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Turkic Languages

Edited by
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in cooperation with
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Sumru A. Özsoy, Abdurishid Yakup

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Editorial note

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In 2016, TURKIC LANGUAGES celebrates its 20th anniversary. The journal was founded on 25 April 1996, when Dr Michael Langfeld, director of the publishing house Harrassowitz, and Professor Lars Johanson, editor of the new journal signed a contract.

In the first issue, in 1997, Lars Johanson set forth his editorial programme in the article "An anchorage for Turkic language studies". Some of the main points are cited below.

> The journal TURKIC LANGUAGES, introduced with this issue, aims to be an international scientific periodical devoted to Turkic language studies in a broad sense. Its goal is to meet the rapidly increasing scientific interest in Turkish and other languages of the extensive Turkic family.
>
> TURKIC LANGUAGES will be concerned with the languages of the entire Turkic-speaking world and cover descriptive, historical, comparative, areal, social, typological, acquisitional as well as other aspects. The scope of interest will not be restricted to linguistic issues in a narrow sense; however, Turkic language data must play a central role in all contributions. Discussions on questions of philology, literature, oral texts, history, etc. are most welcome provided they are based on language data. Contributions basically dealing with theoretical issues but referring to Turkic data will also have a natural place in the journal. Attention will be paid to genetic, typological, and contact relations with other languages, in particular Altaic (Mongolic, Tungusic, etc.), Paleoasiatic, Indo-European (Iranian, Slavic, Germanic, Greek, etc.), Uralic, Chinese.
>
> We also invite representatives of neighbouring disciplines to submit articles on topics of common interest. In order to set and maintain high theoretical and methodological standards, linguistic Turcology needs stimulation "from outside" as well.
>
> It is hoped that the journal will promote the development of Turkic linguistics by bringing together scholars dealing with Turkic data under different perspectives. The journal is meant to be an anchorage for all kinds of serious Turkic language studies, a platform where scholars of different traditions and orientations may come together to talk and listen to each other, to establish contacts and interconnections. This should provide for innovation and contribute to the broadening of the perspectives in a field where there is still so much more to discover.

Prominent representatives of the Turcological and linguistic communities welcomed the new journal in the first issue.

In his welcoming address to the new journal, "Der neuen Zeitschrift *Turkic Languages* zum Geleit", Karl Heinrich Menges gave a short sketch of the development

of Turkic studies and the concomitant attempts to create an appropriate periodical for Turkic studies.

Bernard Comrie contributed the article "Turkic languages and linguistic typology" and remarked: "At first sight it might seem strange to make a plea, as I shall, for greater cooperation between the fields of Turkic linguistics and linguistic typology, because already many features of Turkic languages play an important illustrative role in language typology".

The other articles, authored by Geoffrey L. Lewis, Hendrik Boeschoten, Ad Backus, Marcel Erdal, Rémy Dor, and Claus Schönig, illustrated the broad range of topics to which the new journal was devoted according to its editorial programme.

Over the last twenty years, TURKIC LANGUAGES, the only scientific journal devoted exclusively to Turkic linguistics, has played an important role in this field of study. The nineteen volumes published so far cover all fields of study within Turkic and other relevant languages. Here we wish to thank the many authors who have more or less regularly contributed valuable articles. Let us remember our dear colleagues who have passed away during the course of these two decades: Árpád Berta, Gunnar Jarring, Sergej G, Kljaštornyj, Roy Andrew Miller, Vladimir P. Nedjalkov, Jurij V. Ščeka, Masahiro Shōgaito, Talat Tekin, Marc Vandamme, and Stephen Wurm.

The journal has published obituaries commemorating scholars such as Kaare Thomsen Hansen, Gerhard Doerfer, Andreas Tietze, Árpád Berta, György Hazai, and others. These are significant records for the history of our field of research.

TURKIC LANGUAGES has also published reports on interesting ongoing scholarly activities (projects, research groups, conferences, etc.), making it possible for readers to keep up to date with research initiatives. The ultimate aim of the journal has been to clear a path of communication through the landscape of Turkic language studies.

In order to document the rich material published so far, we present a list of the contents of the nineteen volumes on our website http://www.turkiclanguages.com.

One year after they appear in print, all volumes are published with free access online http://www.digizeitschriften.de/. For more information, see the website of the Harrassowitz publishing house.

From the beginning, the journal has been produced in collaboration with an international board whose members have changed over the years. Those who have been involved during the entire period are Hendrik Boeschoten, Bernt Brendemoen, Éva Á. Csató, Dmitrij Nasilov, and Sumru Özsoy. Later, Tooru Hayasi, Peter B. Golden, Irina Nevskaya, and Astrid Menz have joined the group. Most recently, László Károly and Abdurishid Yakup have been included. We wish to thank all the members for their support over the years.

The work of our peer reviewers has ensured the high quality of the publications. Their careful comments and suggestions have been most helpful for the authors, who have thankfully acknowledged the value of this support.

We would like to express our gratitude to Dr Barbara Krauss, the present director of the Publishing House Harrassowitz, and her highly competent team for their strong support in bringing out the journal.

This jubilee issue includes contributions from the international board of editors.

Bernt Brendemoen examines the value of Karamanlidic literature for the study of spoken Turkish in the 18th and 19th centuries. He concludes that some dialectal features can be observed in the texts. He also examines the syntactic influence of Greek.

Peter B. Golden deals with the accounts of the "Great King of the Türks", called Šâba, in the Iranian, Arabic and Transcaucasian sources, and points out that the name is not of Turkic origin.

Tooru Hayasi studies variability in linguistic judgments on examples of the usage of Turkish demonstratives *bu*, *şu* and *o*. Participants were Turkish monolingual high school students in Istanbul, and Turkish-German bilingual peers in Berlin. University students learning Turkish as a foreign language in Tokyo were used as a control group.

László Károly discusses 36 basic Turkic adjectives belonging to the universal semantic types of age, colour, dimension, human propensities, physical properties, speed, and value. He analyses the lexemes in terms of their semantic and morphological properties and their diachronic stability in seven modern Turkic languages: Turkish, Turkmen, Tatar, Kazakh, Uyghur, Khakas, and Yakut.

Astrid Menz investigates a type of conditional sentence in Turkish where the predicate of the embedded clause is based on a hypothetical form followed by the particle *de* or sometimes *bile* and establishes for Turkish the category of concessive conditionals.

Sumru A. Özsoy investigates the grammaticalization of the cause-time relation in Turkish *sonra* clauses, and comes to the interesting conclusion that while constructions in which the embedded verb is based on *-DIktAn* express the temporal relation between the two events, constructions in which the verb of the embedded clause is based on *-mAsIndAn* encode a causal relation between the event of the matrix clause and that of the embedded clause.

Abdurishid Yakup reports on preliminary results of a project at Minzu University of China on information structure in Turkic languages that are spoken and written in Central Asia. He contrasts the properties of focus constituents in Turkish with those of some Central Asian languages, in particular Uyghur, and describes some shared and divergent features.

A paper in German concludes the issue, Ingeborg Hauenschild's comments on Teleut plant and animal names according to an 18th century source.

Lars Johanson and *Éva Á. Csató*

Karamanlidic literature and its value as a source for spoken Turkish in the 18th and 19th centuries

Bernt Brendemoen

Karamanlı literature consists almost exclusively of translations, mostly from Greek and French, but a minor part is transliterations (or rather adaptations) of Ottoman literature. Because the bulk of its readers, who constituted a rather marginal group in Ottoman society, most probably were not very familiar with Ottoman literary traditions, Karamanlı literature has no aspirations of being erudite and elegant in the same way as contemporary Ottoman literature, but is written with the functional aim of reaching as many Turcophone Greek Orthodox Christians as possible. Accordingly, Karamanlı texts are closer to spoken Turkish than most contemporary Ottoman texts, but the question is to what extent the language is influenced by Greek, which most of the authors must have known alongside Turkish. The article concentrates on two texts, the *Ḥāǧetnāme* by Seraphim, Metropolitan of Ankara (1756), and Evangelinos Misailidis' novel *Temāšā-yı Dünyā* (1872), and gives a short synopsis of their contents. It also discusses the linguistic characteristics of these texts, the first of which shows some Central Anatolian dialect features, while the second one most probably is closer to Istanbul vernacular. Examples of possible Greek syntactic elements are taken up and discussed.

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The term Karamanlidic literature, which is used in this article, immediately asks for a definition. The adjective Karamanlidic or Karamanlı had negative connotations in the ears of the Ottoman group designated by this term, conveying a sense of 'uncouth, roguish, provincial'. Here it is used to designate 'Turcophone Greek-Orthodox', and by "literature" is meant what in German is called *Schrifttum*, which includes e.g. translations and periodicals. All Karamanlı texts are written in Turkish with Greek letters. I will not go into questions such as the ethnic background of the Karamanlıs nor give a detailed survey of their literature; this latter task was begun by Séverien Salaville and Eugène Dalleggio, who between 1958 and 1974 published a bibliography of *Karamanlidika* in three volumes. This was extended by three more volumes between 1987 and 1997 by Evangelia Balta, the foremost scholar of Karamanlidic studies,. Altogether 752 titles are currently known, including period-

icals, titles of newspapers, brochures etc.[1] What I intend to do here is to first give a short characterization of the genres of Karamanlidic literature, then concentrate on two of the major works, and finally comment on some aspects of the language used in this literature.

The emergence of Karamanlı literature is closely related to the emergence of the art of printing, and the first known Karamanlidic text is a Turkish translation (in Greek script) of the Christian confession of faith as written by Gennadios Scholarios, the first Greek Orthodox patriarch in Istanbul after the Turkish conquest. The existence of Karamanlı manuscripts from the 17th and 18th centuries is briefly mentioned by Moravcsik and Heffening (Eckmann 1964: 822), but they have remained unpublished up to now. That they exist in great numbers "in public and private archives in Turkey, Greece, Bulgaria, Italy and elsewhere" is verified by Kappler (2006: 663), who also mentions that the late Penelopi Stathi was striving to compile a bibliography of them. The Karamanlidic version of the Christian confession of faith was printed in Basel by Martin Crusius in 1584. However, more than a century passed before the first Karamanlı book for use by the Orthodox community in Anatolia was published in 1718. Most of the books until the beginning of the 19th century were printed abroad, mostly in Venice.

Before 1830, almost all the books printed dealt with religious subjects, aiming at strengthening the faith of the Orthodox flock in Istanbul and Anatolia. They were biblical texts, catechisms, descriptions of the lives of saints, psalms, etc., but also spiritually edifying books published by priests and bishops, all of them translated from Greek. Before 1800, only one non-religious title, a pamphlet containing proverbs, had been published. Although non-religious literature such as popular romances was printed in Venice in Greek for the use of Greek-speaking readers, no Karamanlı versions were made because—as stated e.g. by Nikodemos Hagioritis, an author of spiritual Karamanlı books—they would hurt the souls of the Christians and lead the flock astray (Balta 1999: 7). The Karamanlıs were probably regarded as a "borderline case" in Orthodoxy because their language was the language of the Muslims.

Seraphim of Pisidia

One of the most prolific writers of Karamanlı literature in the 18th century—most of which was based on Greek originals—was Seraphim (Serapheim) of Antalya, also called Seraphim of Pisidia.[2] He studied at the famous monastery of Kykkos in Cyprus. However, in Ankara he was involved in a scandal so serious that he was

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1   For a detailed definition of what kind of texts should be classified as Karamanlı see Balta (1999: 3).
2   Isparta is mentioned as his birth-place by Eckmann (1964: 823), but this is not at all mentioned by Theocharides (2010: 125).

dismissed from the holy order in 1753.[3] Nevertheless he was pardoned and became an archimandrite, and later (1774) Metropolitan of Ankara, a position he held until 1779. One of Seraphim's most widely spread works was his *Hacetname Kitabı* (*Ḥāğetnāme Kitābı* 'The Book of Necessity', i.e. 'The indispensable book'), with the following subtitle: [4] *Sultan Validullah Panagia Mevludullahın Niazimet Paraklisileri* 'The supplications to the Queen, the Mother of God, the Virgin', *ve yirmidört selamlamaları* 'and twenty-four greetings to her' *ve Amartolon Soteriada beyan olan hekmetnameleri* 'and accounts of her miracles told in *The salvation of the sinners*' *ve Exapsalmos* 'The Six Psalms', *ve Apodeipnon* 'and Prayer said after dinner' *ve dahi iktizalı şeyler burada mevcuttur, onlarki her Hristiana lazım ve iktizadır sabah akşam okuya* 'and other necessary things that every Christian must read morning and evening are also found here'. *Şimdi ilk evvel tefsir olunup basmaya verildi, bu zikr olunanın harç masrafıylan Yavan Romca dilinden Türk lisanına, ziyade emek zahmetilen Atallialu Serafeim Hiermonahostan* 'Now it has for the first time been explained and printed at the expense of the person mentioned [below], [and translated] from regular Greek language into the Turkish language, with great effort, by the monk and priest Serapheim from Antalya'. *Hristianların kifayetligi için ayanları izniylen Venedikte basıldı Bortoli Antoniostan* 'It was printed in Venice by Antonio Bortoli by permission of the senators for the satisfaction of the Christians' (1756). *Cümleniz Hristosun izine yürüyün* 'Go all of you in the path of Christ'.[5] One of the most interesting parts of this book, which totals 212 pages and was reprinted four times, is what Seraphim calls the *yirmidört selamlamalar* 'twenty-four greetings' to the Virgin. This is the *Akathistos* hymn, the 'Non-sitting hymn', a long hymn to the honour of the Virgin Mary from the 6th century. In Turkish, it has *Selam, güveyisiz gelin* 'Rejoice, Bride without a Bridegroom' as one of its refrains. Every verse begins with a different letter, running through the whole Greek alphabet in alphabetical order; that is why it has twenty-four verses. This principle has in fact been transferred to the Turkish translation. (In

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3   ibid. Due to his short temper, he is said to have killed a deacon during the Mass by hitting him with a heavy gospel; see Irakleous (2013: 63). In fact in 1755, he seems to have been involved in yet another scandal, this time in Venice where, fearing for his life, he took refuge in the English embassy. From there he wrote a letter to his teacher Ephraim, reproduced in English translation by Teocharides (2010: 131–143).

4   I prefer to use the modern Turkish alphabet to transliterate Karamanlidic Turkish when the phonological features are not to be emphasized, because the Turkish and the Greek alphabets share some important shortcomings regarding accuracy, e.g. when it comes to showing features such as vowel length, velar vs. palatal stops, etc. (The use of Turcological or Ottoman transcription would require making a large number of conjectures; see further footnote 8).

5   The entire book is found at http://anemi.lib.uoc.gr/metadata/0/f/c/metadata-155-0000117.tkl. I am most grateful to Dr. Evangelia Balta for giving me this information. See also Salaville & Dalleggio (1958: 26–29).

the verses starting with letters not used in Turkish (Θ, Ξ, and Ψ), Greek words are used instead.)

At least from a linguistic point of view, the most interesting part of the book is the *Hekmetnameler*, accounts of miracles performed by the Virgin (pp. 9–84). Most of these stories must have been translated from Greek. According to the title above, they were taken from *Amartolon Soteria* 'The Salvation of Sinners', a book written by the Cretan monk Agapios Landos and printed in 1641 (cf. Amart. Sot. 2008 in the bibliography). Although this is true for true for most of the stories, Salaville and Dalleggio claim (1958: 27) that only short parts ("*extraits*") were taken from there, *vide infra*. I published one of these thirty-one stories in 2010. At that time I had found a handwritten Karamanlidic codex in the Millî Kütüphane in Ankara[6] containing, among other things, the Akathistos Hymn and several stories about the miracles of the Virgin. The codex bears the date 1782, but it now seems that at least parts of it are copies of Seraphim's *Ḥāǧetnāme*, although the sequence of the elements differs. (A project in which the two texts will be closely compared is currently going on. The printed book must have been dictated to a scribe since there are minor differences as to spelling etc., some of which may also reflect dialect differences.)

The *ḥikmet* I have published (which bears the number 17 in the printed *Ḥāǧetnāme*, page 53; in the codex it is found on fol. 43r–44r), tells about a priest in Paris who more than everything in the world wishes to see the Virgin Mary, and prays for this every day. Finally an angel comes to him and tells him that his prayers have been heard, and that the Virgin will appear to him at prayer time next Sunday. However, the angel warns him that her beauty is so extreme that he will become blind after seeing her. The priest agrees, but after the angel has left, he starts worrying about what he will do after he has become blind. Hence, when the Virgin appears to him, he closes one eye. The eye he had kept open becomes blind, but not the other one. Now he starts cursing his lack of faith and reproaches himself for not having enjoyed the revelation completely with both eyes, even if he would have become completely blind. So he prays to God again and promises that he will look at her with both eyes if he gets another chance. The angel comes again and tells him that he will get another chance because his love for the Virgin is so strong. When the priest says that he agrees not only to losing his sight if he gets the opportunity to see her, but also every limb of his body, the angel answers that his faith is so strong that not only will he retain the sight in his seeing eye, but he also will regain the sight in his blind eye, which then happens.

The original version of this *ḥikmet* is found on page 146 of *Miracoli di nostra donna*, which was compiled by the Catholic monk Silvano Razzi (1527–1611) and published in Florence in 1576.[7] This—alongside other *miracoli*—must have been

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6   Classified as 06–Mil–Yz_Latince_34 [sic!].
7   The book is reproduced on: https://books.google.com.tr/books/about/ Miracoli_Di_ Nostra_Donna_Raccolti_Nuovam.html?id=OClSAAAAcAAJ&redir_esc=y

translated into Greek by Agapios Landos (it is found in Amart. Sot. 2008, pp. 396–398). The Greek translation is relatively free in comparison with the Italian original, but Seraphim's Turkish version is quite close to the Greek one.

Some of the *ḥikmet*s of the Virgin deal with Jews. The following is a transcription of one of the shortest ones (no. 18, found on p. 55 in the printed version and in fol. 44r–45r in the codex. Some of the linguistic aspects of this text will be taken up further down).

Onsekizinci hekmet.[8] Yahudi ušaɣïnïn koinonia[9] alïp, ateše kodular, ve yanmadïɣïnïn bea:nindedir.

Anadol semtinde, bir yahudinin, yedi yašïnda bir evladï varïdï. Ve bu oɣlan bir gün, χristian čoǰuklariyilan[10] beraber oldu ve ekklisaye gitmeyilen χristos efendinin kanïndan ve teninden koinonia aldï, öteki ušaklarïn ettiyi gibi, ve papaz χristian čoǰuyu zan eylemeyilen koinonia verdi buna. Ve antidoroɣï[11] yedikten geri evlerine gitti, ve atalarïna nakl eyledi. Ve bunun babasï övkelendi, χristos efendinin düsmanï gibi,[12] ve intikam almaya istemeyilen, čoǰuyun tuttuɣu išten[13] (niǰeki kendi ǰahilliyi ile zan ederidi) birden čoǰuyu kaptï aldï sučsuz günahsïzïkan, ve bir yanmïš külχana[14] braktï, daχi ziyade odun braktï, tezie[15] kül olsun. Lakin baɣdat tarafïnda üč čoǰuklarï külχandan koruyan rabbi, bu mubarek čoǰuyu da esirgedi, ve atešin alavlanmasïndan ve kuvetinden helak olmadï. Lakin bir serin yerde durmuš gibi dururdu. Bunu čoǰuyun anasï duyudukta feryat etti seirtti, zan ettiki atešte külünü bulsun čoǰuyun. Ve daχi saire χristianlar gitmeyilen, baktïlar čoǰuyu atešin ortasïnda durduɣunu saɣ ve diri, ve ne geyimi ve ne bir kïlï ziana oɣradï. Imdi taǰip kalïp šašmayïlan tašra čïkardïklarïnda atešten, ǰümlesi avaz ettiler, gerektir ki babasïnï atešin ičine atsïnlar, ettiyine göre bulsun. Imdi baɣladïlar bunu, ve külχana attïlar, ve olsa-

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8 I have here tried to give a phonemic transcription using the Turcological transcription system, but because of the inadequacy of the Greek script there are certain features I have not indicated because the texts give no clues, i.e., vowel length, possible distinctions between different front or half-front unrounded low vowels, or between palatal/velar stop. However, since the texts represent a Central Anatolian dialect, there is no reason to believe that these features were different in the 18th century from what they are today.

9 Κοινωνία 'communion'.

10 The spelling τζοτζουκλαρίγιλαν indicates that the possessive suffix has a front and not a back vowel; otherwise the reading would have to be -*ïɣïlan*, which would be etymologically incorrect.

11 The *antidoron* (Greek: Ἀντίδωρον) is ordinary leavened bread which is blessed but not consecrated and distributed in Eastern Orthodox churches after the service. The final -*n* is lost in Modern Greek, but the *γ* is still puzzling.

12 *Gibi* corresponds here to Modern Turkish *olarak*.

13 Probably "because of the thing the child had done".

14 'Stokehole, furnace'.

15 See *tiziye* 'tezce, çabucak, heman', *Tarama Sözlüğü* 3810.

hat kül oldu bečere.[16] Ve čoǰuk sïval[17] olundu ve ǰevap etti, dedi ekmeyi
yediyim ekklisade olan karï kuǰaγïnda maksïmï[18] tutan, yanïmda dururudu ve
aspabiyilan beni örteridi ve ateš bana asla dokanmazïdï. Oldem aŋnadïlar,
panagia idi aziz koinonian baχšïšïndan koruduγunu. Imdi bušekil yahutti avreti
hak imanï aŋnamaγïlan čoǰuγulan beraber vaptis oldu. Ve daχi saire čok ya-
hudiler iman getirdiler bu sebep ičin rabbi yesus χristos efendimize. Onaki
hamd ve ziynet gerektir. Amin.

18th Miracle. About the Jewish boy whom they threw into the fire after he had
taken communion, but who did not burn.

In the land of Anatolia, a Jew had a seven-year-old child. One day this boy
was together with some Christian children. When he went to the church, he
took communion, a part of the blood and flesh of Christ, like the other boys
did, and since the priest thought he was a Christian child, he gave him
communion. And after having taken the *antidoron*, he went back home and
told his parents [what he had done]. His father, being an enemy of Christ, be-
came angry and, wanting to take revenge for what the child had done (although
he had done it out of ignorance), suddenly grasped the boy, although he had
not sinned, and put him in a burning furnace [of a bath], and put more wood
[on the fire], so that he would burn rapidly. But the Lord, who had rescued the
three children from a furnace in Bagdad, protected this blessed child, too, and
he was not destroyed by the flames and the force of the fire, but remained as if
he had been standing in a cool place. When the mother of the child heard this,
she cried out and ran, believing she would find the ashes of the boy in the fire.
And when the other Christians went there, they saw that the boy was standing
safe and sound in the middle of the fire, and that neither his dress nor a single
hair had been hurt. When they, astonished and amazed, had taken him out of
the fire, they all shouted that his father must be thrown into the fire so that he

16   Probably *bīčāre* 'poor, wretched' (the Greek texts has ἄθλιος 'miserable, vile') although
     at least today, *biçare* conveys a certain pity or compassion which is not intended by the
     narrator.
17   = *su²āl* 'question'.
18   It is obvious from several other of the *ḥikmet*s (e.g. nr. 14, pp. 48–49 "Irmaktan kurtulan
     maksïmïn beanindedir") that *maksïm* means 'baby, infant'. See the following passage
     from that *ḥikmet*: "Čoǰuγa sïval eyleyen herkes, nasïl kurtulduγunu nakl ederidi evhali
     ačïk, firate frate anlatïrïdï her birine, ol ki saire türlü, ǰevaplarï tetik ve peltek söyleridi
     saire maksïmlar gibi". 'Everyone who asked the boy, to all of them he explained how he
     had been rescued, what had happened, in a very clear and fluent way (?), although he was
     giving other answers (about other matters) stuttering and lisping like other infants.' (Here,
     evhal must be the same as *ahvāl* in the standard language.) The word *maksïm* is a dialect
     form of *masum* 'innocent' (with vowel harmony and *'ayn* being realized as velar stop);
     see Eckmann (1950: 185), who, however, with the support of written texts, gives the form
     as *maksim*. This word is frequently found (in the meaning 'infant') also in the Balkan
     dialect of Vidin; see Németh (1965: 167) and *passim*. I am indebted to Dr. Edith Ambros
     for clarifying this and other details in connection with this text and my article in general.

could get what he deserved. They tied him up and threw him into the furnace, and he turned into ashes at once. The child was questioned and he answered, saying: "The lady who was in the church where I ate the bread and who was holding the infant on her lap, was standing beside me and was covering me with her clothing, and the fire did not hurt me at all." At that moment they understood that it was the Virgin Mary who had protected him because of the gift[19] of the holy communion. In this way the Jewish woman understood the true religion, and was baptized together with her child. And because of this, many other Jews also began to believe in our Lord Jesus Christ. One must praise and adorn him. Amen.'

The time after 1830

The Greek Orthodox Church continued to publish religious literature, but after 1820 they got a dangerous competitor, the (largely Lutheran) Bible Society. Lutheran missionaries (especially Americans) were active not only in Istanbul, but also in large parts of Anatolia, throughout the 19th century. They had more success converting Armenians, but by the middle of the century, the Bible Society had published 32 Karamanlı titles, and, eager to refute the Lutheran ideas, the Orthodox church had published 24 (Balta 1999: 9). At the same time, non-religious books started to appear too, for example in the fields of medicine and history. The first translations of novels, such as *Robinson Crusoe*, began appearing after the middle of the century, but it was only at the very end of the century that French novels were printed in Karamanlidic translations.

The establishment of Greece as an independent state led to a revival of interest in classical Greek culture, which alongside Orthodoxy became the cornerstone of the modern Greek identity. This revival also reached Greek city-dwellers in Turkey—after all, Istanbul continued to be the centre of Greek culture all the way up to World War I. Only 750,000 of the two million Greeks in the Ottoman Empire were living in the newly founded Greek kingdom, which started a Hellenization process among the Ottoman Greeks where the teaching of Greek language and the strengthening of Greek identity were central. The incorporation of the Ottoman Greeks (and also the Ottoman soil on which they lived) into Greece is the Greek irredentist ideal, which in history is called *megali idea*. In this ideological framework, the Turkish-speaking Karamanlıs constituted a foreign element, and the Hellenization trend among Orthodox groups in Turkey was therefore directed especially toward them. As a result, many of them learned Greek and married Ottoman Greeks who had Greek as their mother tongue, and the Karamanlı identity eventually began to melt away. The literary activities in the 19th century, however, and especially the publication of numerous newspapers which had subscribers all over Anatolia, show that the number of Greek Orthodox Ottomans who preferred to read Turkish over Greek was

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19 Should perhaps rather be translated 'grace'. *baχšíš* is obviously a translation of Greek χάρις; see Amart. Sot. 2008: 399.

quite high. In particular, the numerous editions of popular epics such as *Köroğlu*, *Şah İsmail*, and *Aşık Garip* show that the literary taste of the Karamanlı public was different from that of the Greek-speaking Ottomans. The best-known of the newspapers, *Anatoli*, was published by Evangelinos Misailidis (*vide infra*) and subsequently by his son, from 1840 to 1923. Şimşek, who has made a valuable study of this newspaper, reproduces (2010: 113) a statement by Nikolaos Soulidis, Misailidis' successor as the director of the newspaper, from 1890. In it he gives a clue about the number of actual and potential readers: "We have only 500 subscribers, and this is not enough for the Rums of Anatolia. The number of our subscribers should be at least 1000 since the number of Rums in Anatolia who are able to read this newspaper is more than 500 thousand."

In connection with the fact that the bulk of Karamanlı literature consists of translations, it should be kept in mind that originality, which is a prerequisite for any kind of literature aiming to being taken seriously today, did not play the same role in Ottoman tradition. Writing *naẓīre*s based on the works of earlier poets was a quite acceptable trend in Ottoman poetry; why should the same custom not also be applied to fictional prose when it was being introduced in the Ottoman realm in the second part of the 19th century? The first Turkish novels in Ottoman script were all adaptations of European novels, and in cases where the Ottoman version did not pretend to be original, but appeared with the original title mentioned, modern principles of translation were not applied at all; "translations" were only adaptations, usually drastically abridged. Paragraphs or chapters thought to be politically sensitive or morally unsuitable would be omitted, but there could be even more diffuse motivations. However, in some cases the original novels were expanded to such an extent that the original seems to have only served as an inspiring framework. Karamanlı literature constituted no exception to this trend; in an extremely interesting article, Şimşek (2011) has shown how Aḥmed Midḥat's historical novel *Yeŋičeriler* (1871) was altered extensively by its "translator", the writer and journalist Ioannis Gavriilidis, who not only transliterated the novel into Greek letters, but transformed it considerably. The Karamanlı version was serialized in *Anatoli* in 1890 and 1891. By the end of the 19th century around twenty novels had appeared in Karamanlidic translation, most of them translated from French. The reason why a novel by Aḥmed Midḥat would appear in a Karamanlidic version—apart from the popularity of this prolific writer— was probably that his Turkish was much less complicated than the regular Ottoman prose of the period (although Gavriilidis writes in the foreword that it has been challenging for him to "narrate" the story "because of the rhetoric of Aḥmed Midḥat, which is full of words Anatolians would hardly be familiar with" (Şimşek 2011: 264).) It is quite interesting that Gavriilidis also states that one of the reasons why he has chosen this book to "translate" is that both the names of the protagonists and the story itself are *millī*, i.e., take place "in our own country", and that he believes "it is better for someone to get interested in things he is acquainted with rather than things unknown to him" (Şimşek 2011: 254).

Evangelinos Misailidis' *Temāšā-yı Dünyā*

Here I shall deal at length with Evangelinos Misailidis' huge novel, totalling 1056 pages, *Temāšā-yı Dünyā*, with the subtitle *Ǧefākār u Ǧefākeš* 'The Theatre of the World—the Tormentors and the Tormented', published in four volumes in Istanbul in 1871–1872.[20] One of the reasons why this novel has not received more attention than it has, could be that a modern edition in Latin script did not appear until 1986 (prepared by Robert Anhegger and Vedat Günyol and with the title *Seyreyle Dünyayı* 'View the World'; new edition in 1988).[21] Therefore Eckmann, whose bibliography of Karamanlidic literature (1964) alongside the one by Salaville and Dalleggio is one of the standard works on the subject, does not even mention the title. Another reason why it has remained in obscurity could be uncertainty about whether the novel is an original work or a translation. As shown by Stathi in 1995, however, and further developed by Karra (2010), the novel is based on the novel *O Polypathis* 'The Man who Suffered a Lot' by Grigorios Palaiologos. This had appeared in Athens in 1839, but never gained popularity.[22] Hence, Misailidis does not mention Palaiologos at all, but pretends that the novel is an original written by himself. In fact, modern Greek literature in Turkish translation was not very popular among the Turcophone readers; in the same way, Modern Greek novels in their original language were not commonly read by Greek-speaking Ottomans: As a result of the endeavours to Hellenize the Ottoman Greeks, the Greek-speaking Ottomans were more interested in Classical Greek literature than modern literature (Strauss 2010: 180). One reason why *O Polypathis* did not become popular even in Greece could be that it was written in a high-style *katharevousa* and probably addressed Greeks of a certain standing. However, when Misailidis reworked the plot to serve as a framework for his own novel, his target group was Orthodox Turkish speakers in general, both city-dwellers and people in the countryside. The style is as different from the Greek "original" as possible, being quite oral and a bit reminiscent of the style of the *meddaḥ*s. The fact that it represents a challenge to the modern reader is due to all the words of Arabic and Persian origin. However, these were probably in use in use even in the popular language of the author, which has absolutely nothing about it of the artificial air we often meet in 19th century Ottoman prose.

20 Balta (1999: 13) claims that this novel was first published in serial form in Misailidis' newspaper *Anatoli*, but she does not state when. It is true that most of the novels translated by the very prolific Misailidis were first published in this way, but it is a bit unlikely that Misailidis, who was very concerned with strengthening the morals of his readers and their families, would not see that this novel was not very suitable in this respect, even if almost every chapter contains some words of moral indignation from the protagonist over the vices and debauchery he witnesses.

21 This is the edition I refer to in this article, hence the citations in modern Turkish orthography.

22 For possible models of Palaiologos' novel and a reading of *Temāšā-yı Dünyā* as a picaresque novel; see Şimşek (2012).

Nevertheless, the language of Misailidis contains more Arabic and Persian lexical elements than for example the language used by the contemporary Aḥmed Midḥat. As mentioned by Strauss (2003: 39), *Temāšā-yı Dünyā* is one of the oldest Ottoman novels, the oldest being Vartan Paşa's *Akabi Hikâyesi* 'The Story of Akabi' written in Armenian script, which appeared in 1851, and which seems to be a more original work than *Temāšā-yı Dünyā*. (However, if one defines "Ottoman novel" as a novel written in Ottoman script and thus accessible to the majority of readers in the Empire, the first one would be Šemseddīn Sāmī's *Ta'aššuḳ-i Ṭal'at ve Fitnat* 'The Enamoration of *Ṭal'at* and *Fitnat*'.)[23] Still it should be pointed out that the influence exerted by the "minority novels", especially *Temāšā-yı Dünyā*, on Ottoman literature, is quite minimal. While quite a number of Turkish novels, especially by Aḥmed Midḥat, appeared in Armenian and Greek script (possibly, as mentioned above, because his language and style was uncomplicated and easy to understand by people who—unlike the intellectual Turks—did not have any formal education in Ottoman), the opposite was not the case, and *Temāšā-yı Dünyā* seems to have remained largely unnoticed by the Muslim Turkish public. (Strauss 2003: 53; Aydın [s.a.], however, believes that it influenced Aḥmed Midḥat's *Leṭā'if-i Rivāyāt* 'Entertaining Stories'.)

The narrator of this picaresque novel is at the same time its hero, the lawyer Aleko Favini. The subject is his life from his birth until his old age, when he finally (on the very last pages) is united with the woman he has loved for many years (he is then 65 years old; she is 40), and the strange, sad and funny experiences he is exposed to along the way. Aleko is the son of a Greek mother from whose womb he is rescued at the moment she is killed by his jealous Roman Catholic father (the chief interpreter at the French embassy in Istanbul) who believes she has been unfaithful. He is brought up by his maternal grandfather, a lawyer, but becomes a spoiled child who, despite not being interested in school, always complains about his teachers. When he gets interested in girls, he is always turned down and disappointed, but his womanizer nature drives him on. It is only when he sees the two girls Fazilet (Virtue) and Sefahat (Debauchery) in a dream (p. 62) that he understands that he has to turn his life around and acquire a profession, becoming a lawyer like his grandfather. From this point onwards the novel consists of events, episodes and disasters caused by Favini's profession, his weakness for the opposite sex, and his curiosity. To help people who are suffering, he becomes a sufferer himself. To today's reader, the book opens a door on to an Istanbul quite different from the Istanbul we usually meet in Ottoman sources, i.e. the capital of the Greek Orthodox world. The descriptions are always very down to earth, probably more so than would be possible in Ottoman novels of the same period. The following is one example of numerous episodes describing cunning ways of cheating strangers out of money. One evening Favini is taking a walk in Bağlarbaşı on the Asian side, when he notices that an old woman (*kocakarı*) is following him (pp. 96–98). Suddenly the

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23 For an interesting survey; see Gökalp (1999).

woman embraces him and says: "Are you not Yorgaki? I have been following you for two hours; why did you leave us for so long?" The woman claims that he married her daughter Aspasia, but then went to Egypt, and that they have been waiting for him for a whole year. When Favini is about to point out that there must be a mistake, he realizes that the woman has mistaken him for her son-in-law, and decides to take advantage of the situation, despite being afraid that his "wife" will know he is not her husband when she sees him. When he arrives at her house, the "wife" comes down the stairs with the words *Vay benim bir yıllık hasretim Efendim, hoş geldin, sefa geldin, kademler getirdin, buyurun yukarı* 'Ah my Master for whom I longed for a whole year! Welcome! Welcome! You are bringing good luck! Pray come upstairs!' and gives him one kiss for every step on the stairs. Observing that 'the woman was young and fresh and plump like a Tekirdag watermelon' (*...karı da torlak ve Tekirdağ karpuzu gibi tombarlak bir şey idi*), Favini decides to stay overnight and to run away in the morning.

At this point the woman picks up a baby from the cradle and presents him to Favini as their son Dimitraki. When the neighbours come and want to celebrate the return of the husband, the "wife" and "mother in law" say—to Favini's relief—that he is too tired and has to rest. And as Favini later finds out, a year earlier one Yorgaki from Niğde, who already had a wife in his village, had actually married a woman in Üsküdar named Aspasia, but had disappeared after three months.

After his meal, Aspasia brings Favini his nightshirt and undresses him. While caressing him and 'chatting about this and that' (*dereden tepeden yarenlik ederken*), somebody knocks on the door. When they open it, a young man says that Vasilaki is expecting them immediately. Favini tries to find excuses for not going, but Aspasia points out that Vasilaki is their benefactor, their *veli-i nimet*, and that they could not have managed without him during Yorgaki's absence. Accordingly, he must go to show his gratitude. So, wearing his nightshirt and a fur, and carrying the little Dimitraki, he steps outside the door. At the same moment the door slams shut behind him, and the light is turned off. Robbed of the money he had in his clothes and with a baby in his arms he finds his way down to the quay, where he hires a boat to take him to Tophane, but cheats the boatman, telling him to wait for him. Because of his own stupidity and shame, of course, he does not go to the police. Later he finds out that the baby was a foundling that Aspasia must have wanted to get rid off. Aspasia and her mother turn up again in volume 2 (p. 200 onwards), when the mother is asked by the *çorbacılar* 'Janissary captains' in Üsküdar what happened to the child, and she claims that the Jews must have taken it to use its blood to make their unleavened bread for Passover, an idea that is condemned by Favini (or rather by Misailidis, or perhaps by Palaiologos) as nonsense. Aspasia and her mother also appear in other connections later in the novel.

Favini's profession, as well as his curiosity and sexual appetite, bring him in contact with all kinds of people, and the number of stories this enables the author to include is enormous.

Misailidis uses every opportunity to moralize, to denounce what he describes as sin and debauchery, and to express his wish that God will not lead his readers astray. For example, describing the Carnival in Istanbul, he says (p. 128:) "I wish there were not such a thing, because the debauchery, the wild conduct and immoral behaviour seen during these weeks never occur at other times. It would be very good if the rulers could dispose of these circumstances because they ruin the habits and moral of people, but this is said to be a product of civilization. *"Vay gidi medeniyet vay!* 'What kind of a civilization is this!'" He then states somewhat wryly that he now will leave these considerations about the carnival aside and go on to describing it, which he does in great detail indeed. The carnival ends with a visit to a brothel in Beyoğlu, which is followed by a long chapter (pp. 137–194) on prostitutes, includeing detailed stories about some of them, starting with a discourse about how immoral prostitution is. The stories are not obscene in any way; in most of them the women are depicted as victims of bad fortune or of cruel men. In the story of the sadist Zöhre Hanım, however, (p. 305), Misailidis excels in realistic descriptions of the wickedness of this slightly deranged Muslim woman who, after having thrown the men she has charmed into a dungeon, robs them, and if they are Christian has them strangled, but if they are Muslim, contents herself with leaving them in a distant place.

Misailidis' novel was published thirty years after Palaiologos' original, which, as mentioned by Karra, may be read as an allegory of the establishment of the modern Greek state. By setting his plot later in time, Misailidis allows his protagonist to live many years into the Tanzimat period in Turkey, and lets him praise the Tanzimat warmly (e.g. p. 267 and 504). However, even if the main events told in *Temāšā-yı Dünyā* are depicted as consecutive, there is no consistency as to when in history they take place. Thus, after having praised the Tanzimat (on p. 504), he is suddenly back at the Janissary revolt of 1807 (on p. 509), obviously following Palaiologos' chronology. This does not disturb the reader, however, who quickly gets used to taking everything with a pinch of salt. In addition, the linearity of the events is constantly broken by a complicated network of references forwards and backwards in the book. Characters the reader believes left the story several chapters earlier, can suddenly appear again. For example, after Favini has become a Muslim (in order to escape from a difficult situation he gets into by insulting a lady, p. 501), he flees to Naples, where he feels an urge to find a priest to confess his sins and get absolution. He finds a hermit in a narrow cave in a mountain outside town, and when he begins to tell his story, the hermit is revealed to be his own father, who had repented the injustice he had done to his wife to such an extent that he gave up his mundane life and went out into the wilderness. Whereupon his father of course dies (p. 511).

In describing Favini's various travels in Europe, Misailidis gives extensive information about European life and habits, but unlike some Ottoman writers, he is in no way dazzled by what he sees, and displays a sincere trust in the Ottoman state after the Tanzimat. It is obvious that the future of the Anatolian Greeks was of great concern to him, and that he was genuinely proud of belonging to that community.

Even if, willingly or not, he creates the impression that the Greeks are the superior *millet* in the Ottoman empire, he displays no contempt towards the others; in particular the Muslims are usually described as honest and hard-working people. However, the reader cannot avoid feeling that there must have been an immense distrust between the different *millet*s. Even if Misailidis displays deep knowledge about the Armenians, Jews, and Muslims and their habits and religions, one is struck by the fact that the plot is almost exclusively set in a Greek environment, and that all the main figures are Greek, testifying to the degree of separation between the *millet*s, not only in Istanbul and in the West coast, but also in Anatolia. Maybe the reason why no edition has ever been printed in Ottoman is that Ottoman Turkish readers would not feel familiar with the Greek setting, apart from the fact that the frivolity of many of the women depicted could be found offensive, despite the empathy displayed by the author.

Songs and poetry

From the 18th century onwards, a rich literature of Turkish love poetry in Greek letters has been preserved. Most of this poetry has been written to be sung, and represents partly a Phenariot tradition of church music, aiming to create equivalents to European romances and love-songs, and parly the Ottoman tradition of *ši'r meğ-mū'aları* 'poetry collections', originally notebooks where the owner would add the text of a new poem or song he heard, often also with an indication of the rhythm or *maķam*. From the beginning of the 19th century, such collections of songs (mostly *šarķīlar*) were printed. The language of the poems or songs would be partly Turkish partly Greek, and the target group would comprise Greek-speaking and Turkish-speaking Christians interested in Turkish music and poetry. Parallel to these anthologies in Greek letters, there was of course a rich literature of Turkish songs written in Ottoman script aiming at Turkish readers, but the first printed anthology in Ottoman script appeared as late as 22 years after the first one in Greek letters. This subject has been studied thoroughly by Kappler (2003), who with great erudition takes linguistic, musicological, metrical, historical and literary aspects into account, and has also published a great part of the songs.

The linguistic value of Karamanlı texts

The Greek alphabet is poorly suited to represent the sounds of Turkish, as Greek has no unequivocal way of rendering *ö*, *ü*, *ï*, *š*, and basically not *č* or *ǰ* either, and because voiced stop consonants occur in Greek only in combination with nasals. Therefore, in the oldest texts, *o* may represent both *o* and *ö*; *ου* may represent both *u* and *ü*; and *ι* and *η* may stand for both *i* and *ï*. Likewise, *b* may be written *μπ*, but is more often written *π*, which is also read as *p*; *d* may be written *ντ*, but is more often written *τ*, which is also read as *t*; and *g* may be written *γκ*, but is more often written *κ*, which also represents *k*. The letter *γ* has many functions; it may correspond to the modern Turkish letter *ğ* and be a voiced velar stop or a voiced postvelar fricative in

contact with back vowels and *y* in contact with front vowels, etc. The development of the Karamanlı alphabet has been thoroughly studied by Kappler (2003). As early as 1764, the monk Meletios Fenerli lay down some principles for writing Turkish with Greek letters in his introduction to an edition of *Psalms of the Prophet and King David*; the problem is that these principles were not followed consistently (Gavriel 2010: 255). In his 2010 study, Gavriel compares three editions of the Psalterion, from 1764, 1810, and 1827. Psalteria from 1764, 1782, 1841 and 1895 served as material for another study, by Irakleous (2013), who finds important orthographic differences between them. A system of diacritics was developed by the Protestant missionaries in order to make the orthography less ambiguous, and in principle it became almost as phonemic as the modern Turkish Latin alphabet, although the letter γ still had a lot of functions. The first edition of the New Testament using this orthography was printed in 1826, and a new version of the Psalterion was published in 1827 (Anhegger 1979–1980: 172). The use of this new orthography was also full of inconsistencies, at least in its earliest years; see also Kappler (2003). Irakleous (2013: 66–75) presents a detailed study of the development of the orthographic rules.

There certainly is a Karamanlı literature (in the meaning *Schrifttum*, as mentioned above), but the existence of a Karamanlı language is a myth. As pointed out by Kappler (2006), Eckmann, who devoted an enormous amount of work to establishing phonological characteristics of the "Karamanlı dialects" (1950) based on 21 printed books, was unable to find common features for larger parts of his material. Nevertheless, his study is a valuable documentation of the dialectal variation in Anatolia. From a turcological point of view the Karamanlidic texts have a linguistic value as "transcription texts", not only in the usual sense of this rather awkward designation—texts that have the potential to reflect the actual pronunciation of the language because they are written with an alphabet that better renders the phonemes of Turkish than the Ottoman alphabet, with its conservative orthography, does—but also because they reflect spoken varieties of Turkish better than Ottoman texts do. This is because they are relatively free from the Ottoman literary tradition with its stylistic pretentiousness; their aim is to be understood by people without any Ottoman literary background. And obviously most of the texts were also written by people outside this literary tradition, even if they may have had a fair ability to read and write Ottoman Turkish.

