Werk

Titel: The Gagauz female marker -(y)ka

Autor: Menz, Astrid

Ort: Wiesbaden

Jahr: 2015

PURL: https://resolver.sub.uni-goettingen.de/purl?666048797_0019|LOG_0013

The Gagauz female marker -*(y)ka*

Astrid Menz

This article deals with the global copy of a bound morpheme in Gagauz. The feminine marker -*(y)ka*, copied from Slavic, is used to build female forms of denominations for persons.

Astrid Menz, Orient-Institut Istanbul, Susam Sokak 16 D. 8, TR-34433 Cihangir/İstanbul, Turkey. E-mail: menz@oidmg.org

1. Introduction

In both varieties of Gagauz,[1] Bulgarian and Moldovan, traces of the linguistic influence of the surrounding Slavic languages are easily observable, in particular in lexicon and syntax.[2] The morphology is much less affected. Most morphological changes can mainly be labeled frequency changes; i.e. only the frequency of occurrence of a certain suffix decreases or increases. They are entailed by changes on the syntactical level.

In what follows, I will concentrate on the rare case of global copying of a bound morpheme. Gagauz features that developed as a result of contact with the surrounding languages are explained in the framework of Johanson's Code-Copying model; see Johanson (2002).

2. Gender marking

According to Doleschal (2015: 1159), "gender marking is a way of explicitly signaling that a linguistic expression refers to a male or female being (person or animal)". In contrast to words that are semantically gender-specific, those derived expressions bear a special marker signaling gender. This marking for gender can be achieved

---

1. Gagauz is a Turkic variety that is very close to Turkish. Linguistically it can be regarded as a Turkish dialect. It has been spoken for an unknown length of time (probably some 600 years) in Bulgaria in surroundings where Bulgarian and Turkish are dominant languages in different domains. Due to the migration some 200 years ago of a large group of people from Bulgaria into territory that today belongs to the Republic of Moldova, the majority of the Gagauz today live in a linguistic environment that was and is dominated by Russian. In Moldova, the Gagauz are at present the only Turkic speaking minority. Neighboring languages are Rumanian and Bulgarian, but the most prominent a second or sometimes first language among the Gagauz is Russian.
2. For a detailed analysis of syntactic changes, see Menz (1999).

either by syntactical means, in the form of adjective phrases or appositions, or by word-formation, either compounding or affixation (Doleschal 2015: 1159). In Turkic languages in general all these various means except affixation are employed; see below.

3. Expressions for female gender in Turkic languages

Turkic languages have no grammatical gender. They also do not make use of derivational suffixes marking gender. To refer explicitly to the sex of a person, several strategies are therefore utilized.[3] The most frequent ones, exemplified here with examples from Turkish, are the following:

1. Some lexemes denote either a female or a male person; i.e. their semantics denotes a certain sex. This is especially common with kinship terms, for obvious reasons. To this category also belong lexemes with inherent gender like *kadın* 'woman', *erkek* 'male', *oğlan* 'boy', *bayan* 'lady', *hanım* 'mistress', *bey* 'mister', *bay* 'sir' etc.
2. Gender terms like *bayan* 'lady', *kız* 'girl', *kadın* 'woman' are attributed to a head noun as in *kadın şoför* ⟨woman driver⟩ 'female driver' or *erkek hemşire* ⟨male nurse (f.)⟩ 'male nurse'.[4]
3. With nouns that denote nationality, a lexeme inherently referring to a female person like *kadın* 'woman' or *kız* 'girl' is used as the head of a compound, as in *Alman kadını* (German woman-POSS3) 'female German' or *Türk kızı* (Turk girl-POSS3) 'Turkish girl'.
4. Globally copied lexemes that include feminine suffixes of the original languages, e.g. *memure* 'female clerk' ⇐ Arabic, *dansöz* 'female dancer' ⇐ French, *kraliçe* 'queen' ⇐ Slavic can be employed. I call this strategy "pseudo-morphological" because the suffixes in question are not borrowed as such and generally cannot be attached to nouns of Turkish origin or other languages than their own.[5] Words belonging to this category could consequently also be understood as instances of strategy (1), i.e. special words reserved to denote females of a certain occupation.

