimatzeit) bis zu den modernen Klassikern der jungen türkischen Republik, von Samipaşazade Sezai (1860–1936) bis Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar (1901–1962). Während einige Kapitel dem Gesamtwerk oder herausragenden Werken einzelner Autoren gewidmet sind, formuliert Moran in anderen Abschnitten eine Synthese, die gerade bei Lesern, die mit der türkischen Literaturlandschaft weniger vertraut sind, eine Vorstellung von thematischen Schwerpunkten und Entwicklungsbögen entstehen lässt. Insbesondere die kulturelle Konfrontation zwischen „Ost und West“ ab Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts, zwischen der literarischen Tradition des Osmanischen Reichs und den Romanen Europas, nimmt für Moran eine Schlüsselfunktion ein, will man die Entstehung des türkischen Romans begreifen. Aber auch die veränderte kulturelle Konstellation nach Gründung der Türkischen Republik 1923 und deren Widerschein in den Romanen jener Zeit gehören zu den grundlegenden Themen von Morans Literaturgeschichte. So ist die Lektüre dieses Werkes auch für Leser außerhalb der Türkei faszinierend und gewinnbringend zugleich.

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