As with most other transcription texts, the question arises whether the author was influenced by the principles of Ottoman orthography. In the case of Misailidis, forms such as *olmakdan*, *geçdim*, *yakalayub*, and *bulınub* cannot have any other explanation (Anhegger 1979–80: 168, and the survey by Irakleous 2013: 83–85). However, when it comes to features such as Seraphim's rendering of the original velar nasal by ŋ (γγ or γν) in stems, e.g. *aŋnadïlar* in the *ḥikmet* I reproduced above, I think we can be quite sure that it represents a velar nasal (and is a dialectal charac-

teristic alongside the other Central Anatolian features in that text).[24] But when forms such as *biŋ*, *geŋiş*, and *diŋle* are found in the Psalterion of 1841 (Irakleous 2013: 85), they more probably reflect the Ottoman spelling, since the missionaries editing that text are not likely to have used dialectal elements.

There can be no doubt that the texts written by Seraphim reflect a Central Anatolian dialect typical of the 18th century. As can be expected, vowel harmony is approximately on the same level as today; velar nasal is partly preserved (in suffixes it occurs in the 2nd person possessive suffix but not in the genitive); syllable final velar stop quite often becomes a fricative, etc. (Brendemoen 2010: 274–275). However, it is mostly in the field of syntax that the Karamanlı texts show features that demand special explanation.

In the above *ḥikmet* by Seraphim, we see unequivocal examples of the use of the past aorist where we would expect the imperfect: *ekklisade olan karï [...] yanïmda dururudu ve aspabiyilan beni örteridi ve ateš bana asla dokanmazïdï*. 'The woman who was in the church was standing beside me and she was covering me with her clothes, and the fire did not hurt me', where Modern Turkish would have *duruyordu*, *örtüyordu*, and *dokunmuyordu*. This feature is found also in other texts by Seraphim (Brendemoen 2010: 275). Since the Greek verbal system has the same possibilities to express the difference between perfective and imperfective (progressive) aspect as Turkish has, this feature cannot have been copied from the original Greek texts, but must reflect an extraordinarily late development of the Turkish imperfect tense in this dialect.[25] (Even if the first examples of *-yur* occur in the late part of the 15th century in texts from Istanbul, the past form must have developed later. Accordingly, in especially archaic dialects such as some of the Trabzon dialects, the imperfect past is still used less frequently than in Standard Turkish; see Brendemoen 2002, 1: 256).

In the field of syntax, Karamanlı texts, including those from the 19th century, are especially interesting because of their use of gerund constructions not found in modern standard Turkish, and that also are relatively rarely found in contemporary Ottoman texts. For the older texts, these constructions may be representative of specific dialects; for the newer ones such as *Temāšā-yı Dünyā*, they may have been characteristic of the vernacular of mid 19th-century Istanbul. Karahan has shown (1994) that a rich register of gerundial possibilities is found in Anatolian dialects. However, because to the best of our knowledge the diffusion of some of these suffixes is limited and idiosyncratic uses are very common, it is obvious that the need to create new gerundial expressions is an ongoing process.

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24 An example is the kind of vowel harmony found in *ma'ṣum* > *maksïm* and *su'āl* > *sïval*, where the labializing consonants do not have any effect on the vowels, as in dialect forms such as *yaγmïr* 'rain' and *çamïr* 'mud', characteristic of the northern parts of Central Anatolia.

25 The orginal of the last-mentioned example has imperfect forms indeed: ἔστεκε 'was standing', ἐσκέπαζε 'was covering', ἔγγιζεν 'was hurting' (Amart. Sot. 399).

Thus, the "specifically Karamanlı" use of a gerundial suffix *-(y)išin* was described by Deny (1941b), and Eckmann in an article from 1958 mentions five suffixes he thinks are characteristic of Karamanlı texts (without, of course, claiming that they are exclusively found in such texts), i.e.:

1. *-dıkla(y)ın/-dikle(y)in*, e.g. *Hirsıs kapuya bastıklaın kımıldanmas oldular* 'Als die Räuber gegen de Pforte drückten, wurden sie gelähmt'.

2. *-dığı birle/birlen/birinen*, e.g. *Ayosu gördüğü birle vardı, yanına oturdu* 'Als er den Heiligen erblickte, ging er hin und setzte sich neben ihn'.

3. *-r ikenden*, e.g. *Sultan gider ikenden dova eder idi* 'Die Kaiserin betete, während sie ging'.

4. *-maynan/-meynen, -maylan/-meylen* etc., e.g. *Papaz gelmemeyle lituryasıs kaldılar* 'Da kein Priester kam, blieben sie ohne Gottesdienst'.

5. *-masına/-mesine*, expressing purpose, e.g. *Döndüm geriye büyüğünü almasına* 'Ich kehrte zurück, um den grösseren (Sohn) zu nehmen'.

In my opinion, the last-mentioned form is no real gerund. As for 1 and 4, they are found in regular Ottoman texts, too; see Brendemoen 2014b, where quite a number of examples of {-mAylAn} from Evliya Çelebi are mentioned.

In a very interesting article, Arslan-Kechriotis (2009) discusses syntactic features in Karamanlı texts which are not commonly found in the standard language today. She assembled her material by going though samples from six printed books from the end of the 19th century. The only one of the converbial constructions mentioned above that she also comments on is the one which is not really a converb, but an infinitive. She notices that it is used in one of the works she has gone through, though much more frequently with a possessive suffix than is the case in modern Turkish. In the following example (p. 177) the meaning is finite in the same way as Eckmann's: *... benim yüzümden ve gözlerimden öpmesine sarıldı...*, which probably should be translated 'He embraced [me] in order to kiss me on my face and eyes...'. However, non-final examples are also found. Arslan-Kechriotis has also noticed the frequent use of a gerund in {-DIkDA}, but this is also found in regular Ottoman texts (Deny 1941a: 925) and in Anatolian dialects (Karahan 1994: 224). One quite unusual gerundial construction is the use of *ise* not in a conditional, but a temporal sense. In some examples of this from Arslan-Kechriotis' material, the subject gets the suffix {-DIr}, for instance: *Kızdır ....gelip ....Mandolinaya ... çekidüzen vermeye başladı ise, Fransız delikanlı ... dimeye başladı...* 'When the girl came ... and started to tune up the mandolin ..., the French young man started to say...'. In *Temāšā-yı Dünyā*, too, we find examples of the temporal use of *ise*, but not usually combined with {-DIr}, e.g. *Bir de yanına varıp, efkârına muvafık (dertlerine uygun) yarenliğe başladım ise, kuzu gibi uslanıp, kitabı açtı...* (p. 82) 'And when I went up to him and started a friendly conversation that suited his worried mind, he became meek as a lamb and opened the book...'. One example with {-DIr} is: *Benidir gördü ise*, meaning *beni görünce* 'When he/she saw me', cited in the afterword to *Temāšā-yı Dünyā*

(p. 647). The use of conditional sentences for temporal ones is not strange *per se*, as the opposite is quite frequent,[26] but the use of {-DIr} is inexplicable. Apart from this last point, most of the above features mentioned by Arslan-Kechriotis are typical of 19th century (and older) Ottoman and/or popular language, as are also the less frequent use of the genitive than in the Turkish of today (p. 185), *dedi* constructions without *ki*, (pp. 180–182) and the frequent use of the infinitive {-mAklIk} (pp. 176–177). As for the last-mentioned feature, we see in the examples cited that wherever this infinitive has a possessive suffix, the suffix is the first person, most probably to avoid the form *-mAm*, which would be homonymous with the negated aorist 1st person form. This is a rule in the language of Aḥmed Midḥat; see Brendemoen (2014a). Likewise, the sentence-final position of the infinitive governed by *başlamak* is very old in Ottoman Turkish, and is still almost a rule in certain dialects (Brendemoen 2013). However, some of the features mentioned by Arslan-Kechriotis, such as the use of the plural ending after numerals, and the tendency to use plural verbal agreement even when the subject is inanimate, may no doubt have been influenced by Greek.[27] Another feature not mentioned by her is the rather infrequently occurring examples of expressing the acting person in passive constructions without any postposition such as *tarafından*, but only with the ablative, as in the following example from *Temāšā-yı Dünyā* (p. 220): *... en zengin bir kaç âdemlerin kızları nâbedid (kayıp) oldular ve tuhafı bundadır ki, bu zayi olanların haneleri de haftasına hırsızlardan soyuldu* 'The daughters of some of the richest men disappeared, and the strange thing is that the homes of those who disappeared were also burgled by thieves after one week'. Here the use of the ablative *hırsızlardan* could be thought to reflect the parallel Greek construction, where the preposition από would be used. The same feature is also found in the subtitle of the *Ḥāğetnāme* reproduced above: *Şimdi ilk evvel tefsir olunup basmaya verildi ... Atallialu Serafeim Hiermonahostan* 'Now for the first time it has been explained and printed ... by the monk and priest Serapheim from Antalya'.[28]

When it comes to the order of the sentence constituents, however, most of the texts represent a very oral language, especially the *Ḥāğetnāme*; see Brendemoen (2010: 275–277). Here are some examples from our *ḥikmet*: *jümlesi avaz ettiler, gerektir ki babasïnï atešin ičine atsïnlar* 'All of them shouted that his father must be thrown into the fire'. The use of the imperative instead of an infinitive construction after *gerek(t)ir* is known to be a characteristic of the Balkan dialects today, where it

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26 I.e. questions expressing conditional of the form *Kayınpederi rakıyı devirdi mi gözü dönerdi* 'As soon as her father-in-law had drunk the rakı, he would become completely crazy'.

27 The plural suffix is found after numerals in older Ottoman as well, even outside the case of "well-known groups" such as *Oniki Adalar* 'The Dodecanese'.

28 Also in the next sentence: *Hristianların kifayetligi için ayanları izniylen Venedikte basıldı Bortoli Antoniostan* 'It was printed in Venice by Antonio Bortoli by permission of the senators for the satisfaction of the Christians'.

probably is a product of copying from Greek and/or Bulgarian, but it is also found in Azeri, and may have been much more widely used in oral language earlier. Ultimately the construction may be a product of copying from Indo-European languages, but it is also quite acceptable in informal Standard Turkish today. The use of the construction in this particular text could also be explained as a direct calque on the Greek original, so that the Turkish imperative *atsïnlar* would be a rendering of the Greek construction with να + subjunctive.[29] The use of the imperative in the example *zan ettiki atešte külünü bulsun čojuγun* 'She thought she would find the ashes of the child in the fire' is more difficult to explain since there is no desire involved. However, it is not impossible that the feature should be explained as a more or less automatic rendering of Greek να + subjunctive constructions by Turkish imperative or optative in both this and the previous sentence.[30] Finally, let us examine the sentence *ekmeyi yediyim ekklisade olan karï kujayïnda maksïmï tutan, yanïmda dururudu* 'The lady, who was in the church where I ate the bread and who was holding the infant on her lap, was standing beside me', which is quite a complex sentence. The position of the participle construction *kujayïnda maksïmï tutan* after and rather than before the noun it describes is very unusual, and must be a calque of the Greek original.[31] At the same time, although awkward, the sentence is fully comprehensible. The oral character of the text would of course be emphasized when it was read aloud, for which purpose it most certainly was meant. However, considering the fact that spoken language is less complex than the written one, it is not probable that constructions of this kind were typical of the spoken Turkish of the Karamanlıs.

Conclusion

Karamanlı texts, especially the older ones such as the *Ḥāǧetnāme*, are valuable historical sources for oral language and the dialect of their writers. Some texts from the 19th century, such as *Temāšā-yı Dünyā*, also reflect the spoken Ottoman language in a unique way. The extent to which the language was influenced by Greek constructions remains to be investigated further. Syntactically, e.g. the language of the *Ḥāǧetnāme* does show elements copied from Greek, but in general the constructions are genuinely Turkish. Comparison of 19th century Karamanlı

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29 The sentence in Greek is: *ἐβόησαν ἅπαντες, ὅτι ἔπρεπε νὰ ῥίψουσιν εἰς τὴν κάμινον τὸν πατέρα του* (Amart. Sot. 2008: 399).

30 The original has: *… ἡ Μήτηρ αὐτοῦ ἔδραμε μετὰ ὀδυρμῶν, νομίζουσανὰ τὸ εὕρη στάκτην γενόμενον* (ibid.).

31 In the Greek original, too, there are two relative clases describing 'the lady', and one relative sentence describing 'the church'. All these relative clauses have finite verbs as predicates. The rule that Seraphim not has obeyed, however, is that corresponding Turkish participle constructions always should precede their head. The Greek sentence is.: *Ἡ γυνὴ ἐκείνη, ἥτις εἶναι εἰς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν, ὅπου ἔφαγα τὸ ψωμί, καὶ κρατεῖ τὸ βρέφος εἰς τὴν ἀγκάλην της, ἔστεκε πλησίον μου, καὶ ἐσκέπαζέ με μὲ τὸ ἐπανοφόρι της…* (ibid.).

editions of Turkish folk-tales such as *Köroğlu*, *Şah İsmail*, and *Aşık Garip* with regular Turkish editions could also be interesting. From a historical and cultural point of view, Karamanlı literature has special value because it opens a door on to a fascinating cosmos that has completely disappeared today.

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"The Great King of the Türks"

Peter Golden

This paper deals with the accounts of the "Great King of the Türks", called Šâba, in the Iranian, Arabic and Transcaucasian sources, basing themselves on the Sâsânid "Book of Kings" (Ḫvadây Nâmag) and preserved in Iranian tradition. He is noted but unnamed in the Byzantine sources and appears, most probably, as Baǧa Qaǧan/Chuluohou in the Chinese accounts. The Sâsânid hero Bahrâm Čôbîn defeated and killed him in a battle at Herat in 588. His name/title /honorific, like those of many of the early Türk rulers is not Turkic.

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Ibn Ḫurdâḏbih (d. 912) in his book on the routes and kingdoms[1] records the "titles (*alqâb*) of the kings of Ḫurâsân and the East" in which he notes the "kings of the Turks, Haylûb (ms. var. هبلُوب : Hblûb) Ḫâqân,[2] Jabǧûya Ḫâqân, Šâba (شَابه) Ḫâqân, Sinjibû Ḫâqân and Fîrûz Ḫâqân". Lesser kings recorded by him include Nêzak[3] and Ġûrak[4] (i.e. the Sogdian personal name *'wγrk *Uγurǝk*?).[5] Actually, these are a mix of titles/honorifics and anthroponyms associated with ruling houses. Ibn al-Faqîh (writing ca. 903)[6] has a similar, fuller and perhaps slightly garbled listing of the "kings of the Turks": H[a]ylûb Ḫâqân, Jabǧûy[a] (text: جبغُون = جَبغُوى) Ḫâqân, Šâba Ḫâqân, Sinjibû (text سنْجبو = سنْجِبر, Ḫâqân is omitted here), Mâyûs (مَايوس) [?] Ḫâqân

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1 The *Kitâb al-Masâlik wa'l-Mamâlik* was first written in the mid-840s with a second, revised edition appearing ca. 885 (Bulgakov 1958: 127–136, Bosworth 1997: 37–38, an-Nadîm 1970, I: 326). Although not the first Arabic geographical tract, it is the oldest one

2 Turk. *Qaǧan* (Clauson 1972: 611) the supreme imperial title in the Turko-Mongolian world.

3 This is a title (cf. *Nêzak Šâh, Nêzak Tarḫan*) associated with later, post-Türk conquest Hephthalite or post-Hephthalite rulers in Afghanistan (Kâpisâ and Tuḫaristân) into the early eighth century (Grenet 2002, Grenet 2003: 214–218, Beckwith 1993: 67, 70–71, 75, 89).

4 Ibn Ḫurdâḏbih, 1889:39-40. "Fairûz/Fîrûz" is also noted as the name/title of the rulers of Zabulistân and of Suǧd (Sogdia). The ruler of Samarqand also bore the title *Tarḫan*.

5 Lurje (2010: 114) Muminov (1969: 80–96): Ġûrak was a Sogdian ruler (710–738) who collaborated with the Arabs in their conquest of Transoxiana.

6 Lewicki (1969: 10), Khalidov (2011).

and Fairûz (Fîrûz) Ḥâqân, along with the "lesser kings" Ṭarḫân, Nêzak, Čor Tegin (جُورتكين), Y.m.rûn (يمرُون), S.hrân (سهرَان) and Ĝûrak.[7] Of this list, a number can be identified with well-attested Turkic or more broadly speaking Inner Asian titles (most of the Türk titles are of foreign origin).[8] Others remain enigmatic (e.g. H[a]ylûb, Mâyûs, Y.m.rûn, S.hrân) and are not recorded elsewhere. Sinjibû Ḥâqân is the *Sir Jabğu/Yabğu Qağan*,[9] the official title of İštämi,[10] brother of Bumın. The latter, the founder of the Türk Empire in 552, bore the title or honorific *İri* or *El[l]lig Qağan*,[11] recorded in the Chinese accounts (see Appendix for the names, titles/honorifics of the Türk Qağans, 552–ca. 603). İštämi (d. 576) conquered the western central and western Eurasian steppes, which subsequently became the Western Türk Qağanate.[12] Jabğûy[a] Ḥâqân renders the title *Yabğu Qağan* that was used

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7 Ibn al-Faqîh (1996: 649). The punctuation in the printed text is incorrect.

8 Sinor (1988: 145–148) citing the exceptions, *buyruq* "officer commanded by the Qağan", and *tutuq/totoq* "military governor". The latter, however, seems to be a loanword from Chin. 都督 *dudu* "military governor" EMC: *tɔ tawk* LMC: *tuə̆ təwk*, P: 81[163:9], 82 [109:8]), MC: *tu towk* (K: 91,92 "intendant-in-chief, usu. of regional military administration"). See Clauson (1972: 387, 453), User (2010: 257–258, 270), Liu (1958, II: 505, n.92), Ecsedy (1965: 84–86).

9 Dobrovits (2004: 111–114), Dobrovits (2008: 75–77) noting the Bactrian form *CPI IAΠΓV þAXO sri iapgu šaho*, which he suggests was the title used by İštämi's Iranian subjects. Byzantine accounts (Menander 1985: 45/46, 172/173, 176/177) rendered this title as Σιλζίβουλος (variants: Διζάβουλος, Διλζίβουλος, Moravcsik, 1958 II: 118, 275–276). Dobrovits (2008: 73–74) identified it with the title Ζιέβηλ recorded in Theophanes (1980: I, 316), Theophanes (1997: 447) repeated in Scylitzes as Ζεβεήλ (see forms in Golden 1980, I: 218: "second in rank after the Chagan") and considered it to be a partial rendering of the title of the Western Türk ruler 統葉 護 Tong she/yehu (EMC: *tʰawŋʰ' ɕiap/jiap ɣɔʰ* LMC: *tʰəwŋʰ' ṣiap/jiap xɦuə̆ˋ*, P: 310 [120:6], 279/364 [140:9], 128 [149:14], MC *thuwngH yep-huH*, K: 458, 540): Toŋ Yabğu or Ton Yabğu (cf. Soğd. forms: *twn cpɣw, twn zpɣw, twn žpɣw x'ɣ'n* (Ton Jabğu, Ton Jabğu Qağan, Lurie 2010: 394–395, Babayar 2014: 16), r. c. 618–630 (628/29, according to de La Vaissière 2010: 269), Heraclius's ally in the war against the Sâsânids. Dobrovits 2008: 74, considers Ζιέβηλ to be a rendering of Western Old Turkic *ǰiwu* or *ǰawu*. De La Vaissière (2010: 269–270, 273), de La Vaissière (2011: 238–240), de La Vaissière (2015b: 741–748), however, identifies him with a later figure, 俟 毗 Sipi (EMC: *ʑɨ'/ʐɨ' bji* LMC: *ʂɦr̩ˋ phji*, P: 293 [9:7], 236 [81:5]) Qağan, a subordinate Qağan of his brother Toŋ/Ton Yabğu Qağan. With several exceptions, the Chinese forms of the names/titles/honorifics of the Türk rulers with their EMC, LMC/MC reconstructions are given in the Appendix.

10 KT, E1, BQ, E2: *is't'mi*, various readings are offered: Berta, 2004: 139: *ištämi*, noting variae lect. *istämi*, Tekin (2006: 24, 50) (noting BQ, E3) 80–81, User (2010: 134) prefers: *istämi*. See Appendix.

11 Wang (1982: 150) raises doubts as to whether İštämi was the actual brother of Bumın.

12 The precise dating of the emergence of a distinct Western Türk Qağanate remains a matter of debate. It resulted from various internecine struggles within the Türk Qağanate in the period 582–610, cf. Wang (1982:139–141), Sinor (1990: 306), Drompp (1991:

by İstämi and his early successors, a title slightly inferior to that of *Qağan* (some-times also used with qualifying honorifics)[13] borne by the Eastern and nominally supreme *Qağan* of the still unitary Türk realm. A Middle Persian text, the *Šahrestânîhâ î Êrânšahr*, stemming from "Late Antiquity" (with some additions from the early 'Abbâsid era)[14] notes a configuration of rulers strikingly similar in some parts to that of the Ibn Ḫurdâḏbih ~ Ibn al-Faqîh tradition, namely: Yabbu ḫâgân, Sinjêbîk ḫâgân, Čôl ḫâgân and the Great Qağan (*wuzurg ḫâgân*), as well as Gôhram, Tuzâb and Arzâsp, the "kings" of the *Ḫiyônân* (Hyon/Chionitae).[15] Else-where in his listing of the "titles of the kings of the Earth", Ibn Ḫurdâḏbih reports that "the kings of the Turks, of Tibet (*Tubut*) and the Khazars are all (called) *ḫâqân*, with the exception of the king of the Qarluqs (*al-Ḫarluḫ*) who is called *jabğû*").[16] This notice is clearly based on the accepted usages of his time, rather than a Middle Iranian source and probably reflects the period prior to 840, i.e. before the fall of the Uyğur Qağanate. Ibn Ḫurdâḏbih's listing may have drawn on the same source(s) as the *Šahrestânîhâ î Êrânšahr*.

Of principal interest to us is the figure of Šâba. He is briefly mentioned in al-Ya'qûbî's *History*, considered the "earliest surviving world history in the Arabic

100), Golden (1992: 132–133), Ōzawa (2006: 477–478), Stark (2008: 217), Kljaštornyj (2010: 177), De La Vaissière (2010: 272–274).

13 Bumın's son and immediate successor was Keluo the Yixiji Qağan (Liu 1958, I: 7, 493–494, 33, Xiong 2009: 630); see Appendix.

14 Daryaee (2002: 1), Pourshariati (2009: 39) places its composition to the reign of either Kawâd (Qubâd) I (488–531) or his son and successor Ḫusrow I Anôšîrvân (531–579) with a final redaction in the late eighth century.

15 Daryaee (2002: 13, 17, 36–37) (commentary) and Daryaee (2008). See also the text cited in Markwart (1938: 143). It is highly unlikely that Čol Qağan is to be identified with the Türk Qağan "Chu-lo", i.e. Chuluo, see discussion below and Dobrovits (2008: 72). Several Western and Eastern Türk Qağans, bore this title, Pan (1997: 120–122, 172–173). Čol Qağan may be a lesser *qağanal* title or a corruption of *Čor*, a title below that of *qağan* (Clauson 1972: 427–428, User, 2010:259, Gülensoy, Küçüker, 2015: 131). If Čol is correct, it is perhaps the title of a Türk ruler on the North Caucasian frontier, cf. Č'oł/ Č'ołay/ Č'or etc. of the Armenian accounts, representing either Darband or a place near it (Hewsen 1992: 121,n.103, 122–13, nn.105–106). Further on in his list, Ibn Ḫurdâḏbih (1889: 40) mentions *ṣûl* the ruler of Jurjân. Ṣul = Turk. *čor/čur* and was the name of a dynastic house ruling in Jurjân from before the time of the Arab conquest in the seventh-century until 835 (Asadov 2016: 25–36). Iran. *Hyon* et al. were generics, by this time, for Eurasian nomads.

16 Ibn Ḫurdâḏbih (1889:16). Also noted are Kisrâ (the Arabic rendering of Ḫusrow) or Šâhânšâh (ruler of "Iraq"), Qaiṣar (king of Rûm/Byzantium), also called Bâṣîl (i.e. Βασιλεύς), and the Bağbûr (Parth. *bağpuhr*, Soğd. *βγp(')wr*, Bactr. βαγοπουρο "son of God" (Rastorgueva & Édel'man 2000–2015, II: 50–51) of China (Ṣîn), all of whom are cast as descendants of Tôz/Tûj, son of Frîdûn (Ferêdûn, the ancient, legendary Iranian hero; see Tafażżolī (2012: 531–533 "Ferēdūn").

tions and fiction.[21] According to Ṭabarî, Šâba, "the supreme ruler of the Turks" (*malik al-turk al-a'ẓam*)[22] marched on Bâdġîs and Herat, while the Byzantines were attacking the Sâsânids' western frontiers and the "Khazars" (here a reference, apparently, to the more westerly groupings of the peoples under Western Türk control)[23] were moving on Bâb al-Abwâb/Darband, the Sâsânid and later Arab outpost on the North Caucasian steppe world, "wreaking damage and destruction," and Arab tribes were on the Euphrates and raiding the Sawâd (Higgins 1939: 35). Šâba sent a threatening message to Hormizd, telling him to put his bridges in good repair so that the Türk forces, said to number 300,000 warriors,[24] could move across Iran to march on the Byzantines. Hormizd summoned Bahrâm Čôbîn, an experienced commander from the distinguished Parthian Mihrânid family, to meet the threat. In the ensuing clash, Bahrâm, having crossed the Oxus/Amu Darya, personally killed Šâba with an arrow shot and then repulsed the counterattack of Šâba's son B[a]rmûḍa, ultimately besieging and capturing him and seizing his "immense treasures".[25]

21 See comments of Czeglédy (1958: 21–22), Howard-Johnston (1995: 169–172), Shahbazi (1990: 208–215), Shahbazi (2012a), Wood (2016: 407–422). Abu Muḥammad 'Abdallâh Rûzbih (d. 757), an Umayyad official of Persian origin—and well-versed in Middle Persian is thought to have translated the *Ḫvadây-nâmag* into Arabic as well as other Middle Persian works that were used by later historians (Czeglédy 1973: 260–261, Latham 2011). A translation into Arabic of the *Ḫvadây-nâmag* by Ibn al-Muqaffa' (d.760) is also thought to have existed (Duri 1983: 58–59). See Pourshariati, 2009: 13 on its impact on later historians.

22 In Bal'amî's translation/reworking of Ṭabarî's *History*, Šâba, here Sâwa Šâh, is noted as Hormizd's uncle, i.e. the brother of the Qaġan (Ištämi) and a "king from Turkistân" (Bal'amî 2012, I/ii: 307–308, 313).

23 The Khazar Qaġanate as an independent institution took shape ca. 630s–650. Whether the "Khazars" mentioned here were actual Khazars, "pre-Khazars" or anachronistically named Türks or Türk subjects at this period remains an open question. For a range of views and an examination of the sources see Golden (1980, I: 50–51, 58), Ludwig (1982: 24–36, 134–135), Romašov (2000–2001: 300–304), Golden (2007: 52–55), Shapira (2007), Zuckerman (2007: 399–432). The names "Türk" and "Khazar" are often used interchangeably—and anachronistically (Golden 1980, I: 58, Novosel'cev 1990: 84).

24 The *Mujmal al-Tawârîḫ*'s brief accounts credits "Sâv[a] Šâh" with 100,000 troops (*Mujmal* 1939: 76–77). While the numbers are most probably inaccurate, they do point to a very sizable army that was advancing from the east.

25 Al-Ṭabari (1967–1969, II: 174–175), Tabari/Nöldeke (1973: 268–272, 475–478) (on the Bahrâm Čôbîn Romance), al-Ṭabarî/Bosworth (1999: 299–303). Nöldeke and Bosworth provide detailed notes dealing with this event. See Pigulëvskaja (1946: 67–83) on the larger Irano-Byzantine conflict of 583–590, which only briefly touches on Šâba and his son "Narmud" (= Barmûda) who remain otherwise unidentified. The tale is told, with many details (invented or part of Iranian tradition) by Bal'amî 2001, I/ii: 306–321. See also Ibn al-Balḫî 1921: 98 who also notes Šâba's son "Barmûda". See also the analysis of

Al-Thaʿalibî (d. 1038), a Persian author writing in Arabic, in his *Ġurar Aḫbâr Mulûk al-Fars wa Siyarihim*, a history of the kings of Iran, devotes a section to the struggle of "Bahrâm Šûbîn" with "Šâba Šâh, king of the Turks" that in general follows that of al-Ṭabarî and Balʿamî with numerous details, many of which undoubtedly came from Iranian written and oral traditions. For example, he comments that the heads of Šâba Šâh and his brother Faġfûra,[26] who is not noted elsewhere, were sent to Hormizd. A campaign, beyond the Jaihûn (Syr Darya) against Barmûḏa followed. The latter was compelled to surrender, but insisted on being sent to the court of Hormizd, along with rich treasures. Here, he denounced Bahrâm Čôbîn, accusing him of defrauding the Shah in the amount of treasure sent to the latter. An infuriated Bahrâm Čôbîn, made peace with the "Ḫâqân, the son of Barmûḏa", and revolted (590) against Hormizd, who was toppled (al-Thaʿalibî 1900: 637–661).

The precise chronology of events remains disputed. Higgins (1939: 36) concluded that the Sâsânid-Türk war began in July, 588 and ended in early April, 589. Gumilëv dated the start of the campaign to August, 589 (Gumilëv 1967: 126).[27]

A non-Sâsânid, Bahrâm Čôbîn's revolt, against Hormizd was unprecedented. An epic figure who fought the Byzantines, Hephthalites and Türks, accounts of his actions may have been merged subsequently with the tale of Bistâm (Vistâhm), who warred successfully against the Hephthalites, revolted against and slew Hormizd IV (590) and together with his brother, Bindôy (Vindûyih), brought their nephew Ḫusrow II (590–628) to the throne. The latter soon turned on them, touching off yet another revolt.[28] The Romance, a blend of fact, legend and imaginative reconstruction,[29] found its fullest expression in Firdowsî's *Šâhnâma* in which Šâba appears in the form Sâva Šâh (ساوه شَاه) and B[a]rmûḏa as Parmûdah (پرمُوده).[30] The account begins with Sâva Šâh's attack in the tenth year of Hormizd's reign from the direction of Herat with an army of 400,000 and 1200 war elephants. At the same time, the Byzantines were attacking from the west, while a "Khazar" force under Biddâl (بذال),

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Pourshariati (2009: 122–127, 397–414) regarding the ideological underpinnings of Bahrâm Čôbîn's bid for power.

26 "Faġfûra" (فغْفُورة) looks suspiciously like *faġfûr/baġpûr*, Persian renderings of the title associated with the ruler of China (see above), al-Thaʿalibî (1900: 644–646, 648).

27 Gumilëv (1960: 230) argued that the coalition created by the Byzantines consisting of Arab tribal groups, North Caucasian tribes led by the Georgian king Guaram and the Western Türk forces of Sâva Šâh "began its operations in April, 589". Sâva Šâh's goal, he avers, was to establish direct trade relations with Constantinople, bypassing Iranian intermediaries. He placed the battle at Herat in the autumn of 589 (Gumilëv 1960a: 61–74, Gumilëv 1962).

28 On the revolt of Bistâm, who also came from a distinguished Parthian family, see Sebeos (1999, I: 15, 17 ff.), Pourshariati (2009: 106, 130–136), Marquart (1901: 84), Czeglédy (1958: 21–22), Shahbazi (2012).

29 See Nöldeke (1973: 474–478), Frye (1984: 334).

30 Pourshariati (2009: 399, 400, 402) renders these names as *Sâvih Šâh* and *Parmûdih*.

a figure otherwise unattested, ravaged Armenia and Ardabîl.[31] Bahrâm Čôbîn, having killed Sâva Šâh and humiliated his corpse, dispatched his head atop a lance with his banner to Hormizd. The enraged Parmûda crossed the Oxus with 100,000 men seeking revenge only to be routed by Bahrâm Čôbîn and forced to flee to his "castle". He eventually submitted, but even then continued to provoke the haughty and irascible Bahrâm Čôbîn, who sent him off to Hormizd's court along with great amounts of booty. Parmûda ingratiated himself with Hormizd and having agreed to peace with Iran was sent home, passing through territory controlled by Bahrâm Čôbîn and further antagonizing the latter. These events, Firdowsî implies, set the stage for Bahrâm Čôbîn's revolt.[32] In these tales the Türk ruler and his army are frequently associated with China. The *Qağan* often appears as the *Ḫâqân-i Čîn* and his forces include the "mounted warriors of China" (*suvârân-i Čîn*). Sometimes, the Türks and "Chinese" are noted separately.[33] Whether Firdowsî was simply exercising poetic license here or reflecting a genuine tradition that the invading Turks were from the east, i.e. Eastern Türks coming from the borderlands of China, is unclear (Gafurov 1964: 47–48). On the other hand, Firdowsî's reference to "1200 war elephants" mustered for the campaign, if not a story-telling flourish, may point to an attack that originated in Afghanistan (from which access to Indian elephants was easier).

Al-Masʿûdî refers to Šâba several times. In a notice on the Turkic peoples, he mentions the Kimäk, Baršḫan, Badd (البَدّية, unidentified), Majġar (Magyar-led Proto-Hungarians) and the most powerful of them, the Oğuz and the Qarluqs. The latter, he comments, are the most handsome and distinguished of them "and they have the kingship (*mulk*), from them is the *Qağan* of *Qaghans* (*ḫâqân al-ḫawâqîn*). His supreme authority (*mulkuhu*) united the rest of the kingdoms of the Turks and their kings submit to him. From these *qağan*s was Farâsiyâb (Afrâsiyâb) the Turk,[34] who was victorious over the kingdom of the Persians. From them was Šâba, (but) in our time there is no *qağan* of the Turks, which their kings obey since the destruction of the city known as ʿAmât, which is in the deserts (*mafâwiz*) of Samarqand".[35] Elsewhere, al-Masʿûdî recounts the revolt against Hormizd IV, remarking that: "one of his enemies was Šâba, son of Š.b, the greatest king of the Turks, who marched against him with 400,000 men, camping near Herat, Bâdġîs and Bûšanj in Ḫurâsân". A massive army of "the Khazars" led by *tarḫan*s (*ṭarâḫina*)[36] attacked from the

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31 Whether these were actual "Khazars", Hephthalite or other forces under Western Türk rule, remains uncertain (see above).

32 *Shâhnama* (1960–1971, VIII: 331ff.), *Shâhnama* (2006: 723ff.).

33 *Shâhnama* (1960–1971, VIII: 333, 336, 372, 373 et passim).

34 Afrâsiyâb, the legendary master of Tûrân, had long been identified with the legendary Turkic hero Alp Är Toŋa (Golden 2015: 505, n.10, 520, 537, 538–539)

35 al-Masʿûdî (I: 155).

36 *Tarqan/Tarḫan* is an ancient title in steppe Inner Asia inherited by the Türks and hence the Khazars from earlier peoples. It denoted some kind of high administrative office

borders of his realm, while the Byzantines and some Arab tribes attacked from Yemen. Hormizd IV made peace with these foes and turned to deal with Šâba. This task was assigned to Bahrâm Čôbîn, who, with a much smaller army (12,000 as opposed to the 400,000 credited to Šâba), killed the latter, sending his head to Hormizd as well as vast amounts of seized treasure (the collected booty of Farâsiyâb, i.e. the treasure gathered over time by previous Türk rulers). Šâba's son, Barmûda, having eventually submitted, was sent to Iran.[37] The account follows Iranian tradition, as in the *Šâhnâma* (see above). Whether the defeat had lasting effects is open to question as the Türks remained active on Iran's frontiers and aided Bahrâm Čôbin in his revolt (Sinor 1990: 306). With Byzantine assistance, Ḥusrow II defeated Bahrâm Čôbîn, who took refuge with an unnamed Türk Qağan[38] beyond the Oxus, in Balḫ and was subsequently killed there amidst various intrigues (Sebeos 1999, I: 23, II: 173, Ṭabarî 1967–1969, II: 179–181, Nöldeke 1973: 284–289).

Some echoes of the Šâba–Bahrâm Čôbîn epic, it has been argued, are reflected in the opening pages of the *History of Bukhara* (*Târîḫ-i Buḫârâ*) of Abu Bakr Muḥammad b. Ja'far al-Naršaḫî (d. 960). The *History* was written originally in Arabic, but has come down to us only in an abbreviated Persian translation (1128, revised with further revisions and addenda in 1178/1179, Naršaxî 2011: 6–7, 16–17). The account, drawn on the legendary history of the city, has been associated with the early years of Western Türk rule. It begins with a reference to Abrûi, who settled in the region even before Bukhara itself took shape. Abrûi is introduced without preamble and his origins are not noted. Although an unnamed ruler (*pâdišâh*) lived

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(Clauson 1972: 539–540, User 2010: 268–269). It is attested among the Khazars as a personal name (or title used as a personal name) and title (Golden 1980, I: 210–213). Ibn A'tham al-Kûfî (d. a. 926) in his accounts of the Arabo-Khazar wars of the early eighth century, mentions Khazar units of 1000 that consisted of *tarqan*s and a force of 40,000 that was drawn from "sons of the *tarqan*s" (Ibn A'tham al-Kûfî 1969–1975 VIII: 61, 72). These were clearly special forces and al-Mas'ûdî's reference may be to them.

37 al-Mas'ûdî (I: 312–313). Chavannes in his study of the Chinese accounts of the Western Türks that first appeared in 1903, attempted to sort out the complex sources (Chavannes 1941: 242–243). Abu Ḥanîfa Aḥmad Dînawarî (d. between 894–903, see Pellat 2011) noted بلتكين [Yaltakîn], i.e. Yeltegin (Dînawarî 1883: 83–84. cf. Markwart (1938: 142, n.3) who argued that this form of the name was a corruption of Barmûda in the original Pahlavî source. This involves substantial changes in the text, which Markwart duly explored. Markwart's "emendations", oft noted, are a string of conjectures and must be used with caution. Dînawarî also transformed Šaba into simply *Ḫâqân* or Šâhanšâh (perhaps a corruption of *Šâva Šâh, a name he did not recognize) "of the Turks"; see also Kolesnikov, 1970: 116–118. Chavannes (1941: 198) hazarded the guess that 也 里 Ye li EMC: *jia li/li'* LMC: *jia li* (P: 363 [128:3, 163:4], 188[166:0]) whose name was associated with a temple built by the son of the king of the Turks noted by the mid-eighth century Chinese traveler Wu Kong, might be Dînawarî's Yeltegin.

38 The name of the Qağan's brother, N.ṭrâ ? [نطرا], noted by Ṭabarî (1967–1969, II: 181), is of unknown origin, but most certainly not Turkic.

in the nearby city of Baykand, Abrûi became the local wielder of authority and in time became tyrannical. In reaction, the local nobles turned to the ruler of the Turks (*pâdišâh-i Turkân*, i.e. the Türk Qağan or a representative of the ruling Türk-Ashina house), "Qarâ Jûrîn Turk," who bore the title/honorific *biyâġû*. He sent his son, Šîr-i Kišvar (lit. "lion of the land/country"), who toppled and subsequently killed Abrûi. By popular consent, he became the ruler (Našaḫî 1984: 8–10, Narshakhi 1954: 7–8, Naršaxi 2011: 23).

The account, imprecise in chronology and its dramatis personae, has produced no shortage of interpretations.[39] Thus, Qarâ Jûrîn Turk (*Qara Čurın Türk) has been identified with the Western Türk Qağan Tardu (r. 576–603), a son of İstämi.[40] His title/honorific *biyâġû* [بياغو] or *bayġu* [بَيغو] may be a garbling of the title *yabğu*. He has also been identified with Qara Čur, a local Türk ruler mentioned in Türk runiform inscriptions in the Talas region (Yıldırım, Aydın, Alimov, 2013: 285–286, for the Talas-2 Inscription: "Qara Čur," cf. Kljaštornyj 2003: 292). Šîr-i Kišvar has been considered a calque of Turkic *İl Arslan* lit. "lion of the land/realm" (Markwart 1938: 150).[41] "Qarâ Jûrîn Turk", as far as is known, did not die in a conflict with Bahrâm Čôbîn. Indeed, other than this fleeting reference most probably stemming from an oral tradition/legend, we know nothing about him.

Beyond the Arabo-Persian versions of this tradition, there are reflections of the Türk-Sâsânid clash in other historical traditions that had access to the Middle Persian tales. Primary among them is the Armenian historian Sebeos (or the *History* attributed to him), writing in the mid-seventh century, who provides an important account of Hormizd's reign. He begins by attributing the latter's ferocious purging of his opponents to his maternal Türk origins. Bahrâm (Vahram Merhewandak, i.e. Middle Pers. Vahrâm Mehrbandak), who came from the great house of the Mihrânids,[42] "prince of the eastern regions …of Persia, valiantly attacked the army of the T'etals". His campaign in the east gained him Balḫ (Bahl in the Armenian text) and territory beyond the Oxus (Arm. Vehṙot, Middle Pers. Wehrôd, the Oxus/Amu Darya). Here, he defeated the "great king of the Mazk'ut'k'"[43] who was in that region

39 Cf. Fry's notes (Narshakhi 1954: 105–106 n.18, 107–108, n.26, 27, 28), echoing conjectures of Markwart (1938: 146–152), and others.

40 Gumilëv (1967: 58, 104–108) with Kamoliddin in Naršaxi (2011:133, n.36), among others, following him. Kamoliddin also mistakes Chavannes (1941: 361) Pou-kia [Bujia] for the name Bökö. Rather, it is the honorific *bilgä*, see Tardu, Appendix. Earlier, Marquart (1901: 308), Markwart (1938: 147) identified Qarâ Jûrîn Turk with İstämi and saw in Abrûi, the last king of the Hephthalites noted by al-Ṭabarî, *Wazr* or *Wariz* (see above). This is all conjecture.

41 See also Kamoliddin in Naršaxî (2011: 133–137, 139nn. 36–37, 41) who identifies Il-Arslan, "Yang Sâuḫ" (recte: Yangsu) Tegin, Šîr-i Kišvar and Sâva Šâh as one and the same.

42 Shahbazi (2011).

43 An ethnonym (also Mask'ut'k') going back a Scytho-Iranian people, perhaps, the Massagetai or the "Maṣqat, a Scytho-Sarmatian-Iranian tribal confederation along the

beyond the great river". He killed the king of the Mazk'ut'k' in the battle and took "all the treasures of that kingdom". Bahrâm's generous distribution of the captured booty aroused Hormizd's jealousy and ultimately led to Bahrâm's revolt, which Sebeos examines in some detail and need not detain us.[44]

The section of the Georgian national chronicle, the *K'art'lis C'xovreba*, attributed to Juanšer (Pseudo-Juanšer, writing ca. 800)[45] briefly mentions Bahrâm Čôbîn. It reports that "Baram Č'ubin attacked the Turks... as is clearly described in the *Life (History) of the Persians* (*vit'ar cerili ars ganc'xadebulad c'xovrebasa sparst'a*)," defeated them and killed "Saba, the king of the Turks". With this, the advancing Byzantines and North Caucasians (*č'erdiloni*, lit. "Northerners") withdrew.[46] The account then describes Bahrâm Čôbîn's ultimately unsuccessful revolt (589–591).[47]

The Byzantines, who had every reason to take an interest in Sâsânid affairs, given their intermittent warfare with Iran, provide only indirect information about Sâsânid conflicts with the Türks in the East. Maurice was unable to exploit Hormizd IV's troubles as he faced a mutiny of his own troops in Syria in 588–589 (Higgins

west central coast of the Caspian centered on the town of Čoł or Čoła", here used to denote Turkic peoples, perhaps closer to the North Caucasus. Hewsen (1992: 45A, 57, 57A, 75 (Masagetac'ik'), 121–122, n.103) reviewing all the theories, concludes, with justifiable caution, that they formed a "federation...north of the Caucasus range..." 236, n.49. Theophanos Byzantios a sixth-century historian when first learning of the Türk embassy to Constantinople in 568, refers to them as "the Turks, who were earlier called Massagetai and whom the Persians call in their language the Kermichions" (Pohl 2002: 40–41, Moravcsik 1958, I: 539–540, II: 183). In Sebeos's account, Mazk'ut'k' most probably refers to the Türks beyond the Oxus ("the great river"), the name having been shifted "far from their actual Transcaucasian homeland" (Howard-Johnston in Sebeos 1999 II: 168).