Some Turkic varieties, however, under the influence of dominant Slavic languages, copied a gender marking suffix to derive female forms of nouns denoting persons.

---

3   For a detailed analysis of the various strategies to mark gender in Turkish; see Braun (2000).
4   Note that explicit gender marking is much more common for female than for male persons; see Braun (1997: 270–272).
5   One of the reviewers drew my attention to the Turkish word *tanrıça* 'goddess', the sole exception to this rule, see Lewis (1985: 25).

4. Global copying of bound morphemes: Derivation of feminine lexemes

Due to global copying of words of Arabic, Russian or French origin, we sporadically find derived female forms of lexemes denoting male persons, like Turkish *dansöz* 'female dancer' ⇐ French *danseuse* 'dancer (f.)'. These are copied as a whole, the Arabic, Russian or French derivational suffixes not being productive in the Turkic varieties; see under 3 above. So far I have come across a feminine marker in Turkic languages that is not just a part of a globally copied lexeme but actually derives new words in Gagauz and in the Turkish dialects of Macedonia—both Western Oghuz varieties—as well as in Karaim, a Kipchak Turkic variety.

All Slavic contact languages serving as the source for copying for these Turkic varieties provide at least two different suffixes to derive female forms of nouns.

While Gagauz employs only one morpheme -*(y)ka* to derive feminine lexical forms, Macedonian Turkish dialects and Karaim both have copied two suffixes each. Macedonian Turkish has a suffix -*ka* and a suffix -*iťsa* (see Friedman 2003), Karaim has -*Ka* and -*CA* (see Csató in print). According to Musaev (1964: 122–123), -*Ka* in Karaim is used to derive female forms of nationality denotations, occupations and even animals, while the latter suffix -*CA* is more common in poetic style.

5. The Gagauz feminine marker -*(y)ka*

In Gagauz, in contrast to the above mentioned strategy of employing copied terms containing feminine suffixes that themselves are not productive in Turkish, we find a productive derivational marker in -*(y)ka*. This marker serves to derive explicitly feminine forms of lexemes denoting persons. It derives lexemes denoting female persons from terms for nationalities, geographic origin, professions and some kinship terms (see Pokrovskaja 1973: 622). The last category, together with some words that refer to female persons with particular physical or character attributes, needs special attention; see below.

The marker -*(y)ka* is the only bound marker copied into Gagauz. In principle, it can be attached to words of any linguistic origin including etymologically Turkic ones.

Alongside globally copied nominals denoting female persons, like *nemka* 'German (f.)' ⇐ Russian *нéмка* or *solistka* 'soloist (f.)' ⇐ Russian *солúстка*, one finds e.g. a number of feminine forms derived from genuine Turkic gender neutral nouns like *saacı-yka* 'female milker' ← *saacı* 'milker' (possibly contracted from *sa:-ıcı*). In fact, the highest productivity is seen with female forms of professions, especially among those formed with the denominal suffix -*CI* or the deverbal suffix -*(y)IcI*; see Appendix A.

5.1. Morphonological features of -*(y)ka*

Words derived with the marker -*(y)ka* are present in the Gagauz variety of Bulgaria (Zajączkowski 1966: 18) as well as in the modern language of Moldova (Doerfer

1959: 268; Pokrovskaja 1973: 622). Thus, I assume that this marker originally came into the language via globally copied words from Bulgarian[6] and was conventionalized early on. The fact that the suffix is present in both Bulgarian and Russian may have further contributed to its spread as a copied bound element in Gagauz.