44 Howard-Johnston in his commentary on the text (Sebeos 1999 I: 14–18, II: 168) dates the preparation for the war and Bahrâm Čôbîn's victory to 587–588. A truncated version of these events is found in the *History* of Tovma Arcruni, actually the work of two authors, writing in the mid-ninth and early tenth centuries (Arcruni 2001: 5), in which Vahram Mehrevandak, *išḫan* of the eastern regions, defeated the "Hepthalites" (T'etal), "took control of Bahl (Balḫ) and all of the land of the Kushans even beyond the great river called Vahṙot". These events are placed in the eighth year of the reign of the Byzantine Emperor Maurice (r. 582–602), i.e. 588 (Artsruni 1985: 152, Arcruni 2001:138).

45 See discussion of this source in Rapp (2014: 172–173, 331–332).

46 *K'art'lis C'xovreba* (1955–1959, I: 220). The recent edition, *K'art'lis C'xovreba* (2008: 227) omits mention of Saba, noting only that "Baram Č'ubini"...killed the king of the Turks and put their (military) camp to flight" (*mokla t'urk't'a mep'e da iota banaki mat'i*). My translation only slightly differs from Rapp (2014: 343). The *Life (History) of the Persians* refers to the *Ḫvadây Nâmag* and other Iranian "epic traditions" that were familiar to Transcaucasian intellectuals (Rapp 2014: 191–198).

47 For the most recent discussion of the revolt, see Pourshariati (2009: 122–130, 397–414) largely dealing with the symbolic subtexts in the accounts.

1939: 31–35). Evagrios Scholastikos (d. after 594), a politically-connected lawyer-Church historian, who spent much of his career in Antioch, in his *Church History*, comments in passing that Bahrâm was plotting his revolt after returning "from his engagement with the Turks" (Evagrios 2000: 307). According to the account of Theophylaktos Simokattes (d. ca. 630), Hormizd IV had gone to war with the Turks when the latter sought to increase Iran's tribute payments to them and soundly defeated them, even forcing the Turks to pay tribute to Iran. Immediately thereafter, in the eighth year of Maurice's reign (590), Hormizd IV sent Βαρὰμ (Bahrâm), "who had distinguished himself" in Hormizd's war against the Turks, to Svanet'i (Σουανία), which was "ravaged". The war was brought to nearby Colchis and Byzantine territories. Ultimately, Bahrâm overreached, lost to the Byzantines and Hormizd disgraced him. Bahrâm having become "inflated greatly and uncontrollably as a result of his victories against the Turks," revolted (Theophylaktos 1972: 120–128, 148–149, Theophylaktos 1986: 80–83, 101–102).[48] Theophylaktos' account, important for Byzantine-Persian relations, mentions Bahrâm's war on the Türks only in passing and says nothing about who commanded the Türk forces. Higgins, who is heavily reliant on him, offers the following chronology: July–August, 588 Bahrâm's defeat of the Türks. Spring, 589: "Khazar" invasion of Trancaucasia (Caucasian Albania). April, 589: Bahrâm's campaign in Suania, August, 589: Bahrâm's revolt (Higgins 1939: 72–73). Goubert (1951: 121–123) places the death of the Türk king in 588/ 589)[49] as does Whitby (1988: 287–291) in his summation of the military events of 588–589.

The Syriac accounts are even more sparing of details, although they were not unaware of the Persian historical traditions. The *Khuzistan Chronicle* (ca. 660–680) mentions Warahrân (Bahrâm) Raziqâyâ, one of the commanders of Hormizd IV's troops, whom the Shâh dispatched to the "Gate of the Ṭurkâyê".[50] Warahrân then rebelled against him (Kmoskó 2004: 54–55, 140–141, Dickens 2008: 59–61).

The Chinese accounts are reticent about these events, perhaps because they took place beyond their customary purview. The *Suishu* (compiled 629–636 and covering the events of 581–617, Wilkinson 2015: 626) remarks briefly that the Eastern Türk

48 Theophanes (1903, I: 261–265) has much the same tale, s.a. 6080 [587/8] but with no mention of Bahrâm's activities beyond Transcaucasia and Iran.

49 Pigulëvskaja (1946: 79–83) places the battle with the Türks in 589–590 and identifies Šaba with a certain "Xaovu" (Хаову) of the Chinese sources, otherwise unidentified and unreferenced. Frye (1984: 334–335) dated the "great battle near Herat" to 589. A summary of the data on Šâba and Bahrâm Čôbîn can also be found in Kolesnikov (1970:51–53).

50 "The Persian-Turkish frontier in Central Asia", perhaps the "Iron Gate" (*Tämir Qapïğ*) of the Türk inscriptions (the Buzgala Pass on the Balḫ-Samarqand route, west of the Syr Darya, User (2010: 153), the western border of the Türks in the sixth century, Kljaštornyj (1964: 71, 73, 76–77), the *Dar-i Ahanîn* [*Bâb al-Ḥadîd*], north of Balḫ in Ya'qûbî (1892: 290), Al-Ja'kubi (2011: 58, 185, n.282) also noted as the "Gate of Balḫ" (Dickens 2008: 61–62).

Qağan Chuluohou,[51] a Keluoid (de La Vaissière 2010: 273, see Appendix), also known under the honorifics/titles Bağa Qağan and Yabğu Qağan[52] (r. 587–588), the brother and successor of Išbara Qağan (r. 581–587) in 588 again campaigned in the West and was killed by a "stray arrow" (Liu 1958, I: 55, 94, 102 [the latter notice only records his death in 588 without further comment], 537, n.346, 555, n.534, Xiong 2009: 365). The *Cefu yuangui* (1013), a later "encyclopedic anthology" which has extracts from the earliest records to 960 (Wilkinson 2015: 957), merely notes that Chuluohou (r. 587–588) came westward and attacked Apa Qağan. Having secured the situation, he died not long afterward. The *Zizhi tongjian* (1084)[53] reports that Chuluohou, in 588, "suddenly" moved westward and attacked a neighboring country. He was killed by an arrowshot to the head during the campaign. This sounds very much like the fate of Šâba, although some suggest that Chuluohou's campaign was directed against Western Türk rivals.[54]

The period of specific interest to us, the turbulent era of Šaba, corresponded to the division of the Türk Qağanate into the Eastern and Western Türk Qağanates, dated variously to ca. 581–603 (Chavannes 1941: 13, 48, Wang 1982: 124–154,[55] Ôsawa 2006: 477–87, Stark 2008: 17, Dobrovits 2008: 68–69, de La Vaissière 2010: 272–274, Kljaštornyj 2010: 177). Can Šaba/Saba/Sava be found among the Türk rulers noted in our sources? Our knowledge of the period is complicated by contradictions in the Chinese accounts. The figure that loomed largest among the Western Türks was Tardu (r. 576–603), son and uneasy heir of Ištämi. He was frequently

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51 Daryaee (2002: 36) mistakenly identifies Chuluohou as "Ch'u-lo Xāgān" whom he connects with the *Čôl ḫâgân* in the Middle Persian text noted above. This erroneous identification goes back to Harmatta and Litvinsky, 1996: 368–369. Chuluo (r. 603–611) was not the son of the Muqanid Niri (as in Xiong 2009: 95), but of the Keluoid Chuluohou.

52 Under Išbara, he had held the title *Yabğu*, which now passed to Išbara's son, Yongyulü (Taşağıl 1995–2004, I: 48) the future Dulan Qağan (see Appendix).

53 A collection of annals covering the period 403 BCE–959 CE compiled by Sima Guang (1019–1086); see Wilkinson (2015: 615).

54 See discussion in Taşağıl (1995–2004, I: 49 (dating the event in 589),116,159). Gumilëv (1965: 74–75) posited two western campaigns by Chuluohou, one against Apa Qağan (dated to the spring of 587) and another, half a year later, aimed at Tardu ended with his death. Chuluohou, he argues, was not the Türk Qağan killed by Bahrâm Čôbîn, as the Chinese accounts, in his view, are inaccurate. Wang (1982: 146, 153, n.55) argues that it is unlikely that Chuluohou would have been able to move through hostile Western Türk territory to reach Herat. Rather, his probable foes were Western Türks, perhaps the remains of Apa Qağan's forces. Šâba, in this view, "was probably a Sogdian ruler" under Türk rule.

55 Wang (1982: 127) further suggests that the Türk realm, even before the East-West division was already divided into Central (led by the Great Qağan), Eastern, Western and Western Frontier regions, each ruled by a Qağan. Ištämi and Tardu, in his view, were rulers of the Western Frontier region. The subsequent Western Türk Qağanate was based on the Western and Western frontier regions.

engaged in intra-Ashina struggles, briefly held supreme power over east and west towards the end of his tenure,[56] but was ultimately driven out, fleeing to the Tuyuhun[57] (Liu 1958, I: 61). The Sui did much to encourage these internecine conflicts (Wang 1982: 140–143, Pan 1997: 101).

Similarly, the complexities of the Türk system of succession, which had horizontal/ collateral/fraternal and vertical elements,[58] which included various "lesser" or "subordinate" qağans", in essence "regional viceroys" ruling appanages, posed problems (Drompp 1991: 92–115).

An Overview of the Early Türk Rulers: the Era of Šâba

Bumın, the lord of the Ashina clan, the ruling house of the Türks, was succeeded by his sons, Qara/Qala/Keluo (r. 552–553), Muqan/Mugan (r. 553–572) and Tatpar/Tuobo (r. 572–581). Muqan, skipping over his son Daluobian, designated Tatpar/Tuobo as his heir and supreme Qağan. Tatpar, in turn, appointed Keluo's son, Išbara/Shetu (r. 581–587) as his subordinate Qağan in the eastern region and Buli, the son of his younger brother Rudan, as his subordinate Qağan in the western region (of the eastern part of the Türk realm, Liu 1958, I: 42; see Appendix). This laid the groundwork for ongoing throne struggles. With Tatpar's death, Muqan's senior son, Daluobian (who later took the title *Apa*[59] *Qağan*) although favored by the "leading figures" of the realm (i.e. the aristocracy), was again shunted aside at the insistence of the "majority of the Türks" because his mother was of low birth. The supreme Qağanate was given to Anluo, whose mother came from a noble clan (Liu 1958, I: 42–44, Wang 1982: 140, Drompp 1991:98–99, 112, n.37, Taşağıl 1995–2004, I: 27–35, 115–116, 146, 151). Amidst considerable machinations by the Sui for and against different contestants, Daluobian fled to the Western Türks, seeking the support of Tardu against Išbara, who had replaced the incompetent Anluo, who was was declared "Second Qağan" (Liu 1958, I: 44, Taşağıl 1995–2000, I: 116, 118, 178). All the rivals bore Qağanal titles, each had courted Sui assistance, but Išbara Qağan emerged as the supreme Qağan, while Tardu uneasily held the west

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56 De La Vaissière (2015: 453, n.2) argues that Tardu's power as Western Qağan had already ended in the 590s, having been driven out by Niri Qağan and that he never united the Western and Eastern Qağanates.

57 吐谷渾 LH: *tʰaᴮ/ᶜ kok γuən* MC: *tʰuoᴮ/ᶜ kuk γwən* (Schuessler 2009: 53[1–36d], 158 [11–14a], 335 [34–13b]): *Togon*, Tibet. ʻ*Aža* (Beckwith 1993: 17, Venturi 2008: 24–25), related to the Para-Mongolic Qitan.

58 Lateral/collateral or fraternal succession, i.e. older brothers were succeeded by younger brothers and they, in turn, appointed the oldest brother's son etc. The system was practiced elsewhere in Eurasia, e.g. in Rus' (Golden 2004: 229–258).

59 User (2010: 271): a title qualifier connoting seniority (*apa* also means "ancestor, forefather").

(Chavannes 1941: 48, Drompp 1991:99–100).[60] Apa Qağan turned on Tardu, driving him also to China and remained the master of the Western Türks until he was defeated and captured by Chuluohou, supported by the Sui. Chuluohou, the eastern regional Qağan under Išbara, succeeded the latter as supreme Qağan (Chavannes 1941: 2, 13–14, 48, 49, 164, n.3, 220, Wang 1982: 125, 138, Dromp 1991: 106).

After Chuluohou's brief reign, power went to the Muqanid Niri Qağan (a son of Yangsu Tegin, Chuluohou's cousin, Chavannes 1941: 3 and n.2, 13–14, Wang 1982: 149, Xiong: 2006: 210–211, Dobrovits 2009: 68, de La Vaissière 2010a: 221). His tenure in office may have ended in battle with the Tiele in 598 or 599 (Ōsawa 2006: 479–487, but others place his death in 603). Chuluohou's son, Rangan (later Tuli/Qimin Qağan, r. 599, 603–609/611, Xiong 2009:407, Skaff 2012: 39), defeated by Tardu and Dulan (Išbara's son, r. 588–599), fled to the Sui. ca. 599. Tardu, following the death of Dulan (who was killed by his own followers), continually raided Sui China, but was himself soon forced to flee to the Tuyuhun by a revolt of the Tiele and Sui machinations (Chavannes 1941: 49–51, 220–221, Liu 1958: 56–59, Wang 1982: 147–148, Drompp 1991: 100–101, Pan 1997: 106–107, Golden 1992: 131–132). Wang suggested that it was only with Shegui (r. 605–617/618), son of Duliu (r. 603–605) and grandson of Tardu, that the İštämi line "began to formally rule the Western khanate". Shegui took power from Niri's son Chuluo/Cwry (r. 603–611), with Sui support (Wang 1982: 127, 149–150). Tuli/Qimin's descendants continued as the Qağanal line in the east until the fall of the First Türk Qağanate in 630 (Drompp 191:101).

None of the names, titles/honorifics appearing in this complicated tale of intra-Türk strife yields "Šaba". Only the regnal dates of Chuluohou, i.e. Bağa/Yabğu Qağan seemingly match those of the "great king of the Turks" who perished from Bahrâm Čôbîn's remarkable bowshot.

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There has been no shortage of commentaries attempting to explain the accounts. Marquart (1898: 189) identified Šâba with Chuluohou (cf. also Rapp 2014:195). Given the chronology, his brief tenure as Qağan and the manner of his death "in the west", this is a logical conclusion. However, Chavannes (1941: 242–243) believed, despite al-Ṭabarî's claims that Šâba was one of the "great" leaders of the Türks, that he was actually a petty Soġdian king from one of the "small dynasties" subject to the Türks and that Šâba was an Arabo-Persian rendering of the Soġdian dynastic name Zhaowu (昭武). The latter however, is actually Čamûk,[61] and can be dismissed. Giv-

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60 Wang (1982: 140–151) discusses in detail the multi-sided conflicts and fluid relations of Apa, Išbara and Tardu Qağan and maintains that the latter was not, in reality, the Qağan of the Western Türks.

61 昭武 EMC: tɕiaw muǒ (P: 399 [72:5], 326 [77:4]), MC: tsyew mjuX (K: 594, 481); see Yoshida (2003, 2004, 2004a).

en the huge army at his command, he could hardly have been a minor, much less a Soġdian king.

Gumilëv (1967: 58) identified Tardu, in whom he saw "Tarduš",[62] with Qara Ču-rın (and also mistakenly identified Tardu as İštämi's son and the brother of Τού-ρξανθος (Τουρξάνθου? see Menander 1985: 276, n.221),[63] who is attested as one of the Türk rulers, under the authority of a "senior" Türk ruler, Ἀρσίλας (Menander 1985: 172/173, see below). Following Chuluohou's, defeat and death in conflict with his former ally, Qara Čurın/Tardu, Chuluohou's successors in the East, con-tinued the war against the Western Türks. Peace was eventually arranged in 593 and unity restored. Qara Čurın/Tardu became the most powerful figure and placed his son Yangsu Tegin (Yang Soux in Gumilëv's misreading) or grandson Nili/Niri in Paykand. Gumilëv identified Parmûda with Nili/Niri Qaġan.[64] Other attempts at identifying the dramatis personae and the aftermath of the events of 588 have been equally speculative.[65] The problem was already noted by Gafurov (1964: 47–48), who expressed doubts about the identification of "Qara Čurin", with Šâba and Chu-luohou (Baġa Qaġan) and about the movement of a substantial Türk force from deep in the east of Central Eurasia to the west. Naršahî's account, he suggests, refers rath-er to local events taking place sometime ca. 580s–590s.

Harmatta & Litvinsky (1996: 368–369) noting Sâsânid and Hephthalite "revolts" against the recently established Türk rule, i.e. against Tardu Qaġan (Chavannes 1941: 48–50, n.5, these revolts occurred in the early 580s and were recorded in the *Beishi*), view "Ch'ulo" (Chuluo) as the Türk Qaġan who led an army into the region

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62 The name is clearly Tardu as attested in Soġdian coins of the Türk era: *Trδw, tarδw x'γ'n* (Lurje 2010: 389 [1239] and Chinese accounts: 達頭 Datou: EMC: *dat dəw*, LMC: *that thəw* (P: 69, 311), NWMC: *dât/*dat/*dar dəu/*dou/*thəu* etc (Coblin 1994: 307 [0619], 263–264 [0472]), MC: *dat duw* (K: 72, 458). See also the comments of Frye in Narshakhi (1954: 106, n.26) and of Kamoliddin in Naršaxi (2011: 133–134, n.36).

63 Zuev (2002: 190, suggested that the Greek form is a garbling of the Turkic tribal name *Tuqsı/Tuḫsı/Tuġsı*.

64 Gumilëv (1967: 115–117, 125–132), Kamoliddin (2006/2007: 45–46, n.9).

65 Markwart 1938: 148, 150 conjectured that Šîr-i Kišvar/İl Arslan was an older brother of Tardu. Frye (Narshakhi 1954: 108, n.28) followed him as does Kamoliddin. The latter equates "Yang-Sâuḫ" (recte: Yangsu, see Appendix) with İl Arslan, Šîr-i Kišvar and Šâba or "Šiyâba" (شيابة)/Sâva Šâh (Naršaxî 2011: 137–138, n.38, 139, n.41). According to Cha-vannes 1941: 3, n.2, 50, Yangsu Tegin is the later 都六 Duliu Qaġan (r. 603–605), a son of Tardu (Xiong 2009: 138). Yangsu Tegin's son was Nili/Niri an Eastern Türk ruler of the Daluobian/Apa Qaġan branch. Liu (1958, I: 117–118) has excerpts from his biography in the *Suishu*. However, Ōsawa (2006: 475–476, 480) and de La Vaissière (2010: 273 and 2010a: 221) on the basis of the recently deciphered Mongolküre Soġdian inscription (ca, 599? Ōsawa 2006: 491), which records Niri as a grandson of Muqan concluded that Yangsu was a Muqanid (although Ōsawa considers him a nephew rather than a brother of Daluobian/Apa Qaġan). If Niri, for whom the inscription was erected, died in 603, Ōsa-wa's dating is too early.

in 588–589, to help the Hephthalites. Chuluo, however, was alive and well—and a ruling Qağan some fifteen years after the events of 588. Wang (1982: 153. n.55), following G. Uchida, maintained that Choulouhou could not have been Šaba. Rather, Chuluohou, he argued died in combat with Türk rivals in an expedition "to the west". Šaba, accordingly, was probably a Soğdian vassal of the Türks—a line of thought that has little plausibility. Sinor thought, at different times, that Chuluohou or Niri may have been the Türk ruler killed by Bahrâm Čôbîn in 589 (Sinor 1990: 306, Sinor & Klyashtorny 1996, III: 334). Attempts to link Šawk and Pariovk, two "kings of the Kušans" i.e. late Hephthalite groupings noted by Sebeos ca. 599/600 (Sebeos 1999, I: 45, II: 181–182),[66] with Šâba and Barmûda remain speculative at best and pertain rather to the later revolt of Vistahm often conflated with the Bahrâm Čôbîn affair.[67] Given that it is highly unlikely that two different historical traditions (Sâsânid Iranian and Chinese) that were not in contact with each other, would both report the death by bowshot of a Türk Qağan at the same time (588 or possibly 589) in a campaign in Central Eurasia, it seems likely that Bağa Qağan/Chuluohou was the victim of Bahrâm Čôbîn's legendary marksmanship (cf. Marquart 1901: 65) and is our Šâba.

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Šâba (Šava/Saba/Sava), whether a name, title or honorific, like so many of the early Türk anthroponyms, is not Turkic, nor is it easily derived from an Iranian source or intermediary. One cannot exclude the possibility that شابة [Šâba] and its variants are corruptions of باغة [bâğa], one of Chulouhou's titles. However, such a corruption of the text would have to have occurred very early in the written record. Moreover, the Georgian form, Saba საბა, taken from the Ḫvadây-nâmag, unless corrupted by later Arab-script versions, would appear to preclude such a possibility. There is a possible connection with "black" (cf. the name of Šâba's father, *Šab, as reported by al-Masʿûdî—although the alliteration in the two names is suspicious): Pahl. šab "night" (MacKenzie 1986: 78), Avest. syâva, M. Parth. syʾw, Soğd.. šʾwlu [šâw/u], šw [šow/ šaw], Pers. siyâh "black" (Rastorgueva 1981: 22, 42, 44, Bailey 2010: 387–398, Gharib 1995: 370 [9177], 377 [9338], Zuev 2002: 195, Kamoliddin in

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66 Marquart (1901: 65, 83), Markwart (1938: 142), cf. also Dickens (2008: 61–62), viewed the invaders of Bâdğîs and Herat as Hephthalites, acting with the approval of the Türks, but considered the Muzkʾitʾkʾ (Muzkʾutʾkʾ) and their king who were defeated by Bahrâm Čôbîn to be Türks. In his view Sebeos distinguished between these two events.

67 Marquart (1901: 65, 83–84), Markwart (1938: 142, 145) although distinguishing between the events of 588 and the defeat, ca. 595, by Bistâm/Vistâhm of the "two Kušan kings", Šaug and Pariovk [Pariôk], identifies the former with Šâba/*Šâwa: Middle Pers. Šâwak/Pers. Sâwa and the latter with Barmûda/Parmûda—a result of the conflation of the Bahrâm Čôbîn and Vistâhm tales.

Naršaxi 2011: 137–137–138).[68] Khotanese Saka *śāva* ""copper, copper-coloured, red" (< Iran. *syâva-* "dark in colour"). The Khotanese Saka form seems closest, but its significance is not apparent. Linking this word to Qara Čurın is a leap.

Another possibility is Soġd. *sw'* [*Sawâ*?] "force, strength, strong" (Lurje 2010: 353–354[1106]). Sogdian served as the lingua franca of not only the Silk Road, but of the First Türk Qağanate in its dealings with the larger world (e.g. East Rome/Byzantium and Iran) and the Soġdians from early on exerted an important cultural influence on the Türks.

The Bactrian title **šâva* "king" has been proposed (Harmatta & Litvinsky 1996: 371, Kamoliddin in Naršaxî 2011: 137–138, n.38), but the collected onomastic data has: Bactr. **σαoo* [sawah] "strength, strong" (Sims-Williams 2010: 125 [418]) and *þαo, þαvo* [šao/šawo?] "king" < **χšawâ*, cf. Avest. *χšaθra* "power", Old Pers. *χšayaθiya* "ruler" > *šah* (Bailey 2010: 412–413, Sims-Williams 2007: 283, Sims-Williams 2010: 156–157 [554], Kamoliddin in Naršaxî 2011:137: n.38 etc.).[69] Khotanese Saka *ṣṣau/ṣau* "official title" used in formularies for regnal years in documents is related. It might be recalled that the origins of the Türk ruling clan, the Ashina and its consort clan the Ashide, show East Iranian connections (Golden 2008/2009: 73–112). Recent, but still preliminary, DNA analyses point to the ties of the 阿史那 Ashina[70] Türk royal clan and the 阿史德 Ashide[71] (the consort clan of the Ashina)[72] to the "Pashtun cluster", i.e. to the East Iranian world (Wen & Mur-

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68 Pahl. *siâvah* (Abramjan 1965: 194), *syâv, syâ* (MacKenzie 1986 :78 et al. appear in a variety of anthroponyms, cf. Scythian Σιάουος (*Syâva*, in Abaev 1979: 304), the Sarmatian material in Harmatta (1970: 75); cf. the Soġdian names in Lurje (2010: 367–368 [1156–1160]): *Š'w* [Šâw], *Š'w'ncH* [Šâwânj] et al.

69 Soġd. *š'w* [*šâw/u*] "black" is less likely here and *xš'wn* [*xšāwan, xšon*] "power, rule authority" > *'xš'w'n* [*əxšāwan*] "ruling, realm" (Gharib 1995: 82 [2080], 370 [9177], 432 [10651]) would require very substantial emendations.

70 P: 23, 283, 221, Rastorgueva & Édel'man (2000–2015, I: 284–286): **axšaina* "sinij, goluboj, zelënyj, sizyj" Khotano-Saka *âṣṣeina-âṣṣena* "blue" = Turk. *kȫk* "blue", Clauson (1972: 708–709), *āṣṣeiṇa* "blue", Bailey (2010: 26–27), also Tokharian A *āśna* "blue" = Türk *Kök* "blue", Kljaštornyj (1994: 445–447) and lengthy discussions in Atwood (2012–2013: 68–81) (Turk. *aši~arši* < ultimately Sanskrit *r̥ṣi* "Vedic poet, sage" < **R̥ṣila* "holy sacred" or "Heavenly/Holy origin")* and Beckwith (2016: 39–46) **Aršilaš* "noble kings" < Tokh. A *ārśi* "noble"); cf. Ἀρσίλας above.

71 阿史德 EMC *Ɂaṣitək* *Aštaq P: 23, 283, 74) 阿史德 Old NW Chin. *ʔa-ṣə-tək* (Coblin, 1994: 124 [0016], 240–241[0382], 411–412 [0979] ca. 400. Late Tang Tibet.*"a-shi-tig* Tibet ms. P.T.1283, Venturi 2008 21: *a-sha-sde'i sde-chig* = Ashide, see discussion in Atwood, 2012–2013: 74–75, who suggests *A-she-tig* or *A-shi-teg*: *aši~arši* < ultimately Sanskrit *r̥ṣi* "Vedic poet, sage" < **R̥ṣila* "holy sacred" or "Heavenly/Holy origin", + Turk. *-teg* "like" i.e. "saint-like". These *aši*-based names are not "native Inner Asian". Rather, the Türk ruling house had another, non-Turkic name *Zhama* attested in Tibet ms. P.T. 1283 where it appears as *Zha-ma Kha-gan* (cf. Venturi 2008: 20–21, 27, 29).

72 Zuev (2002: 33, 34, 86–88, 168).

atov & Suyunov 2016: 154–157). However, our non-Arab-script sources (e.g. Georgian *Saba*) in which there is no possibility of the confusion of *s* [س] and *š* [ش] unless they drew their information from already corrupted sources, would seem to preclude *Šâva.

Šâba may have yet another connection. In a possibly mid-late eighth-century Tibetan source (Tibet ms. P.T.1283), perhaps taken from a written or oral Uyğur account, the form *Zha-ma Kha-gan* (Venturi 2008: 5, 8, 20–21, 27, 29), apparently a "personal epithet or title" is noted. This would appear to be a Tibetan rendering of 射摩 *Shemo*[73] an ancestral figure that appears in one of the Turkic ethnogonic myths recorded in the *Youyang zazu* (an encyclopedic work complied by Duan Chengshi, ca. 855, Wilkinson 2015: 741, Sinor 1982: 230–231 and Osawa 2009: 401–403) and perhaps reflecting a name or epithet *Shama/*Šaba? Finally, one cannot rule out the strong likelihood that Šâba, like so many other early Türk names, titles and honorifics, may have been taken from an unknown language, perhaps Rouran/Asian Avar, whose linguistic affiliations remain unclear.[74]

Appendix

Names, Titles/Honorifics[75] of the Türk Qağans 552–603

Bumın *İri or *El[l]ig Qağan (d. 552)[76]

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73 EMC: zia[h] ma LMC: ʂɦiaˋ (P: 279, 217). In MTCA 摩 was pronounced *ma, mâ* , *mɑ* and *bâ, bɑ* (Coblin 1994: 130–131[0031], see discussion of the Tibetan and Chinese forms, as well as the possible connection with Old Turkic Yama/J̌ama, in Ōsawa (2011: 168, 176–177) and Atwood (2012–2013: 78–81). Ōsawa suggested the reading of the Ongi[in] Türk inscription (dated variously from 720 to the 740s), W, 1: *äčümiz apamız yama qağan* "our ancestor and father Yama Qağan", with *yama* rather than *yamı* the standard reading (e.g. Berta 2004: 216, Ölmez 2012: 190, Aydın 2012: 125–129). The Ongi[in] monument was erected in the name of Bilgä Išbara Tamğan Tarqan, a member of the Ashina clan. Rybatzki (2000: 208–209) was doubtful about the reading of *Yamı and considered it possible that the monument was erected in the early years after the Uyğurs had seized power (744).

74 Vovin (2011: 27–36). Sinor (1982: 237) having analyzed the three ethnogonic tales associated with the Türks was correct in concluding that the Türks were a "conglomerate of various tribes, possibly including non-Turkic-speaking populations". Indeed, today in light of what is known of the early Türks, one would have to omit the word "possibly".

75 Often noted in shortened forms (Skaff 2012: 117, 333–334). A number of examples are found in Bielenstein (2005). The list is incomplete. For the full genealogical tree of Bumın and İštämi, see Liu (II: end-leaf chart), Taşağıl (1995–2004, I: 185).

76 In the poorly preserved Soğdian Bugut inscription (c. 582) of the First Türk Qağanate, his name/title is rendered as *bγbwmyn γˈγ'n* (*bγ' bwmyn γˈγ'n*, Bugut 2, 8, 9), "Lord of the Earth" (Bumın < Iran. *būmī̆* "zemlja, strana", Middle Pers. *būm*, Soğd. *βwmh, βwm* [*vūm*] (Rastorgueva & Édel'man 2000–2015, II: 134–135, Rybatzki 2000: 217–219, Lurje 2010: 238 [663]) according to Dobrovits (2008: 68), but the text in Kljaštornyj & Livšic (1972:

Keluo Yixiji Qağan (552–553),[77] son of Bumın
Muqan Qağan (553–572),[78] son of Bumın[79]

85–86) lacks it in line 2 and the Moriyasu & Ochir (1999: 123–124) does not note it. See also commentary in Lurje (2010: 238 [663]). *Bwmyn* [*Būmēn*] is found on a post-Sâsânid seal (Rybatzki 2000: 2007). In the Chinese accounts, Bumın's name is recorded as 土門 Tumen: EMC : *tʰɔʰ mən* LMC: *tʰuǎ' min* (P: 312 [32:0], 211 [169:0], MC: *tʰuoᴮ mwən* (S: 53, 332 [1–36a], [33–35a]) meaning "earth gate/door". 土 hints semantically at *Bumın*. In the *Suishu* (Liu 1958, I: 7, 41, Xiong 2009: 624), Bumın is noted as bearing the title 伊利可汗 Yili Kehan EMC: *ʔji liʰ kʰa' ɣan* (P: 364 [9:4], 188 [18:5], 173 [30:2], 118 [85:3], MC: *ʔI 4 liᶜ* (S: 278 [26–13a], 280[26–24ab]), MC: *'jij lijH* (K: 540, 262), MC: *ʔiᵈ li*, pre-ONWC: *ʔii li*/ONWC: *ʔii li* STCA: *ʔi li* etc. (Coblin, 1994: 224–225, 225–226 [0322, 0324]) presumed to represent **Éllig Qağan* (Turk. *éllig, élig*, later *ilig* "having a realm...king" < *él* "political unit...realm" (Clauson 1972: 121–122, 141–142, Kasai 2014: 124) = "the Qağan who possesses the realm". Already Clauson had doubts that *éllig* was originally a Turkic word. Rybatzki (2000: 206–208) questioned whether Yili represented *él/él[]lig*. Atwood (2012–2013: 50–53) argues that Yili is a rendering of *Iri*, a title of unknown provenance, recorded in Bugut (III, 4): *'y-ry mɣa'* (**iri maġa*, see Moriyasu & Ochir (1999:122–125), Rybatzki (2000: 217), and also noted in Qitan (Kane 2009: 108: *i.ri* "official title).

77 科羅 Keluo EMC: *kʰwa la*, (P: 172 [115:4], 203 [122:14]), MC: *khwa la* (K: 238–239, 289), MC: *kʰwâ lâ* (S: 220 [19–7n], 215 [18–10a]) often interpreted as rendering Turk. *qara* "black", Clauson (1972: 643–644); see Rybatzki (2000: 213–214) but this is by no means certain. See Rásonyi & Baski (2007, II: 422–432) with a lengthy listing of names containing this word. Keluo may just as easily be interpreted as Khotan Saka *kạrä* "title", *kala* "excellent" (Bailey 2010: 53,55). Keluo also bore the titles/honorifics 逸 Yi (EMC: *jiǎ/ji* LMC: *ji* MC: *yit* MC: *yit* MC: *jiet*) and 阿逸 Ayi MC: *'a yit*, MC: *ʔâ jiet* Qağan (Rybatzki, 2000: 213, 290 [8,9] < P, K: 1, 552, S: 300[29–19a], 211 [18–1m]). *Ayı* is mentioned in an Uyğur document as a title (Rybatzki 2000: 214), 乙息記 Yixiji Qağan (Liu 1958, I: 7, 41, 493–494, 33, Xiong 2009: 630): EMC: *ʔit sik kɨʰ/kiʰ* (P: 367 [5:0], 330 [61:7], 141 [149:3]), MC: *ʔjet 3 sjək kjɨᶜ* (S: 306 [30–7a], 111 [5–29a], 93 [4–5j]); other reconstructions are MC: *'it sik kiH* (K: 544, 484, 190), MC *ʔjet³ sjək kjɨ*, ONWC: *ʔit sik kiə*, STCA: *ʔir sik kiə > ki.* etc. (Coblin 1994: 367–368 [0827a], 418 [1008], 238–239 [0373]) = Turk. *İsig* (DTS, 1969: 213, Gülensoy & Küçüker 2015: 214): "gorjačij, tëplyj, privetlivyj") or *ersig* ("manly, virile", Clauson 1972: 238)? De La Vaissière (2010: 267–277) discusses the familial ties of Bumın and his immediate successors.

78 木杆(桿) Mugan (Kasai 2014: 127: *məwk ɣanʰ*), also 木汗 Muhan: EMC: *məwk ɣan*, LMC: *məwk xɦan* and 木扞 Muhan: EMC: *məwk ɣanʰ* LMC: *məwk xɦan`* (P: 220 [75:0],119 [85:3, 64:3], Lurie (2010: 252 [715]), MC: *muk ɣânᶜ* (S: 161 [11–24a], 251 [24–1q]), MC: *muwk hanH* (K: 315, 152), variant forms noted Liu 1958, II: 495. n.36). Muqan is a title, his name appears as 燕都 Yandou EMC: *ʔɛnʰ tɔ* (P: 359 [86:12], 81 [163:9]). The name 俟斤 Sijin EMC: *ẓɨ'/ẓi' kin* (P: 293 [9:7], 156 [69:0]), Liu (1958, I: 8, 10–13, II: 503–504, n.83), Ōsawa (2006: 475–478), Xiong (2009: 367). Kasai (2014: 125) variant 其燼 qijin EMC: *gɨ/gi zinʰ* LMC: *khI shin`* (P:245 [12:6], 157 [86:14], Rybatzki (2000: 214) is also associated with him. It usually renders the Turk. title *irkin* (Clauson 1972: 225): title of tribal chiefs, cf. also User (2010: 260). This could hardly have been

Ditou, also Kutou Qaǧan,[80] son of Bumın
   Rudan[81] Qaǧan, son of Bumın
   Buli,[82] son of Rudan
Tatpar [Tuobo][83] Qaǧan (572–581), son of Bumın
   Umra [Umna]/Anluo Qaǧan[84] (581), son of Bumınid Tatpar

Muqan's rank and may have referenced an earlier position. Soġd. (Bugut: *mwγ'n*, Mongolküre, 6: *mwx'n x'γ'n* (Muhân/Muqan, Rybatzki 2000: 214–216, Lurje, 2010: 252–253 [715], and Bugut 1.1–2: *'wr-kwp-'r cr-''cwmγ'' t'[t](p)['r] (x'γ'n)* "Urkupar Cracu Magha Tatpar Qaghan", B2.3–4: *mγ'' t'[t](p)['r] (x'γ'n)* "Magha Tatar Qaghan" (Moriyasu & Ochir 1999: 123, Rybatzki 2000: 216–220) discusses various possible Iranian derivations for these names/honorifics, e.g. Soġd. **Mahân/Mâhân* "son of the moon"?

79 Or younger brother, see Liu (1958, I: 41, II: 493–494, n.33), Rybatzki (2000: 213, 214).

80 地頭 Ditou/庫頭 Kutou EMC: *di^h dəw/k^hɔ^h dəw* P:76 [32:3], 311 [181:7], 175[53:7], 311 [181:7]), Kutou, a lesser Qaǧan ruling the "eastern region" under his brother Muqan, master of the eastern part of the Türk Qaǧanate (Liu 1958: 25, 26–27, 42, II:512, n.149, 521, n.227, 771, Wang 1982: 129, 131).

81 褥但 Rudan EMC: *ɲuawk dan^h* (P: 269 [145:10], 71 [9:5]) Qaǧan (Liu 1958: I, 42, II, n.219). Tatpar Qaǧan named the son of Rudan, the Buli Qaǧan (Liu 1958, I: 42, 520–521, n.219, Chavannes 1941: 226–227, n.5, Drompp 1991: 97 for discussion of textual problems and Taşaǧıl 1994–2005, I: 98 for the variants given in the *Tongdian* 801, written by Du Yu, Wilkinson, 2015: 646).

82 步離 Buli EMC: *bɔ' liə̆^h* (P: 43 [77:3],189[172:11]) a lesser Qaǧan ruling the western region under Muqan, (Liu 1958: I: 25, 42, II 504, n.84, 520–521, n.219, Wang 1982: 129, 131, 133–134). Wang (1982: 134) and Drompp (1991: 97): Buli = Turk. *böri* "wolf" (Clauson 1972: 356), both a sacred animal for the Türks and used as a personal name. Drompp appears to accept the possibility that Buli Qaǧan under Muqan was of unclear lineage, while the Buli Qaǧan during Tatpar's reign was the younger brother of the latter and the son of Rudan. If "Buli" is, indeed, Böri, it would be one of the rather few examples of a ruler from the First Türk Qaǧanate bearing a Turkic name or honorific. Böri was a term used for the "guard officers"/personal military retinue of the Qaǧan reported in the *Zhou shu* and written: 附 離 Fu-li EMC: *buə̆^h liə̆/li* LMC: *fɦjyə̆`/fɦuə̆` li* = Böri (P: 101 [170:5], 187[114:6]). Kasai (2014: 123) also notes 附鄰 *Fu-lin* (EMC: *buə̆^h liə̆/lin* LMC: *fɦjyə̆`/fɦuə̆` lin*, P: 101 [170:5], 194[163:12], Liu (1958, I: 9), Taşaǧıl (1994–2005, I: 10). Buli/Böri was probably a title rather than a name (Wang 1982: 131 and below).

83 佗鉢 Tuobo/Tabo EMC: *t^ha pat* LMC: *t^ha puat* (P: 313 [9:5], 40 [167:5], 他鉢 Tabo EMC: *t^ha pat* LMC: *t^ha puat* (P: 299 [9:3], 40[167:5]), 達拔 Daba EMC: *t^hat bəit/bɛ:t* LMC: *t^hat pʰia:t* (P: 299 [162:9, da/ta], 27 [64:5], Kasai 2014: 130, Xiong, 2009: 516). Soġd. (Bugut I.2–3) *wr-kwp-'r cr-'cw mγ' t'tp'r x'x'n* (Urkupar Cracu Maġa Tatpar Qaǧan), *mγ'tp'r: Maγa Tatpar, βγγ mγ' t't(p)['r]* (Moriyasu & Ochir 1999: 1123, Ölmez 2012: 67, Rybatzki 2000: 215, Lurje 2010: 238 [664]) with discussion of other forms, including Mohetabo 莫賀他鉢 EMC: *mak/mɔ^h γa^h t^ha pat* Maġa/Baġa Tatpar Qaǧan (Kasai 2014: 1127) and Tabo 他鉢 [EMC *t^ha pat*] Qaǧan.

84 菴羅 Anluo EMC *ʔəm/ʔam la* (P: 24 [140:80], 203 [122:14]) = Soġd. *umra/umna* (de La Vaissière 2010: 271 "en sodgian Umna", de La Vaissière 2015: 453–454 and de La

Išbara [Shetu, Erfu, *Niwär/Niwâr] Qaġan (578 or 581–587),[85] son of Keluo or
of Tatpar[86]

Vaissière, 2015b: 747), who was chosen "by the people" over Daluobian quickly ceded
power to Išbara [Shetu, Niwär/Niwâr] Qaġan (Chavannes 1941: 48, 317, Liu 1958, I: 43).
Bugut (II, 8–9) (but see also Lurje (2010: 238 [663]) who has: *my' 'wmn' x'γ'n* Maġa
Umna Qaġan who erected (a monument?) for his father "Maġa Tatpar Qaġan" (Moriyasu
& Ochir 1999: 123–124, Ölmez 2012: 67–70).

85 His full title: 伊利俱盧設莫何始波羅 Yili julu she mohe shiboluo EMC: *ʔji li^h kuǒ lɔ ɕiat
    mak γa ɕi'/ɕi' pa la* (P: 365 [9:4], 188 [18:5], 162 [9:8], 199 [108:11], 279 [149:4], 218
    [140:7], 122 [9:5], 283 [38:5], 40 [85:5], 203 [122:14]: Turk. *El[l]ig[*İri?] Külüg Šad
    Baġa Išbara*? Ōsawa (2006: 479), variants Taşağıl (1995–2000: I: 116), Rybatzki (2000:
    207–208, 216–217) (for similar titles). With the exception of *külüg* ("famous", Clauson
    1972: 717–718, a component in some personal names) it is a collection of titles. 始波羅 is
    a variant of the more common 沙鉢略 Shabolüe: EMC: *ʂai/ʂɛ: pat liak* LMC: *ʂa: puat
    liak* (P: 273 [85: 4], 40[167:5], 205 [lyuè, 102–106]), MC: *srae pat ljak* (K: 398, 26, 288,
    see Kasai (2014: 125) Shaboluo 沙鉢羅 EMC: *ʂai/ʂɛ: pat la* LMC: *ʂa: puat la* and
    Yishiboluo 乙史波羅 EMC: *ʔit ʂi'/ʂi' pa la* LMC: *ʔit ʂr' pua la*). This title, according to
    Kasai (2014: 66, n.24) in Bactrian is σπαραυο, but not read as such in Sims-Williams
    (2010: 78 [211]). However, the latter compares it with *šp'r'* or *'šp'r'* (title/name) in
    Manichaean script texts. This could be *Išpara. A poorly preserved coin from Čâč has:
    (Soġd.) * *'šbr' twrk [x]'γ'n* Išbara Türk Qaġan (Lurie 2010: 111–112 [178]).The title
    Išbara (*Išvara* < Sanskrit *îśvara* "lord, prince") entered Turkic via Tokharian, Clauson
    (1972: 257). It is also recorded as 始波略 Shibolue (P: 283 [38: 5], 40 [85:5], 205 [lyuè,
    102–6]), EMC: *ɕi'/ɕi' pa liak* LMC: *ʂi' pua liak*), 沙鉢畧(=略) Shabolüe EMC: *ʂai/ʂɛ:
    pat liak* LMC: *ʂa: puat liak* (P: 273 [85:4], 40[167:5], 205 [lyuè, 102–106], see Pritsak
    (1985: 205–206) noting the full honorifics accompanying this regnal name). In addition,
    other names/titles/honorifics associated with Išbara Qaġan in the Chinese accounts are: 攝
    圖 Shetu EMC: *ɕiap dɔ* LMC: *ʂiap thuǒ* (P: 279[64:18], 311 [31:11], Liu, 1958, I: 44 et
    passim, Xiong, 2009: 433) and 爾伏 Erfu (EMC: *ɲiǒ'/ɲi' buwk* LMC: *ri' fjwwk/fuwk*, P:
    88 [89:10], 98 [9:4] also 101 [9:4]: EMC: *buw^h* LMC: *fɦjyw'/fɦuw`* . Lurje suggests a
    reading of *Erba?* and offers the EMC form as *ɲiǒ'/ɲi' -bəit/bɛ:t* the latter form is not
    found in P) Qaġan (Liu, 1958, I: 42). Pritsak (1985: 206) considered this a personal name.
    Ōsawa (2006: 479) reads it as "Ni-fok" reflecting Soġd. "Niwar" (see below). Klyaštornyj
    & Livšic (1972: 74 and n.6) cite older reconstructions: *ńźię-b'ịuk*. Chin. Erfu = *Neber,
    *Ñeber and is probably distinct from Shetu. His name (title?) is recorded in the Soġdian
    Bugut inscription of the First Türk Qaġanate: *nw''r x'γ,n* (*Niwär/Niwâr? Qaġan), "the
    Yaruqa brother of Muqan Qaġan" *m(wx)n x'ġ'n y'rwk'* ḤY, noted in the Bugut
    inscription, I. 2–3, BII. 8–9, B.III.4 (Lurje 2010: 280 [#820], Moriyasu & Ochir 1999:
    123, Ölmez 2012: 67; see also discussion in Rybatzki 2000: 216–219, who suggests the
    possibility of a connection with Soġd. *nw', nwh [nwa, nawa]* "nine" a lucky number in
    Turko-Mongolian names). Pritsak (1985: 206), following suggestions in Klyaštornyj &
    Livšic (1972: 74) (Nie-t'u-Shê-t'u = *ńźię-b'ịuk, ńźię-b'uât* = ñebuk [ñevuk] ñebar [ñevar],
    and n.6), argues that Shetu is to be read as *nie pi* (攝 has the alternate reading of *nie*).
    Pritsak cites the outdated work of Karlgren (1991[1923]: 207 [667] 220 [719]): cf. also
    the revised version Karlgren (1996 [1957]: 89 [290a], 37 [64a]) *śjat d'o/d'uo*, not noted

Diqincha, son of Keluo[87]
Apa/Daluobian Qağan (581–587),[88] son of Muqan
Bağa Qağan[89] Yabğu Qağan,[90] Chuluohou[91] (587–588), son of Keluo

by him), proffering Anc. Chin. *ńi̯äp 'pj*^w*i*, but he confused 畐 with 圖 AC b'i̯äi'. Pritsak suggests that *nw''r*, is this Qağan's "original" Turkic name: **näbär*. This is highly unlikely as aside from several interrogatives, Turkic has almost no words, except for a few loanwords, that begin with *n-*. Drompp (1991: 100) notes that there were "five subordinate qaghans" under Išbara Qağan.

86 Rybatzki (2000: 216). The discrepancy between the *Suishu* and the Bugut inscription remains unexplained.

87 地勤察 EMC: di^h gin tʂʰəit/tʂʰɛ:t LMC: tɦi` kɦin tʂʰa:t (P: 76 [32:3], 254 [19:11], 47 [40:11]), the last character is for the title *šad*, given to close relative of the Qağan (Clauson 1972: 866), the brother of Išbara who became an ally of Apa Qağan (Taşağıl 1995–2004, I: 43–44, 46, 123,137, Liu, 1958, I: 49 terms him Išbara's cousin, Ōsawa 2006: 479: Chiqincha [Turk. Tegin Šad] terms him an "uncle" of Išbara/Shetu).

88 大邏便 EMC: *da', daj*^h *la*^h *bjian*^h LMC: *tɦa`, tɦa`la`pɦian`* (P: 69 [37:0], 203 [162:19], 37 [9:7]). Daluobian (= Tarpan? De La Vaissière (2010: 271), Gumilëv (1967: 58, n.25, 464) saw a "Turkic" "Torémen" (*Töremen) in this name and equated Daluobian/Apa Qağan/Abrûi/Τουροὺμ". A son of Muqan, he was also known under the title *Apa Qağan* (User 2010: 271): 阿波 Abo (Kasai 2014: 122, P: 23 [170:5], 40 [85:5] EMC: *ʔa pa* LMC: *ʔa pua* Qağan. Apa (Turk. "ancestor, grandfather" also used to designate various senior family members, Clauson 1972: 5, User 2010: 248), does appear in Turkic names and titles (DTS, 1969: 47, Gülensoy & Küçüker 2015: 29), if, indeed, Turkic (cf. also Finno-Ugric **appe* "Schwiegervater", Hung. *apa* "Vater", Rédei 1988, I: 14), it would be an early example of Turkic in Türk titles. Here, it would denote "Senior Qağan", clearly part of Daluobian's attempts to heighten his political status. Kasai (2014: 121, 122) citing Turfan texts from the period 498–640, has: 阿博 abo (EMC: *ʔa pak*) and 阿搏 abo (EMC: *ʔa pak*, P: 23 [170:5], 41 [24:10] and 23 [170:5], 41 [64:10]), pointing, perhaps, to a different title/honorific.

89 莫何 Mohe EMC: *mak ɣa* LMC: *mak xɦa* (P: 218 [140:7], 122 [9:5]), MC: *mak ha* (K: 313, 155) = Bağa Qağan < Soğd. *βɣ'*, Bactr. βαγο, βαγα "God, lord" (Rastorgueva & Édel'man 2000–2015, II: 49), Soğd. *mx'* (compound in names < Sanskrit *mahâ* "great", Lurje 2010: 253 [717, 718]). Rybatzki 2000: 220, cautions against connecting Soğd. *maġ'* with *mahâ*. Bağa earlier held the title 突利 Tuli Šad (Liu 1958, I: 97, Drompp 1991: 99, 112, n.41, Taşağıl 1995–2004, I: 151). The epithet/honorific 突利 MC: *tʰwət/dwət li*^C (S: 313 [31–12a], [26–24ab]) appears in a number of titles (see below).

90 葉護 Yehu EMC: *jiap ɣɔ*^h LMC: *jiap xɦuǎ`* (P: 364 [140:9], 128 [149:14], MC *yep-huH* (Kroll 540, 166): Yabğu Qağan.

91 處羅侯 EMC: *tɕʰiə' la ɣəw*, LMC: *tʂʰiə'/tʂʰyə̆ la xɦəw* P: 60 [141:5], 203 [122:14], 125[9:7]), MC: *tɕʰjwo*^B/*tɕʰjwo*^C *lâ ɣəu* (S: 49 [1–18–85a], 215 [18–10a], 146–147 [10–6a], MC: *tsyhoX la huw* (K: 58, 289, 162). Chuluohou may be a rendering of **čolaq* or *čoluq* "with one arm…crippled, lame, see Clauson (1972: 419–420, DTS 1969: 152, 153 where *Čoluq* is also noted as a personal name). Other possibilities are *čalığ* attested first in eleventh century "calling (or searching) for a strayed animal" also used as a summons by the chiefs to the "villagers and nomads", Middle Qıpčaq *čalıq* "quarrelsome, malicious"

Panna Qaǧan, son of Muqan (?)[92]
Tanhan Qaǧan[93]
Qimin[94] Qaǧan (r.599, 603–609 or 611), son of Baǧa Qaǧan
Dulan [Yongyulu] Qaǧan[95] (588–599), son of Išbara/*Ñebär Qaǧan

etc. The reconstruction of a Turkic (or other) anthroponym/title/honoric from this form is far from clear. In addition to Chavannes (1941: 4, 18, 48.n.4, 49,n.5) (noted above), see Pan (1997: 104, 120–122, 172–173). Drompp (1991: 112, n.41) points out the confusion in the Chinese sources regarding the titles held by Chuluohou. On genealogy, sometimes misinterpreted, see de La Vaissière (2011: 273–274).

92 潘那 Panna: EMC: p^h*an na'* (P: 231 [85:12], 221[163:4]) noted in 582 as a subordinate Qaǧan under Išbara, (Liu 1958, I: 94, Drompp 1991:100, 113, n.45). Ōsawa (2006: 479) equates him with Anluo/Umna Qaǧan (above).

93 貪汗 Tanhan: EMC: t^h*əm/t^{h}am* γan/γan^h (P: 300 [154:4], 118/119 [85:3]), cf. Tamǧan (Ταμγάν, the name of an early ninth century Christianized Khazar, Moravcsik 1958, II: 297). He is noted as a friend of Apa Qaǧan, caught in the struggles between Išbara and his rivals, he was a subordinate Qaǧan during Išbara's period of dominance and later went over to Tardu. He was probably an Ashina, although that is not specifically stated (Chavannes 1941: 49, n.5, Liu 49, 522, n.235, Drompp 1991: 100, Taşaǧıl 1995–2004, I: 38, 41, 43–44, 46, 130, 155).

94 In full form: 意利 珍豆 啟民/啓 民 Yi li zhen dou qimin: EMC: *ʔi^h/ʔih li^h trin dəw^h k^{h}ɛj' mjin* LMC:ʔi`li`trin t͡ʰəw`khjiaj' mjin (P: 368 [61:9], 188 [18:5], 401 [95:5], 81 [151:0], 247 [30:8], 216 [169:6], MC: *'ejH lijH trin tuwH khejX mjin* (K: 548, 262, 598, 91, 356, 308), MC: *k^{h}iei^B mjien 4* (S: 276 [26–4ac], 323[32–40a]). According to the *Sui shu*, the honorific was said to mean "strong in thought and wisdom" (Chavannes 1941: 336. Taşaǧıl 1995–2004: 56 renders it as *Yili dou Qimin* "one who is sound in thought and reliable"). See also see Liu, 1958, I: 59 ("Stark an Willen und Weisheit"), II: 533, n.324 for 意利彌 豆啟人 Yili mi dou qiren: MC: *'ejH lijH mjie tuwH khejX nyin* (K: 548, 262, 91, 302, 356, 385) and other variants. He also appears as 染幹 Rangan (S: MC: *ńźjäm$^{B/C}$ γân* [36–19a], 252 [24–2f] and 突利 Tuli Qaǧan: EMC: *dwət li^h* LMC: *t͡ʰut li`* (P: 311 [116:4], 188 [18:5]; see Drompp 1991: 101 [as son of Chuluohou], Xiong, 2009: 407, Liu, 1958, I: 57–58, II: 544, n.388, Taşaǧıl, 1995–2004, I: 59–63, Skaff 2012: 39, 43, 212). De La Vaissière also notes him as 都利 Duli (EMC: *tɔ li$^h$* LMC: *tuǎ li`* P, 81 [163:9], 188 [18:5])/Τουλδίχ (Theoph. Sim. 1972: 259), cousin of Niri. On his unhappy career, see de La Vaissière (2015: 453–455). The name, *Tuldıq (?) is of uncertain linguistic affiliation. He is sometimes equated with the ancestral figure Yamı/*Yama noted in the Ongi[in] inscription, but this seems unlikely. On Yamı and its problems, see Rybatzki (2000: 208–209).

95 都藍 Dulan: EMC: *tɔ lam* LMC: *tuǎ lam* (P: 81[163:9], 182[118:14]), abbreviated from Xiejia[qie] shi duo na dulan 頡伽施多那 都藍 EMC: *γɛt gia ɕiə̆/ɕi ta na' tɔ lam* LMC: *xɦjiat khia ʂi ta na' tuǎ lam* (P: 341 [181:6], 253[9:5], 282 [140:9], 85 [36:3], 81[163:9], 182[118:14] Bielenstein 2005: 375, 678). His name was 雍 虞閭 Yongyulü (Drompp 1991: 100, Xiong 2009: 138), EMC: * ʔuawŋ/ʔuawŋ^h ŋuă liə̆* LMC: ʔywŋ ŋyă liə̆/lyə̆ (P: 376 [172:5], 384 [141:7], 204 [169:7]). De La Vaissière (2015: 453) suggests that Dulan = EMC Tɔran = *Turan. De La Vaissière (2010a: 222–223) earlier connected this name/ title with Τουροὺμ, noted in the letter sent (595) to the Emperor Maurice by Niri Qaǧan

Niri Qağan (588–604),[96] son of Yangsu[97] Tegin and grandson of Muqan Qağan

Chuluo (Čuri? Čor?) Qağan (r. 603–611),[98] a son of Niri Qağan

İštämi Qağan (552–576)[99]

Tardu [Datou, Dianjue, Bujia][100] Qağan (576–603)

recounting recent events (turbulence) in the Türk realm (Theoph. Sim. 1972: 259, de La Vaissière 2015a: 91–102). Gömeç (1999: 25) assigns him the Türk name "Toŋa Turan".

96 泥利 Nili i.e. Niri an Eastern Türk ruler (of the 阿波/大邏便 Abo/Daluobian branch, r., 587–603, Xiong 2009: 37, 378), Liu (1958, I: 117–118) has excerpts from his biography in the *Suishu*. The Soğd. form in the Mongolküre inscription (de La Vaissière 2010a: *byy* (*čwr*)-*pay nry x'ɣ'n* "le seigneur (Čor)-pay Niri Qaghan)", the grandson of Muqan Qağan. Niri represented the challenge of the Muqanids to the Keluoids (de La Vaissière 2010: 273, Ōsawa 2006: 480–486, 497, placed Niri's death in 599).

97 鞅素 Yangsu EMC: *ʔiaŋ' sɔ^h* LMC: *ʔiaŋ' suɔ̀* (P: 360 [177:5], 295 [120:4], MC: *ʔjaŋ^B suo^C* (S: 78 [3–20f], 59 [1–61a]).

98 泥厥處羅 Nijue Chuluo EMC: *njɛ^h kuat tɕ^{h}iɔ̀ la* LMC: *niaj` kyat tʂ^{h}iɔ̀'/tʂ^{h}yɔ̀' la*, P: 224 [85:5], 167[64:12], 60 [141:5], 203 [122:14], (Xiong, 2009: 95, 378). The Mongolküre inscription has: *cwry x'ɣ'n*? (*Čuri Qağan, Ōsawa 2006: 481, 489, 491, Lurje, 2010: 168 [393] suggests Čulı). His other names and honorifics were 曷薩那 Hesana (EMC: *ɣat sat na'* LMC: *xɦat sat na',* P: 123 [73:5], 271 [140:14], 221 [163:4]) Qağan and 達漫 Daman (EMC: *dat man^h* LMC: *tɦat muan`* P: 69 [162:9], 207 [85:11]) Qağan (Chavannes 1941: 3–4, 14–23, 50–54, 141, Xiong, 2009: 95, 214 (? –618, r. 603–611, de La Vaissière 2010a: 222: r. 604–610, d. 619). It is unlikely that "Chuluo" renders the Türk title *čor* (Clauson 1972: 427, referencing Giles 1892: 251 [2421]), usually written as *chuo* 啜 EMC: *tɕ^{h}wiat,* (P: 63 [30:8]), MC: *tsyhwet* (Kasai 2014: 124, also noting *tʂ^{h}yat,* Kroll 2015: 63).

99 室點密 Shidianmi: EMC: *ɕit tɛm' mit* LMC: *ʂit tiam' mi.* (P: 285 [40:6], 77 [203:5], 213 [40:8], variants: 室點蜜 Shidianmi EMC: *ɕit tɛm'mjit LMC: ʂit tiam' mit* and 瑟帝米 Sedimi: EMC *ʂit-tɛj^h mej^h* LMC: *ʂɔt tiaj` mjiaj* (Kasai, 2014: 126, P: 273 [96:9], 76 [50:6], 213 [119:0], Dobrovits 2008: 69). In Greek it is Στεμβισχάγαν (Theoph. Sim. 1972: 257, Dobrovits 2008: 70). The Runiform Old Türk writing reflects a non-Turkic name, hence the prosthetic İ. The name would appear to be *Štämi/*Štämbi or *Stämi/*Stämbi. Şirin (2015: 149–150) gives a brief summary of the etymological question. Dobrovits (2004: 112) following Harmatta (1999: 396) suggests that it is Iranian from a conjectured (but unattested) Saka *sthaima = sθämi < Iran. *stâna* "place, country/land" i.e. *İstämi Qağan "ruler of the country/land".

100 Gumilëv (1967: 58, 104–108) with Kamoliddin in Naršaxi (2011: 133, n.36), among others, following him, also mistakes Chavannes (1941: 361) rendering of Bujia (Pou-kia, see below) for the name Bökö. Tardu, a name or title/honorific of unknown origin, appears in Byzantine sources as Τάρδου (Menander 1985: 178/179), in Soğdian as *Trδw* (Lurje 2010: 389 [11239] and Chinese 達頭 Dátóu = EMC: *dat dəw,* LMC: *tɦat tɦəw* (P: 69, 311), NWMC: *dât/*dat/*dar dəu/*dou/*thəu* etc (Coblin 1994:307 [0619], 263–4 [0472]), *dat duw* (Kroll 72, 458) accurately reflects the *Tardu* other sources. It has no relationship with Tarduš. In 599, Tardu took the title *Bilgä Qağan* (Chinese 步迦 Bujia Kehan): EMC: *bɔ^h kia,* LMC: *pɦuɔ̀ kia,* P: 43 [66:3], 153[162:5]). His personal name was 玷厥 Dianjue (EMC: *tɛm' kuat,* LMC: *tiam' kyat,* P: 77 [95:6], 168 [27:10], MC *temH*

Duliu[101] (r. 603–605) son of Tardu.
Shegui (r. 605–617/618),[102] son of Duliu

Abbreviations

AC	Ancient Chinese
BGA	Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum
BQ, E	Bilgä Qaǧan Inscription, East
EMC	Early Middle Chinese
K	Kroll, 2015
KT, E	Kül Tegin Inscription, East
LMC	Late Middle Chinese
MC	Middle Chinese
ONWC	Old Northwest Chinese
P	Pulleyblank, 1991.
MTCA	Mid-Tang Chang'an
S	Schuessler, 2009.
STCA	Sui-Tang Chang'an

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kjwot (K: 86, 230), *tiem^C kjwɐt* (S: 350 [36–12k, 22–2c], 240): Temkü[t]/ *Temkä[t]/ *Temkü[r]?—a name otherwise unattested; see Chavannes (1941: 3,48–49, n.5, 50), Liu (1958, I: 49, 58 et passim), Xiong (2009: 69, 114, 119). None of these names or titles even remotely resembles Qara Čurın. Gumilëv (1967, 58, n.27) considered the latter a sobriquet meaning "rotten, crippled, defective", which he clearly confused with Osm. *çürük* "rotten" (< *çürü-* "to rot" etc. widely attested in Modern Turkic languages (cf. Uzb., Uyğ. *čiriš*) and already recorded in Middle Qıpčaq, *čürük, šürük* see Vural & Toparlı & Karaatlı (2003: 54); see also Räsänen (1969: 120), Çağbayır (2007, I:1063, 1064), the form **čürün* is not recorded in any Old Turkic texts. However, the verb *čüri-* 'to rot, decay' is attested in Qarakhanid (Ünlü 2012: 196). Kamoliddin in Naršaxi (2011: 133–134, n.36), proffers an etymology of Qara Čurın as "possessor of the saber", but ultimately, following Zuev (2002: 199–202), viewed it as a Manichaean clerical title, *Qara Čor*.

101 都六 EMC: *tɔ luwk* LMC: *tuǎ liwk* (P: 81 [163:9], 198 [12:2]), MC: *tu ljuwk* (K: 2015: 92, 279), MC *tuo ljuk* (S: 53[1–38e'], 188 [14–16a]).

102 射匮(alternate pronunciation of 匱: *kui*) EMC: *zia^h gwi^h* LMC: *şhia`khyj`* (P: 279 [41:7] 178 [22:12]), MC *zyaeH gwijH* (K: 404, 247), Xiong (2009: 444), Gumilëv (1967: 185). Wang (1982: 129) dates his reign to 611–619.

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Variability in linguistic judgment:
An analysis of questionnaire survey data from Istanbul and Berlin on the usage of Turkish demonstratives

Tooru Hayasi

Speakers' judgment about well-formedness is susceptible to variation in certain domains of a language system. The usage of Turkish demonstratives *bu*, *şu* and *o* is one such domain. In this paper the variability of speakers' judgment will be used as a linguistic index characterizing a group of speakers. Turkish monolingual high school students in Istanbul, and Turkish-German bilingual peers in Berlin, participated in questionnaire surveys in which their judgments about which demonstrative was appropriate for given contexts were asked for. University students learning Turkish as a foreign language in Tokyo also participated in the survey as a control group. The results show a complete parallelism between the Istanbul and Berlin students' answers, while a considerable difference is found between the Tokyo students' answers and those of the Istanbul and Berlin students.

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1. Introduction

Although demonstratives seem to be found in every language, as speculated in Dixon 2003, it is sometimes hard to know precisely how a speaker chooses the right one among the two, three, or more available demonstratives. The reason is that they are not distinguished simply by the distance between the speaker and the referent (the object referred to), but other properties may also be encoded in demonstratives, such as visibility, specificity, distinction of new/old information, etc. [1]

Turkish has morphologically simplex demonstratives with a three-way distinction, *bu*, *şu* and *o*,[2] together with their derivatives, such as local demonstratives, *bura*, *şura* and *ora*, and manner demonstratives, *böyle*, *şöyle* and *öyle*. It is traditional in Turkish reference grammars and textbooks to characterize *bu*, *şu* and *o* as referring to proximal, medial and distal referents respectively, according to the distance from the speaker. It is true that there are circumstances in which *şu* seems to be interchangeable with either *bu* or *o*, and which may invite us to locate it between the proximal *bu* and the distal *o*. Recent studies of Turkish demonstratives, however, have revealed that in those circumstances, what motivates the use of *şu* is not the medial distance between the speaker and the referent, but the hearer's unawareness of the referent; i.e. the referent of *şu* is outside the hearer's attention up until the utterance moment, while the referents of *bu* and *o* are already identified by the hearer before the utterance is spoken (Hayasi 1988, 2004, 2014; Özyürek 1998; Küntay & Özyürek 2006), as in (1):

(1) *Şuna bak. Hasan geliyor.*
     'Look at *this*. Hasan is coming.'

The speaker's choice of *şuna*, the dative form of *şu*, in (1) reminds the hearer that the referent is among the objects that she has not recognized yet, for example, someone approaching the hearer from behind. Experimental results (Hayasi & Özsoy 2015) show that the occurrence of *şu* is not related to any distance between the speaker and the referent.

The new characterization of Turkish demonstratives, especially of *şu*, seems to be successful in many cases, but it is not free from counter-examples. The most serious of these may be the case mentioned by Balpınar (2006: 39), in which the speaker can refer exclusively with *şu* to the referents, *şu Meksika'da çölde bulunan iki iskelet* 'those two skeletons found in the desert in Mexico', in her memory that she expects to be shared by the hearer, as in (2):

(2) *Mr. Redbridge size söz etmiş miydi?*
     'Has Mr. Redbridge told you?'
     {*Bu / Şu / *O} Meksika'da çölde bulunan iki iskelet...
     '*Those* two skeletons found in the desert in Mexico... '
     Ne yazık ki gerçekten Richard ve Linda'ya aitmiş.
     'It is a great pity that they really belong to Richard and Linda.'
     (Glosses and morpheme boundaries in the original example are omitted by the author.)

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2 Turkish simplex demonstratives function as pronouns and determiners, like *this* and *that* do in English, e.g. *Bu kitap* 'This is a book', *bu kitap* 'this book'.

One source of difficulty in searching for relevant factors in the choice of demonstratives is the variability of speakers' judgment. There are cases where two different demonstratives are reported to fit the same context equally well, as well as cases where the same demonstrative is reported to be completely appropriate for considerably different contexts. Indeterminacy thus seems inevitable if we look for the definition of the usage of demonstratives through speakers' intuitive judgments.

In this paper, the factors controlling the choice of Turkish demonstratives will not be explored; instead, I will try to propose a way to use such indeterminacy, i.e. the variability of speakers' judgments as an index characterizing a linguistic variety spoken by a group of people. The examples to be treated here are judgments made by Turkish monolingual and Turkish-German bilingual groups. It is often argued that the Turkish variety of the latter group has undergone such strong and enduring influence from German that it differs from the variety of the former. We will examine how distant or close these two groups are to each other linguistically. A group of Japanese students studying Turkish as a foreign language will also serve as a control group for making comparisons.

2. About surveys

2.1. Three surveys carried out in Istanbul, Berlin, and Tokyo

I carried out questionnaire surveys in Istanbul and Berlin in 2008, and in Tokyo in 2010, as follows:[3]

Table 1: Three questionnaire surveys

Place	Time	Participant
Istanbul	September 2008	59 ninth and tenth grade students
Berlin	June 2008	32 ninth and tenth grade students
Tokyo	July 2010	31 university students studying Turkish as a foreign language for more than one year

The same questionnaire was used in the three surveys. The participants took part in the surveys completely voluntarily outside school hours. They were told to report their judgment anonymously. They were also told that they could leave any question unanswered if they preferred not to answer.

2.2. Questionnaire

The data in this paper comprise the replies to a questionnaire asking participants to choose the most appropriate demonstrative(s) according to the situation given in each question.

The questionnaire contains fifty questions. Ten ask about the background of each participant, while the forty main questions are related to the usage of Turkish words and expressions, the majority of which (36) are concerned with demonstratives.

In the questionnaire, questions about usage are arranged to form a kind of scenario of a short nonsense play. There are three characters in the play: the participant her- or himself, the father of the participant, and the father's Japanese friend whose name is *Hayasi*. The story goes roughly as follows:

(3)   Story according to which questions are arranged

"One day your home telephone (i.e., the participant's telephone) rings and a Japanese friend of your father asks you to call your father to the telephone. You tell him that your father is not at home but will be back soon, since he just went out for a walk to one of the nearby parks. The Japanese man tells you that he needs to meet your father and will come to your house in thirty minutes. When the Japanese man arrives at your house, your father is not back home yet. After waiting thirty minutes, the impatient Japanese friend of your father goes out to look for your father at the park you show him from the window. Before five minutes pass, your father comes back from the park. He begins waiting for his Japanese friend, but also gets impatient, and goes out to look for his friend. Then before five minutes pass, the Japanese comes back and begins waiting for your father. Again he gets impatient and goes out, and the same situation continues. It is thus unclear if they manage to see each other."

Participants were requested to choose the most appropriate expressions according to the situation or context, which changes as the story develops. The instructions for answering questions are shown in (4), and in (5), the first three questions about usage are given.

(4)   Instructions

Şimdi asıl sorulara geçiyoruz. Aşağıda bir hikaye görürsünüz. Tabii gerçek değil. Bu hikayede siz, babanız ve bir Japon yer alacak. Bu üç kişi, (a), (b), (c) ... ile gösterilen cümlelerden hangisini söylese sizce uygun olur? Uygun olan cümlenin başına bir çarpı işareti koyar mısınız? Eğer birden fazla uygun cümle varsa tek tek işaret koyabilirsiniz. Şimdi başlıyoruz.

[Now we are moving on to the main questions. You will see a story below. It is, of course, not a real one. In this story you, your father, and a friend of your father will play a part. Which of the alternatives (a), (b), (c) , etc. would be

the most appropriate sentence for you, your father, or your father's friend to say? Please check the most appropriate sentence. You may check more than one sentence if they are all equally appropriate. Now here we go.]

(5)   First three questions of the questionnaire

Güzel bir yaz günü. Evinizin telefonu çaldı. Telefona siz çıktınız. Telefondaki adam babanızla görüşmek istiyor. Acaba ne söyler? (Babanızın adı "Ahmet" olsun.) [On a beautiful summer day your home telephone rings. You pick up the telephone. A man on the other end of the line wants to talk with your father. What should he say? (Let's suppose that your father's name is "Ahmet.")]

(a)	*Ahmet Bey burada[4] mı?*	'Is Mr. Ahmet $here_1$?'
(b)	*Ahmet Bey şurada mı?*	'Is Mr. Ahmet $here_2$?'
(c)	*Ahmet Bey orada mı?*	'Is Mr. Ahmet there?'

Babanız biraz önce çevredeki bir parka yürüyüşe çıkmıştı. [Your father has gone for a walk in one of the near-by parks. You say...]

(a)	*Bu an burada değil.*	'At $this_1$ moment he is not $here_1$.'
(b)	*Şu an burada değil.*	'At $this_2$ moment he is not $here_1$.'
(c)	*O an burada değil.*	'At that moment he is not $here_1$.'

... diyerek devam ediyorsunuz. [...and you continue...]

(a)   *Ama hemen buradaki parka gittiği için birazdan döner.*
      'But he'll be back soon, since he's gone to a park just over $here_1$.'
(b)   *Ama hemen şuradaki parka gittiği için birazdan döner.*
      'But he'll be back soon, since he's gone to a park just over $here_2$.'
(c)   *Ama hemen oradaki parka gittiği için birazdan döner.*
      'But he'll be back soon, since he's gone to a park just over there.'

Three versions of the questionnaire, in Turkish, German and Japanese, were prepared in which the instructions, the background questions and the story are presented in each of the three languages. In Istanbul, the Turkish version was used, and in Tokyo, the Japanese version. In Berlin, however, both Turkish and German versions were available to be chosen according to the student's preference.

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4   In translation *bu* and *şu* are rendered into *this₁* and *this₂*, respectively. This does not mean that we categorize both *bu* and *şu* as proximal; they are just practical labels.

2.3. Participants

In Istanbul, 59 students in the 9th and 10th grade at a *lise* 'senior high school' in the city quarter of Fatih kindly accepted my request to answer the questionnaire. In Berlin, participants were 32 high school students, also in the 9th and 10th grade, at a Gymnasium in Kreuzberg.

For comparison with the results from Istanbul and Berlin, the questionnaire was also answered in Tokyo by 31 students of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies who had studied Turkish as a foreign language for more than one year. Their major was Turkish studies and they therefore attended Turkish language classes more than fourteen hours per week. One third of the lessons are taught by a Turkish native speaker. Thus, the students are immersed in fairly good conditions for learning Turkish as a foreign language outside of Turkey. In addition, morphosyntactic similarities between the Turkish and Japanese demonstrative systems may also have helped them respond to the questionnaire. Both languages have a three-way distinction: *bu*, *şu* and *o* in Turkish, and, *ko-*, *so-* and *a-* in Japanese, and also resemble each other in other morphosyntactic respects.[5] Tables 2, 3, and 4 show the age and gender distribution of each group of participants.

Table 2: Participants from Istanbul

Age	Female	Male	Total
14	12	5	17
15	14	12	26
16	5	10	15
17	0	1	1
Total	31	28	59

Table 3: Participants from Berlin

Age	Female	Male	Total
14	4	8	12
15	3	6	9
16	3	6	9
17	1	1	2
Total	11	21	32

Table 4: Participants from Tokyo

Age	Female	Male	Total
19	7	1	8
20	11	1	12
21	4	1	5
22	1	1	2
23	1	0	1
24	1	0	1
25	1	0	1
29	0	1	1
Total	26	5	31

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5   There are, however, significant differences in usage between Turkish and Japanese demonstratives. See Hayasi (2004).

3. Results

The participants' answers were analyzed in a rather simple way. For each question, the numbers of participants who regarded either *bu*, *şu* or *o* as the most appropriate demonstrative were counted. Yet, counting becomes a little complicated if students check more than one demonstrative, thinking that they are equally appropriate. Let me explain how the number of participants was counted, using questions 30 and 31 as examples.

(6)   Question 30

    (a)   *Bu Japon arkadaşım hangi parka gitti?*
        'Which park has this$_1$ Japanese friend of mine gone to?'
    (b)   *Şu Japon arkadaşım hangi parka gitti?*
        'Which park has this$_2$ Japanese friend of mine gone to?'
    (c)   *O Japon arkadaşım hangi parka gitti?*
        'Which park has that Japanese friend of mine gone to?'

(7)   Question 31

    (a)   *Bu parka.*   'To this$_1$ park.'
    (b)   *Şu parka.*   'To this$_2$ park.'
    (c)   *O parka.*   'To that park.'

As to question 30, among Istanbul students, 23 chose *bu*, 6 chose *şu*, and 28 chose *o*. One student checked both *bu* and *o*, and another checked all three demonstratives. The former student's responses are thus divided between *bu* and *o*; i.e. 0.5 is added to the totals of both *bu* and *o*. Following the same method, the latter's responses are divided among *bu*, *şu* and *o*; i.e. 0.3333, is added to each of the totals of *bu*, *şu* and *o*. As a result, among the Istanbul participants the totals for *bu*, *şu* and *o* in question 30 are 23.8, 6.3, and 28.8 respectively. The totals for the Berlin and Tokyo participants were counted similarly. Table 5 shows the result of question 30.

Table 5: The result of question 30

	Istanbul			Berlin			Tokyo		
Demonstrative	*bu*	*şu*	*o*	*bu*	*şu*	*o*	*bu*	*şu*	*o*
Number of participants choosing each demonstrative	23.8	6.3	28.8	14.0	2.5	15.5	0.0	10.0	21.0
Percentage of participants	40.4%	10.7%	48.9%	43.8%	7.8%	48.4%	0.0%	32.3%	67.7%

As to question 31, among Istanbul students, 15 chose *bu*, 25 chose *şu*, and 18 chose *o*. There was also one student who reported that all three demonstratives were equal-

ly appropriate in the context where question 31 was placed. This student's responses are divided equally among the three demonstratives, as in the case of question 30. Table 6 shows the result of question 31.

Table 6: The result of question 31

Demonstrative	Istanbul			Berlin			Tokyo		
	bu	*şu*	*o*	*bu*	*şu*	*o*	*bu*	*şu*	*o*
Number of participants choosing each demonstrative	15.3	25.3	18.3	11.5	15.0	5.5	1.0	8.5	21.5
Percentage of participants	26.0%	42.9%	31.1%	35.9%	46.9%	17.2%	3.2%	27.4%	69.4%

Tables 5 and 6 show that in no city do students' answers converge upon one demonstrative. Rather, they seem to be scattered over the three demonstratives, especially in Istanbul and Berlin. In Tokyo, however, concentration occurs for the demonstrative *o*. Assuming that variability of speakers' replies may reflect part of their linguistic competence or the common linguistic knowledge of a speech community, then variability may be regarded as information rather than noise. Along this line of thinking, Table 7 shows the numbers of participants choosing each of the demonstratives.

Gray cells on each line show the demonstratives chosen by the majority of participants, i.e. the most frequent responses. Comparison of the most frequent responses of the Istanbul and Berlin students shows an easily recognizable parallelism, as the same demonstrative was chosen as the most frequent response in all 38 questions about choices of demonstratives.

Can such congruence result from mere coincidence? The probability of two groups agreeing completely in 38 independent choices is quite low, occurring by chance in about one in 1.35 quintillion trials. Thus, the congruence between the Istanbul and Berlin students' responses is considered to be significant.

Were the questions too easy? For some of the questions, judgments of participants were scattered over two or three demonstratives, thus showing no congruence, as is seen in the results for question 30 (Table 5) and question 31 (Table 6). This means that participants felt some hesitation in answering at least some of the questions, indicating that the questions were not too easy.

Table 7: Choice of demonstratives by Istanbul, Berlin and Tokyo participants[6]

Question ID	Istanbul				Berlin				Tokyo			
	bu	şu	o	other	bu	şu	o	other	bu	şu	o	other
1	0.0	0.0	59.0	0.0	2.5	0.5	29.0	0.0	3.0	5.5	22.5	0.0
2	0.0	59.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	30.0	0.0	0.0	15.0	10.0	6.0	0.0
3	37.0	20.0	0.0	2.0	23.0	8.0	0.0	1.0	16.0	8.5	6.5	1.0
4	5.5	52.5	／	1.0	9.5	22.5	／	0.0	19.0	12.0	／	0.0
6	0.0	0.0	49.5	9.5	0.0	0.0	20.5	11.5	3.0	4.0	12.5	11.5
7	0.5	0.0	58.5	0.0	4.0	0.0	28.0	0.0	14.0	2.0	15.0	0.0
10	11.0	1.0	47.0	0.0	11.5	2.5	18.0	0.0	4.5	5.5	21.0	0.0
11	49.5	1.0	8.5	0.0	23.5	0.0	8.5	0.0	27.0	1.0	3.0	0.0
12	50.5	8.5	0.0	0.0	20.5	7.5	4.0	0.0	23.5	5.0	2.5	0.0
13	0.0	0.0	4.5	54.5	0.0	0.0	9.0	23.0	0.0	0.0	13.0	18.0
14	59.0	0.0	／	0.0	29.5	1.5	／	1.0	23.0	8.0	／	0.0
15	55.5	2.5	／	1.0	25.5	6.5	／	0.0	27.5	3.5	／	0.0
16	56.5	1.0	1.5	0.0	28.8	1.3	1.8	0.0	31.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
17	57.0	0.0	2.0	0.0	29.0	0.5	2.5	0.0	25.0	2.0	4.0	0.0
18	7.0	22.5	28.5	1.0	7.5	7.5	17.0	0.0	10.0	8.0	13.0	0.0
19	1.0	0.0	58.0	0.0	1.0	1.0	30.0	0.0	22.5	0.0	8.5	0.0
21	1.0	3.0	55.0	0.0	0.0	4.0	28.0	0.0	0.0	11.5	19.5	0.0
22	18.0	32.0	9.0	0.0	5.8	15.3	10.8	0.0	2.3	9.8	18.8	0.0
23 former	12.8	2.8	43.3	0.0	6.8	4.3	20.8	0.0	2.5	6.0	22.5	0.0
23 latter	／	52.5	6.5	0.0	／	25.5	6.5	0.0	／	22.0	9.0	0.0
24	22.0	25.0	12.0	0.0	12.0	12.0	8.0	0.0	3.0	13.5	14.5	0.0
25	4.5	4.0	50.5	0.0	4.0	4.5	23.5	0.0	2.0	8.5	20.5	0.0
26	0.0	3.0	56.0	0.0	1.0	1.5	29.5	0.0	1.0	4.5	25.5	0.0
27	37.0	5.0	16.0	1.0	21.5	5.0	5.5	0.0	20.0	4.0	7.0	0.0
28	9.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	7.5	0.0	24.5	0.0	5.0	9.5	16.5	0.0
29	3.3	10.8	10.3	34.8	2.5	5.0	7.0	17.5	0.0	3.0	10.0	18.0
30	23.8	6.3	28.8	0.0	14.0	2.5	15.5	0.0	0.0	10.0	21.0	0.0
31	15.3	25.3	18.3	0.0	11.5	15.0	5.5	0.0	1.0	8.5	21.5	0.0
32	27.5	20.5	11.0	0.0	18.0	11.0	3.0	0.0	4.0	9.5	17.5	0.0
33	16.5	28.0	14.5	0.0	7.2	20.2	4.7	0.0	3.0	10.5	17.5	0.0
34	2.0	1.0	56.0	0.0	0.3	6.3	25.3	0.0	0.0	3.5	27.5	0.0
35	0.0	1.0	58.0	0.0	4.3	3.8	23.8	0.0	8.0	4.0	19.0	0.0
36	59.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	29.0	0.0	3.0	0.0	31.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
37	3.0	13.0	43.0	0.0	6.5	11.0	14.5	0.0	1.0	5.0	25.0	0.0
38 former	22.8	14.3	21.8	0.0	11.7	11.7	8.7	0.0	8.0	15.5	7.5	0.0
38 latter	22.8	14.3	21.8	0.0	11.7	11.7	8.7	0.0	2.0	12.0	17.0	0.0
39	19.3	30.3	9.3	0.0	14.3	14.8	2.8	0.0	1.0	8.5	21.5	0.0
40	5.0	7.0	47.0	0.0	3.8	6.3	21.8	0.0	1.0	5.0	25.0	0.0

[Note: Demonstratives chosen by the majority of participants are in gray cells.]

As for Tokyo students, in 71% of the questions (i.e. 27 out of 38 questions), the demonstratives chosen by the majority are the same as those chosen by the majority of the Istanbul and Berlin students. I think this is rather a good result for students learn-

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6 Results of questions 5, 8, 9 and 20 are excluded from Table 7, because they do not concern the demonstratives. Questions 23 and 38, on the other hand, actually each contain two questions, which are shown as the former and the latter, respectively.

ing Turkish as a foreign language, though the ratio of congruence is clearly much lower than that between the Istanbul and Berlin students (71% vs. 100%). The difference is mainly a result of the Tokyo students choosing *o* more frequently than the Istanbul and Berlin students; the majority from Tokyo chose *o* in 22 questions, whereas those from Istanbul and Berlin chose *o* in just 16 questions.

Up to this point, we have focused on which demonstrative is chosen by the majority of each group. However, the distribution of answers to the specific questions may differ considerably, even though the same demonstrative might be chosen by the majority. For example, in question 30, *o* was chosen by the majority of students both in Istanbul and in Tokyo. Yet, as shown in Table 5, in Istanbul, many students also chose *bu* and the difference between *o* and *bu* is small, while in Tokyo more concentration is found on the demonstrative *o*, and no student chose *bu*.

An effective approach for showing differences in distribution of answers may be to calculate the *Entropy* of the answer distribution, since *Entropy (H*)*[7] can show the degree of scatteredness of categorical variables. When the number of alternatives is three, as is the case in most of our questions, *Entropy* is defined, as follows:

$$(8) \quad \text{Entropy:} \quad H^* = -\sum_{i=1}^{3} \frac{P(xi) \log P(xi)}{\log 3}$$

For example, if all the participants chose one and the same demonstrative, then the *Entropy* would be 0. On the other hand, if the same number of participants chose each of the three demonstratives, then, the *Entropy* would be 1. According to how concentrated the answers are, the value of *Entropy* varies between 0 and 1, with 0 showing maximal concentration and 1 maximal scatteredness. Using this formula, the *Entropy* of the answers to questions 30 and 31 from Istanbul can be calculated, as shown in (9) and (10). The results are 0.87 and 0.98, respectively; hence the degree of scatteredness is considerable in both cases.

$$(9) \quad H^* = -\sum P(x_i) \log P(x_i) / \log 3$$
$$= -1 * \{ 23.8/59 * \log(23.8/59) + 6.3/59 * \log(6.3/59)$$
$$+ 28.8/59 * \log(28.8/59) \} / \log 3$$
$$\approx 0.87$$

$$(10) \quad H^* = -\sum P(x_i) \log P(x_i) / \log 3$$
$$= -1 * \{ 15.3/59 * \log(15.3/59) + 25.3/59 * \log(25.3/59)$$
$$+ 18.3/59 * \log(18.3/59) \} / \log 3$$
$$\approx 0.98$$

In the same way, the *Entropies* of all the answers of Istanbul, Berlin and Tokyo students were calculated to compare the values for each group. Figure 1 is the scatter diagram of the *Entropy* values of Istanbul and Berlin students' answers.

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7   More precisely, what we call *Entropy* here should be termed 'normalized' *Entropy*.
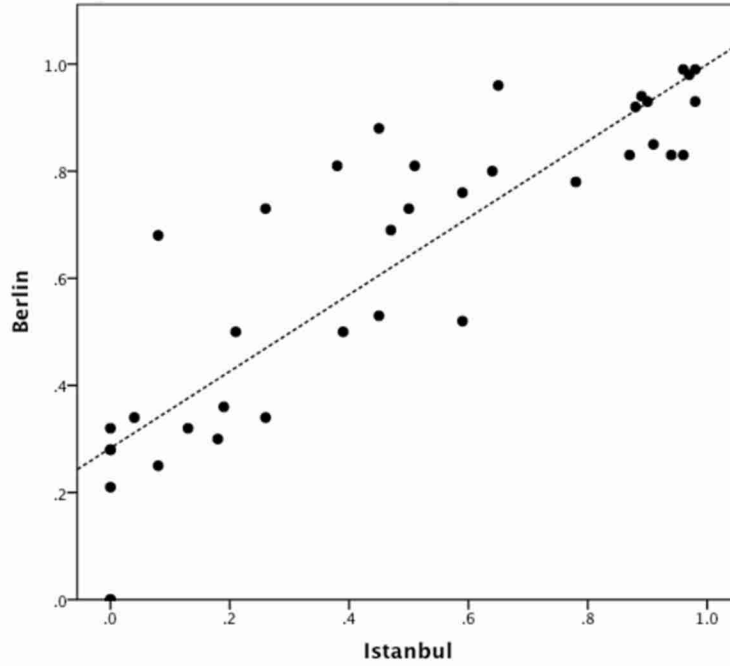
Figure 1: Correlation in variability between Istanbul and Berlin

Each dot in Figure 1 stands for one of the questions in the questionnaire. The x-axis shows the *Entropy* values of the Istanbul students' answers to the questions, while the y-axis shows the *Entropy* values of the Berlin students' answers to the same questions.

Figure 1 indicates a strong positive correlation for students from Istanbul and Berlin; Figure 2, on the other hand, shows a scattered distribution with no correlation for students from Istanbul and Tokyo.
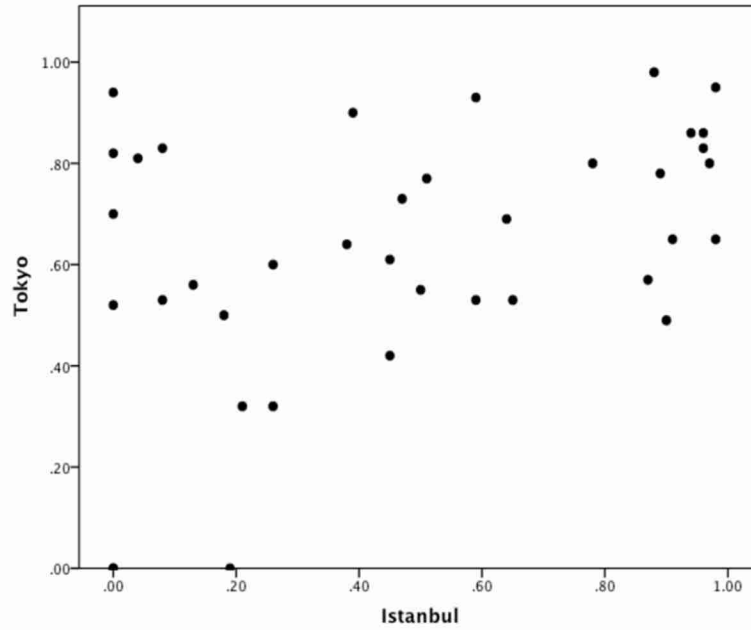
Figure 2: Correlation in variability between Istanbul and Tokyo

Thus, when considering not only which demonstrative is chosen by the majority, but also the distribution patterns of answers, we see that the answers from students in Istanbul and Berlin show almost perfect congruence.