Like its Bulgarian model, the suffix is not accentable (see Scatton 1993: 221); pitch accent is regularly on the antecedent syllable. The same also applies for the corresponding Russian marker -*ka*. With some globally copied stems that have pitch accent on other than the last syllable we find different patterns that are basically the same as in the language of origin, like *déver-ka* (26) 'bridesmaid' ← *dever* 'bride's attendant, brother-in-law' ⇐ Bulgarian *девер* and *kalúger-ka* (25) 'nun' ← *kaluger* 'monk' ⇐ *калугер*. Both stems are of Bulgarian origin. The pair *kaluger/kalugerka* does exist in Bulgarian, but I am not aware of a female counterpart of *dever*, at least not in the standard language lexicon. This word also underwent a change of meaning in Gagauz.[7]

One striking difference between the Gagauz suffix and its Slavic models is the fact that if it attaches to a stem ending in a vowel the suffix starts with a "buffer" consonant *y*.

Some of the suffixes in Turkic languages have allomorphs that start with a consonant after stem-final vowels and with a vowel after stem-final consonants; see Johanson (2006: 34). An example from Gagauz would be the possessive suffix of the third person singular -*(s)I*, the attachment of which results in e.g. *burnu-su* 'her nose', but *göz-ü* 'her eye'. With -*(y)kA*, however, the situation is exactly the opposite. The suffix starts with a consonant after a stem-final consonant and with the palatal glide *y* after a vowel, yielding forms like the above-mentioned *saacı-yka* (stem-final vowel) or *dever-ka* (stem-final consonant).

The initial palatal glide *y* is used with some suffixes and especially with enclitics in Turkic languages—and thus also in Gagauz—after-stem final vowels, e.g. *ev-de-yken* 'while at home'. After stem-final consonants, these enclitics start with a vowel, e.g. *gelmiş-ken* 'since she came'. These enclitics, just like the Gagauz female marker, are not accentable. The fact that the female marker is not accentable might have triggered the development of an otherwise unexplainable and morphonologically redundant additional palatal glide at the suffix border after stem-final vowels.

The Turkish dialects of Macedonia treat the feminine marker -*ka* differently. In this variety, it always starts with the plosive and a possible preceding vowel is dropped. Friedman (2003: 59) gives the example *çingen-ka* 'gipsy (f.)', derived from the neutral form *çingene* 'gipsy'.[8] As Macedonian Turkish has also copied other suffixes to derive feminine nouns, I do not at this time have more examples of the suf-

---

6   Pokrovskaja (1973: 622) and Özkan (1996: 107) are of the same opinion.
7   Macedonian has a female counterpart of *dever* 'bride's attendant' → *deveritsa* 'bridesmaid'.
8   Friedman does not indicate stress.

fix *-ka* after stems ending in vowels. With the suffix *-Ci*, the female form seems always to be *-iʦa* resulting in *-Ciʦa*; i.e. the stem-final vowel is dropped e.g. *yogurcitsa* ← *yogurtçu* 'yoghurt-seller'; see Friedman (2003: 59).

Another feature that distinguishes *-(y)kA* from genuine Turkic derivational suffixes of the Gagauz language is the fact that it does not observe vowel harmony. This is also true for *-ka* in Macedonian Turkish and *-Ka* in Karaim respectively.

5.2. Function of *-(y)ka*

The vast majority of examples I have come across so far are derivations of lexemes derived by the suffixes *-CI* and *-(y)IcI* forming terms for professions; see Table A in the Appendix. As is common in the other Turkic languages, in Gagauz these are grammatically neutral and can in principle be used to refer to either female or male persons. Thus, a word like *resimci* 'painter' can refer to both a female and a male painter. Only if the speaker wants to emphasize the fact that the person referred to is female might she employ *-(y)ka* to derive the feminine form *resimciyka* 'painter (f.)'. Non-derived lexemes that inherently denote professions or occupations can also form female counterparts with this suffix; see Table B in the Appendix. Equally common and productive are derivations from nationalities, ethnicity or geographic origin; see Table C in the Appendix. Another field is the derivation of family names and family nicknames for the female members of the family, like *Ivanovka* or *Kolsuzka* 'female member of the family with the nickname *Kolsuz*'.[9]

Derivatives from adjectives that denote physical or character attributes are not very numerous; see D in the Appendix. According to Viktor Kopuşçu, a native speaker of Gagauz, the female forms denoting negative character attributes *yalancıyka* 'liar', *aldadıcıyka* 'cheater' and *kapıcıyka* 'thief' can be used in child language to refer to both female and male persons.