4. Conclusion

The purpose of this research was to examine variability in demonstrative usage among Turkish speakers. The method involved looking at speakers in three distinct locales: Istanbul, Turkey; Berlin, Germany; and Tokyo, Japan. The first two groups consisted of first-language or bilingual speakers. The third group consisted of second-language learners of Turkish and acted as a control group.

The answers from the Tokyo students showed congruence internally, but not with the answers of the first-language or bilingual Turkish speakers. Our results suggest that mono/bilingual speakers share an understanding of the meaning of the demonstratives which the second-language learners do not. It may be the case that they chose *o* as the default demonstrative when they were hesitant about the choice. Actually, the distal demonstrative *o* is also most frequently chosen by the Istanbul and Berlin students; *o* was chosen in 16 questions, *bu* in 12, and *şu* in 8 questions.

The comparison of the answers given by the Istanbul and Berlin students reveals an almost complete parallelism between the two groups. In every question, the same demonstrative is chosen by the majority of students in both cities. The same pattern

of variability is also found in their answers. The parallelism between Istanbul and Berlin speakers becomes more salient when compared with the pattern of the Tokyo students' answers.

The close similarity between the Berlin and Istanbul students in the judgment of demonstratives is particularly amazing considering that 30 of 32 participants in Berlin were born in Germany, that 8 students reported speaking German better than Turkish (15 reported speaking both well), and that the German and Turkish demonstrative systems are different (with a two-way distinction in the German demonstrative system vs. a three-way distinction in Turkish).

The Turkish varieties spoken in Germany usually contain many loans from German and some of their grammatical idiosyncrasies are not found in varieties spoken in Turkey. This gives us the impression that Turkish varieties spoken in Germany have undergone much change induced by the language contact with German. However, we should not draw hasty conclusions. Formal components such as lexical items and grammatical rules are usually explicit, and accordingly are more influential than implicit components, such as patterns and frequencies of their occurrence, in forming the holistic impression of a linguistic variety, although the latter also are important. The results of this paper should thus be taken as another example of the multifacetedness of language.

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Prototypical adjectives in Turkic

László Károly

The present article discusses 36 basic Old Turkic adjectives belonging to the universal semantic types AGE, COLOUR, DIMENSION, HUMAN PROPENSITIES, PHYSICAL PROPERTIES, SPEED, and VALUE (Dixon 1982 [1977]: 15–16). The lexemes will be analysed in terms of their semantic and morphological properties with an emphasis on their primariness. Then, the diachronic stability of the given adjectives will be tested in seven modern Turkic languages: Turkish, Turkmen, Tatar, Kazakh, Uyghur, Khakas, and Yakut.

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1. Introduction

The existence of a world class 'adjectives' in the Turkic languages has long been disputed, and scholars have come to fairly different conclusions on this question. Without being exhaustive, I mention some of the most influential research results: Grönbech (1936: 24), for example, has stated that "der Nominalbegriff ist also so vielseitig, dass er mehrere unserer sprachlichen Kategorien umspannt. Ein türkisches Nomen ist also weder ein Substantiv, noch ein Adjektiv, sondern eben beides zu gleicher Zeit". Decades later, Braun and Haig (2000) argued for a 'superclass' of nominals that would be "a continuum from prototypical noun to prototypical adjective' (Braun & Haig 2000: 91). Contrary to these views, Johanson (2006) has presented structural evidence that unequivocally demonstrates "the classhood of nouns and adjectives in Turkic" (Johanson 2006: 57). I also have expressed my view that (1) prototypical major class items belong to one and only one lexical class, (2) there are grammatical criteria which make it possible to distinguish adjectives from nouns in the Turkic languages, and (3) certain grammatical processes allow adjectives to function as nouns in Turkic, but nouns cannot usually function as adjectives (Károly 2014: 60).

Looking at the results of general linguistic investigations of this question and taking the evidence of comparative typology into consideration, we see that adjectives in the languages of the world represent a class distinguishable from the class of nouns. For instance, Dixon, one of the most prominent researchers of this question, writes the following: "I suggest that a distinct world class 'adjectives' can be recognized for every human language. In some languages, adjectives have similar grammatical properties to nouns, in some to verbs, in some to both nouns and verbs, and in some to neither. I suggest that there are always some grammatical criteria—

sometimes rather subtle—for distinguishing the adjective class from other word classes." (Dixon 2004: 1)

In an early paper, Dixon (1982 [1977])[1] has defined some important criteria for the comparative analysis of adjectives in the world's languages. It is worth noting that Dixon regards a lexeme as an adjective when (1) it is monomorphemic, generally referred to as *primary*, and (2) it denotes a property typical of adjectives, generally referred to as *prototypical*. On the basis of monomorphemic lexemes in English, Dixon (1982 [1977]: 15–16) defines seven basic semantic types, i.e. classes of lexemes, which could make up the word class 'adjectives'. These are AGE, COLOUR, DIMENSION, HUMAN PROPENSITIES, PHYSICAL PROPERTIES, SPEED, and VALUE, which altogether include 36 basic lexemes. These are listed below. He then compares these universal semantic types in terms of their semantic, syntactic and morphological properties in seventeen languages.[2] The typological comparison between languages provides, among other things, an important finding: some of the universal semantic types, i.e. HUMAN PROPENSITIES, PHYSICAL PROPERTIES and SPEED, do not appear to be prototypical in terms of cross-linguistic generalization (Dixon 1982 [1977]: 46–48).

Since Dixon's basic adjectives denote typologically universal properties, one can suppose that they are relatively stable over time. This assumption however hardly goes back to reliable research data. The first serious study on diachronic features of basic adjectives is that of Schöneborn (2006), who compares and analyses the primary adjectives of English and German in terms of diachronic stability.

Similar to Schöneborn (2006), the present paper aims at analysing the same set of basic adjectives in Turkic. In section 2, I provide the Old Turkic equivalents of the 36 primary adjectives in English, and describe them with an emphasis on their primariness.[3] Then, section 3 comprises corresponding data and their analysis taken from seven modern Turkic languages: Turkish, Turkmen, Tatar, Kazakh, Uyghur, Khakas, and Yakut.[4]

The universal semantic types and the 36 lexical items (cf. Dixon 1982 [1977]: 38) used in the present analysis are as follow:

1 For further discussion on typological considerations regarding the word class(es) 'adjectives', see Dixon (1994, 2004).

2 It is important to note that Dixon analysed only languages with a minor class 'adjectives'. Languages with an open class of adjectives have not been considered.

3 If an adjective in Turkic is found to be a derivative, e.g. a deverbal one, only the root of the derivation and its basic part of speech membership will be considered, as Dixon (1982 [1977]: 36) also has done.

4 The dozens of dictionaries and other materials used for the identification of the proper lexemes are not mentioned in the References.

1. Prototypical types
    1. AGE (A) – *new, old*
    2. VALUE (V) – *good, bad*
    3. DIMENSION (D) – *big, small, long, short, wide, narrow, deep, shallow, open*
    4. COLOUR (C) – *black, white, red*

2. Non-prototypical types
    1. HUMAN PROPENSITIES (H) – *cruel, kind, generous, jealous, proud, happy, clever, fierce*
    2. PHYSICAL PROPERTIES (P) – *heavy, light, hot, cold, sharp, blunt, wet, dry, raw, whole*
    3. SPEED (S) – *quick, slow*

2. Primary adjectives in Old Turkic

The following table shows the closest Old Turkic equivalents of the English words on Dixon's list. If more then one equivalent is found for a semantic concept, the morphologically simplest, semantically closest and most commonly used one has been selected. In two cases, i.e. 'old' and 'big', two lexemes are provided. The reasons will be described below.

Table 1. *The primary adjectives in Old Turkic*

Sem. type	English	Derivational class[5]	Old Turkic form	Meaning in Old Turkic
A	new	P	*yaŋï*	new
A	old	P	*äski*	old (of things)
		P	*karï*	old (of living beings)
V	good	P	*ädgü*	good
V	bad	P	*yavlak*	bad, evil
D	big	V	*bädük*	big, great
		P (N)	*ulug*	big, great
D	small	P	*kičig*	small
D	long	P (V)	*uzun*	long
D	short	V	*kïsga, kïska*	short
D	wide	P	*keŋ*	wide, broad
D	narrow	P	*tar*	narrow, constricted, confined
D	deep	P	*täriŋ*	deep
D	shallow	P	*sïk*	shallow, scanty

5   This column briefly defines the morphological structure of the Old Turkic lexemes: P = primary; V = adjective derived from a verb; N = adjective derived from a noun; * = unknown, unclear status; ! = word with imperfect matching.

D	open	V	*ačok*	open
C	black	P	*kara*	black
C	white	P	*ürüŋ*	white
C	red	P (*N)	*kïzïl*	red
H	cruel	P	*kadïr*	grim, brutal, dangerous
H	kind	V	*amrak*	benign, friendly
H	generous	P	*akï*	generous, open-handed
H	jealous	P	*küni*	jealousy; jealous
H	proud	P (*V)	*küväz*	proud, pride
H	happy	N	*mäŋilig*	joyful, happy
H	clever	P (*V)	*tetig*	quick-witted, intelligent
H	fierce	P	*kal*	wild, savage, mad
P	heavy	P	*agïr*	heavy
P	light	V	*yenig*	light
P	hot	V	*isig*	hot
P	cold	V	*sogïk*	cold
P	sharp	P	*yiti*	sharp
P	blunt	V	! *tïg-*[6]	make blunt[7]
P	wet	P	*öl*	damp, moist
P	dry	V	*kurïg*	dry
P	raw	P	*yig*	raw
P	whole	V	*bütün*	complete, entire
S	quick	V	*yügrük*	fast, swift
S	slow	P	! *akru*	gently, quietly; gentle, slow

It has already been noted by Johanson (2006: 71–76) that even adjectives "among the core types" are often derived ones. He mentions, as typical adjectivizers in Turkic, the suffixes -*V(G)*, -(*V)K*, -*lV(G)*, and -*sVz*, and interprets many deverbal adjectives as old lexicalized participles, see e.g. Tuvan *ölüg* 'dead' ← *öl-* 'to die', or Khakas *pölik* 'separated' ← *pöl-* 'to separate'. Accordingly, adjectives derived from intransitive verbs express a property of the first actant, i.e. an intransitive subject, and those of derived from transitive verbs denote a property of the second actant, i.e. a transitive object (Johanson 2006: 76).[8]

Our data also show a high number of deverbal, i.e. non-primary, adjectives of the universal semantic types. It is not easy however to decide which word can be con-

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6 The word *tümgä*, found in Old Uyghur Buddhist texts, is most likely a term denoting the human propensity of being 'dull, intellectually weak' and not the property of an object, see further Erdal (1991: 376–377).

7 This is the only case for which I could not find a proper adjective in the sources known to me.

8 Many primary adjectives in Germanic are also verbal derivatives, as Schöneborn (2006: 109) has pointed out.

sidered primary or secondary in a dead historical language. Even if it is evident to us that the Old Turkic adjective *uzun* 'long' is a derivative from the verb *uza-* 'to be, or become, long' by means of the suffix *-Xn*, it is unclear whether this relation was transparent for the average speakers of Old Turkic. In case of uncertainty I made an introspective decision, but other scholars might come to different conclusions. In any event, I have given the ultimate source of no longer transparent adjectives within brackets in the above table.

Deverbal adjectives of the universal semantic types were formed in Old Turkic by means of the following suffixes: *-(X)g*,[9] *-(O)k*,[10] *-Xn*,[11] and *-gA*.[12] Besides the deverbal adjectives, there are two words going back to nominal roots: (1) the word *ulug* 'big, great' (< *ullug* 'having foundation, basis') ← *ul* 'foundation, basis' that without doubt had already become monomorphemic for the speakers of Old Turkic, and (2) the obviously transparent adjective *mäŋilig* 'joyful, happy' ← *mäŋi* 'joy'.

If the adjective *kïzïl* 'red' comes from an unknown, but fairly easily reconstructible base (< *kïzsïl* ←) *kïz, as suggested by certain scholars, it is also a derived prototypical adjective.

Regarding the stability of adjectives of the universal semantic types, we see that often different words can compete for the same semantic position.[13] The word *ädgü* was the ultimate adjective for 'good' in the earliest period of Old Turkic; *yakšï* 'good'[14] not only appeared later in the sources, but had the original meaning 'suitable, pleasing, good-looking' (Clauson 1972: 908; Erdal 1991: 344). It gradually became synonymous with *ädgü* and later became the *de facto* word for 'good' in many different Turkic languages.

In the Old Turkic sources we find three different words for the semantic concept 'bad'. (1) *yavlak* 'bad, evil' and (2) *yavïz* 'bad'[15] were more or less synonymous; the latter however disappeared by the 16th century. The word (3) *yaman* 'bad, evil'

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9   See *yenig* 'light' ← *yeni-* 'to be, or become, light', *isig* 'hot' ← *isi-* 'to be hot', and *kurïg* 'dry' ← *kurï-* 'to be, or become, dry'. The word *tetig* 'quick-witted, intelligent' might also be a derivative, cf. *tetil-* 'to become intelligent'. Although very hypothetical, we cannot rule out that the adjective *kičig* 'small' is also a derivative in *-(X)g*.

10 See *bädük* 'big, great' ← *bädü-* 'to be, or become, big, great', *ačok* 'open' ← *ač-* 'to open', *amrak* 'benign, friendly' ← *amra-* 'to be contented, at peace', and *sogïk* 'cold' ← *sogï-* 'to be cold'.

11 See *uzun* 'long' ← *uza-* 'to be, or become, long', and *bütün* 'complete, entire' ← *büt-* 'to become complete'.

12 See *kïsga, kïska* 'short' ← *kïs-* 'to compress, squeeze, pinch'.

13 Since Old Turkic was not a homogeneous language, some of the example cases may represent dialectal differences in Old Turkic.

14 It is a verbal adjective derived from *yakïš-* 'to approach, or to be near to, one another' ← *yak-* 'to approach, or be near to'.

15 Because they have the same initial segment *yav*, some scholars have suggested that these words are etymologically related.

appeared relatively late in the written sources, but had become dominant already in Middle Turkic, and is so in many modern Turkic languages.

The two adjectives *bädük* 'big, great' and *ulug* id. became synonymous already in Old Turkic, but we can easily prove that *ullug* originally meant *'stable, founded' < *'having a foundation, basis'.

Concerning the words for 'old', Old Turkic had a clear differentiation between things and living beings, with *äski* being used for the first, and *karï* denoting the second concept.

The typical word for 'white' was *ürüŋ* in Old Turkic. The adjective *ak* meant only the white coat, fur of an animal, cf. *ak at* 'white coloured horse'. And again, it became a general term for the colour 'white' and in most modern languages replaced the other adjective.

The positive sense of the notion 'proud' was generally expressed by the word *küväz* 'proud, pride' already in Old Uyghur texts, whereas the word *öktäm*, appearing first in the Karakhanid sources, had a rather pejorative connotation meaning 'proud, boastful'.

The word *yig* is the oldest attestation in the written sources for the concept 'raw', it was however slowly replaced by the synonymous word *čig*, from the Karakhanid period onwards.

It seems highly likely that the word *akru* 'gently; gentle, slow' was primarily an adverb and that its adjectival meaning is secondary. Both *akru* and *yavaš* denoted the human propensity of being 'gentle, mild, peaceable'; and not someone's moving at low speed. No Old Turkic words having the primary meaning 'slow' are known to me.

2.1. Primariness

As mentioned above, a large proportion of the basic adjectives analysed by Johanson (2006), have been found to be polymorphemic. This is similarly true of the 36 prototypical adjectives; i.e. one third of them belong to the group of deverbal adjectives[16] (cf. Table 2 for the details). The number of primary adjectives (23 items) is however still high. If we only consider the "truly" prototypical semantic types AGE, VALUE, DIMENSION and COLOUR, 13 of 16 items are primary.[17]

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16 This ratio can even be higher, if we consider, for example, the word *uzun* as still transparent in Old Turkic.

17 According to the results of Schöneborn (2006: 114–115), Common Germanic adjectives of the prototypical semantic types are often derived items within the reconstructed Indo-European language family. Within the Germanic family they already had monomorphemic status. Maybe Turkic also would show the same result on a proto-Turkic level, but the available sources and data do not allow us to make such a deep "excavation". What we however can state without doubt is that twenty, i.e. more than half of the analysed Old Turkic adjectives, were transparent derivatives in certain stages of proto-Turkic.

It is beyond the scope of this paper, but it would be useful to know which Old Turkic adjectives are primary and which semantic types they belong to. This is definitely a topic for future investigation.

Table 2. *The distribution of adjectives according to their derivational class*

Semantic type	Derivational class	Number of cases
A	P	2 (3)
V	P	2
D	P / V	6 (7) / 3
C	P	3
H	P / V / N	6 / 1 / 1
P	P / V	4 / 6
S	P / V	1 / 1

3. Modern language data

In this section, I present corresponding data[18] from seven modern Turkic languages and analyse them in terms of their semantic and morphological properties. The words will be discussed in groups according to their semantic type. The major question guiding the analysis is how the system as a whole changes over time.

Table 3a. *Prototypical adjectives in Old Turkic, Turkish, Turkmen and Tatar*

Sem. type	English	OT	Turkish	Turkmen	Tatar
A	new	*yaŋï*	*yeni*	*täze, ẏaňy*	*yaŋa*
A	old	*äski*	*eski*	*köne*	*iske*
		karï	*yaşlı* (D)[19], *ihtiyar*	*garry*	*kart*
V	good	*ädgü*	*iyi*	*ẏagṣy*	*yaxšï*
V	bad	*yavlak*	*kötü*	*erbet*	*yaman*
D	big	*bädük*	*büyük*	*uly*	*zur, olï*
D	small	*küčüg*	*küçük*	*kiçi*	*keče*
D	long	*uzun*	*uzun*	*uzyn*	*ozïn*
D	short	*kïska*	*kısa*	*gysga*	*kïska*

18 The choice of lexemes is strongly determined by morphological criteria; i.e. simple forms were preferred, which could lead to some semantic discrepancies, especially in the category of HUMAN PROPENSITIES. If more words were found with the same meaning, the morphologically simplest and semantically closest was taken. In cases requiring any kind of disambiguation, more lexemes are given.

19 D indicates that the word is either a transparent derivative or a compound in the given language.

Table 3b. *Prototypical adjectives in Kazakh, Uyghur, Khakas, and Yakut*

Sem. type	English	Kazakh	Uyghur	Khakas	Yakut
A	new	*žaŋa*	*yeŋi*	*na:*	*saŋa*
A	old	*yeski*	*äski*	*irgĭ*	*ärgä*
		qarï	*qeri*	*kirĭ*	*kïrǰaġas* (D)
V	good	*žaqsï*	*yaxši*	*čaxsï*	*üčügäy, ütüö*
V	bad	*žaman*	*yaman*	*xomay*	*kuhaġan*
D	big	*ülkän*	*čoŋ,*	*uluġ*	*ulaxan,*
			büyük		*ulu:*
D	small	*kiši*	*kičik*	*kičig*	*aččïgïy* (D), *kïra*
D	long	*uzïn*	*uzun*	*uzun*	*uhun*
D	short	*qïsqa*	*qisqa*	*xïsxa*	*qïlgas*
D	wide	*keŋ*	*käŋ*	*allïġ,*	*kiäŋ*
				čalbax	
D	narrow	*tar*	*tar*	*tar*	*kïaraġas* (D)
D	deep	*tereŋ*	*tirän,*	*tireŋ*	*diriŋ*
			čoŋqur		
D	shallow	*tayïz*	*teyiz*	*tayïs*	*čiča:s*
D	open	*ašïq*	*očuq*	*azïx*	*ahaġas* (D)
C	black	*qara*	*qara*	*xara*	*xara*
C	white	*aq*	*aq*	*ax*	*ürüŋ*
C	red	*qïzïl*	*qizil*	*xïzïl*	*kïhïl*
H	cruel	*qatal*	*wähši*	*xazïr*	*xaġïs maygïla:x*
H	kind	*meyirimdi* (D)	*mehriban*	*čalaxay*	*kündü*
H	generous	*žomart*	*märdanä,*	*parsax*	*ǰälläm*
			märd		
H	jealous	*qïzġanšaq* (D)	*künči* (D)	*künnägǰi* (D)	*künü:hüt* (D)
H	proud	*ör,*	*täkäbbur*	*maxtanǰïx* (D)	*kiännä:x* (D)
		täkappar			
H	happy	*baqïttï* (D)	*xušal*	*časkalïġ* (D)	*ǰollo:x* (D)
H	clever	*aqïldï* (D)	*äqilliq* (D)	*xïyġa*	*öydö:x* (D)
H	fierce	*žawïz*	*yawuz*	*arsïl*	*ǰula:n*
P	heavy	*awïr*	*eġir*	*a:r*	*ïar,*
					ïaraxan
P	light	*žeŋil*	*yenik,*	*ni:k*	*čäpčäki*
			yäŋgil		
P	hot	*ïstïq*	*issiq*	*ïzïg*	*ïtï:*
P	cold	*suwïq*	*soġuq*	*so:x*	*tïmnï:*
P	sharp	*ötkir*	*ittik*	*čïtïg*	*sïtï:*
P	blunt	*ötpes*	*qašaŋ*	*omas*	*sïppax* (D)
P	wet	*dïmdï* (D)	*höl*	*öl*	*üöl,*
					inčäġäy

P	dry	*qurġaq*	*quruq*	*xuruġ*	*kura:nax*
P	raw	*šiyki*	*xam*	*čïg*	*si:käy*
P	whole	*bütin*	*pütün*	*püdün*	*bütün*
S	quick	*tez*	*tez*	*čügürĭk*	*türgän*
S	slow	*aqïrïn*	*asta*	*aġïrïn*	*bïta:n*

Age (A)

The semantic concept 'new' is stable throughout the selected languages; only Turkmen has a new item borrowed from Persian.

The semantic opposition of *new* 'having not previously existed' and *old* 'having lived or existed a long time' in English does not hold for Turkic, because it has a strict differentiation between 'old thing' and 'old living being'. The Old Turkic word *äski* 'old' refers only to things 'having existed a long time', whereas old living beings are generally referred to as *karï*.

Smaller or larger semantic changes detected in the modern languages show that even lexemes of prototypical semantic concepts can become unstable over time. For instance, the meaning of Old Turkic *qarï* narrowed down to *karı* '(old) woman; wife, spouse' in Turkish, and additionally the Arabic word *ihtiyar* has penetrated into the system.[20] Tatar *karïy* became an archaic element, and has gradually been replaced by the word *kart* 'old (of human being, animal, or plant)', which first appeared in the Middle Turkic period.

The case of Turkmen is especially interesting; the lexeme *eski* has been completely replaced by *köne*[21] denoting both old things (e.g. *köne jay* 'old house') and old living beings (e.g. *köne adam* 'old person'). The adaptation of loanwords can eventually break up the traditional system of differentiation between things and humans.

Siberian Turkic has new items for the concept 'old (things)'. Yakut *kïrjaġas* is an adjective derived from *kïriy-*, *kïrjV-* 'to become old', which is a cognate of the Old Turkic word *karï-* 'to be, or become, old'.

Value (V)

As already noted, the lexemes for the semantic concept 'good' are the most cited examples of the case where a later word replaces an earlier one almost everywhere in the Turkic world. Although *yakšï* appeared first in the 11th century and originally meant 'suitable, pleasing', it gradually replaced *ädgü* in most of the modern languages. Only Turkish preserved it as the primary word for 'good'. Yakut still has it as *ütüö*, but the *de facto* adjective for 'good' is *üčügäy*, a lexeme of unknown origin.

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20 The adjective *yaşlı* 'old, aged' is a transparent derivative in Turkish, cf. *yaş* 'a year of one's life'. The word appeared very early in the Old Turkic documents, and is used today in different meanings in the Turkic languages. See e.g. Uyghur *yašlïq* 'youthful'.

21 A loanword from Persian, cf. کهنه [kohna] 'old, ancient'.

The semantic concept 'bad' is challenging. Turkish *kötü* has hardly any attestation in older sources, Turkmen *erbet* is related to Persian بد [bad] 'ugly, bad', and the Khakas and Yakut lexemes are of unknown origin.

Dimension (D)

Two lexemes, *bädük* and *ulug*, have been competing in the Turkic languages for a long period of time for the slot of 'big'. Yakut *ulaxan* is most likely related to Old Turkic *ulug*, whereas the status of Kazakh *ülkän*, already used in Middle Turkic sources, is unclear.

Words for the concepts 'small', 'long', 'short', 'wide', 'narrow', 'deep' and 'open' are extremely stable. Divergent forms can very rarely be seen. As usual, Yakut is a language with high ratio of other lexemes: (1) *aččïgïy*[22] and *kïra*, of which the latter is of unknown origin, for 'small', (2) *kïlgas* for 'short'[23], (3) *kïaraġas* for 'narrow' as a derivative from *kïara:-* 'to become narrow',[24] and (4) *ahaġas* 'open', like Old Turkic *ačok*, is another derivative of the same verbal base *as-* (< *ač-*), cf. Károly (2013: 125). Khakas *allïğ* 'wide' is related to the Old Turkic word *alkïg* 'wide, broad', and *čalbax* id. is most likely a Turkic word. Turkmen *çuň(ňur)* 'deep' and Uyghur *čoŋqur* id. are of unknown origin, but have further parallels in other Turkic languages.

Turkmen *ýalpak* 'shallow' and Khakas *čalbax* id. are possible examples of semantic change, i.e. 'shallow' < 'flat'; see Middle Turkic *yalpak* 'wide, flat' and Kazakh *žalpaq* 'flat'. Tatar *say* comes from Old Turkic *say* 'an area of (level) ground covered with stones; stony desert' with various extended meanings. The Kazakh, Uyghur and Khakas words for 'shallow' are also likely of Turkic origin, and go back to *tayğïz*; cf. Teleut *taygïs* 'shallow; shoal'. Yakut *čïča:s* 'shallow' is of unknown origin.

Colour (C)

Colour terms are stable in almost every analysed language. The word *ak* 'white', originally used for animals, is a well-known example of replacing an old lexeme. The Old Turkic word *ürüŋ* 'white' is maintained only in Yakut as colour term.[25] Turkish replaced both *ak* 'white' and *kara* 'black' as general colour terms with *beyaz* (← Arabic) and *siyah* (← Persian), respectively. The original Turkic words are mainly used in special phrases, such as *kara büyü* 'black magic' or *ak asbest* 'mineral wool'.

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22 It is a derivative from *ačča:-* 'to decrease, diminish', cf. Károly (2013: 137).
23 See Stachowski (1993: 50) for further remarks on this word.
24 See Stachowski (1993: 123) for further remarks on the verbal root.
25 See also Turkish *ürün* 'product'.

Human propensities (H)

The semantic category of human propensities is the most unstable one. None of the seven modern languages preserved the Old Turkic lexemes. The only exception is Khakas *xazïr* 'cruel' going back to Old Turkic *kadïr* id. Moreover, this category comprises the greatest number of derivatives, often denominal adjectives, and the greatest number of borrowed elements.

Looking at the exact semantics of the English words, it is apparent that they are only partly compatible with those of the Turkic languages. For instance, Khakas *maŋ pirbes* is 'proud in the sense of feeling deep pleasure or satisfaction as a result of one's own achievements', whereas *uluġzïras* and *maxtanjïx* are 'proud in the sense of showing a high or excessively high opinion of oneself'. Turkmen *görip* means both 'jealous' and 'envious' at the same time.

It can often be seen that several words exist for a special concept with minor differences of meaning; see Turkmen *guwanjaň, tekepbir, buýsanjan, buýsançly* and *gedam*, which express different aspects of English 'proud'. Turkish often has, for example, the option to have old Arabic or Persian items and Turkish words (often neologisms) with different stylistic value; see e.g. *akıllı* and *zeki* for 'clever'. Although not considered in the analysis, descriptive expressions are also more common in this category than in other ones.

Sometimes we see semantic overlapping in the Turkic languages. For instance, English *cruel* and *fierce* can often be expressed with the same word; Turkmen *zalym* 'fierce' tends to behave this way. The same Arabic or Persian words were sometimes borrowed into the Turkic languages with different meanings, such as Turkish *zalim* 'cruel' and Turkmen *zalym* 'fierce', both coming from Arabic ظالم [ẓa:lim] 'acting wrongfully, unjustly, injuriously or tyrannically'.

Physical properties (P)

The words for heavy, hot, cold, wet, dry and whole are stable across the languages, showing only minor changes or differences. Turkish *sıcak* is a special development from **ïsï-jak*, and thus is related to Old Turkic *isig*. Yakut *tïmnï:* is a modern counterpart of Old Turkic *tumlïg* 'cold'.[26] Concerning the concept 'light', there is a general tendency in Turkic to move from *yenig* 'light' towards *yeŋil* id.

Although the concept for 'sharp' seems to be stable and clearly expressed in the analysed languages, words for the concept 'blunt' suggest that it was not originally expressed by adjectives. To the best of my knowledge, Old Turkic sources did not have this concept as an adjective, and the verbal concept 'be, or become blunt' is also missing as a primary lexeme.[27] Turkish metaphorically uses *kör*, a Persian loanword, primarily meaning 'blind'. Uyghur *qašaŋ* is also a metaphoric expression going back to the Old Turkic word *kašaŋ* 'lazy, sluggish, idle (of men, horses, etc.)'.

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26 See further the verb *tumlï-* 'to be cold'.
27 See the transitive verb *tïg-* 'to blunt something' and its passive derivative *tïgïl-* 'to be blunted'.

As opposites of *ütken* 'sharp' and *ötkir* id., Tatar and Kazakh have negative expressions derived from the Old Turkic verb *öt-* 'to cross; to penetrate into'. They both describe the inability of knives, swords or other cutting instruments to cut things. Khakas *omas* may be a similar formation, and is most likely no longer transparent. Yakut *sïppax* is derived from the verb *sïppa:-* 'to become blunt'.

The word *čig* 'moist, raw' and its various derivatives have completely replaced the Old Turkic lexeme *yig*, but Khakas *čïg* and Yakut *si:käy* may eventually be the continuation of it. Uyghur has a Persian loanword.

Speed (S)

The Old Turkic word *yügrük* has been preserved only in some modern languages. Otherwise, the Persian word تیز [tēz] 'swift, prompt' dominates everywhere except Siberia. Yakut *türgän* is a loanword from Mongolic; cf. Classical Mongolian *türgen* 'quick, swift, rapid, speedy'.

The Old Turkic lexeme *akru* (also *akrïn*) is preserved only in Tatar, Kazakh and Khakas. The word *yavaš* is typical of the Oghuzic languages. Uyghur *asta* is related to the Persian word آهسته [āhista] 'soft, tender, gentle; grave, sedate, modest, quiet; calmly; slowly, gently'.

Table 4 presents the etymological background of the lexemes given in Table 3. The abbreviations are as follow: S = same, i.e. cognate of the Old Turkic word; O = other, i.e. another word of Turkic origin; L = loanword, in our cases borrowings from Arabic, Persian or Mongolic; and ? = word of unknown origin.

Table 4. *Etymological background*

S. type	English	OT	Turkish	Turkmen	Tatar	Kazakh	Uyghur	Khakas	Yakut
A	new	*yaŋï*	S	L, S	S	S	S	S	S
A	old	*äski*	S	L	S	S	S	?	?
		qarï	O, L	S	O	S	S	?	?
V	good	*ädgü*	S	O	O	O	O	O	?, S
V	bad	*yavlak*	O	L	O	O	O	?	?
D	big	*bädük*	S	O	L, O	?	L, S	O	O
D	small	*kičig*	S	S	S	S	S	S	?, ?
D	long	*uzun*	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
D	short	*kïska*	S	S	S	S	S	S	?
D	wide	*keŋ*	S	S	S	S	S	O, O	S
D	narrow	*tar*	S	S	S	S	S	S	O
D	deep	*täriŋ*	S	O	S	S	S, O	S	S
D	shallow	*sïk*	S	O	O	O	O	O	?
D	open	*ačok*	S	S	S	S	S	S	O
C	black	*kara*	L	S	S	S	S	S	S
C	white	*ürüŋ*	L	O	O	O	O	O	S
C	red	*kïzïl*	O, S	S	S	S	S	S	S
H	cruel	*kadïr*	L	L	O	L	L	S	O
H	kind	*amrak*	L	L	O, O	L	L	L	L
H	generous	*akï*	L	L	L	L	L	O	L

H	jealous	*küni*	O	O, L	O	O	O	O	O
H	proud	*küväz*	L	O, ?	L	O, L	L	L	L
H	happy	*mäŋilig*	O	L	L	L	L	O	L
H	clever	*tetig*	O, L	?, O	O	O	O	O	O
H	fierce	*kal*	L	L	O	O	O	O	L
P	heavy	*agïr*	S	S	S	S	S	S	S, O
P	light	*yenig*	L, O	O	O	O	S, O	O	L
P	hot	*isig*	O	S	S	S	S	S	S
P	cold	*sogïk*	S	S	O, S	S	S	S	O
P	sharp	*yiti*	O	S, O	O	O	S	S	S
P	blunt	*?*	L	?	O	O	O	O	?
P	wet	*öl*	O, O	S	O	O	S	S	S, ?
P	dry	*kurïg*	S	S	S	O	S	S	O
P	raw	*yig*	O	O	O	O	L	O	O
P	whole	*bütün*	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
S	quick	*yügrük*	L, L	?, S	L	L	L	S	L
S	slow	*akru*	O	L, O	S	S	L	S	?

Finally, Table 5 summarizes the origin of the lexemes. Yakut, one of the most divergent Turkic languages, maintains the lowest number of Old Turkic elements. The emergence of other (secondary) Turkic lexemes is more or less equal through the different branches. Although the Oghuz and Kipchak languages preserved the same number of Old Turkic elements, Oghuzic is more strongly influenced by foreign elements. Despite the language reform, Turkish still shows the highest number of loanwords. This picture is blurred however by the fact that 11 lexemes in Yakut are of unknown origin. If it turns out that at least some of these adjectives are of foreign origin, Yakut could compete with Turkish. The most striking fact in the results is that Khakas shows the second highest number of preserved lexemes and has only two loanwords.

Table 5. *Summary of origin*

	Turkish	Turkmen	Tatar	Kazakh	Uyghur	Khakas	Yakut
Same word	17	18	17	17	21	19	13
Other word	13	12	18	14	10	14	10
Loanword	13	10	5	6	9	2	7
Unknown	0	4	0	1	0	3	11
Sum	43	44	40	38	40	38	41

4. Conclusion

The above presentation and analysis of 36 basic Turkic adjectives has shown that those of the prototypical semantic types have mostly been primary in Old Turkic as well as in the modern languages. The fact that some of the Old Turkic lexemes were replaced by other Turkic words or by borrowed elements has not changed the proportion of primary adjectives in these semantic categories. It is worth noting however that six of 16 Old Turkic lexemes of the prototypical semantic types can be

considered polymorphemic in proto-Turkic. This proportion is much higher than those of any other non-reconstructed stratum of Turkic.

On the contrary, we pointed out that lexemes of the semantic types HUMAN PROPENSITIES, PHYSICAL PROPERTIES and SPEED tend to be polymorphemic. This is most typical of the adjectives describing HUMAN PROPENSITIES; we find here the highest proportion of derivatives, mostly denominal adjectives.

Regarding the stability of the individual lexemes, we can see language-internal changes and the gradual replacement of old items. The earliest example of this kind is the complete replacement of *ürüŋ* 'white' by *ak* id. The spread of *yakšï* 'good' is definitely a Middle Turkic feature. The emergence of Turkish *kıskanç* 'jealous' is a recent case.

The penetration of loanwords into the original Turkic word stock is especially strong in the three non-prototypical categories. The replacement of Turkic words by borrowed elements however is marginal in the prototypical semantic categories. The most affected languages are Turkish and Turkmen, each with three loanwords in the categories AGE, VALUE, DIMENSION and COLOUR. The complete picture is however blurred by the fact that Yakut has an extremely high number of words of unknown origin which might be borrowed elements. The impact of Persian and Arabic in the western part of the Turkic world is definitely stronger than that of the Mongolic languages in the East.

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Concessive conditionals in Turkish

Astrid Menz

The present article investigates a type of complex sentence in Turkish where the predicate of the embedded clause is based on a conditional form followed by the particle *de* or sometimes *bile*. The syntactic and semantic peculiarities of this construction in Turkish are outlined according to the exhaustive description of concessive conditionals for European languages by Haspelmath & König (1998).

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Introduction

The type of complex sentence dealt with here has a conditional form as the predicate of the embedded clause. It does not, however, convey any conditional semantics in the sense that a situation B is brought about only under the condition that a situation A takes place. König (1994: 86) describes the semantic equivalents of this Turkish construction for German and other Germanic languages. He claims that this sentence type stands between conditional and concessive clauses in terms of its semantic and syntactic properties, and labels it Concessive Conditional. In the following, I will examine in detail this sentence type in Turkish in light of the observations made by König (1994) and Haspelmath & König (1998).

Concessive clauses

Haspelmath & König (1998: 566) give a definition of the semantic properties of concessive clauses as follows: "Concessive constructions, [...], are used to assert two propositions against the background assumption that the relevant situations do not normally go together". The implied connection between the two clauses has, as König explains "the status of a presupposition [...] with roughly the content that there is a general incompatibility between the two propositions in question" (1988: 146).

Concessive clauses in Turkish

The main types of concessive clauses[1] in Turkish are based on converb constructions in *-mesine rağmen/karşın*[2] or *-diği halde*[3] and, to a somewhat lesser extent, in *-mekle beraber/birlikte.*[4]

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1   For a list of other possibilities see Banguoğlu (1974: 432).
2   Member of König's group (i), (1988: 152).

For a demonstration of the definition given above on a simple Turkish example, see (1) below: despite the fact that he is ill—and that one normally would stay at home when one is ill—Ali went to work.[5] In other words, the situation expressed in the subordinate clause is irrelevant for the situation expressed in the main clause.

(1) *Ali hasta ol-masına rağmen*   *iş-e*   *git-ti.*
     A. ill   be-CONV   work-DAT   go-PST3SG
     Ali hasta ol-duğu halde   *işe gitti.*
              be-CONV
     Ali hasta ol-makla beraber   *işe gitti.*
              be-CONV
     factual   factual
     'Although Ali was ill, he went to work.'

In concessive clauses, both parts of the construction, main and subordinate clause, are factual, and a speaker is normally confident of the truth of both clauses (König 1988: 146). In Turkish, the interpretation as concessive is strongest in the construction with *-mesine rağmen/karşın*[6] and weakest with *-mekle beraber*. The concessive semantics in constructions with the converbs *-diği halde* and *-mekle beraber* arise from the contrast between the situations narrated in the two clauses. Depending on the context, for instance, if the contrast between the two situations in question is not very strong, constructions with *olduğu halde* and *-mekle beraber* can be interpreted simply as temporal co-occurrence, like 'in the state of being...' and 'together with being ...'. Thus, example (2) could be interpreted as: *tafrasına kızarım aynı zamanda kendisini severim* 'I am annoyed by his boastings (but) at the same time I do like him' as well as *tafrasına kızmama rağmen kendisini severim* 'Despite being annoyed by his boastings, I do like him'.

(2) *Tafra-sın-a*   *kız-makla beraber*   *on-u*   *sev-er-im.*
     boasting-POSS3-DAT   get_annoyed-CONV   he-ACC   like-AOR-1SG
     'Although his boastings annoy me, I do like him.' (Banguoğlu 1974: 432)

Constructions with *rağmen* 'despite' are always concessive because of the unambiguous semantics of the postposition. The concessive interpretation of the other two constructions thus stems from the contrast between the two situations described in the clauses together with a certain degree of conventionalization rather than from the semantics of the respective postpositions.

2 Member of König's group (i), (1988: 152).
3 König's group (iv), (1988: 154).
4 König's group (v), (1988: 155).
5 After König's (1994: 90) example "Obwohl Paul krank ist, geht er zur Arbeit".
6 The postposition *karşın* 'despite, in spite of' is mostly encountered in formal language.

Besides these constructions for concessive clauses proper, in grammar books on Turkish we find a further construction that is ascribed the semantic value of concession. In this construction, the embedded clause has the predicate in a conditional form followed by one of the particles *de* or *bile*. This construction is one of the possibilities for expressing concessive conditionals in Turkish.

Concessive conditionals

In their article on "Concessive conditionals in the languages of Europe" Haspelmath & König (1998) argue that the three types of constructions exhibited in example (3) are each specific subtypes of a construction that König (1988) has labeled Concessive Conditional. Whereas these subtypes do not share formal properties in most European languages, they are obviously formally connected with each other in Turkish. If one compares the Turkish translations with the English examples taken from Haspelmath & König's (1998) article, the formal similarity becomes clear: in all three Turkish the predicate of the subordinated clause versions is marked with a conditional form:

(3)   a. Scalar concessive conditionals/extreme value
        Even if we do not get any financial support, we will go ahead with our project.
        Maddi   yardım   alma-sak   da/bile   proje-yi
        financial support   get-NEG-COND-1PL PTCL   project-ACC
        devam   et-tir-eceğ-iz.
        continuation   AUX-CAUS-FUT-1PL

        b. Alternative concessive conditionals/disjunction
        Whether we get any financial support or not, we will go ahead with our project.
        Maddi yardım   al-sak   da   alma-sak   da projeyi devam ettireceğiz.[7]
                        get- COND-1PL   PTCL get-NEG-COND-1PL PTCL

        c. Universal concessive conditionals/quantification
        No matter how much/(However much) financial support we get, we will go ahead with our project.
        Ne kadar maddi yardım   al-sak   da (alırsak alalım) projeyi devam ettireceğiz.
                                get- COND-1PL   PTCL

According to Haspelmath & König (1998), these three subtypes are semantically and/or formally connected to
        1. conditionals
        2. concessives

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7   Another construction with the same semantics is built with *ister* 'wants' preceding each of both of the alternatives that are marked by the optative. Eg. *İster hoşumuza gitsin ister gitmesin markalar, [...] birçok işlev üstlenir.* (TUD WI22F1D-4721) 'Whether we like it or not, brands [...] fulfil a lot of functions'. Similar constructions are also found in Hungarian, Ossetic, Georgian and Basque; see Haspelmath & König (1998: 599–601).

3. in the case of universal concessive conditionals, to free relative clauses[8]
4. in the case of alternative concessive conditionals, to embedded interrogative clauses

In what follows I will focus on this type of adverbial clauses in Turkish based on the findings made by König (1994) and Haspelmath & König (1998). Note that all general findings on concessive conditionals in the following are taken from these articles and compared to the situation in Turkish. I will therefore refrain from repeatedly referencing Haspelmath & König's (1998) article and will mention it only when referring to a specific paragraph.

Concessive conditionals in Turkish

For Turkish, all three subtypes are generally regarded as a subtype of a conditional clause for formal reasons: in all of them the embedded clause has the predicate marked with a conditional suffix or copula. Subtype (a) is sometimes regarded simply as a concessive clause; see Kornfilt (1997: 76) and Lewis (1985: 269).

As for conditional clauses the association with concessive conditionals is obvious in Turkish, for all three types are formally conditional clauses with some additional element (the particle *de* or sometimes *bile*; a question/indefinite pronoun or coordinated alternative predicates). Compare the conditional construction in example (4a) with the concessive conditional in (4b) the ostensible formal difference being the use of the particle *dE*.

(4)   a. *Murat   sinema-ya   gid-er-se   Ayşe   kız-ar.*
         M.   cinema-DAT go-AOR-COND.COP3SG   A.   be_angry-AOR3SG
         'If Murat goes to the movies, Ayşe will be angry.'
      b. *Murat   sinema-ya   git-se   de   Ayşe   kız-maz.*
         M.   cinema-DAT go-COND3SG   PTCL   A.   be_angry-NEG.AOR3SG
         Even if Murat goes to the movies, Ayşe won't be angry.'

Furthermore, there are also common semantic features that connect concessive conditionals to conditional clauses.

First, simple conditional clauses can be understood as concessive (conditionals) when the two situations in question are interpreted as contrastive.[9] This interpretation of conditional clauses as concessive seems to work better in Turkish with either the contrasting adverb *yine* 'again, still, yet' in the apodosis or if the contrast is stressed by e.g. an overt subject in the main clause different from the subordinate clause subject. Compare the examples given in (5), where a. has an overt subject in

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8   On Turkish free relative clauses based on a question word and a predicate marked with the conditional (copula) see Ozil (1993) and Erkman-Akerson (1993).

9   "Sentences, on the other hand, that are explicitly marked as concessive can never be reinterpreted in the sense of any other adverbial relation, however suitable the context might be." (König 1988: 150)

the both clauses, b. contains the adverb *yine* 'anew, still' in the main clause and c. is a "canonical" (scalar) concessive conditional construction.

(5)   a. *Herkes   git-se   ben   git-mem.*   (Kononov 1956: 534)
          everyone   go-COND3SG   I   go-NEG.AOR1SG
          'If everyone goes, I won't go.' and 'Even if everyone goes, I won't.'
       b. *Herkes gitse   yine gitmem/   yine   de   gitmem.*
          'Even if everyone goes, I won't.'
       c. *Herkes gitse de (ben) gitmem.*
          'Even if everyone goes, I won't.'

Example (6a) is a conditional clause with a possible concessive nuance. The difference between the semantics of (6a) and b. is that the expectation with a. is that Murat indeed would follow Ayşe, while in b. the expectation is that Murat will eventually leave Ayşe, which he surprisingly does not do.

(6)   a. *Ayşe Amerika'ya   git-se   Murat   on-u   bırak-maz.*
          A.   America-DAT   go-COND3SG   M.   she-ACC leave-NEG.AOR3SG
          Murat will not leave Ayşe, if she goes to America.
       b. *Ayşe Amerika'ya gitse de Murat onu bırakmaz.*[10]
          'Even if Ayşe goes to America, Murat won't leave her.'

Secondly, type B/alternative concessive conditional, can be paraphrased as two coordinated conditional constructions: one assertive, the other a negative version of the first. See (7); a paraphrase of (3b).

(7)   *Maddi   yardım   al-sak   proje-yi   devam   et-tir-eceğ-iz   ve*
       financial support get-COND-1PL   project-ACC continuation AUX-CAUS-FUT-1PL   and
       maddi yardım   al-ma-sa-k   projeyi devam ettireceğiz.
                       get-NEG-COND-1PL
       = *Maddi yardım alsak da almasak da projeyi devam ettireceğiz.*

Type C/universal concessive conditionals can be paraphrased by type B, alternative ones:

(8)   *Hesap   ne kadar   gel-se   de   öd-er-im.*
       bill   how much   come-COND3SG   PTCL   pay-AOR-1SG
       = *Hesap   az   gel-se   de   çok gel-se   de   öderim.*
          bill   low   come-COND3SG   PTCL much come-COND3SG PTCL pay-AOR-1SG
       'I will pay the bill, however much it is. = Whether it is high or low I will pay the bill.'

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10 The same meaning as in a. can also be expressed by *Ayşe nereye giderse gitsin Murat onu bırakmaz.*

According to Haspelmath & König (1998: 565) ordinary conditionals as well as concessive conditionals express a conditional relationship between a protasis and an apodosis. The main semantic difference between the two types is that in concessive conditionals a set of conditions for the consequent is established in the protasis, whereas in conditional constructions usually only one condition is related to a consequent; see König (1994: 88). This set of conditions can contain a qualification over a variable (universal), be a disjunction between a protasis and its negation (alternative) or is an extreme value for the relevant condition (scalar).

An even more important semantic difference in my opinion, however, is that the situations expressed in the protasis are not a condition for the situation expressed in the apodosis to unfold but just background information for it. The situation in the apodosis is expressed as factual and as unfolding regardless of the fulfillment of the set of events expressed in the protasis.

A major formal difference between Turkish conditionals on the one hand and concessive conditionals on the other, besides the use of the particles *de* or *bile*, is that the conditional conjunctions *eğer* 'if' or *şayet* 'if' cannot occur in concessive conditionals.

In Turkish, in scalar concessive conditionals, the predicates theoretically can take the same aspecto-temporal suffixes as in ordinary conditional constructions; compare example (9).

(9)   *Ali ev-e*   *git-se / gid-er-se / gid-ecek-se / git-ti-yse /*
     A. house-DAT   go-COND/-AOR-COND.COP3SG/-FUT-COND.COP3SG/-PST-COND.COP3SG
     git-miş-se   *de*   *ben*   *kal-ır-ım/kal-acağ-ım/kal-dı-m.*
     go-PERF- COND.COP3SG PTCL I   stay-AOR-1SG/-FUT-1SG/-PST-1SG
     'Even if Ali goes/will go/went home I stay/will stay/stayed.'

However, the bare conditional is far more frequent in scalar concessive conditionals than are forms with aspect-temporal affixes. Examples (10) and (11) thus exhibit the typical sequence of predicators for non-past and past.

(10) *Dikkat* *et-se-m*   *de*   *bir* *fayda-sı*   *ol-maz ki!*
     caution AUX-COND-1SG   PTCL one benefit-POSS3SG   AUX-NEG.AOR3SG
     'Even if I am careful, it won't help anyway!' TUD[11] VA14B1A-1602

(11) *Söyle-sem*   *de* *gel-mez-di-n*   *sen.*   TUD PA16B4A-1247
     say-COND-1SG PTCL come-NEG.AOR-PST.COP-2SG you
     'Even if I had told you, you wouldn't have come.'

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11 Examples marked by the abbreviation TUD are all taken from the Turkish National Corpus (http://www.tnc.org.tr/index.php/en/), established by Mustafa Aksan, Yeşim Aksan and others. See also Aksan et al. (2012).

In scalar concessive conditionals where the particle *bile* follows the predicate of the embedded clause, the examples I have seen so far invariably have the predicate in the bare conditional, as in example (12). When the lexical verb carries an aspecto-temporal suffix it is followed by the auxiliary *ol-* which then carries the bare conditional, as in example (13).

(12) *... ikram   ed-il-se   bile   Coca Cola   iç-il-mez,*
      ... offering   AUX-PASS-COND3SG   PTCL   CC   drink-pass-NEG.AOR3SG
      Algida   dondurma   ye-n-mez.
      A.   ice-cream   eat-PASS-NEG.AOR3SG   TUD SH43C4A-1885
      '....even if it is offered, Coca-Cola and Algida ice-cream are refused.'

(13) *.. bu sonuç-lar siyasal istikrar-la çeliş-iyor   olsa   bile,*
       this result-PL political stability-PP contradict-PRES3SG   AUX-COND3SG PTCL
      sonuç-lar-dan tatmin   ol-ma-ya   devam   ed-er-ler.
      result-PL-ABL satisfaction AUX-VN-DAT   continuation   AUX-AOR-3PL
      '... even if those results conflict with political stability, they continue to be satisfied with the results.'   IC05A2A-1770

Lewis (1985: 269) claims in his Turkish grammar that a constraint for subtype B (alternative) is that only the simple conditional form can appear in alternative protases, while tensed forms were not possible. He maintains that "Pairs of alternative protases are expressed in the remote form (because the two conditions, being mutually exclusive, are not open)". Thus, only constructions like examples (14) and (15) should be possible.

(14) *Ali git-se   de   git-me-se   de   ben   kal-ır-ım.*
      A. go-COND3SG   PTCL   go-NEG-COND3SG   PTCL   I   stay-AOR-1SG
      'Whether Ali goes or not, I will stay.'

(15) *Ali git-se-ydi   de   git-me-sey-di   de*
      A. go-COND-PST.COP3SG PTCL   go-NEG-COND-PST.COP3SG PTCL
      ben   kal-ır-dı-m.
      I   stay-AOR-PST.COP1SG
      'Whether Ali had gone or not, I would have stayed.'

That seems however not to be a rule but rather the statistically most frequent case. In principle, native speakers judge sentences like (16) and (17) as grammatical.

(16) *Ali gid-iyor-sa   da   git-mi-yor-sa   da   ben kal-ır-ım.*
      A. go-PRES-COND.COP3SG PTCL   go-NEG-PRES-CONDCOP3SG PTCL   I   stay-AOR-1SG
      'Whether Ali is going or not, I will stay.'

(17) *Ali git-miş-se*   *de*   *git-me-miş-se*   *de*   *ben* *kal-dı-m.*
      A. go-perf.COND.COP3SG PTCL go-NEG-PERF-CONDCOP3SG PTCL I   stay-PST-1SG
      'Whether Ali had gone or not, I did stay.'

Nevertheless, even though it is possible to have either bare or tensed conditional forms as the protasis predicator, the bare form is overwhelmingly more frequent than forms also bearing aspect-temporal markers. I will return to this below. At this point I would just like to mention that this statistical relation of bare to marked forms is reversed in canonical conditional constructions in Turkish, see Menz (2010: 597).

In scalar concessive conditionals, the particles *de* and *bile* are attached to the predicate or alternatively to another constituent. The particle *bile* does not appear in the other two (alternative and universal) types of concessive conditional constructions. When the particle precedes the predicate, the focus shifts to the element preceding *de;* compare example (18) a. with (18) b. The particle in the protasis serves to mark the contrast between the situation in the apodosis and the situation in the protasis. If it is placed adjacent to an argument of the embedded clause rather than to the predicate, it serves additionally to emphasize the element it is adjacent to.[12]

(18) a. *Ali mektup yaz-sa*   *da/bile* *affet-mem.*
         A. letter   write-COND3SG PTCL   forgive-NEG.AOR1SG
         'Even if Ali writes a letter, I won't forgive him.'
      b. *Ali mektup da/bile yazsa affetmem.*
         'Even if Ali writes a letter, I won't forgive him.'

In universal concessive conditionals, the particle can follow either the predicate or the question word. Compare example (19) a. and b. below:

(19) a. *Ne kadar   ara-sak*   *da*   *bul-ama-yacağ-ız.*
         how much   search-COND3SG PTCL find-IMPOSSIB-FUT-1PL
      b. *Ne kadar da arasak bulamayacağız.*
         'However much we look for (her), we will not find (her).'

De and *bile* thus exhibit a different behavior than focus particles in concessive clauses in languages that utilize finite subordinated clauses where the position of the additional focus particle is fixed and normally sentence initial preceding the subordinating conjunction (e.g. German *auch wenn*, English *even if*).

One of the predicates in alternative concessive conditionals can follow the main clause, see the below example taken from Deny (1921: 846):

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12 On the function of *dA* in Turkish see Göksel & Özsoy (2003).

(20) *ben al-sa-m   da   iş-i   bitir-ecek-ler al-ma-sa-m   da*
      I   take-COND-1SG PTCL work-ACC   finish-FUT-3PL   take-NEG-COND-1SG PTCL
      "que je me charge de l'affaire ou que je ne m'en charge point, on la finira"

As for the properties that concessive conditionals share with concessives, first, both constructions share the factuality of the main clause. Typically, concessive conditionals are semifactual; i.e. their apodosis is factual or, if the event has not occurred at the time of speaking, the speaker is nevertheless convinced that it will inevitably do so in the future. All main clauses of alternative concessive conditionals are factual, as are all those of scalar concessive conditionals if they are linked on the epistemic level. In universal concessive conditionals, the main clause is also typically factual, but there are exceptions to this; see Haspelmath & König (1998: 567).

The subordinate clauses of concessive conditionals are of course non-factual.

Secondly, in all concessive and concessive conditional sentences, the situation described in the subordinate clause contains an unfavorable circumstance or one that is unusual for the situation described in the main clause; i.e. the two situations would not normally go together. These circumstances are however presented as irrelevant for the occurrence of the event described in the main clause. Compare the concessive constructions in (21) a. and b. with the concessive conditional constructions in (21) c.–e. Note that the interpretation of concessive in (21) b. or concessive conditional in (21) c. depends on the marking of the verbs, and thus the factuality of the clauses, rather than on the use of the particle *dA*.

(21) a. *Arama-lar-ımız-a   rağmen bul-ama-mıştı-k.*   TUD PI22E1B-2909
         search-PL-POSS1PL-DAT PP   find-IMPOSSIB-PLUPERF-1PL
         'Although we looked for (her), we couldn't find (her).'

      b. *Ara-dı-ysak   da   bul-ama-mıştı-k.*[13]
         search-PST-COND.COP-1SG   PTCL find-IMPOSSIB-PLUPERF-1PL
         'Even though we looked for (her), we couldn't find (her).'

      c. *Ara-sak da bul-ama-yacağ-ız.*
         search-COND-1PL PTCL find-IMPOSSIB-FUT-1PL
         'Even if we look for (her) we will not find (her).'

      d. *Ara-sak   da   ara-ma-sak   da bulamayacağız*
         search-COND-1PL   PTCL search-NEG-COND-1PL PTCL
         'Whether we look for (her) or not, we will not find (her).'

      e. *Ne kadar   ara-sak   da   bul-ama-yacağ-ız.*
         how much   search-COND-1PL   PTCL find-IMPOSSIB-FUT-1PL
         'However much we look for (her), we will not find (her).'

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13 *Arasak da bulamadık* would also be possible with roughly the same meaning as (21) b.

Linking levels

In concessive conditionals as well as in causal, conditional and concessive constructions, subordinate and main clause can be semantically linked on three different levels:

1. On the content level, one situation follows and/or is brought about by another one, or in the case of concessive conditionals, the set of situations established in the subordinate clause has no influence on the situation in the main clause. The situation in the main clause takes place despite the unfavorable or unusual condition that is expressed in the subordinate clause.

(22) *Mektup   yaz-sa-m   da   ben-i affet-mez.*
letter   write-COND-1SG   PTCL   I-ACC forgive-AOR3SG
'Even if I write a letter, he won't forgive me.'

(23) *Yağmur yağ-sa   da   havuz-a   gid-er-iz.*
rain   rain-COND3SG   PTCL   pool-DAT   go-AOR-1PL
'Even if it rains, we will go swimming.'

2. On the epistemic level two items of knowledge, a premise and a conclusion, are connected. In concessive conditionals, the premise is irrelevant for the unfolding of the event expressed in the main clause. The difference between examples (24) and (25) on the one hand and (26) on the other lies in the fact that in the former sentences the main clause is factual, but in the latter it is non-factual. Moreover, while (24) is a concessive conditional, with a hypothetical event in the subordinate clause, (25) is a concessive construction, both the main and embedded clauses being factual.

(24) *Mektub-u   postala-sa   da   biz-e   gel-me-di.*
lettter-ACC   mail-COND3SG   PTCL   we-DAT   come-NEG-PST3SG
'Even if he sent the letter, we didn't receive it.'

(25) *Mektubu postala-dı-ysa   da bize gelmedi.*
              mail-PST-COND.COP3SG
Although he had sent the letter, we didn't receive it.

(26) *Mektubu postalasa da bize   gel-mez-di.*
                                come-NEG.AOR-PST.COP3SG
'Even if he had sent the letter, we wouldn't have received it.'

3. On the illocutionary level, the facts established in the subordinate clause are only of potential relevance for the uttering of the main clause.

(27) *Duy-mak   iste-mez-sen   de   anne-n   sen-i*
     hear-INF   want-NEG.AOR-COND.COP-2SG PTCL   mother-POSS2SG   you-ACC
     bekl-iyor.
     wait-PRES3SG
     'Even if you don't want to hear this, your mother is waiting for you.' (Haspelmath &
     König 1998: 570)

According to Haspelmath & König (1998), only linking on the content level leads to constraints on the sequence of tenses similar to those in conditional clauses (*consecutio temporum*).

In Turkish, conditional clauses with linking on the content level, i.e. when the event in the apodosis is a consequence of the event in the protasis, have the predicate of the conditional clause in either the aorist and the conditional copula in the case of real conditionals, or in the bare conditional form in hypothetical conditional clauses. All other theoretically possible combinations of aspect-temporal affixes and the conditional copula only appear in sentences with linking either on the epistemic or on the illocutionary level; see Kerslake (2003).

As mentioned above, we do in fact also find various tensed forms as well as the bare conditional in concessive conditionals. Nevertheless, if we take a closer look at scalar concessive conditionals that are conditional clauses simply expanded by a particle, we find that statistically the bare conditional is far more frequent than the tensed form in *-(V)rsE*, which in turn is the most frequent form in conditional clauses.

(28) *Bir   sonraki   trenle   git-se-k   de   yetiş-ir-iz.*
     one   later   train-PP go-COND-1SG   PTCL arrive-AOR-1PL
     Bir sonraki trenle gid-er-se-k   de yetişiriz.
                         go-AOR-COND.COP-1SG
     'Even if we take the next train, we will be on time.'

If we look at the two versions of example (28) we find that there is no semantic difference between them, but native speakers claimed that the first version is the more appropriate one. This is also reflected by the far more frequent occurrence of this type in Turkish texts as well as in grammar books. In a real conditional clause, however, we would expect the aspect-temporally marked conditional form *gidersek* rather than the bare conditional. The bare form in conditional clauses is used to express hypotheticality; see Menz (2010: 596–597).

With universal concessive conditionals the statistics are slightly different. Here forms bearing an aspect-temporal affix, as in examples (29) (for linking on the illocutonary level) and (30) (for linking at the epistemic level) are not infrequent. Again, however, with linking on the content level the bare conditional is used; see example (31).

(29) *Her nekadar   Zuhal'in   ağabey-i-nin   bu   olay-a   ılımlı*
      however much Z-GEN   older brother-POSS3SG-GEN this   event-DAT   mild
      bak-tığ-ın-ı   öğren-di-yse   de,   bir sürü
      look-PART-POSS3SG-ACC learn-PST-COND.COP3SG PTCL   a bunch of
      "acaba"-lar   on-u   rahatsız   ed-iyor-du.   TUD, JA16B4A-0854
      if-PL   he-ACC   uncomfortable AUX-PRES-PST.COP3SG
      'However much he found out that Zuhal's brother looked mildly on this incident, a
      bunch of "ifs" were bothering him.'

(30) *Her nekadar   sıcaklık su-yun   bütün   özellik-ler-in-i,*
      however much heat   water-GEN all   feature-PL-POSS3SG-ACC
      etkile-r-se   de   bu   etkileme bütün özellik-ler-i
      influence-AOR-COND.COP3SG PTCL this influence all   feature-PL-POSS3SG
      için   aynı   oran-da   değil-dir.   TUD OB04A2A-1982
      PP   same rate-LOC not-COP3SG
      'However much the temperature influences the features of water, this influence does
      not have the same rate for all features.'

(31) *Ben de   kendi-m-i   ne kadar   geri   çek-iyormuş gibi*
      I   PTCL self-POSS1SG-ACC however much   back   pull-CONV
      yap-sa-m   da,   neden-in-i   anla-ma-dığ-ım   biçim-de
      do-COND-1SG PTCL reason-POSS3SG-ACC understand-NEG-PART-POSS1SG   form-LOC
      on-dan uzun süre   uzak kal-amı-yor-du-m.   TUD VA16B2A-1243
      she-ABL long period far   stay-IMPOSSIB-PRES-PAST-COP-1SG
      'However much I pretended to stay away from her,—for reasons I do not understand—I
      could not stay far from her for a long time.'

As can be seen in the above examples, the use of bare conditional forms is constrained to concessive conditional constructions with a linking on the content level. That means that concessive conditional constructions are not just ordinary conditional constructions extended by the particle *-dE*. Example (23), with a clear linking on the content level, exhibits a bare conditional, whereas its conditional counterpart in example (32) has the aorist marked by the conditional copula. An explanation for this may be found in logical facts. Because the situation described in the subordinated clause is not factual and is irrelevant for the main clause situation, a temporal sequence between subordinated and main clause predication is not necessary, and therefore only the adverbial status and the non-factuality and/or a higher degree of hypotheticality have to be expressed. The concessive semantic force comes from the contrast between the two events and is emphasized by the focus particle.

(32) *Yağmur yağ-ar-sa   havuz-a   gitmeyiz.*
      rain   rain-AOR-COND.COP3SG   pool-DAT   go-NEG.AOR-1PL
      'If it rains, we won't go swimming.'

Conclusion

All three types of concessive conditionals in Turkish share the use of a conditional verb form and the particle *dE* in the embedded clause. The use of the particle *bile* as an alternative to *dE* is restricted to scalar concessive conditionals. The conditional junctors *eğer* or *şayet* cannot appear in this type of adverbial clause. In concessive conditionals with a semantic linking on the content level, the bare conditional form is the rule. Marking of the embedded clause predicate with aspect-temporal affixes is restricted to linking on illocutionary or epistemic levels. Scalar concessive conditionals consist of a conditional construction extended by a focus particle in a variety of languages, while the other two types are often based on different adverbial constructions.

In Turkish, we thus do see a similar use of a conditional construction with an additional particle as concessive construction, as is the case in many European languages; see Haspelmath & König (1998). Whether we can speak of a diachronic development from conditional to concessive conditional construction in Turkish remains to be investigated. In many languages, concessive conditionals have further developed into concessive clauses (German, English, Norwegian), the development thus being conditional > concessive conditional > concessive.

In Turkish, however, concessive clause models did not develop from concessive conditional constructions.

Haspelmath & König's (1998) claim that the three types should be analyzed as subtypes of one type on semantic and functional grounds is supported by the fact that in Turkish all three types are formally marked by a conditional affix or copula.

Abbreviations

1	First person	INF	Infinitive
2	Second person	NEG	Negation
3	Third person	PART	Participle
ABL	Ablative	PASS	Passive
ACC	Accusative	PERF	Perfect
AOR	Aorist	PL	Plural
AUX	Auxiliary	PLUPERF	Plusquamperfect
CAUS	Causative	POSS	Possessive marker
COND	Conditional	PP	Postposition
CONV	Converb	PRES	Present
COP	Copula	PST	Past
DAT	Dative	PTCL	Particle
FUT	Future	SG	Singular
GEN	Genitive	VN	Verbal noun
1MPOSSIB	Impossibility		

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Some observations on the grammaticalization of the cause-time relation in Turkish *sonra* clauses

A. Sumru Özsoy

Turkish grammaticalizes the cause-time relation expressed by the *sonra* clauses. The postposition *sonra* is generally taken to express a temporal relation of "priority in time" of the event of the embedded clause in relation to that of the matrix clause. However, the nature of the suffix on the verb of the clause embedded in the postpositional phrase distinguishes between the temporal and causal relation between the events of the matrix clause and the embedded clause. While constructions in which the embedded verb is marked with the suffix *-DIktAn* express the temporal relation between the two events, constructions in which the verb of the embedded clause is marked with the suffix *-mAsIndAn* encode the causal relation between the event of the matrix clause and that of the embedded clause.

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0. Introduction

This paper presents some preliminary comments on the grammaticalization of the cause-time relation in Turkish as expressed by the *sonra* clauses, which are generally taken to express a temporal relation of 'priority in time' of the event of the embedded clause in relation to that of the matrix clause.

1. Causatives in Turkish

It is a well-known fact that Turkish employs different means of grammaticalizing the cause-effect relation between events. The most common way of expressing causality is by the use of the causative verbal suffix *-DIr* (Banguoğlu 2015, Ergin 2012, Gencan 1966, Göksel & Kerslake 2005, Kornfilt 1997, Özsoy 2004). *-DIr* has the effect of changing the valency of the verb to which it is attached, as in the example *Öğretmen öğrencilere şiiri okuttu* 'The teacher had the students read the poem'. Alternate causative constructions are the periphrastic expressions *sebep/neden olmak: Aniden inen yağmur bizim planlarımızı değiştirmemize sebep/neden oldu* 'The sudden rain caused us to change our plans'. The following sentential adverbs are listed by Ergin (2012) as other means of expressing causality in Turkish: *meğer* 'apparently', *binaenaleyh* 'therefore', *öyle ki* 'such that', *şöyle ki* 'namely', *nitekim*

'therefore', *halbuki* 'however', *kaldı ki* 'moreover'. The following constructions as well are mentioned by Göksel & Kerslake (2005) and Özsoy (2004) as expressing the cause-effect relation in Turkish:

(i)   the *-DAn* suffix,
(ii)   the postpositions *dolayı, ötürü, sayesinde, nedeniyle, yüzünden*
(iii)   complementizer *diye*
(iii)   converbs *-DIğI için, -DIğIndAn, -(y)AcAğIndan, -mAsIndAn dolayı, -mAsI yüzünden*

Some of the examples given by Göksel & Kerslake (2005) to illustrate the postpositional constructions expressing the cause-result relation are: *Bana kızdığın için öyle söylüyorsun* 'You are saying that because you are angry at me'. *Bu para yetmeyeceği için Gürkan'dan borç isteyeceğim* 'I will ask Gürkan for some money since this amount will not be sufficient'.

Significantly, while the different expressions of causality mentioned above all mark a cause-effect relation between two events, they are not interchangeable in most instances. While the marking of the verb with the causative suffix *-DIr* typically expresses direct causation, as in *Anne çocuğu yedirdi* 'The mother fed the child', the periphrastic expression *sebep/neden olmak* indicates the causation to be indirect, as in *Aniden inen yağmur bizim planlarımızı değiştirmemize sebep/neden oldu* 'The sudden rain caused us to change our plans.' The use of the periphrastic expression in the first case will express that the mother did not feed the child herself, but indirectly caused the child to eat, as in *Anne çocuğun yemek yemesine neden oldu* 'The mother was the cause of the child's eating'.

Similarly, marking the verb with the causative affix *-DIr* in the second example expresses not direct causation brought about by the pouring rain, but the immediacy of the consequence once the rain began pouring down: *Aniden inen yağmur bize planlarımızı değiştirtti* 'The sudden rain made us change our plans'.

2. The cause-time relation in language

It is well established in such disciplines as philosophy and psychology that one of the basic cognitive relations is the association between causality and temporality. In their discussion of the philosophical approaches to the concept of causality, Khoo & Chan & Niu (2002) mention Hume's (1740/1965 as cited) three conditions on the conceptualization of causality, which Hume labelled as the *cement of the universe*, as follows:

(i)   contiguity in time and place
(ii)   priority in time
(iii)   constant conjunction between cause and effect

They further mention that Mill (1872/1973) argued against the condition of "constant conjunction" as being sufficient in inferring causation. According to Mill, only in the case that "constant conjunction" is "unconditional" can such a causal relation be inferred. Mill proposed a methodology by which the causal relation between A and B can be determined. His methodology subsumed the method of agreement, the method of difference, the method of residues, and the method of concomitant variations (Khoo & Chan & Niu 2002).

It has been argued that in deciding whether a particular event X caused an event Y, individuals typically engage in the counterfactual or contrary-to-fact reasoning (Mackie 1980). That is, the general reasoning is to associate the occurrence of A and the occurrence of B and ask whether B would have occurred had A not occurred. If the answer is negative, that is if A had not occurred then B would not have occurred, then the conclusion is that A caused B.

Languages possess different linguistic means to encode the cause-effect relation. These include lexical as well as structural ways of expressing both implicit and explicit causation. Goikoetxea & Pascual & Acha (2008), for example, in a study of the function of implicit causality in the processing of interpersonal verbs (e.g., to criticize, to help), i.e. verbs that describe interchanges between people and have a semantic content with causal attribution, have shown that general knowledge of causal inferences has an effect on the comprehension of discourse.

3. *Sonra* and causality

In Turkish, the postposition *sonra* is generally taken to express a temporal relation between the event of the matrix clause and that of its own clause. In the case that its complement is an embedded clause, the verb of the embedded clause is based on *-DIktAn*.

(1) [*Biz yemek ye-dik-ten   sonra*] *dışarı çık-tı-k.*
      we food   eat-DIK.VN-ABL   after   outside go-PAST-1PL
      'We went out after eating dinner.'

The temporal relation expressed by the *sonra* clause is one of sequentiality; i.e. the postposition *sonra* indicates that the event of the matrix clause has taken place after the event of the *sonra* clause.

Significantly, in addition to *-DIktAn sonra* constructions, which typically are associated with the temporal relation between the event of the matrix clause and that of the embedded clause, Turkish also licenses *sonra* constructions that express cause-effect relation. The following example is mentioned by Göksel & Kerslake (2005: 529) as an instance of the postposition *sonra* expressing causality: *Haydi ceketini giy. Üşürsün sonra 'Come on, put on your jacket. You'll get cold otherwise'*. The use of *sonra* in this construction expresses the inference that the weather is cold, and declares that unless the person addressed puts on her/his jacket, s/he will

be cold. *Sonra* therefore implicitly expresses the cause-effect relation between the act of (not) putting on a jacket and getting cold.

3.1. *Sonra* clauses and causality

Crucially, Turkish grammaticalizes the difference between the *sonra* constructions expressing a temporal relation that holds between the event of the embedded clause and that of the matrix clause and those that express the cause-effect relation. While in the former case, the verb of its embedded clause is marked with *-DIktAn*, in the latter case it is marked with *-mAdAn*. This is illustrated in the difference between the following pair:

(2) a. *Yeni   belge-ler   orta-ya   çık-tık-tan   sonra, bütün olay   tekrar*
new   document-PL   open-DAT   go-DIK.VN-ABL after   whole affair again
incele-n-ecek.
investigate- PASS-FUT3SG
'After the disclosure of new documents, the whole affair will be re-examined.'

b. *Yeni   belge-ler-in   orta-ya   çık-ma-sın-dan   sonra bütün olay*
new   document-PL-GEN open-DAT   go-MA.VN-ABL   after   whole affair
tekrar   incele-n-ecek.
again   investigate- PASS-FUT3SG
'Due to new documents having been disclosed, the whole affair will be reexamined.'

The two constructions (2a) and (2b) are not interchangeable; there is a difference in the presuppositions, hence the interpretation, of the two constructions. In (2a), in which the embedded predicate of the postposition *sonra* is marked with *-DIktAn*, what is expressed is the temporal relationship between the event of the embedded clause and that of the matrix clause. That is, the reexamination of the case as stated in the main clause will be realized after the event of uncovering new documents, which is an expected development in the course of the ongoing investigation. In other words, in (2a) the discovery of new documents regarding the case is expected, and when that happens the whole case will be reinvestigated.

The construction (2b), in which the embedded verb of the *sonra* postposition is marked with *-mAsIndAn,* on the other hand, has a completely different interpretation. The embedded clause now refers to a situation where the discovery of new documents, which was unexpected, will lead to the event of the matrix clause. That is, as a consequence of the unexpected discovery, the whole case will have to be reexamined. Contrary to (2a), the relationship between the event of the embedded clause and that of the matrix clause in (2b) is no longer a simple temporal relation of sequentiality, but one of causality, where the unexpected discovery leads to a reexamination of the case.

3.2. Inherent causality

In cases where the causal link between the event of the embedded clause and that of the matrix clause is inherent, i.e. is part of the world knowledge of the speakers due to common human experience, Turkish licenses both *-DIktAn* and *-mAsIndAn* constructions as possible expressions of the cause-effect relation. Note that by the term "inherent causality" I mean cases that satisfy the conditions of causality stated by Hume, i.e. priority in time, contiguity in time and place, and conjunction between cause and effect due to common human experience. Some examples are as follows:

(3)a. *Kaleci   dördüncü   gol-ü   ye-dik-ten   sonra, takım*
    goal-keeper   fourth   goal-ACC   eat-DIK.VN-ABL after   team
    düzen-in-i   tamamiyle yitir-di.
    organization-POSS3-ACC   totally   lose-PAST3SG
    'After the goal-keeper could not stop the fourth goal, the team lost all control.'

  b. *Kaleci-nin   dördüncü   gol-ü   ye-me-sin-den   sonra, takım*
    goal-keeper-GEN   fourth   goal-ACC   eat-MA.VN-POSS3-ABL   after   team
    düzen-in-i   tamamiyle yitir-di.
    organization-POSS3-ACC   totally   lose-PAST3SG
    'The goal-keeper's not being able to stop the fourth goal resulted in the team's losing all control.'

(4) a. *Bu sokak-ta   bina   sayısı   art-tık-tan   sonra,*
    this street-LOC   building   number   increase-DIK.VN-ABL   after
    orta-ya   bir çok sorun   çık-tı.
    open-DAT   a lot   problem-PL   appear-PAST3SG
    'After the number of buildings increased on this street, a lot of problems arose.'

  b. *Bu sokak-ta   bina   sayısı-nın   art-ma-sın-dan   sonra*
    this street-LOC   building   number-GEN   increase-MA.VN-POSS3-ABL after
    orta-ya   bir çok   sorun   çık-tı.
    open-DAT   a lot   problem-PL   appear-PAST3SG
    'The increase in the number of buildings on this street gave rise to a lot of problems.'

(5)a. *Şehir-ler-e   göç   art-tık-tan   sonra orta-ya*
    city-PL-DAT   migration   increase-DIK.VN-ABL   after open-DAT
    bir çok sorun   daha   çıktı.
    a lot   problem   more   appear-PAST3SG
    'After the migration into the cities increased, a lot more problems arose.'

  b. *Şehir-ler-e*   *göç-ün*   *art-ma-sın-dan*   *sonra*   *orta-ya*
     city-PL-DAT   migration-GEN   increase-MA.VN-POSS3-ABL   after   open-DAT
     bir çok sorun   *daha*   *çıktı.*
     a lot   problem   more   appear-PAST3SG
     'The increase of migration into the cities gave rise to a lot more problems.'

In (3)–(5), the relation between the temporal and cause-effect relations of the event of the *sonra* clause and that of the matrix clause is inherent in the situation referred to in each of the sentences. In (3), it is almost predicted that after four goals scored by the opponent, particularly when such a score is due to the goal-keeper's bad performance, a team would feel discouraged and lose discipline. Also, both (5) and (6) express situations in which the temporal and cause-effect relation between the event of the embedded clause and that of the matrix clause is undeniable; the increase in the number of buildings on a street or the number of inhabitants in a city is bound to give rise to a number of social and infrastructure problems. It is therefore predicted that both the (a) and (b) sentences are acceptable with only a slight semantic difference; the relation that is highlighted by the latter, i.e. the suffix *-mAsIndAn*, is the causal one, while in the (a) sentences it is the temporal relation. However, given that the events such as those expressed in (3)–(5) constitute part of the world knowledge of speakers of a language, and as such are shared by all the speakers, the (a) and (b) sentences which satisfy all the conditions of causality stated by Hume are hence interpreted to be semantic equivalents of each other.

3.3. *Sonra* and necessary condition of causality

Significantly, what the above discussion leads to is that in instances where no necessary condition can be construed between the event of the *sonra* clause and that of the matrix clause, i.e. cases in which at least one of the conditions of causality is not satisfied, the construction with *-mAsIndAn* should not be possible in Turkish. That this indeed is the case is illustrated by the difference between the grammaticality of the (a) and (b) sentences below, which are the example (1) repeated here as (6a) and its counterpart with *-mAsIndAn* in (6b).

  (6)a   *Biz yemek*   *ye-dik-ten*   *sonra*   *dışarı*   *çık-tı-k.*
        we food   eat-DIK.VN-ABL   after   outside   go-PAST-1PL
        'We went out after we had dinner.'
    b.   **Biz-im*   *yemek*   *ye-me-miz-den*   *sonra*   *dışarı*   *çık-tı-k.*
        we-GEN   food   eat-MA.VN-POSS1PL ABL   after   outside   go-PAST-1PL
        '# We went out because we had had dinner.'

As can be noted, in contrast to (2a–b) above, in which such a logical causal relation can be construed between the unexpected discovery of new documents and the start of a new reexamination, no such relation can be construed for the events in (6a-b).

The relation between eating dinner and going out for a walk is therefore construed to be a temporal one. Sentence (6a) does not have a *-mAsIndAn sonra* counterpart; in fact the *-mAsIndAn sonra* construction is judged to be ungrammatical in Turkish. Consequently, only the *-DIktAn sonra* counterpart is licensed in such cases, as in the examples (1) and (6a).

Further evidence supporting the analysis of the *-mAsIndAn sonra* construction as not occurring where no causality can be construed between the event of the embedded clause and that of the matrix clause is illustrated in (7a–b).

> (7)a. *İnsan   öl-dük-ten   hemen   sonra vücud-un-da   değişim-ler*
>   person die-DIK.VN-ABL immediately after body-POSS3-LOC change-PL
>   *başl-ıyor.*
>   start-IYOR.PRES3SG
>   'Changes start taking place in one's body shortly after one dies.'
>
> b. **İnsan-ın   öl-me-sin-den   sonra vücud-un-da   değişim-ler*
>   person-GEN   die-MA.VN-POSS3-ABL after body-POSS3-LOC change-PL
>   *başl-ıyor.*
>   start-IYOR.PRES3SG
>   '# Changes start taking place in one's body because one dies.'

Note that (7) seemingly meets Hume's three conditions of causality—the temporal priority of the event of the embedded clause with respect to the event of the matrix clause, the contiguity in time and place and conjunction of the two events. However, the event expressed by the matrix clause is due to natural causes in this case, rather than intentional causation. *-mAsIndAn sonra* constructions therefore encode the cause-effect relation that in fact can be acted upon to reverse or to modify the outcome, if need be.

4. *-mAsIndAn sonra*

The contrast in the relative acceptability of the constructions in the following examples illustrates further differences between the *-DIktAn sonra* and *-mAsIndAn sonra* constructions.

> (8)a. *?Son   eser-i   bir çok   okur   tarafından*
>   last   work-POSS3   a lot   reader by
>   *eleştir-il-dik-ten   sonra,*
>   criticize-PASS-DIK.VN-ABL   after
>   *yazar   inziva-ya   çekil-meğ-e   karar ver-di.*
>   author   reclusion-DAT   withdraw-INF-DAT decision give-PAST3SG
>   'After his last work was criticized by many readers, the author decided to
>   withdraw into seclusion.'

    b. *Son   eser-i-nin   bir çok   okur   tarafından*
       last   work-POSS3-GEN   a lot   reader by
       eleştir-il-me-sin-den   sonra
       criticize-PASS-MA.VN-ABL after
       yazar inziva-ya   çekil-meğ-e   karar ver-di.
       author reclusion-DAT withdraw-INF-DAT decision give-PAST3SG

       'Because his last work was criticized by many readers, the author decided to withdraw into seclusion.'

In (8), given that an author's decision to withdraw into seclusion is a serious one, the unacceptability of the *-DIktAn sonra* construction is predicted. Formulating the two events, i.e. the readers's criticism and the author's decision to withdraw into seclusion, in terms of a mere temporal relation at the very least tones down the significance of the impact of the author's decision. By focusing on the cause of such a dramatic outcome, the *-mAsIndAn sonra* construction, on the other hand, highlights the significance of the outcome.

5. Conclusion

The above discussion intended to show how Turkish grammaticalizes the difference between simple temporal and temporal-causal relations expressed by the *sonra* constructions. Constructions in which the embedded verb is marked with *-DIktAn* express a temporal relation between the event of the embedded clause and that of the matrix clause, while constructions in which the verb of the embedded clause is marked with the *-mAsIndAn* suffix encode a causal relation between the two events. Further analysis into the various aspects of the expressions of causality in Turkish, particularly with respect to constructions of implicit causality, as investigated by Hartshorne (2014), and Garvey & Caramazzo (1974), as well as the cognitive representation of causality (cf. Barriere 2002) will indisputably reveal further interesting properties of causative constructions in the language, which in turn will also contribute to investigations into the representation and annotation of causality in the field of natural language processing (cf. Mirza & Tonelli 2014).

Abbreviations

ABL	ablative	LOC	locative
ACC	accusative	MA.VN	verbal noun in -MA
DAT	dative	PASS	passive
DIK.VN	verbal noun in -DIK	PL	plural
FUT	future	POSS	possessive
GEN	genitive	SG	singular
IYOR.PRES	present in - IYOR		

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Focus in Turkish and Uyghur.
A preliminary report on an ongoing contrastive investigation

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Information structure in Turkic languages spoken and written in Central Asia show some specific features compared to Turkish. This article reports preliminary results of a contrastive study of focus in Turkish and Uyghur, which has been carried out as part of a project on the information structure of minority languages in China that has been underway at Minzu University of China since 2013. In principle, it follows the framework suggested by Johanson (2014), however, it also applies results of recent research on information structure to Turkish. The introduction briefly outlines main research on information structure in the Turkic languages, after which follows a description and contrastive analysis of syntagmatic focus, exclusive focus and inclusive focus. The article concludes with brief remarks on some common and divergent features observed in Turkish and some Central Asian languages, specially Uyghur. The analysis is restricted to linguistic facts at sentence level.

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This article reports preliminary results of a contrastive study of focus, one of the important information-structural categories in Turkish and Uyghur, which are representative of the southwestern (SW) and the southeastern (SE) branches of the Turkic language family respectively.[1] The term "information structure" covers a number of rather broad notions including focus and background, topic and comment, topic and focus, givenness and new information, presupposed and pragmatically unrecoverable information, etc., and refers to how information is presented, in contrast to information itself; see Chafe (1976), Féry & Krifka (2008), Krifka & Musan (2012),

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Zimmermann & Féry (2010), Johanson (2014). It can be studied at the level of the phrase, the clause, the text, or the context; see Hasselgard et al. (2002: ix–x).

In recent years a considerable amount of research on the information structure of Turkic languages has been published, though research on information structure actually has a long history in Turkic linguistics; see Johanson (1977), Erguvanlı (1984: 72–117), Kornfilt (1997: 200–207), Johanson (1998: 58–59). Most of the publications dealt with Turkish. Among the results appearing in recent years, those by Göksel & Özsoy (2000) specially deal with focus in Turkish and challenge the generally accepted belief in Turkish linguistics that the immediately pre-verbal position is the focus position in Turkish. They point out that "it is important to note that the immediately preverbal position is only one of the possible positions for f-phrases and wh-expressions", stating that "the area between the constituent that takes focal stress and the position that includes the verb complex is the domain that hosts the elements designating non-recoverable information", namely focus (Göksel & Özsoy 2000: 227). The five articles that appeared in a special issue of *Lingua* in November 2003 mainly deal with important aspects of focus in Turkish; see Donati & Nespor (2003), Göksel & Özsoy (2003), İşsever (2003), Kennelly (2003), Şener & İşsever (2003). The monograph *Turkish. A Comprehensive Grammar* includes rather detailed discussions of focus and topic in Turkish (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 391–403). Johanson (2006) presents interesting analysis of specificity in Turkic from the functional and structural point of view, which is important in analysis of information structure of Turkic. In her new article "Focus in words with truth values" Göksel (2010) discovers interesting facts relating to focus in declarative sentences consisting of a single morphologically complex word (DMWs) and focus in propositions with lexical phrases (DLPs). Johanson (2014), in a lecture specially prepared for the project "Information Structure of Minority languages in China" which has been underway since 2013 in Beijing, suggests a framework for investigating information structure not only in Turkic languages of China but also in other Turkic languages, thereby covering all important aspects of Turkic information structure. In addition, there are some theses and dissertations, e.g. Kılıçaslan (1994) and İşsever (2000), directly dealing with information structure in Turkish. Unfortunately, they are not accessible for most scholars. Publications dealing with information structure of specific Turkic languages other than Turkish are rare. The only such article I know of, Wang & Qadir & Xu (2013), discusses some aspects of prosodic encoding and perception of focus in Uyghur declarative sentences, though the conclusions of the article are debatable. Marcel Erdal's grammar of Old Turkic contains valuable comments on the organization of information in the sentence in Eastern Old Turkic (2004: 422–432). A recently published article by Aydın Özbek, Zang Linshen and Esra Demirtaş presents analysis of the morpho-syntactic character of additives in Asian SOV languages, including Turkish and Uyghur, discussing typological properties that these languages share with regard to the additives, one of the important devices for inclusive focus (Özbek & Zang & Demirtaş 2014). How-

ever, with the exception of Mukhamedova (2011), until now no known publications deal with an inner-Turkic contrastive study of information structure.

Focus was chosen as the *tertium comparationis* in this article not only because among the basic concepts of information structure the notional definition of focus is relatively clear, but also for the following three reasons: (i) it is the starting point of research on the information structure of Turkic, and a systematic investigation of this category in many Turkic languages, including Uyghur, is still lacking; (ii) focus in Turkish is relatively well-investigated, and by applying the most promising research results on focus in Turkish to other Turkic languages, in this case of this case to Uyghur, we can subject these languages to a new type of scrutiny; (iii) focus in Central Asian Turkic languages, including Uyghur, shows many interesting features, especially in contrast to Turkish, and its description in a cross-linguistic perspective will certainly shed light on many important aspects of focus in Turkic languages. Although a contrastive analysis of focus in Turkish and Uyghur is the main goal of the article, facts about some other Turkic languages, e.g. Kazakh, Kirghiz, Salar and Uzbek, will also be discussed. Relevant instances in historical Turkic written languages will also be frequently mentioned, since many crucial aspects of focus in modern Turkic languages can hardly be understood without reference to the facts of historical Turkic languages. I will mostly follow the framework suggested by Johanson (2014), but I also apply results from recent research on information structure in Turkish, especially Göksel & Özsoy (2000, 2003), and İşsever (2003) as well as Göksel & Kerslake (2005: 395–399) and Göksel (2010).

1. Syntagmatic focus

The most widespread and well-accepted approach to establishing the scope of focus is Wh-questions and their answers. The basic idea is that Wh-questions always ask for new information. If focus is defined as the new information in a sentence in the case of narrow focus, then the phrase that replaces the Wh-element is in focus (van der Wal 2014: 108). This is the so-called syntagmatic focus, or the so-called answer focus. In Turkic, interrogative pronouns and the syntagmatic focus are in pre-predicate position (Johanson 1998: 59, Johanson 2014: 7). This can be illustrated with the following examples; the elements in the syntagmatic focus position are underlined.

(1)   Turkish
       Aşçı   yemek pişir-iyor.
       cook   food   cook-INTRA.PRES3
       'The cook cooks food.'

(2)   Kazakh
      Muxtar   xat   ǰaz-dǐ.
      Muhtar   letter   write-SPST3
      'Muhtar wrote a letter.'

(3)   Uyghur
      Bala   tapšuruḳ   išlä-vatidu.
      child   homework   do-FOC.INTRA.PRES3
      'The child is doing homework.'

Sentence (1) answers the question "What did the cook cook?" and the word for food, namely *yemek,* is in the focus position; sentence (2) answers the question "What did Muxtar write?", and the word for letter (*xat*) is in the focus position; sentence (3) is the answer to the question "What is the child doing?", and the word for homework, *tapšuruḳ,* is in the focus position.