Of special interest are the few kinship terms for several reasons. The first is that the two terms for sister-in-law are derived from words that inherently denote a female person, *baldız* 'wife's sister' and *elti* 'husband's brother's wife'. I suppose that both words are re-borrowed from a non-Turkic language or possibly another Turkish dialect. There are some arguments for this. First, most of the Gagauz kinship terms are of Slavic/Bulgarian origin, including the most important ones, like mother, father etc. That means that kinship terms of Turkic origin are almost all replaced by globally copied terms, at least when used to address the relative in question. Terms with a Turkic etymology like *ana* 'mother' and *ata* 'father, forefather' are not used when addressing or referring to an actual relative. They rather refer to the concept in a more abstract way, e.g. in compounds like *ana dil* 'mother tongue'. Second, the Turkic word *baldız* has been copied into the Bulgarian standard language, where it is

---

9   I owe this information as well as the examples to Viktor Kopuşçu, a graduate student of Turcology at Istanbul University. He is himself a native speaker of Gagauz. He also provided me with some additional examples that are tagged with © in the Appendix.

integrated with a feminine agreement suffix *-a, балдъза*. The lexeme also exists in the Turkish dialects of Macedonia, in the same form as in Gagauz, namely *baldıska*. Third, *baldız* and *elti* are inherently feminine in the same way as *karı* 'woman' or *kız* 'girl' etc. Thus, they should not need an additional ending in Gagauz. My final argument is that the form *yeltika* 'sister-in-law, husband's brother's wife' does not show a glide after the stem *yelti* as is the rule for the suffix *-(y)ka* attached to stems ending in vowels in Gagauz. I thus assume that the form *yeltika* is copied as a whole, as one word. The source for copying, however, is unfortunately not known to me yet.

Because *-(y)ka* attaches at the right boundary of a stem, it is easily adapted into Gagauz. Suffixes of this type have some attractive features (see Johanson 2002: 44–48) that may have contributed to their copying.[10] The relationship between form and semantics is easily recognizable, the morpheme boundary is clear, and the morpheme has only two variants. It is monofunctional in that it derives female forms from words denoting nationality, occupation and the like.

Note, however, that the suffix *-(y)ka* derives female forms from originally gender neutral lexemes. As a Turkic language, Gagauz has no grammatical gender category; a speaker is therefore not obliged to use the female forms, even if the indicated person is female. In Gagauz, one can thus refer to a female milker either with the neutral term *saacı* or with the female form *saacıyka*, or can choose to refer to a Moldovan girl as either *Moldavanka* or *Moldovan kızı* An exception to this, however, is the pair of kinship terms *baldıska* and *yeltika*.

6. Conclusion

Gagauz, as well as some other Turkic varieties, copied a derivational suffix to form feminine forms of nouns referring to persons. The use of such a feminine form is not obligatory. Even if the speaker wants to emphasize the fact that she is speaking about a female person, there are other means available in the language.

The Gagauz bound morpheme *-(y)ka* can be regarded as morphonologically not deeply integrated into Gagauz. In many respects, it behaves more like a clitic than like a suffix because it (a) is not accentable, while all genuine Turkic derivational suffixes are, (b) does not undergo any vowel harmonic changes, unlike almost all other derivational suffixes, and (c) developed a redundant glide after stems ending in a vowel.

---

10 The Turkic denominal derivational suffix *-CI*, which Doerfer (1975: 332–333) calls an "Allerweltssuffix" 'run-of-the-mill suffix', for example, has been copied into a number of non-Turkic languages.