   In Turkish, focused constituents can be rather freely placed immediately in front of the verb in verbal sentences with more constituents than subject, direct object and verb (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 395).

(4)   Turkish
      Ali-ye   yemeğ-i   anne-m   pişir-di.
      Ali-DAT   food-ACC   mother-POSS1SG   cook-SPST3
      'It was <u>my mother</u> who cooked the food for Ali.'

(5)   *Yemeğ-i   anne-m   Ali-ye   pişir-di.*
      food-ACC   mother-POSS1SG Ali-DAT   cook-SPST3
      'My mother cooked the food <u>for Ali</u>.'

(6)   *Anne-m   Ali-ye   yemeğ-i   pişir-di.*
      mother-POSS1SG   Ali-DAT   food-ACC   cook-SPST3
      'My mother cooked <u>the food</u> for Ali.'

However, in Uyghur only the focused direct and indirect object and adverbials may occur immediately in front of the predicate verb.

(7)   Uyghur
      Alim   dost-i-ɣa   polo-ni   ät-ti.
      Alim   friend-POSS3-DAT pilaf-ACC   cook-SPST3
      'Alim cooked <u>the pilaf</u> for his friend.'

(8)   *Alim   polo-ni   dost-i-ɣa   ät-ti.*
      Alim   pilaf-ACC   friend-POSS3-DAT cook-SPST3
      'Alim cooked the pilaf <u>for his friend</u>.'

(9)   *Alim   polo-ni   dost-i-ɣa   <u>hazir</u>   ät-ti.*
      Alim   pilaf-ACC   friend-POSS3-DAT   now   cook-SPST3
      'Alim cooked the polo <u>just now</u> for his friend.'

That is, in Uyghur in sentences with more than three constituents the subject does not occur in immediately preverbal position in the same way that we see in the Turkish sentence in (4). If the subject is the focus of the verbal sentences with both direct and indirect objects, the direct and indirect objects should be moved to postverbal position, and there is a pause between the verb and the postponed constituent.

(10) <u>*Alim*</u>   *ät-ti,*   *polo-ni   dost-i-ɣa.*
      Alim   cook-SPST3   pilaf-ACC   friend-POSS3-DAT
      'It was <u>Alim</u> who cooked the pilaf for his friend.'

However, this is the only possible order; placing the indirect object *dostiɣa* before the direct object *poloni* is considered ungrammatical.

In this connection I would like to discuss some aspects of stress in Uyghur with regard to focus. Some scholars claim that focused constituents bear heavy stress in Turkish wherever they may occur (adapted from Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 397).

(11) Turkish
      Fatma   çicek-ler-i   <u>BUgün</u>   sula-yacak.
      Fatma   flower-PL-ACC   today   water-FUT3
      'Fatma will water the plants <u>today</u>.'

(12) *Bazı   gün-ler   ön bahçe-de   <u>çocuk-LAR</u>   oynu-yor.*
      some   day-PL   front garden-LOC   child-PL   play-INTRA.PRES3
      'Some days <u>children</u> play in the front garden.'

However, in Uyghur the focused constituents in the same position usually do not take heavy stress but a normal stress. Below are the Uyghur counterparts of the Turkish sentences (11) and (12).

(13) Uyghur
      Patimä   gül-lär-ni   bügün   suɣir-idu.
      Patime   flower-PL-ACC   today   water-INTRA.PRES3
      'Patime will water the plants <u>today</u>.'

(14) *Bäzi   kün-lir-i   ald-i-di-ki   bayči-da*
      some   day-PL-POSS3   front-POSS3-LOC-REL   garden-LOC
      bali-lar   oyna-ydu.
      children-PL   play-INTRA.PRES3
      'Some days <u>children</u> play in the front garden.'

If some part of the focused constituents bore heavy stress in Uyghur, they would have the readings of trial, discontent, etc.

(15) Uyghur
      NÄgä   maŋ-diŋiz?
      where   go-SPST2SG
      'Where are you going?'

      BaZA-γa   maŋ-dim.
      basar-DAT   go-SPST1SG
      'I am going to the basar.'

This shows that, in focusing, syntagmatic position is crucial in Uyghur but not stress or high pitch.

Vallduví & Engdahl (1996) claim that both syntactic and prosodic strategies are used in Turkish; that is, *in situ* focus is possible in Turkish. Concerning this claim, İşsever states that

> "A closer consideration of the Turkish data reveals that syntactic and prosodic strategies are not used for the same task but are motivated by different pragmatic needs. I propose that they are used to mark p-focus [is restricted only to immediately pre-verbal elements and to the verb] and c-focus [can be assigned to any element in the entire pre-verbal area, including the verb itself], respectively." (İşsever 2003: 1033)

He illustrates this point by means of four sentences which answer the questions "When did a servant leave the note on the table?" and "Who left the note on the table before lunch?" Below are the two sentences used by İşsever to illustrate that *in situ* focus is possible in Turkish (the glossing and translation are slightly modified).

(16) Turkish
      a.   *Bir hizmetçi   [F yemek-ten   önçe]   masa-nın   üzer-i-ne*
           a   servant   lunch-ABL   before   table-GEN   on-POSS3-DAT
           not-u   bırak-tı.
           note-ACC   leave-SPST3
           'A servant left the note on the table before lunch.'

      b.   *[F Bir hizmetçi]   yemek-ten   önçe   masa-nın   üzer-i-ne*
              a   servant   lunch-ABL   before table-GEN   on-POSS3-DAT
           not-u   bırak-tı.
           note-ACC   leave-SPST3
           'A servant left the note on the table before the lunch.'

In Uyghur this kind of *in situ* focus is not observable; that is, in Uyghur the pre-verbal position is still decisive. Thus only the following sentence is acceptable as the Uyghur counterpart of the sentences in (17).

(17) Uyghur
Bir   xizmetči   čüšlük tamak̦-tin   burun jozi-niŋ   üst-i-gä
a   servant   noon   food-ABL   before table-GEN   on-POSS3-DAT
däptär-ni   k̦oy-up   k̦oy-di.
note-ACC   put-CONV   POSTV-SPST3
'A servant put the <u>note</u> on the table before the lunch.'

It is difficult, and perhaps not necessary, to make the same or similar interpretations for Uyghur and some other Turkic languages.

In Turkish a constituent with genitive in existential sentences can be focused by placing stress on it, as seen in (18) (adapted from Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 397). However, in Uyghur this is only possible when another clause follows as a contrastive element, as seen in (19. Otherwise, the focus is still the constituent occurring immediately in front of *bar* and *yok̦,* as seen in (20) and (21).

(18) Turkish
<u>*Ahmet'-in*</u>   *iki*   *araba-sı*   *var.*
Ahmet-GEN   two   car-POSS3   existing
'<u>Ahmet</u> has two cars.'

(19) Uyghur
<u>*Äxmät-niŋ*</u>   *ikki*   *mašini-si*   *bar,*   *lekin*   *här*   *ikki-si*   *buzuk̦.*
Ahmet-GEN   two   car-POSS3   existing   but   each   two-POSS3   broken
'<u>Ahmet</u> has two cars, but both are broken.'

(20) *Äxmät-niŋ*   <u>*ikki   mašini-si*</u>   *bar.*
Ahmet-GEN   two   car-POSS3   existing
'Ahmet has <u>two cars</u>.'

(21) *Alim-niŋ*   *Anargül-din*   <u>*bali-si*</u>   *yok̦.*
Alim-GEN   Anargül-ABL   child-POSS3   non-existing
'Alim does not have any <u>child</u> with Anargül.'

This is also true for Kazakh existential sentences.

(22) Kazakh
Meṇiŋ   <u>*ak̦ša-m*</u>   *bar.*
I.GEN   money-POSS1SG   existing
'I have <u>money</u>.'

(23) *Sen-iŋ*   *a̱kša-ŋ*   *ǰo̱ḵ.*
      you-GEN   money-POSS2SG   non-existing
      'You do not have <u>money</u>.'

2. Exclusive focus

Another type of focus, called exclusive focus or exhaustive focus, indicates that the focus denotation is the only one that leads to a true proposition (Krifka & Musan 2010: 21). English cleft constructions are considered to trigger this specific meaning.

(24)   It's <u>John</u> and <u>Bill</u> who stole a cookie.

Turkic languages have several devices for coding exclusive focus. In Turkish relative constructions functioning as the subject followed by a nominal predicate are used for exclusive focus (after Johanson 2014: 8).

(25)   Turkish

      a.   *Ali*   *resm-i*   *yap-tı.*
            Ali   picture-ACC   make-SPST3
            'Ali made the <u>picture</u>.'

      b.   *Resm-i*   *yap-an*   *Ali-ydi.*
            picture-ACC   make-PART   Ali-COP.SPST3
            'It was <u>Ali</u> who made the picture.'

In contrast to (25a), (25b) indicates that Ali is the only person who made the picture. Uyghur has a similar strategy to express exclusive focus, using the same participle of same origin.

(26)   Uyghur

      a.   *Apa-m*   *išik-ni*   *ač-ti.*
            mother-POSS1SG   door-ACC   open-SPST3
            'My mother opened the <u>door</u>.'

      b.   *Išik-ni*   *ač-ḵan*   *apa-m*   *i-di.*
            door-ACC   open-PART   mother-POSS1SG   COP-SPST3
            'It was my <u>mother</u> who opened the door.'

In Uyghur, participles in this construction may take possessive markers, however, in this case, the construction expresses an identity statement rather than exclusivity. Usually, there is a pause between the possessive construction and the following constituent.

(27) _Išik-ni_ _ač-ķin-i,_ _apa-m_ _bol-idu._
door-ACC open-PART-POSS3 mother-POSS1SG become-INTRA.PRES3
'The one who opened the door is my <u>mother</u>.'

It should be noted that this way of coding identification focus is not specific to Modern Uyghur. In the Tonyukuk inscription, erected at the beginning of the 8th century and written in so-called Orkhun Turkic, we find almost exactly the same construction. The only difference is that Orkhun Turkic uses the participle in _-mĭš_ instead of the participle in _-GАn_.

(28) East Old Turkic
Yaγ-mĭš-ĭ _bän_ _är-tim_ _Bilgä_ _Tonyukuk._
join-PART-POSS3 I COP-SPST1SG Bilgä Tonyukuk
'The one who has joined (them) was I, Bilgä Tonyukuk.'

It hardly needs saying that the frequent use of _-GАn_ with a participial function in Central Asian Turkic languages, including Uyghur, begins with Chaghatay, a Central Asian Turkic written language used from the 13th century to the early 20th century. Below is an example taken from _Risāla-i maʿārif_ by Shaybanī Khān (3v10), in which the participle in _-GАn_ with the possessive suffix also stands for exclusive focus.

(29) Chaghatay
Bil-gän-i _Ķur'ān_ _oķu-γay._
know-PART-POSS3 Koran read-OPT3
'The one who knows should recite from the Koran.'

The other device coding exclusive focus in Turkish is the use of particles before the focused constituent. Turkish shows _ancak, yalnız, sadece, sırf, salt_ and _tek_, all of which mean 'only' and occur before the focused constituent, as seen in (30a). Kazakh also has _tek_ with the same distribution and function (30b). Both go back to the East Old Turkic exclusive particle _täk_, while Uyghur uses _päķät_ 'only' (30c) copied from Arabic (⇐ Arabic _fakaṭ_).

(30) Turkish
    a. _Ancak öZEL_ _izin-le_ _gir-il-ebil-iyor-muş._
       only special permit-INST enter-PASS-POSSIB-INTRA.PRES-COP.EV3
       kulis-e.
       backstage-DAT
       'One can only go back stage by special permit.' (Göksel/Kerslake 2005: 398)

b.   Kazakh
     Tek   ǰas-tar   kel-sïn.
     only   young-PL   come-VOL3
     'Let only young guys come!' (Zhang 2002: 203)

c.   Uyghur
     Bu-ni   päkät   biz   bil-i-miz.
     this-ACC   only   we   know-INTRA.PRES-1PL
     'Only we know this.'

An obvious difference between Turkish, Kazakh and Uyghur is that in Turkish, stress also plays a role in coding exclusive focus. In (30a) the second syllable of *özel* takes heavy stress, while Kazakh and Uyghur mainly rely on the particles, the role of stress not being obvious.

However, the most typical device for coding exclusive focus in Uyghur is the use of the exclusive particle/clitic *-la* (31a). Some other Inner Asian Turkic languages, e.g. Kazakh, Kirghiz, Salar and Yellow Uyghur, also use this device. Kazakh has *aḳ* (31b), and Kirghiz shows *ele* (31c).

(31)   Uyghur
     a.   *Bu   vezipi-ni   siz-la   orunli-yala-y-siz.*
          this   task-ACC   you-EXCL   accomplish-POSSIB-INTRA-PRES2PL
          'Only you can accomplish this task.'

     b.   Kazakh
          Munday   material   Ürümǰi-de   aḳ   bar.
          such   material   Urumchi-LOC   EXCL   existing
          'Such material is only available in Urumchi.' (Zhang 2002: 206)

     c.   Kirghiz
          Bügün a-nï   ele   kör-düm.
          today (s)he-ACC EXCL   see-SPST1SG
          'It was only she whom I saw today. (Hu 1986: 157)

As we see, the constituent with the exclusive particle/clitic also occupies preverbal position. However, it may also appear in other positions, in which case the entire verbal phrase will be reorganized as a relative clause and take possessive markers. Below is the reorganization of (31a).

(32) *Bu   väzipi-ni   orunli-yala-ydiyin-i   siz-la.*
      this   task-ACC   accomplish:POSSIB-PART-POSS3   you-EXCL
      'The one who can accomplish this task is only you.'

In contrast to (31), (32) strongly excludes other possibilities than the one which takes -la.

Etymologically, the Kazakh particle *aḳ* goes back to the East Old Turkic and Middle Turkic particle *OK*, which also codes exclusive focus. Below (33a) is taken from the *Tonyukuk inscription*, and (33b) is from the *Türkische Turfantexte* VI (l. 418), whereas (33c) is from *The Stories of the Prophets* by Al-Rabghūzī' (cited from Boeschoten & O'Kane 2015: 6v6). Of them, the first two represent East Old Turkic, and the third Middle Turkic.

(33)   East Old Turkic

a.   *bilgä-si*   *čab-ïsï*   *bän*   *ök*   *är-ti-m.*
     counselor-POSS3   aide-de-camp   I   EXCL   COP-SPST-1SG
     'It was I who was his counselor and his aide-de-camp.'

b.   East Old Turkic

     Ol   *kim*   *burhan*   *te-t-ir,*   *nom*   *oḳ*   *ol*
     that   who   Buddha   say-CAUS-AOR3   Dharma   EXCL   that
     är-ür.
     COP-AOR3
     'That which is called Buddha, the dharma is nothing else but him.'

c.   Middle Turkic

     Ol   *zaman*   *oḳ*   *kafir*   *bol-dï*   *te-miš-lär.*
     that   time   EXCL   infidel   become-SPST3   say-PART-3PL
     'It is said that Satan became an infidel at that VERY moment.'

Some Chaghatay texts also show the exclusive particle *OK* (Bodrogligeti 2001: 326).

(34) Chaghatay
     Sän   *ök*   *sän*   *yarat-ɣan*   *bu*   *yer*   *kök*   *kün*   *ay.*
     you   EXCL   you   create-PART   this   earth   sky   sun   moon
     'It is exclusively you who created the earth, the sky, the sun, and the moon.'

In Orkhun Turkic *Ok* and *kök* are also used after the focused predicate (see Tekin 1968: 172). This usage is not detected in texts of later period. It should be noted that Uzbek also has the particle *yoḳ*, which is a development of the Middle Turkic and Chaghatay particle *OK* rather than the East Old Turkic one. However, the Uzbek particle has a clear temporal reading (Bodrogligeti 2003: 1027–1028), even if its exclusive meaning still can be noticed.

In Uyghur the exclusive particle *-la* is also frequently used in combination with *yalɣuz* 'alone' and *päkät* 'only', expressing a focus denotation which is just one among the alternatives that leads to a true assertion.

(35)   Uyghur

    a.   *Bu*   *iš-ni*   *yalɣuz*   *Alim-la*   *bil-idu.*
         this   matter-ACC alone   Alim-EXCL   know-INTRA.PRES3
         'It is only Alim who knows this thing.'

    b.   *Bu*   *iš-ni*   *päkät*   *dada-m-la*   *bil-idu.*
         that   matter-ACC   only   father-POSS1SG-EXCL   know-INTRA.PRES3
         'Only my father knows that matter'.

However, the use of exclusive particles in combination with exclusive clitics is not unique to Modern Uyghur. At least in Kazakh, exclusive particles are frequently used in combination with exclusive clitics.

(36)   Kazakh

    a.   *Bu-nï̆*   *tek*   *Omar-dï̆ŋ*   *öz-ị̈-ɣana*   *bị̈l-edị̈.*
         this-ACC   only   Omar-GEN   self-POSS3-EXCL   know-INTRA.PRES3
         'It is only Omar himself who knows this.'

    b.   *Klas-ta*   *tek*   *ị̈kị̈-aḵ*   *oḵï̆wšï̆*   *otï̆r.*
         classroom-LOC only   two-EXCL   student   sit.AOR3
         'Only two students are sitting in the classroom.'

Among the old Turkic languages, in Late East Old Turkic we find the exclusive particle *OK* also being used together with the adjective *yalaŋuz* 'alone', placing *yalaŋuz* before the focused constituent and *OK* after it (the example is from Yakup 2010, Text C l. 259).

(37) *A-ni*   *bil-täči*   *yalŋuz*   *burhan-lar*   *oḵ*   *är-ür-lär.*
      that-ACC know-VN   only   Buddha-PL   EXCL   COP-AOR-PL
      'Those who understand it are exclusively Buddhas.'

If the focused constituent is modified by a numeral, the exclusive particle may occur after the numeral but before the focused element (the example is again from Yakup 2010: 128–129).

(38) Old Uyghur
      Yalaŋuz bir   ök   yoḳ   ḳuruγ töz-i   öz-in
      alone   one   EXCL nothing empty nature-POSS3 self-INSTR
      k(ä)ntü közün-ür.
      self   appear-AOR3
      'Only and merely one's nature of nothingness and emptiness will be apparent to one-
      self.'

The use of *yalŋuz* together with *OK* is absent from the texts of Early East Old Tur-
kic, nor does it occur in Middle Turkic or Chaghatay.

   Kazakh, Kirghiz and Uyghur show a further morpheme for coding exclusive fo-
cus, namely *-GAna* (it is realized in Uyghur as *-GIna*).

(39)   Kazakh

   a. *J̌as-tar-γana   kel-dị.*
      young-PL-EXCL   come-SPST3
      'It was only the young people who came.'

   b. Kirghiz
      Bul   kitep   kitepḳana-da-γana   bar.
      this   book   book store-LOC-EXCL   existing
      'This book is only available in the bookstore.'

   c. Uyghur
      Bu   iš-ni   sän-γina   ḳil-ala-ysän.
      this   matter-ACC   you-EXCL   do-POSSIB-INTRA2SG
      'It is only you who can do this thing.'

The exclusive suffix *-GAnA* goes back to the Old Turkic diminutive particle *ḳïya*
(< *-ḳIñA*), which in a considerable number of cases also functioned as an exclusive
focus marker. It is also present in Chaghatay with the same function.

   Obviously, Kazakh, Kirghiz and Uyghur show clear divergences from Turkish
with regard to coding of the exclusive focus, as Turkish does not have postpositional
particles coding focus. It also does not show focus-sensitive clitics and suffixes.
Meanwhile, the double coded constructions coding exclusive focus observed in
Kazakh and Uyghur also do not exist in Turkish.

3. Inclusive focus

Additive particles like *also* and *too* express the presupposition that the assertion
holds for other alternatives (Krifka & Musan 2010: 13). Some scholars call this
also-focus. I call it here inclusive focus in contrast to exclusive focus.

   One of the functions of the Turkish particle *dA* is to mark inclusive focus when
attached to the focused constituent (see Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 514; for other

functions of *dA* in Turkish see Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 213–215; Göksel & Özsoy 2003).

(40)   Turkish

a.   *Emine <u>de</u>   gel-di.*
       Emine   also   come-SPST3
       'Emine also came.'

b.   *Ahmet rakı   <u>da</u>   iç-ebil-ir.*
       Ahmet   raki   INCL   drink-POSSIB-AOR3
       'Ahmet can drink raki, too.'

Several Inner Asian Turkic languages, e.g. Kazakh, Salar and Uzbek, also have an additive particle of the same origin, e.g. Kazakh *DA*, Salar *da* and Uzbek *då*. Like Turkish *dA*, those particles are also attached to the focused constituent. Below (41a) is an example from Kazakh, (41b) from Salar (is taken from Ma et al. 1993) and (41c) from Uzbek.

(41)   Kazakh

a.   *El-dïŋ   bär-ị   ket-tị,   men   <u>de</u>   ket-eyịn.*
       people-GEN   all-POSS3   go-SPST3   I   INCL   go-VOL1SG
       'All people left. Let me go, too.' (Zhang 2003: 131)

b.   Salar

       Bal-ler-i   ejz-i-negi   aba-si
       child-PL-POSS3   self-POSS3-GEN   father-POSS3
       ama-si-ge   sajliam   vej-ba.
       mother-POSS3-DAT   greeting   give-INTRA.PRES3
       Awla-<u>da</u> bur-i   bur-i-ge   sajliam   vej-ba.
       they-INCL   one-POSS3   one-POSS3-DAT   greeting   give-INTRA.PRES3
       'Children greet their own parents. They also greet each other.'

c.   Uzbek

       Siŋl-im-ni   <u>då</u>   čaķir-dim.
       younger sister-POSS1SG-ACC   INCL   invite-SPST1SG
       'I also invited my younger sister.'

Usually, the inclusive particle in Turkish (42a, b) and Kazakh (42c) is also attached to the subject and object of the preceding clause.

(42)   Turkish

    a.   *Nurettin de   yaz-dı,   Emine de   yaz-dı.*
        Nurettin INCL write-SPST3   Emine INCL write-SPST3
        'Nurettin wrote, Emine also wrote, too.'

    b.   *Ali Almanca da   bil-iyor,   İngilizçe de   biliyor.*
        Ali German INCL know-INTRA.PRES3 English INCL know-INTRA.PRES3
        'Ali knows German but also English.'

    c.   Kazakh

        Men   onïŋ   äke-sï-nï   de   aγa-sï-nï
        I   he.GEN father-POSS3-ACC INCL elder brother-POSS3-ACC
        da   tanï-ma-y-mïn.
        INCL know-NEG-PRES-1SG
        'I know neither his father nor his elder brother.'

The Uyghur additive clitic *mu* has the same function. Orthographically, Uyghur *mu* is written together with the constituent to which it is attached, and is not accented.

(43)   Uyghur

    a.   *Ätä   siz-mu   ḳayt-i-siz,   biz-mu*
        tomorrow you-INCL return-INTRA.PRES-2PL we-INCL
        ḳayt-i-miz.
        return-INTRA.PRES1PL
        'Tomorrow, you will go back. We will go back, too.'

    b.   *Bügün uniŋ   ḳizi-ni-mu   kör-düm.*
        today he.GEN   daughter-ACC-INCL see-SPST1SG
        'Today I also saw his daughter.'

In postverbal constructions coding actionality, *mu* is attached to the converb preceding the postverb. In this case the basic meaning of *mu* is somewhat similar to that of the English focus-sensitive particle 'even'.

(44)   Uyghur
    U   ḳiz   saŋa   ḳara-p-mu   ḳoy-mi-di.
    that girl you.DAT look-CONV-INCL POSTV-NEG-SPST3
    'That girl did not even care about you.'

These examples illustrate that even very closely related Turkic languages show divergences with regard to the inclusive focus. For instance, as we see, Uzbek has *da* just like Kazakh, Salar and Turkish, while Uyghur has *mu*, which goes back to

East Old Turkic *ymä*; for an analysis of Uyghur *mu* see Yakup (2014). It should be noted that East Old Turkic *ymä* had the shortened variant *mA* already in some Old Uyghur texts (Erdal 2004: 347) and also had the function of a clitic of inclusive focus, having frequently been used together with the exclusive particle *OK* (the below example is taken from Yakup (2010: 228–229).

(45) Old Uyghur
       Ḳarïmaḳ   *ölmäk*   *ymä*   *ök*   *yoḳ,*
       ageing   death   also   EXCL   non-existing
       ḳarïmaḳ   *ölmäk[ni]ŋ*   *ymä*   *alḳïnmaḳ   yoḳ.*
       ageing   death-GEN   also   destruction no
       'There is no ageing and death, and there is also no destruction of ageing and death.'

Clear interpretation of *ymä ök* is not easy, however, it seems to be that it stands for both inclusive and exclusive functions, expressing the meaning something like 'not only … but also'.

It should be noted that the inclusive particle *ma* still survives in the eastern and southwestern dialects of Modern Uyghur.

In Turkish, *dA* may also be attached to the predicate (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 514). However, the Kazakh, Salar, Uyghur and Uzbek additive particles discussed above do not show this distributional feature.

As an aside, after comparing several very different languages belonging to three different language families, Özbek et al. (2014) claim that SOV word order itself has an independent operation on the morpho-syntactic property of the additives, here the inclusive focus. However, this is hard to justify on the basis of the materials discussed here.

5. Final remarks

The facts discussed in this article are fragmentary, and the analysis is restricted to sentence level. Prosodic, pragmatic, and even some syntactic and semantic factors are almost entirely ignored in the paper. This is far from the standard of empirical contrastive Turkish linguistics would wish for. Below are some conclusions which might be drawn from the analysis conducted so far.

Firstly, Turkic languages spoken and written in Central Asia, including Uyghur, share some properties with Turkish with regard to focus, mainly in relation to the following points:

Just as in Turkish, immediate pre-predicate position is used for interrogative pronouns and the syntagmatic focus in Central Asian Turkic languages:

(i) Like Turkish, modern and historical Central Asian Turkic languages also use relative constructions for exclusive focus, marking identification focus by adding personal markers to the participles in *-GAn* in the relative construction.

(ii) Like Turkish, Central Asian Turkic languages show some adverbials and particles for coding exclusive focus and inclusive focus.

Perhaps these are the properties the languages in the Turkic family generally share.

In contrast to Turkish, Central Asian Turkic languages, including Uyghur, also show clear divergences with regard to several points.

Firstly, although syntagmatic position is crucial in Central Asian Turkic languages, just as in Turkish, in the Central Asian Turkic languages the role of stress or high pitch is limited. Even if stress and pitch play some role, they seem to be of secondary importance.

Secondly, in Turkish, a constituent with a genitive in existential sentences can be focused by placing stress on it. This is however not relevant for Central Asian Turkic languages, especially Uyghur.

Thirdly, Central Asian Turkic languages show a considerable number of clitics and suffixes coding exclusive focus and inclusive focus which do not exist in Turkish.

Fourthly, some Central Asian Turkic languages, especially Kazakh and Uyghur use double coding strategies for exclusive focus. These are also not observable in Turkish.

These are only some preliminary facts and points that I can conclude at the present stage of my research. I hope that detailed descriptions of each language and language variety in the Turkic family of languages and typologically-oriented contrastive studies will make further contributions to the study of Turkic information structure, including focus.

Abbreviations

1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
COP	Copula
EXCL	Exclusive focus marker
EV	Evidential
FOC	Focal
INCL	Inclusive focus marker
INTRA.PRES	Intraterminal present
NEG	Negation
PART	Participle
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive marker
POSSIB	Possibility
REL	Relational suffix
SG	Singular
SPST	Simple past
VOL	Voluntative

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Bemerkungen zu teleutischen Pflanzen- und Tiernamen aus einer Quelle des 18. Jahrhunderts

Ingeborg Hauenschild

The article deals with Teleut names of plants and animals, noted by the Swedish natural scientist Johan Peter Falck. He collected these terms during an exploratory expedition, which also led him to the Altay region. The author describes possible motivations for choosing a term, whether the term has an euphemistic function or later became a taboo word. References are given to the sources in which the terms are recorded.

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Lars Johanson zum 80. Geburtstag

Einleitung

Der schwedische Naturforscher Johan Peter Falck, ein Schüler von Carl v. Linné, wurde 1768 von der Petersburger Akademie der Wissenschaften zum Leiter einer Expedition ernannt, die von der Wolga-Region bis nach Südsibirien geführt hat. Bei seiner Rückkehr nach Kasan im Jahre 1774 war Falck physisch und psychisch so erschöpft, dass er durch Suizid aus dem Leben geschieden ist. Johan Gottlieb Georgi bearbeitete die von Falck hinterlassenen Aufzeichnungen über den Verlauf und die Ergebnisse der Forschungsreise und veröffentlichte sie 1785–1786 unter dem Titel *Beyträge zur Topographischen Kenntnis des Russischen Reichs*. Falcks dreibändiges Werk fand allerdings wenig Resonanz, denn inzwischen hatten Peter Simon Pallas, Samuel Gottlieb Gmelin und Johan Gottlieb Georgi, die fast zeitgleich mit Falck zu Expeditionen nach Asien aufgebrochen waren, ihre Forschungsberichte publiziert.

Die im zweiten und dritten Band der *Beyträge* erwähnten türkischen Pflanzen- und Tiernamen wurden von Ingmar Svanberg in *Turkic Ethnobotany and Ethnozoology as Recorded by Johan Peter Falck* unter Beibehaltung der Falck'schen Orthographie aufgelistet. Bei einigen Bezeichnungen beruht die Schreibung vermutlich auf einem Lesefehler, denn Georgi war wie Falck ein Naturwissenschaftler und hat die handschriftlichen Notizen deshalb kaum unter sprachlichem Aspekt entziffert.

Die vorliegende Studie, die auf den von Svanberg zusammengestellten Wörterlisten basiert, beschäftigt sich mit den teleutischen Pflanzen- und Tiernamen; einbezogen sind die von Pallas in *Flora Rossica* sowie *Zoographia Rosso-Asiatica* als

teleutisch eingeordneten Pflanzen- und Tierbenennungen. Da laut Falck die Teleuten auch *Telengut* heißen (S 69), dürften manche Begriffe aus dem Telengitischen stammen. Nach den Angaben bei Ačimova (2007), die zwischen Teleutisch und Telengitisch unterscheidet, gehört eine Reihe der von Falck mit ‚teleutisch' apostrophierten Pflanzennamen zum telengitischen Dialekt.

Svanberg (S 61) verweist darauf, dass Falck zweifellos viele als Hüllwörter verwendete Tierbezeichnungen angeführt hat. Die Falck-Zitate werden deshalb auch hinsichtlich ihrer euphemistischen Funktion untersucht. Ein weiteres Augenmerk gilt einer späteren Tabuierung mancher Namen in der Jäger- oder in der Frauensprache. Die von Falck benutzte botanische und zoologische Nomenklatur richtet sich nach Linné; eine aufgrund neuer Erkenntnisse erfolgte Abänderung der wissenschaftlichen Termini ist den Lemmata beigefügt. Belege in kyrillischer Schrift werden in vereinfachter Transkription wiedergegeben.

1. Pflanzenbezeichnungen

Alle bei Falck erwähnten teleutischen Pflanzennamen erfassen Gewächse, die im täglichen Leben als Bau-, Heiz- und Flechtmaterial, zum Gerben und Färben, als zusätzliche Nahrung und insbesondere als Heilmittel von Nutzen sind. Das Falck-Material ist sehr viel ergiebiger als das von Pallas; von den sechs teleutischen Pflanzenbenennungen, die Pallas notiert hat, stimmen fünf mit Falcks Angaben überein.

Apsaik Agatsch ‚Populus tremula' [S 89] = Zitterpappel, Populus tremula.

Der Ausdruck hat sich im Altaitürkischen als Name der Zitterpappel (r. *osina*) mit Ilm 152, Verb 30 *apsaq*, B II: 202 n.-kmd. *apsaq*, B III: 139 leb. *apsaq* sowie Ilm 152, Verb 30 *aspaq*, RAS 419 *aspaq*, WB I: 554 alt.-k. *aspaq* erhalten.—Vgl. schor. ŠRRŠ 16 *aspaq*, WB I: 554 *aspaq* und bar. Dmitrieva 1972: 199 *absaq ~ awsaq* ‚osina'.

Bei *apsaq* gehen viele Forscher von einer indogermanischen Herkunft aus; Dmitrieva verweist in diesem Zusammenhang auf Tocharisch B *ausa* < indogermanisch **apsā* ‚osina'. Die Form *aspaq* könnte ein durch Metathese entstandenes Hüllwort sein; der Anlass dazu war möglicherweise das beim geringsten Luftzug in Bewegung geratende Blattwerk.

Arschan ‚Juniperus Sabina' [S 90] = Sadebaum, Juniperus sabina.

Im Altaitürkischen ist *Arschan* mit RAS 301 *arčïn*, WB 324 alt.-k. *arčïn*, WB 332 tel. *aršïn*, B III: 139 leb. *arčïn* als generelle Benennung für den Wacholder (r. *možževel'nik*) bewahrt.—Vgl. chak. XRS 32 *arčïn* ‚možževel'nik'. Nach A 22 bezeichnen die Altai-Kiži den nur 20–80 cm hohen Sadebaum (r. *možževel'nik kazackij*) mit *qoy-arčïn* ‚Schafwacholder', die ein Meter hohe Wacholder-Art Juniperus pseudosabina (r. *možževel'nik ložnokazackij*) hingegen mit *at-arčïn* ‚Pferdewacholder'.

Iso Agatsch ‚Ulmus campestris' [S 78] = Bergulme, Ulmus glabra.

Mit Ulmus campestris ist hier nicht die Feldulme, sondern die von Linné als Ulmus campestris eingeordnete Bergulme, Ulmus glabra (r. *vjaz šeršavyj*) gemeint. Die lediglich bei Falck nachweisbare Benennung *Iso Agatsch* dürfte *izü aɣaš* ‚glühender Baum' zu lesen sein, da die in Büscheln zusammengefassten dunkelroten Blüten der Bergulme sich von der aschgrauen Rinde der Äste wie kleine Glutstellen abheben.

Aufgrund ihrer dunklen Rinde heißt die Ulme heute bei den meisten Türkvölkern *qara aɣač* ‚schwarzer Baum', bei den Altaitürken jedoch RAS 99 *qara tït* ‚schwarze Lärche'. Der Name spielt darauf an, dass die Blütenbüschel der Ulme den purpurroten weiblichen Blütenzäpfchen ähneln, die im Frühjahr an den kahlen Zweigen der Lärche hervorsprießen, wobei das Farbattribut *qara* die Ulme von der mit einer helleren Rinde bedeckten Lärche unterscheidet.

Jas Terek ‚Populus alba' [S 89] = Silberpappel, Populus alba.

Als Name der Silberpappel lässt sich *Jas Terek* nicht mehr belegen; vermutlich bezieht sich *Jas Terek* ‚Frühlingspappel' auf die bereits Ende April einsetzende Blüte. Die Silberpappel (r. *topol' belyj*) benennt man jetzt wegen ihrer silbrig behaarten Blattunterseiten mit A 150 alt.-k., teleng. *aq täräk* ‚weiße Pappel'.

Karagan ‚Robinia Caragana' [S 85] = Erbsenstrauch, Caragana arborescens.

Der von mong. *xaragana* ‚Erbsenstrauch' entlehnte Begriff, den Maḥmūd al-Kāšɣarī mit DLT 225 *qarāqān* ‚eine Art Bergbaum' vermerkt hat (vgl. Hauenschild 1994: 56), ist in den Süddialekten des Altaitürkischen als allgemeine Bezeichnung für die Gattung Caragana (r. *karagana*) mit A 38 alt.-k. *qarana*, teleng. *qaraɣana* ~ *qaraana* erhalten; bei Ilm 191 wird tel. *qaraɣan* mit ‚rjabina' (Eberesche) definiert.—Vgl. tuv. TuvRS 452 *xaraɣan* ‚karagannik, stepnaja akacija'.

Kendirosch* ~ *Kinder ‚Cannabis sativa' [S 89] = Hanf, Cannabis sativa.

Als Benennung des Hanfs (r. *konoplja*) wurde *Kendirosch* mit A 161 teleng. *kändiräš*, leb. *kändiräš* ~ *kändräš* überliefert.—Vgl. tat. *kinderaš*, kum. *kendiraš* ‚konoplja' (Hauenschild 1989: Nr. 242). *Kinder* hat sich mit Ilm 207 *kändir*, WB II: 1081 alt.-k., tel. *kändir*, B II: 221 kmd. *kändir*, B III: 161 leb. *kändir* bewahrt.—Vgl. chak. RXS 325 *kindīr*, schor. ŠRRŠ 24 *kändir*, tuv. RTuvS 227 *xändir* ‚konoplja'. Der zweihäusige Hanf wird generell mit *kändir* bezeichnet; mit *kändiräš*, dem Diminutiv von *kändir*, benennt man speziell den männlichen Hanf, der niedriger als die weibliche Pflanze ist. Da er eine Rispe trägt, erfassen ihn die Altai-Kiži auch mit A 161 *kändirbaš* ‚Hanfkopf'.

Kuperei ‚Rubus Idæus' [S 83] = Himbeere, Rubus idaeus.—Vgl. Pallas 1789–1790, I/2: 127 Teleutis *Kuperei* ‚Rubus Idæus'.

Der Name, der im Altaitürkischen nicht mehr belegbar ist, könnte auf altuigurisch *kpra* ‚Rubus Idaeus' (HK II: Nr. 3, 49 und Anm. 3[49]) zurückgehen und als

Benennung für den Himbeerstrauch bzw. die Himbeere (r. *malina*) mit ba. TSB 104 *quray yeläge* und dem tatarischen Dialektwort TTDS 598 *quray ǧiläk* ‚quray-Beere‘, im Hinblick auf die aus vielen Früchtchen bestehende Sammelfrucht mit kirg. KiRS 455 *dan quuray* ‚Körner-*quray*‘ sowie—auf die Farbe der Himbeere bezogen—mit kas. XQBS (s. v. fùpénzǐ) *taŋquwray* und nuig. XUS (s. v. xuángōuzi) *taŋqoray* ‚Morgenröte-*quwray/qoray*‘ erhalten sein.

Mit ba. *quray* und kas. *quwray* (Hauenschild 1989: Nr. 966) < *qura-* ‚austrocknen‘ wird primär das strauchartige Kalikraut, Salsola kali bezeichnet, dessen Blattspreiten zu pfriemförmigen Gebilden reduziert sind. Beim Himbeerstrauch dürfte *quray ~ quwray ~ qoray* auf eine Besonderheit der Triebe verweisen; sie fruchten erst im zweiten Jahr und sterben danach bis zur Wurzel ab—ein Merkmal, das die Himbeere von der verwandten Brombeere unterscheidet.

Sasch Tschestek ‚Vaccinium Oxycoccos‘ [S 81] = Moosbeere, Vaccinium oxycoccos.—Vgl. Pallas 1789–1790, I/2: 88 Teleutis *Sasch-Tschestek* ‚Vaccinium Oxycoccus‘.

Als Benennung für die Moosbeere (r. *kljukva*) lässt sich *Sasch Tschestek* ‚Sumpfbeere‘ sinngemäß mit A 50 leb. *sas-ǰiiläk* und B II: 246 n.-kmd. *sas ǰiilägi* nachweisen; der Name betrifft das Vorkommen in Sümpfen oder morastigen Wäldern. Ansonsten wird die Moosbeere, die sich auf Torfmoospolstern ausbreitet, mit WB III: 1190 alt.-k., tel. *torbos*, A 50 kmd. *torbas*, tub. *torvos* ‚Moos‘ bezeichnet.—Vgl. schor. ŠRRŠ 55 *torbas čästägi* ‚kljukva‘, wörtlich ‚Moosbeere‘.

Schangis Agatsch ‚Viburnum Opulus‘ [S 79] = Schneeball, Viburnum opulus.—Vgl. Pallas 1789–1790, I/2: 53 Teleutis *Schangis* ‚Viburnum Opulus‘.

Erhalten ist *Schangis Agatsch* als Benennung des Schneeballs (r. *kalina*) mit WB III: 1851 tel. *čaŋïš*, A 154 alt.-k. *čaniš*, leb. *čanaš*, B III: 225 leb. *šaŋïš ayaš*.—Vgl. chak. RXS 307 *saŋas ayazï* und schor. ŠRRŠ 67 *šaŋïš* ‚kalina‘. Der Begriff könnte von mong. *čanggis* ‚Moosbeere‘ entlehnt sein, denn die Früchte des Schneeballs ähneln den kugeligen roten Moosbeeren.

Schiderban ‚Hippophæ Rhamnoides‘ [S 89] = Sanddorn, Hippophaë rhamnoides.—Vgl. Pallas 1789–1790, I/2: 79 Teleutis *Schiderbàn* ‚Hippophaë Rhamnoïdes‘.

Das in derselben Schreibung bei Pallas bezeugte Falck-Zitat *Schiderban* scheint als Bezeichnung für den Sanddorn (r. *oblepixa*) mit A 193 teleng., kmd. *čičiranqat ~ čičiryana ~ čičirana*, alt.-k. *čičrana* überliefert zu sein.—Vgl. tuv. RTuvS 331 *čižiryana* ‚oblepixa‘. Bei Dmitrieva 1972: 198 wird *čičirana* von *čičir-* ‚beschmutzen‘ + *-ana* hergeleitet. Eine sinnvolle Erklärung gibt es dafür nicht; der Ausdruck dürfte eher auf mong. *čičargana* ‚Sanddorn‘ zurückgehen.

Tabuljah ‚Spiraea crenata‘ [S 83] = Kerbblättriger Spierstrauch, Spiraea crenata.

Der Name lässt sich bereits im Alttürkischen mit *tavïlqu* ‚Spierstrauch‘ (Clauson 1972: 441) nachweisen. Bei Maḥmūd al-Kāšɣarī ist DLT 245 *tawilqu ~ tawilɣūč*

‚ṭabarḫūn' vermerkt, definiert als Purpurweide, jedoch bezogen auf den auch in der Altai-Region häufigen Weidenspierstrauch, Spiraea salicifolia (vgl. Hauenschild 1994: 74–75). Im Altaitürkischen hat sich der Begriff als Benennung des Spierstrauchs (r. *tavolga*) mit Ilm 257 *tabïlʹyï*, WB III: 972 alt.-k., tel. *tabïlʹyï*, A 268 leb. *tavïlʹyï* bewahrt.—Vgl. chak. XRS 212 *tabïlʹyï* ‚tavolga'.

Tagen ‚Pinus Abies' [S 88] = Rotfichte, Picea abies.—Vgl. Pallas 1789–1790, I/1: 15 Teleutis *Tigén* ‚Pinus Abies'.
     Überliefert ist *Tagen* bzw. *Tigén*, in eigentlicher Bedeutung ‚Stacheln', als Bezeichnung der Sibirischen Fichte, Picea obovata (r. *el' sibirskaja*) mit WB III: 1352 alt.-k., tel. *tigän*, A 23–24 kmd. *tägän*, tub. *tigään* ~ *tigän*, B III: 205 leb. *tigän*.—Vgl. chak. RXS 207 *tïgän* und schor. ŠRRŠ 53 *tigän* ‚el''.

Tockme Gul ‚Rosa canina' [S 83] = Heckenrose, Rosa canina.
     Mit *Tockme Gul* wurde die im Altai heimische wilde Rosen-Art Rosa acicularis (r. *šipovnik iglistyj*) benannt. Der Ausdruck, der nach Falck auch in Buchara gebräuchlich war, lässt sich im Altaitürkischen nicht mehr belegen, wohl aber mit usb. UzRS 418 *taqmagül* ‚šipovnik', wörtlich ‚Anhängerblume', und zwar im Hinblick auf die nach unten geneigten länglich-eiförmigen roten Früchte. Moderne Bezeichnungen, die gleichfalls die Hagebutten betreffen, sind A 270 alt.-k. *iyt-tumčuk* ‚Hundeschnauze', teleng. *iyt-ködön* ‚Hundehintern' und tub. *it-burun* ‚Hundenase'. Ein nur bei Pallas erwähnter Name für Rosa acicularis hat sich bis heute mit RAS 845 *tägänäk* erhalten, vgl. Pallas 1789–1790, I/2: 118 Teleutis *tegenek* ‚Rosa canina'.

Tolonna ‚Crataegus Oxyacantha' [S 82] = Weißdorn, Crataegus laevigata.
     Unter *Tolonna* ist der im Altai verbreitete Blutdorn, Crataegus sanguinea (r. *bojaryšnik krovavo-krasnyj*) zu verstehen. Der Begriff geht auf mong. *dolugana* ~ *dolunu* ‚Weißdorn' zurück und hat sich mit WB III: 1195 tel. *tolono*, A 253 alt.-k. *tolono*, kmd. *tolona* ~ *tulano*, tub. *tovono* ~ *toyona*, B II: 255 n.-kmd. *tolono*, B III: 206 leb. *tolono* bewahrt.—Vgl. schor. ŠRRŠ 54 *tolana*, krg. TofRS 21 *dolayana*, tuv. RTuvS 49 *dolaana* ~ *dolayana* und jak. Pek 734 *doloyon* ~ *doloyono* ~ *doloxono* ‚bojaryšnik'. Der erste Wortteil von A 253 kmd. *too ayažï* ‚*too*-Baum' und leb. *toono-jägläk* ‚*toono*-Beere' ist möglicherweise durch Kontraktion aus *tolono* entstanden; vgl. chak. RXS 69 *too ayazï* ‚bojaryšnik'.