References

Braun, Friederike 1997. Covert gender in Turkish. In: İmer, Kâmile & Uzun, N. Engin (eds.) *VIII. Uluslararası Türk Dilbilimi Konferansı Bildirileri = Proceedings of the VIIIth International Turkish Linguistics Conference on Turkish Linguistics.* Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi. 267–274.

Braun, Friederike 2000. *Geschlecht im Türkischen. Untersuchungen zum sprachlichen Umgang mit einer sozialen Kategorie.* (Turcologica 42.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Csató, Éva Á. in print. 189. Karaim. In: Müller, Peter O. et al. (eds.) *Word-formation. An international handbook of the languages of Europe* 5. (Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft (HSK) 40. 5.) Berlin & München & Boston: De Gruyter.

Doerfer, Gerhard 1959. Das Gagausische. In: Deny, Jean & Grønbech, Kaare & Scheel, Helmuth & Togan, Zeki Velidi (eds.) *Philologiae turcicae fundamenta* 1. Aquis Mattiacis: Steiner. 260–271.

Doerfer, Gerhard 1975. *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen: unter besonderer Berücksichtigung älterer neupersischer Geschichtsquellen, vor allem der Mongolen- und Timuridenzeit 6. Türkische Elemente im Neupersischen (Schluss) und Register zur Gesamtarbeit.* Wiesbaden: Steiner.

Doleschal, Ursula 2015. 64. Gender marking. In: Müller, Peter O. et al. (eds.) *Word-formation. An international handbook of the languages of Europe* 2. (Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft (HSK) 40. 2.) Berlin & München & Boston: De Gruyter. 1159–1171.

Friedman, Victor A. 2003. *Turkish in Macedonia and beyond: Studies in contact, typology and other phenomena in the Balkans and the Caucasus.* (Turcologica 52.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Johanson, Lars 2002. *Structural factors in Turkic language contacts.* Richmond: Curzon Press.

Johanson, Lars 2006. The structure of Turkic. In: Johanson, Lars & Csató, Éva Á. (eds.) *The Turkic languages.* (Routledge Language Family Descriptions). London: Routledge. 30–66.

Lewis, Geoffrey L. 1985. *Turkish grammar.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Menz, Astrid 1999. *Gagausische Syntax: eine Studie zum kontaktinduzierten Sprachwandel.* (Turcologica 41.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Musaev, Kenesbaj M. 1964. *Grammatika karaimskogo jazyka: Fonetika i morfologija.* Moskva: Nauka.

Özkan, Nevzat 1996. *Gagavuz Türkçesi grameri. Giriş, ses bilgisi, şekil bilgisi, cümle, sözlük, metin örnekleri.* (Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları 657.) Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu.

Pokrovskaja, Ljudmila A. 1973. Kratkij očerk grammatik, gagauzskogo jazyka. In: Baskakov, Nikolaj A. (ed.) *Gagauzsko-russko-moldavskij slovar'. 11 500 slov.* Moskva: Sovetskaja Ènciklopedija. 612–664.

Scatton, Ernest A. 1993. Bulgarian. In: Comrie, Bernard (ed.) *The Slavonic languages.* London: Routledge. 188–248.

Zajączkowski, Włodzimierz 1966. *Język i folklor gagauzów z Bułgarii.* (Polska Akademia Nauk, Oddział w Krakowie, Prace Komisja Orientalistyczna 5.) Kraków: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.

Abbreviations

←   derived from
⇐   copied from
arab.   Arabic
bulg.   Bulgarian
f.   feminine
rus.   Russian
tur.   Turkic
rum.   Rumanian

Appendix

A. Profession or occupation derived with -*CI* or -*(y)ICI*			
female form	neutral form	source	translation
buzacı-yka	← *buza-cı*		shepherdess (of calves)
çorbacı-yka	← *çorba-cı*		boss, owner of inn f.
resimci-yka	← *resim-ci*		painter f.
domuzcu-yka	← *domuz-cu*		pig farmer f.
kilimci-yka	← *kilim-ci*		carpet weaver f.
taukçu-yka	← *tauk-çu*		chicken farmer f.
işçi-yka	← *iş-çi*		worker f.
toplaycı-yka	← *topla-ycı*		harvester f.
saacı-yka	← *saa-cı*		milker f.
kolhozçu-yka	← *kolhoz-çu*	← rus. *колхóз*	kolkhoznik f
kodoşçu-yka	← *kodoş-çu*	← rum. *kudos*	pander, pimp f.
aşçı-yka	← *aş-çı*		cook f.
üüredici-yka	← *üüred-ici*		teacher f.
büücü-yka	← *büü-cü*		wizard f.
ayırdıcı-yka	← *ayırd-ıcı*		trouble-maker f.
izmetçi-yka	← *izmet-çi*		servant f.
böcekçi-yka ©	← *böcek-çi*		sericulturist f.
ilaççı-yka ©	← *ilaç-çı*		healer, quack f.

B. Underived words for profession or occupation			
female form	neutral form	source	translation
saabi-yka	← *saabi*	⇐ arab. *ṣāḥib*[11]	owner f.
padişah-ka	← *padişah*		queen
hacı-yka	← *hacı*		pilgrim f.
komşu-yka	← *komşu*		neighbor f.

11   Arabic/Persian sources are only given when the Gagauz form is not easily recognizable.

kafadar-ka	← *kafadar*		friend f.
aaret-ka	← *aaret*	⇐ arab. *āẖira*	adopted sister
kalu̲ger-ka	← *kalu̲ger*	⇐ bulg. *калу̲гер/ калу̲герка*	nun
de̲ver-ka	← *de̲ver*	⇐ bulg. *деве̲р* "brother-in-law"	bridesmaid
akuşer-ka	← *akuşer*	⇐ rus. *акуше́р/ акуше́рка*	midwife
vraç-ka		⇐ rus. *врач* m. (f. = *женщина врач*)	doctor f.
solist-ka	← *solist*	⇐rus. *соли́ст/соли́стка*	solist f.
terzi-yka	← *terzi*		tailor f.

C. Nationality, ethnicity, geographical origin			
female form	neutral form	source	translation
romın-ka ~ *rumın-ka*	← *romın* ~ ← *rumın*	rus. *румынка/ румын*	Romanian woman
bulgar-ka	← *bulgar*		Bulgarian woman
turçan-ka	*turok*	⇐ rus. *турчанка/ турок*	Turkish woman
tukan-ka	← *tukan*		Bulgarian woman
moldovan-ka	← *moldovan*		Moldovan woman
altay-ka	≠ *altaylı*	⇐ rus. *алтайка/* (*алтаец*)	woman from the Altai region
çingenä-yka	← *çingenä*		gypsy f.
Karakaçan-ka	← *Karakaçan*		Karakaçan woman
rus-ka		←rus. *русска*	Russian woman
gagauz-ka	← *gagauz*	rus. *гагаузка*	Gagauz woman
tatar-ka	← *tatar*		Tatar f .
Beşalmalıyka	← *Beşalmalı*		woman from Beşalma

D. Physical or character attributes			
female form	neutral form		translation
genç-ka	← *genç*		young girl
gözäl-ka	← *gözäl*[12]		beautiful girl
karagöz-ka	← *karagöz*		1. tagetes, 2. dark-eyed female
ihtär-ka	← *ihtär*		old woman

12 The adjektive *gözäl* 'beautiful' is not used as an attribute for male persons.

inat-ka	← *inat*[13]		stubborn woman/girl
yalan-cı-yka ©	← *yalancı*		liar f.
aldad-ıcı-yka ©	← *aldadıcı*		cheater f.
kap-ıcı-yka ©	← *kapıcı*		thief f.

E. Kinship terms			
female form	neutral form	remark	translation
baldıs-ka	← tur. *baldız*	(bulg. *балдъ̈за*)	sister-in-law, wife's sister
yelti-ka	← tur. *elti*		sister-in-law, husband's brother's wife
hısım-ka	← *hısım*		relative f.

13 The noun *inat* means stubbornness.