Tscheina ‚Pæonia officinalis' [S 84] = Pfingstrose, Paeonia officinalis.
     Der Name *Tscheina*, eine Entlehnung von mong. *čene* ‚Pfingstrose', bezeichnet die für den Altai charakteristische Spezies Paeonia anomala (r. *pion uklonjajuščijsja* oder *mar'in koren'*). Überliefert ist *Tscheina* mit WB III: 1942 tel. *čäynä*, A 247 alt.-k., tub. *čäynä* ~ *čiynä*, kmd. *šiynä* ~ *šäni*, B II: 267 n.-kmd. *čäynä*, B III: 221 leb. *čänä*.—Vgl. chak. XRS 187 *siŋnä* ‚mar'in koren'', krg. TofRS 96 *šäŋnä* ‚pion, mar'in koren', tuv. TuvRS 544 *šäŋnä* ‚dikij pion'.

In der Frauensprache werden laut J 63 *bolčoq baš* ‚runder Kopf‘ und *qadïšqïn* ‚Malz‘ als Hüllwörter für alt.-k. *čäynä ~ čiynä* benutzt; *bolčoq baš* beschreibt die große purpurrosa Blüte, und *qadïšqïn* scheint auf die an gekeimte Getreidekörner erinnernden Samen zu verweisen.

Tschita ‚Pinus Picea‘ [S 88] = Weißtanne, Abies alba.

Bei *Tschita* dürfte es sich um eine falsche Lesung von *Tschiba* handeln; der Ausdruck hat sich als Benennung für die Sibirische Tanne, Abies sibirica (r. *pixta sibirskaja*) mit WB II: 254 tel. *čibi*, A 25 leb. *šüvä ~ šüvü ~ čüvä*, tub. *čüvä*, kmd. *šibää*, B I: 166 tub. *čïbï*, B II: 268 n.-kmd. *čibä* erhalten.—Vgl. chak. RXS 586 *sïbï* und schor. ŠRRŠ 69 *šübä* ‚pixta‘.

Außerdem bezeichnet man mit A 23–24 alt.-k., teleng. *čibi*, leb. *čivi*, B II: 270 kmd. *čübä* die Sibirische Fichte, Picea obovata (r. *el′ sibirskaja*), bereits bei Pallas 1789–1790, I/1: 15 mit Tataris Sibiricis *Tschiby* ‚Pinus Abies‘ (= Picea abies) bezeugt.—Vgl. tuv. TuvRS 545 *šivi*, bar. Dmitrieva 1972: 186 *čivi* ‚el‘.

Nach J 64 sind in der Frauensprache anstelle von alt.-k. *čibi* ‚el‘ die Euphemismen *tägänäk bürlü aɣaš* ‚Baum mit Stachelbättern‘ und *iynä bürlü aɣaš* ‚Baum mit Nadelblättern‘ üblich.

Upstera ‚Lonicera tatarica‘ [S 77| = Tatarengeißblatt, Lonicera tatarica.

Die Benennung *Upstera* ist nach A 110 in derselben Bedeutung mit tel. *unstera* überliefert; geht man von *Upstera* aus, so könnte ein Zusammenhang mit dem im tatarischen Bereich gebräuchlichen, jedoch nicht mehr nachweisbaren *Uptschera* ‚Himbeerstrauch‘ bestehen, vgl. Pallas 1789–1790, I/2: 127 Tataris *Uptschera* ‚Rubus Idæus‘, bei Falck (S 83) *Uptschero*. Eine Namensübertragung auf das strauchige Tatarengeißblatt (r. *žimolost′ tatarskaja*) würde dessen kugelige rote Früchte mit Himbeeren assoziieren.

2. Tierbezeichnungen

Falck zitiert vornehmlich Bezeichnungen für Tiere, deren Fleisch oder Fell verwertet werden, aber auch für Tiere, mit denen sich abergläubische Vorstellungen verbinden. Obwohl er nur die Namen von Säugetieren und Fischen erwähnt, ist sein Beitrag zur teleutischen Tierlexik wesentlich umfangreicher als der von Pallas, der lediglich vier—ebenfalls bei Falck belegte—Fischbenennungen vermerkt hat, zusätzlich jedoch zwei Vogelnamen, nämlich Pallas 1811, I: 436 Teleutis *Kokutschigasak* ‚Alcedo Ispida‘ (Eisvogel) und II: 171 Teleutis *Charagatau* ‚Scolopax Rusticola‘ (Waldschnepfe). Die im Kontext mit Säugetieren angeführten Pallas-Zitate aus Nachbarsprachen dienen als indirekte Bestätigung der Angaben von Falck.

Aba ‚Ursus Arctos‘ [S 91] = Braunbär, Ursus arctos, s. **Aju** und **Schakschek**.—Vgl. Pallas 1811, I: 64 Catschinzis ad Jeniseam *Awa* ‚Ursus Arctos‘.

Der früheste Beleg für *Aba* findet sich bei Maḥmūd al-Kāšγarī, der außer DLT 54 *ayïγ* ,ad-dubb' noch DLT 55 *apa* ,ad-dubb' dem Dialekt der Qifčāq zuordnet hat, d. h., dass die Qifčāq aus Tabugründen anstelle des alten Bärennamens *ayïγ* das Deckwort *apa* ,Ahn; Großvater; Vater' benutzt haben (vgl. Hauenschild 2003: 19). In diesem Sinne ist auch die von Falck notierte Bärenbenennung *Aba* zu verstehen, die sich in der Jägersprache mit J 135 *aba* bzw. dem Diminutiv B II: 197 kmd. *abayaq* bewahrt hat.—Vgl. schor. Zelenin 1929: 108 *aba* und n.-tscht. Bir 26 *ad-acaq* ,medved''. Im Chakassischen fungiert XRS 13 *aba* als generelle Bezeichnung für den Bären.

Neben *aba* gibt es heute im Altaitürkischen zahlreiche Hüllwörter, die insbesondere während der Jagd als ehrerbietige Anrede des Bären gebraucht werden. Zu demselben Wortfeld wie *aba* gehören J 135 *apčïyaq ~ apšaq* ,Großvater', *abaay* ,Großonkel (väterlicherseits)', *abaγay* ,Onkel (väterlicherseits)', *ulda* ,Großvater (väterlicherseits)', *taadaq* ,Großvater (mütterlicherseits)', *taay* ,Onkel (mütterlicherseits)' und *tayγanïŋ abazï* ,älterer Verwandter aus der Taiga'.—Vgl. chak. XRS 395 (Jägersprache) *apsax*, abk. Verb 23 *apčaq ~ apčïyaq*, schor. ŠRRŠ 17 *apšaq*, kond. Verb 23 *apšïyaq*, schor. WB III: 766 *tay*, kond. ŠRRŠ 58 *ulda* sowie schor. Zelenin 1929: 108 *abay* und jak. DSJaJa 37 *aabïy ~* 39 *abaya* ,medved''. Die Achtung vor dem Bären kommt auch in J 135 *jaan öbögön* ,ehrwürdiger Alter', *öbögön* ,Alter' und *ulu kiži* ,älterer Mensch' zum Ausdruck. Schmeichelnamen wie J 135 *qayraqan* ,Herr', *altaydïŋ ääzi* ,Herr des Altai' oder *järdiŋ ääzi* ,Herr der Wildnis' zielen auf das Wohlwollen des Bären ab.

Hüllwörter, die nicht zwangsläufig den Bären betreffen und ihn deshalb über das Vorhaben der Jäger hinwegtäuschen sollen, sind J 135 *baraan aŋ* ,dunkelfarbiges Tier', *jaan aŋ* ,großes Tier', *järdiŋ qatu aŋï* ,grausames Tier der Wildnis', *jääk aŋ* ,raubgieriges Tier', *aŋtara ton* ,gewendeter Pelzrock' und *bayaγï nämä* ,das gewisse Ding'.

Aju ,Ursus Arctos' [S 91] = Braunbär, Ursus arctos, s. **Aba** und **Schakschek**.

Der alte Bärenname *ayïγ* hat sich im Altaitürkischen nur mit B II: 199 o.-kmd. *ayïγ* und B III: 136 leb. *ayïγ* bewahrt. Hingegen wurde die von Falck angeführte Abwandlung *Aju* mit Ilm 142, Verb 10 tel. *ayu*, ORS 24 *ayu*, B I: 99 tub. *ayu ~ ayuu ~ ayuv*, B II: 199 kmd. *ayu ~ ayuγ*, B III: 136 leb. *ayu ~ ayuu* überliefert.—Vgl. n.-tscht. Bir 27 *ayu*, sib.-t. SDST 19 *ayu* ,medved''.

Ak Balik ,Salmo Lavaretus' [S 111] = Renke, Coregonus lavaretus, s. **Urundu Balik**.—Vgl. Pallas 1811, III: 403 Tataris ad Jeniseam *Ak-balyk* ,Salmo oxyrhinchus' (= Coregonus oxyrhynchus, eine kleinere Form von C. lavaretus).

Die Benennung der hellgefärbten Renke (r. *sig*) mit *Ak Balik* ,weißer Fisch' lässt sich im Altaitürkischen mit WB I: 91 alt.-k. *aq palïq* ,salmo lavaretus' nachweisen.—Vgl. chak. XRS 142 *ax palïx*, tuv. TR 49 *aq-balïq* und krg. TofRS 246 *aq-balïq* ,sig'.

Aktuk ‚Cervus Capreolus' [S 93] = Reh, Capreolus capreolus, s. *Ilik*.

Mit *Aktuk* ‚weißes Fell' zitiert Falck offenbar einen während der Jagd anstelle von *Ilik* benutzten, aber nicht überlieferten euphemistischen Ausdruck, der sich auf den weißen Spiegel des Rehs bezieht. Als moderne Hüllwörter sind in der Jägersprache J 137 *säärtkiš* ‚Sprüngemacher', *särgäk aŋ* ‚hellhöriges Tier' sowie *tuyγaqtu* ‚mit Hufen' und in der Frauensprache J 134 *anay* ‚zweijähriges Zicklein 'gebräuchlich.

Bel Balik ‚Salmo Hucho' [S 111] = Taimen, Hucho taimen.—Vgl. Pallas 1811, III: 359 Tataris ad Jeniseam *Billbalyk* ‚Salmo fluviatilis'.

Erhalten ist *Bel Balik* als Name des Taimen (r. *tajmen'*) mit Ilm 236, Verb 250 *päl*, ORS 29 (Dialekt) *bäl*, WB IV: 1242 alt.-k., tel. *päl*, B III: 187 leb. *päl*.—Vgl. chak. XRS 150 *pil*, schor. ŠRRŠ 40 *päl*, tuv. TuvRS 89 *bäl*, krg. TofRS 16 *bäl* und jak. Pek 461 *bil (balïk)* ~ 1568 *mil (balïk)* ‚tajmen''. Nach Tatarincev 2000: 209 handelt es sich bei tuv. *bäl* um eine ehrerbietige Anrede bzw. um ein Hüllwort im Sinne von ‚außergewöhnlich' oder ‚vornehm', und zwar möglicherweise im Hinblick darauf, dass dem 1,5 m langen und 65 kg schweren Taimen wegen seiner Ausmaße der Vorrang unter den Lachsfischen zukommt.

Bora Balik ‚Cyprinus Idus' [S 112] = Aland, Leuciscus idus.—Vgl. Pallas 1811, III: 316 Teleutis *Boro-balyk* ‚Cyprinus Idus'.

Weder im Altaitürkischen noch in anderen südsibirischen Türksprachen wurde *Bora Balik* ‚grauer Fisch' überliefert. Die Schoren benennen den Aland (r. *jaz'*) mit ŠRRŠ 15 *aq palïq* ‚weißer Fisch' und die Kondoma-Schoren mit Verb 403 *upta balïq* ‚Kreidefisch'. Sowohl *Bora Balik* als auch *aq palïq* und *upta balïq* könnten sich auf die silbrig glänzenden Seiten des Fisches beziehen.

Im Teleutischen wird der Aland heute mit Verb 335 *taptan* < *tapta-* ‚festtreten; stampfen' erfasst, d. h. mit einem Begriff, der gleichfalls für den Hasen gebräuchlich ist (ORS 142 *taptan* ‚zajac') und jeweils ein bestimmtes Verhalten aufzugreifen scheint. Der Hase scharrt sich eine als Schlafstätte dienende Mulde, und der Aland drückt sich bei Antritt des Winterschlafes an tiefen Wasserstellen in den Sand.

Bulan ‚Cervus Alces' [S 93] = Elch, Alces alces.—Vgl. Pallas 1811, I: 201 Tataris etiam Sibiriae *Bulàn* ‚Cervus Alce'.

Die Bezeichnung *Bulan* ist erstmals bei Maḥmūd al-Kāšγarī mit DLT 208 *bulān* bezeugt, und zwar als Name eines sehr großen wilden Tieres, das im Land der Qifčāq lebt und dort gejagt wird. Bei vielen Türkvölkern hat sich *bulan* in der Bedeutung ‚Elch' bewahrt, wurde aber teilweise auch ersetzt oder auf andere Tiere übertragen (vgl. Hauenschild 2003: 75–76). Im Altaitürkischen ist der Name als Benennung des Elchs (r. *los'* oder *soxatyj*) mit Ilm 242, Verb 270 *pulan*, ORS 35 *bulan*, WB IV: 1374 alt.-k., tel. *pulan*, B I: 110 tub. *bulan*, B III: 190 leb. *pïlan* ~ *pulan* erhalten.—Vgl. chak. XRS 165 *pulan*, tuv. TuvRS 111 *bulan*, schor. ŠRRŠ 43 *pulan* ~ ŠRS 22 *pïlan* und tscht. Bir 55 *pulan* ‚los', soxatyj'.

Fan Bulik ‚Acipenser Sturio' [S 110] = Stör, Acipenser sturio.—Vgl. Pallas 1811, III: 91 Teleutis *Fan-balyk* ‚Acipenser Sturio'.

Der nicht mehr nachweisbare Ausdruck *Fan Bulik*—richtig *Fan Balik*—kennzeichnet den bis zu 4 m langen Stör (r. *osëtr*) vermutlich als einen König unter den Fischen, denn die erste Komponente dürfte sich von mong. *vang* ‚Herrscher' herleiten. Eine ähnlich hohe Stellung billigen die Jakuten dem größten der in Sibirien vorkommenden Störe, dem Hausen, Huso dauricus (r. *kaluga*) zu, der nach Pek 3413 *xatïïs toyon* ‚Herr der Störe' heißt.

Il Balik ‚Perca Cernua' [S 110] = Kaulbarsch, Gymnocephalus cernua.—Vgl. Pallas 1811, III: 245 Teleutis *It-balyk* ‚Perca cernua'.

Wie das Pallas-Zitat zeigt, wurde *It Balik* ‚Hundefisch' fälschlich als *Il Balik* gelesen; der Name, der auf den hundeähnlichen Kopf des Fisches anspielt, ist für den Kaulbarsch (r. *ërš*) nur mit schor. ŠRRŠ 19 *it-palïq* belegbar. Laut Verb 467 benutzen die Teleuten *it palïq* für die Aalquappe, Lota lota (r. *nalim*), deren Kopf sich wegen des unterständigen Mauls gleichfalls wie eine Hundeschnauze ausnimmt.

Ilik ‚Cervus Capreolus' [S 93] = Reh, Capreolus capreolus, s. ***Aktuk***.—Vgl. Pallas 1811, I: 220 Tataris ad Jeniseam *Ihlik* ‚Cervus Capreolus'.

Als Bezeichnung für das Reh (r. *kosulja* oder *dikaja koza*) lässt sich *elik* bereits im Alttürkischen nachweisen (Clauson 1972: 142). Der Pallas-Beleg deutet darauf hin, das Falck möglicherweise die bei den Chakassen übliche Form vermerkt hat, denn im Altaitürkischen ist noch heute Ilm 157, Verb 43 *älik*, ORS 191 *älik*, WB I: 815 alt.-k., tel., leb. *älik*, B I: 169 tub. *älik*, B II: 276 kmd. *äälik* gebräuchlich.—Vgl. chak. XRS 58 *ilīk*, schor. ŠRRŠ 73 *älik*, tuv. TuvRS 581 *älik*, krg. TofRS 103 *älīk*, Küärik WB I: 815 *älik*, tob., tüm., bar. SDST 54 *iläk* und jak. DSJaJa 319 *älik* ‚kosulja (samka), dikaja koza'.

Jesubalik ‚Cyprinus Carassius' [S 111] = Karausche, Carassius carassius.—Vgl. Pallas 1811, III: 297 Teleutis *Jesu-balyk* ‚Cyprinus Carassius'.

Die Benennung *Jesubalik* ‚flacher Fisch', die sich auf den abgeplatteten Körper der Karausche (r. *karas'*) bezieht, ist mit Ilm 164, Verb 67 *ǰazï balïq*, WB III: 230 alt.-k. *ǰazï palïq* bewahrt.—Vgl. schor. ŠRS 27 *čazïpalïq*, n.-tscht. Bir 5 *yazbalïq* ~ 52 *yaz paalïq* und tschat. SDST 64 *yazbalïq* ‚karas''. Wegen ihres flachen Körpers bezeichnet man die Karausche auch mit WB III: 793 alt.-k., tel., leb. *taqpay palïq* ‚Spanfisch'.—Vgl. sag., schor. WB III: 793 *taqpay palïq* ‚karas''.

Kakaja ‚Sus Scrofa & Aper' [S 92] = Wildschwein, Eber, Sus scrofa.

Der Ausdruck *Kakaja*, der von mong. *gaxai* ‚Wildschwein, Eber' entlehnt ist, wurde als Benennung für das Wildschwein (r. *kaban* oder *dikaja svin'ja*) mit Ilm 186, Verb 119 tel. *qaqa* ~ *qaqay*, ORS 68 *qaqay*, WB II: 63 tel. *qaqqa* ~ *qaqqai*, B III: 156 leb. *qaqay* überliefert.—Vgl. tuv. Tatarincev 2004: 31 *qaɣay* ‚kaban, dikaja svinj'a' und bar. Dmitrieva 1981: 150 *qaqay* ‚svin'ja'.

Kanu ‚Mustela Gulo' [S 97] = Vielfraß, Gulo gulo.—Vgl. Pallas 1811, I: 74 Tataris ad Jeniseam *Kuno* vel *Kahna* ‚Meles Gulo'.

Als Benennung für den Vielfraß (r. *rosomaxa*) ist *Kanu*, vermutlich eine falsche Lesung von *Kunu*, im Teleutischen und in anderen altaitürkischen Dialekten nicht mehr belegbar.—Vgl. aber chak. XRS 292 *xunu*, ktsch., sag. WB II: 909 *quna*, abk. Verb 151 *qunu*, o.-kond. Verb 151 *qunučaq*, schor. WB II: 911 *qunu* ~ 912 *qunučaq*, ŠRRŠ 29 *qunučaq*, tscht. Bir 44 *qunučaq* und tob., tüm. SDST 128 *qonï*, tob. WB II: 911 *qunu* ‚rosomaxa'.

Nach den bei Tatarincev (2004: 296–297 s. v. qundus) angeführten Etymologisierungsvorschlägen kann sich *qunu* ~ *quna* von *qun-* ‚rauben' oder **qun-* ‚glatt sein' herleiten, aber ebenso ein indogermanisches Lehnwort sein. Eine Ableitung von *qun-* ‚rauben' ist kaum anzunehmen, da sich das Verb nur im Alt- und Mitteltürkischen nachweisen lässt (Clauson 1972: 632). Im Hinblick auf das lange, zottige Fell des plumpen Vielfraßes dürfte eine Ableitung von **qun-* ‚glatt sein' gleichfalls entfallen. Möglich erscheint allerdings eine Entlehnung von r. *kuna* ~ *kunica* ‚Marder' > *qunu/quna* ~ *qunučaq* ‚Vielfraß'; sowohl Marder als auch Vielfraß, die beide zu den Musteliden gehören, werden im chakassischen Dialekt mit WB II: 909 *quna* benannt.

Im Altaitürkischen bezeichnet man den Vielfraß heute mit Ilm 173, Verb 87 tel. *jääkän*, ORS 51 *jääkän*, WB III: 318 alt.-k., tel. *jääkkän*, B II: 212 n.-kmd. *jääkän*, B III: 203 leb. *tääkän*, einer Entlehnung von mong. *jeexen* ‚Vielfraß'.

Kara Balik I ‚Cyprinus Tinca' [S 111] = Schleie, Tinca vulgaris.

Die Schleie (r. *lin'*) wird als *Kara Balik* ‚schwarzer Fisch' erfasst, weil sie dunkelgraubraun getönt ist. Erhalten hat sich der Name mit ORS 72 *qara balïq*.—Vgl. chak. XRS 142 *xara palïx*, schor. ŠRRŠ 23 *qara palïq*, kond. Verb 128 *qara balïq*, tscht. Bir 38 *qara paalïq* ‚lin''.

Kara Balik II ‚Salmo Thymallus' [S 111] = Äsche, Thymallus thymallus.—Vgl. Pallas 1811, III: 365 Katschinzo-Tataris *Kóra*, *Chóra* ‚Salmo Thymallus'.

Der im Altaitürkischen nicht mehr nachweisbare Ausdruck ist wahrscheinlich *Kora Balik* zu lesen, denn die Äsche (r. *xarius*) wird noch heute mit chak. XRS (Dialekt) 287 *xoora*, abk. Verb 143 *qora*, schor. ŠRRŠ 26 *qoora*, kond. Verb 143 *qora* bezeichnet.

Den rötlichen Schimmer des Fisches beschreibt B III: 137 leb. *aqčalaq* als ‚hell leuchtend (wie ein Planet)'. Ansonsten benennt man die Äsche im Altaitürkischen mit Ilm 289, Verb 424 tel. *čaraγan*, ORS 176 *čaraγan*, WB: III: 1862 alt.-k., tel. *čaraan*, B II: 266 kmd. *čarγa* ~ n.-kmd. *čaraγan*, B III: 221 leb. *čaraγan* ~ *čaraq* ~ *čaran*.—Vgl. schor. WB IV: 951 *šaraγan* ~ 954 *šarγa*, o.-kond. Verb 424 *čaraγan*, n.-kond. Verb 424 *čarγa* und jak. JaRS 127 *jarγaa* ‚xarius'. Nach Ilm 289 leitet sich *čaraγan* von mong. *šar* ‚gelb' her; *čarγa* dürfte jedoch mit mong. *šarga* ‚isabellfarben' identisch sein.

Korte Balik ‚Gadus Lota‘ [S 110] = Aalquappe, Lota lota.—Vgl. Pallas 1811, III: 201 Tataris *Korte-balyk* ‚Gadus Lota‘.

Als Name der Aalquappe (r. *nalim*) ist *Korte Balik* mit Ilm 197, Verb 144 *qortï*, ORS 88 *qortu*, WB II: 576 tel. *qortï*, B III: 166 leb. *qortï* bewahrt.—Vgl. koib. WB II: 576 *qordï*, sag. XRS 288 *xortï*, schor. WB II: 576 *qortï* ~ ŠRRŠ 26 *qortu* und tob., tschat., tüm. SDST 135 *qurtï* ‚nalim‘.

Kuschka ‚Mus Musculus‘ [S 96] = Hausmaus, Mus musculus, s. ***Tschetschkan***.

Im Sinne von ‚Maus‘ (r. *myš′*) hat sich *Kuschka* nicht erhalten; die Altaitürken bezeichnen die Maus mit dem alten Namen *čïčqan*. Ein früher Beleg für *Kuschka* findet sich im Altuigurischen mit *küskü* ‚Ratte, Maus‘ (Clauson 1972: 750).—Vgl. chak. XRS 98 *küskä*, tuv. TuvRS 256 *küskä* und tscht. Bir 45 *küskä* ‚myš‘ sowie koib., ktsch., sag., tob. WB II: 1501 *küskä* ‚krysa‘ (Ratte).

Der von Falck zitierte Ausdruck *Kuschka* ist vermutlich aus einer benachbarten Türksprache ins Teleutische gelangt. Da man die nachtaktive Maus für ein Seelentier hält, könnte *Kuschka* als Hüllwort für *Tschetschkan* benutzt worden sein, denn der Gebrauch von Lehnwörtern ist ein Mittel zur Umgehung des Sprechverbots. Ein Hinweis auf Entlehnung ergibt sich auch bei B II: 229 kmd. *küskäčäk* ‚myš‘ und B III: 173 leb. *küsküčäk* ‚polevaja myš‘, einer vielleicht aus dem chakassischen Dialekt übernommenen Diminutivform; vgl. abk. Verb 194 *küskäčäk*, sag. WB II: 1502 *küsküjäk* ‚myš‘.

Kuuruk ‚Sciurus striatus‘ [S 96] = Streifenhörnchen, Tamias sibiricus.—Vgl. Pallas 1811, I: 187 Tataris ad Jeniseam *Kuegeruk* vel *Köhroek* ‚Sciurus striatus‘.

Der Begriff *Kuuruk* ist im Altaitürkischen als generelle Benennung für das Streifenhörnchen (r. *burunduk*) mit Ilm 213 *körük*, Verb 187 *körük* ~ 484 *köörük*, ORS 92 *körük*, WB II: 1252 alt.-k., tel. *körük*, B I: 131 tub. *körük*, B II: 229 kmd. *küräk* ~ n.-kmd. *kürök*, B III: 168 leb. *körük* ~ 172 *küräk* bewahrt.—Vgl. chak. XRS 92 *körïk*, koib., sag. WB II: 1252 *körük* ~ 1456 *kürük*, schor. ŠRRŠ 28 *körük*, n.-kond. Verb 193 *kürük*, tuv. TuvRS 472 *xöörük*, krg. TofRS 41 *höörük*, n.-tscht. Bir 5 *küärik* und bar. SDST 105 *küärik* ‚burunduk‘.

Möglicherweise war *körük*, in eigentlicher Bedeutung ‚Blasebalg‘, ursprünglich ein Hüllwort; *körük* bezieht sich auf die Backentaschen, die wie aufgebläht aussehen, wenn das Streifenhörnchen in ihnen Nahrung angesammelt hat. In der Jägersprache ist laut J 136 *bultuq ǰaaq* ‚aufgeblasene Backe‘ anstelle von *körük* gebräuchlich. Weitere an derselben Stelle angeführte Decknamen betreffen die fünf dunkelbraunen Längsstreifen, die über Rücken und Seiten verlaufen, und zwar *čoqïr* ‚das Gestreifte‘ sowie *manǰalayya tažïtqan* ‚jemand, der vom Bären einen Hieb abbekommen hat‘.

Oska Balik ‚Acipenser ruthensis‘ [S 110] = Sterlet, Acipenser ruthenus.—Vgl. Pallas 1811, III: 103 Tataris ad Tschulymum *Oswei* ‚Acipenser pygmaeus‘.

Überliefert ist *Oska Balik*, das wohl fälschlich für *Oskai Balik* steht, als Benennung für den Sterlet (r. *sterljad'*) mit Ilm 227, Verb 223 tel. *osqoy*, WB I: 1141 tel. *osqoy*, B II: 237 kmd. *osqoy*.—Vgl. sag. WB I: 1141 *osqïr*, schor. ŠRRŠ 36 *osqay palïq*, kond. Verb 223 *osqay balïq*, tscht. Bir 6 *osxay ~ osqay* und tschat. SDST 163 *oosqooy* ,sterljad', osëtr'. Der Begriff leitet sich von *os-* ,springen, hüpfen' ab und kennzeichnet den Sterlet als einen ,Springer'; wenn der Sterlet zum Laichen die Flüsse hochsteigt, überwindet er die Gefälle durch Sprünge.

Rusch Kutsch Kalik ,Salmo Salvelinus' [S 111] = Wandersaibling, Salvelinus alpinus.—Vgl. Pallas 1811, III: 362 Katscha-Tataris *Küsküs* ,Salmo coregonoides'.

Das Zitat dürfte von Falck mit *Kusch Kutsch Balik* notiert worden sein; entweder wurde der im Altaitürkischen nicht mehr nachweisbare Fischname vom Lenok, Brachymystax lenok auf den Wandersaibling übertragen oder er hat wie im Katscha-Dialekt den gleichfalls zu den Lachsfischen gehörigen Lenok bezeichnet. Vermutlich ist *Kusch Kutsch* eine Entlehnung aus dem Sibirisch-Russischen, denn die in den Altai- und Sajanbergen lebenden Russen benennen den Lenok mit *kuskuč*.—Vgl. chak. XRS 98 *küsküs* ,lenok', abk. Verb 194 *küsküs*, schor. WB II: 1017 *qusquš ~* 1502 *küsküš*, kond. Verb 154 *qusquš ~* 194 *küsküš* ,kuskuč'.

Schakschek ,Ursus Arctos' [S 91] = Braunbär, Ursus arctos, s. **Aba** und **Aju**.

Bei dem ansonsten nicht belegbaren Bärennamen *Schakschek*, d. i. *čaqšïq* (< *čaqšï* ,schön, gut' + *-q*), handelt es sich wahrscheinlich um ein als captatio benevolentiae benutztes Hüllwort. Unter demselben Aspekt verstehen sich auch J 135 *amaalday*, *külük* und *taŋma*—jeweils ,der Kraftvolle'—sowie *käzär* ,der Kühne'.

Schergelak ,Mustela Putorius' [S 97] = Waldiltis, Mustela putorius.

Der Ausdruck ist wohl *Schargelak* zu lesen, denn er hat sich als Bezeichnung für den Iltis (r. *xorëk*) mit ORS 176 *čarlaq*, B II: 266 n.-kmd. *čarlaq ~* 272 kmd. *šarlaaq*, B III: 225 leb. *šarlaq* erhalten.—Vgl. chak. XRS 182 *sarlax*, schor. ŠRRŠ 67 *šarɣïlaq ~* WB IV: 955 *šarlaq* ,xorëk'.

Das Falck-Zitat entspricht der schorischen Form *šarɣïlaq*, einer Zusammensetzung aus *šarɣïl* ,gelblich' (< mong. *šargal* ,gelblich') + *-aq*. In dieser Bedeutung lässt sich der Begriff jedoch nicht auf den dunkelbraunen Waldiltis, sondern nur auf den weißlichgelben Steppeniltis, Mustela eversmanni anwenden. Möglicherweise war der Name im Teleutischen ein Hüllwort für *küzän* ,Waldiltis', vgl. Verb 188 tel. *küzän*, ORS 98 *küzän*, WB II: 1506 tel. *küzän ~* 1508 alt.-k. *küzön*, B III: 171 leb. *küzöŋ* ,xorëk' sowie Pallas 1811, I: 88 Tataris Sibiricis *Kusén* ,Mustela Putorius'.

Als Benennung für den Waldiltis ist außerdem ORS 56 *joonmoyïn* ,dicker Hals' gebräuchlich, bei Verb 488 exakt mit ,xorëk (Mustela putorius)' definiert; vgl. schor. WB III: 2018 *čoonmoyïn* ,xorëk'. Anscheinend war *joonmoyïn*, das auf den sehr gedrungen wirkenden Hals anspielte, zunächst ein Hüllwort, denn an seiner Stelle werden jetzt in der Jägersprache Bezeichnungen benutzt, die denselben Sachverhalt anders ausdrücken, nämlich J 136 *joon küjüün* ,dicker Hals' und Verb 362

tel. *toŋ moyïn* ‚steifer Hals'. Charakteristisch für den Iltis ist ebenso der schlei-
chende Gang, worauf sich ORS 193 (Jägersprache) *ärlän* ‚Ratte' bezieht. Eine eu-
phemistische Funktion hat auch Verb 139 tel. *qojoyïm*, J 136 *qojoyïm*, B II: 223
o.-kmd. *qojayïm* ~ n.-kmd. *qojoyïn* ‚Kaufmann'.—Vgl. kond. Verb 139 (Jägerspra-
che) *qojayïn* ‚xorёk'. Der Deckname, nach Verbickij eine Umformung von *küzän*,
könnte den gebuckelten Rücken des Iltisses mit der devoten Haltung eines Kauf-
manns assoziieren.

Sukandu ‚Lutra vulgaris' [S 97] = Fischotter, Lutra lutra.

Im Altaitürkischen ist *Sukandu*—wahrscheinlich fälschlich für *Sukamdu*—nur
verkürzt als Name des Fischotters (r. *vydra*) überliefert, und zwar mit Ilm 188, Verb
123 tel. *qamdu*, ORS 70 *qamdu*, WB II: 493 alt.-k., tel. *qamduu*, B I: 123 tub. *qam-
duu*, B III: 157 leb. *qamdu*.—Vgl. schor. WB II: 491 *qamduu* und bar. WB II: 491
qamnu ‚vydra'.

Das Wort *qamdu* hängt mit *qam* ‚Schamane' zusammen und wird in dieser oder
ähnlicher Form für Tiere verwendet, die zu den Hilfsgeistern des Schamanen gehö-
ren (vgl. Hauenschild 1998: 154–155). Bei dem Falck-Zitat verweist die Kompo-
nente *su* ‚Wasser' offensichtlich darauf, dass der im Tauchen geübte Fischotter den
Schamanen auf seinen Reisen in die Wassertiefe begleitet. Die Rolle, die dem
Fischotter beim Schamanisieren zukommt, wird mit schor. WB II: 491 *qamnayï*
‚Schamanengefährte' eindeutig bestimmt. Altaitürkische Benennungen, die gleich-
falls diese Aufgabe betreffen, sind B I: 123 tub. *qamlaa*, B III: 157 leb. *qamnay* ~
qamna.—Vgl. chak. XRS 271 *xamnos*, abk. Verb 123 *qamnas*, koib., sag. WB II:
491 *qamnus*, ktsch. WB II: 491 *qamnuš*, tscht. Bir 37 *qamnoč* ~ *qamnuč* und tar.,
tob. WB II: 479 *qama* ‚vydra'.

Vermutlich hatte *qamdu* ursprünglich eine euphemistische Funktion, die aber im
Laufe der Zeit verloren gegangen ist, denn anstelle von *qamdu* wird nun in der Jä-
gersprache J 136 *suunïŋ aluuzï* ‚Wasserpelztier' und *qarïš quyruq* ‚spannenlanger
Schwanz' als Hüllwort gebraucht.

Sur ‚Glis Marmota' [S 94] = Steppenmurmeltier, Marmota bobak.—Vgl. Pallas
1811, I: 155 Tataris *Suur* et *Súgur* ‚Arctomys Baibak'.

Der Ausdruck *Sur* entspricht *suɣur*, das DLT 183 in der Bedeutung ‚al-wabr'
(Buschschliefer) belegt ist (vgl. Hauenschild 2003: 188–189) und sich u. a. mit kirg.
KiRS 667 *suur*, usb. UzRS 391 *suɣur* und nuig. URL 525 *suɣur* als Benennung für
das Steppenmurmeltier (r. *surok* oder *tarbagan*) erhalten hat. Im Altaitürkischen
wurde der Begriff durch *tarbaɣan* (< mong. *tarbagan* ‚Murmeltier') verdrängt, vgl.
Ilm 261, Verb 335 *tarbaɣan*, ORS 143 *tarbaɣan*, WB III: 872 tel. *tarbaɣan*, B III:
202 leb. *tarbaɣan*. Derselbe Vorgang fand anscheinend auch in anderen sibirischen
Türksprachen statt, vgl. chak. XRS 218 *tarbaɣan*, tuv. TuvRS 391 *tarbaɣan*, jak.
JaRS 371 *taarbaɣan* ‚tarbagan, surok'.

Bei J 137 sind verschiedene während der Jagd benutzte Hüllwörter angeführt.
Die Lautmalerei *aŋqïyt* ~ *taŋqïyt* ahmt den Warnpfiff des Murmeltiers nach, *qïlčïr*

‚Schieläugiger' verweist darauf, dass Murmeltiere die Umgebung erkunden können, ohne den Kopf zu drehen, und *tïrmaqtu qoy* ‚Schaf mit Krallen' bezieht sich auf den massigen Körper und die lang bekrallten Zehen.

Tabuschkan ‚Lepus variabilis' [S 94] = Schneehase, Lepus timidus, s. **Toloi**.

Der bereits im Alttürkischen belegte Hasenname *tavïšγan* (Clauson 1972: 447) ist im Jakutischen für den Schneehasen mit Pek 2516 *tabïsxaan* ‚obyknovennyj belyj zajac, beljak, uškan, Lepus variabilis' und—mit diversen Varianten—im südlichen Bereich der Turcia für den Feldhasen bewahrt. Seit dem 13. Jahrhundert lässt sich die Hasenbezeichnung *qoyan* nachweisen, die sich vornehmlich im Nordwesten, in der Mitte und im Nordosten verbreitet hat (vgl. Hauenschild 2003: 198–201). Falcks Angabe macht deutlich, dass *Tabuschkan* noch um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts als Benennung für den Schneehasen bei den Teleuten gebräuchlich war. Danach wurde *Tabuschkan* aber gleichfalls durch *qoyan* ersetzt, vgl. Ilm 195, Verb 138 tel. *qoyon*, ORS 85 *qoyon*, WB II: 526 alt.-k., tel. *qoyon* ‚zajac'. Möglicherweise versteht sich jedoch ORS 142 *taptan* < *tapta-* ‚festtreten, stampfen' als eine volksetymologische Anpassung an *Tabuschkan*; der Ausdruck hebt eine für den Hasen charakteristische Eigenschaft hervor, nämlich das Scharren einer flachen Mulde, in die er sich zum Schlafen eindrückt.

Tawarga ‚Moschus Moschiferus' [S 94] = Moschushirsch, Moschus moschiferus.— Vgl. Pallas 1811, I: 198 Tataris ad Jeniseam *Tabargà* ‚Moschus moschiferus'.

Als Bezeichnung für den Moschushirsch (r. *kabarga*) ist *Tawarga* mit RAS 235 *tabïrγï*, Verb tel. 323 *taabarγï* ~ 324 *tabïrγï*, WB III: 971 tel. *tabïrγa* überliefert.— Vgl. sag. WB III: 971 *tabïrγa*, schor. ŠRRŠ 51 *tabïrγï*, kond. Verb 324 *tabïrγa* ‚kabarga'.

Während der Jagd wird der Moschushirsch mit Verb 363 tel. *toorγï* ~ *toorï*, ORS 153 *toorγï*, J 137 (Jägersprache) *toorγï*, WB III: 1182 tel. *toorï* ~ 1185 alt.-k., tel. *toorγï*, B II: 255 n.-kmd. *toorγï*, B III: 207 leb. *toorγï* benannt.—Vgl. tuv. TuvRS 399 *toorγu*, krg. TofRS 164 *toorγï* ~ *toorγu* ‚kabarga'. Der Deckname *toorγï* dürfte durch Konsonantenausfall aus der im Teleutischen gebräuchlichen und möglicherweise gleichfalls tabubedingten Abwandlung Verb 356, WB III: 1232 *toborγï* entstanden sein. Ein Euphemismus, der auf den Moschusbeutel des männlichen Tieres anspielt, ist J 137 (Jägersprache) *ǰoon kin* ‚dicke Drüse'.

Toloi ‚Lepus variabilis' [S 94] = Schneehase, Lepus timidus, s. **Tabuschkan**.

Neben *Tabuschkan* führt Falck *Toloi* an, ein Hüllwort, das für den Hasen (r. *zajac*) bis heute in der Jägersprache benutzt wird, vgl. ORS 158 *tulay*, J 136 *tuulay* ‚zajac'. Der Ausdruck, eine Entlehnung von mong. *tulai* ‚Hase', erfasst bei den Chakassen und Tuvinern zudem die zentralasiatische Form des Feldhasen.— Vgl. koib., sag. WB III: 1192 *tolay* und tuv. TuvRS 398 *toolay* ‚zajac, zajac-rusak'.

Weitere in der Jägersprache übliche Benennungen für den Schneehasen sind bei J 136 aufgelistet. Auf das Winterfell verweist *apaγaš* ‚der Ausgebleichte' bzw. *qa-*

žaar ‚der Weiße‘, auf die langen Ohren *qoš qulaq* ‚ein Paar Ohren‘. Weil der Hase bei Gefahr regungslos in seiner Sasse verharrt, aber mit den Augen das Geschehen verfolgt, bezeichnen ihn die Jäger mit *qïlčïr* ‚Schieläugiger‘ oder *qïlïr kös* ‚Schielauge‘; über seine Schnelligkeit täuscht *čoyčïq* bzw. *mayčïq* ‚der Lahme‘ hinweg. Ein Hüllwort, das den zeugungsfreudigen Hasen zum Hammel verfremdet, ist *irik* ‚Hammel‘, und mit *ürgäk* ‚Beller‘ wird aus dem von den Hunden gehetzten Hasen der Verfolger gemacht.

Tschetschkan ‚Mus Musculus‘ [S 96] = Hausmaus, Mus musculus, s. ***Kuschka***.

Als Benennung für die Maus (r. *myš'*) ist *Tschetschkan* mit Verb 441 tel. *čïčqan*, ORS 184 *čičqan*, WB III: 2094 alt.-k., tel. *čïčqan*, B I: 167 tub. *čïčqan*, B II: 271 n.-kmd. *čïčqan*, B III: 224 leb. *čïčxan* bewahrt.—Vgl. koib., sag. WB IV: 661 *sïsqan*, schor. ŠRRŠ 70 *šïšqan*, kond. Verb 456 *šïšqan* und sib.-t. SDST 245 *cïcqan*, bar. Dmitrieva 1981: 197 *čïčqan* ‚myš'‘.

Aus Tabugründen bezeichnet man die Maus mit Decknamen, die ihre charakteristischen Eigenschaften aufgreifen, nämlich mit J 137 *jimäkči* ‚Fresser‘, *jïlaačï* ‚Nager‘, *joryoočï* ‚Schleicher‘, *kärtääči* ‚Knabberer‘ sowie mit B III: 224 leb. *čïmčït* ‚Kneifer‘ und B II: 234 kmd. *nämči*, B III: 179 leb. *n'ämči* ‚Fresssack‘. Diese Hüllwörter werden nicht von den Frauen, sondern von den Jägern benutzt, da ihnen das Fallenstellen obliegt.

Urundu Balik ‚Salmo Lavaretus‘ [S 111] = Renke, Coregonus lavaretus, s. ***Ak Balik***.—Vgl. Pallas 1811, III: 398 Tataris ad Tschulymum *Urunduk* ‚Salmo Muksun‘.

Mit *Urundu Balik*, das sich im Altaitürkischen nicht erhalten hat, wurde wahrscheinlich die Muksun-Renke, Coregonus muksun (r. *muksun*) benannt.—Vgl. tschat. SDST 161 *orondo* ‚muksun‘. Das Wort *Urundu* könnte sich von *urun-* ‚sich anstoßen‘ ableiten; *Urundu Balik* bedeutet demnach ‚Fisch, der sich angestoßen hat‘ und bezieht sich auf ältere Muksun-Renken, bei denen die Bauchflossen eine schwarze Färbung annehmen.

Ys ‚Felis lynx‘ [S 98] = Luchs, Felis lynx.—Vgl. Pallas 1811, I: 28 Tataris ad Jeniseam *Yhs* ‚Felis lynx‘.

Die sibirischen Türkvölker verwenden *üs* als generelle Bezeichnung für den Luchs (r. *rys'*).—Vgl. chak. XRS 256 *üs*, schor. ŠRRŠ 59 *üs*, tuv. TuvRS 435 *üs*, krg. TofRS 80 *üs*, tscht. Bir 69 *üs* und jak. JaRS 460 *üüs* ‚rys'‘. Nach J 108 ist bei den Altaitürken nur in den Norddialekten *üs* als allgemeiner Name des Luchses gebräuchlich, vgl. n.-kmd. Verb 416, B II: 264 *üs* ‚rys'‘.

In den Süddialekten wurde *üs* durch das mongolische Lehnwort *šülüzin* ersetzt, vgl. Ilm 297, Verb 452 tel. *šülüzin*, ORS 186 *šülüzin*, WB IV: 1111 tel. *šülüzün* ‚rys'‘. Da Pallas *üs* nur für die Tataren am Jenissej ausweist, war bei den Teleuten vermutlich schon in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts *üs* durch *šülüzün* verdrängt worden. Falck könnte folglich mit *Ys* ein Hüllwort vermerkt haben, zumal *üs*

nach J 137 in den Süddialekten des Altaitürkischen noch heute dieselbe Funktion zukommt.

Einen dunkelgefleckten rotbraunen Luchs benennt man mit J 140 *at šülüzin* ‚Pferdeluchs‘, einen dunkelgefleckten hellgrauen Luchs mit J 147 *koy šülüzin* ‚Schafuchs‘. Spezielle Decknamen sind J 108 *ärään ~ äräänay ~ äräänäŋ* ‚der Gefleckte‘ anstelle von *at šülüzin* sowie *čoγondoy ~ čoqondoy ~ čoqïraaq* ‚der Gefleckte‘ und *čoqïr aŋ* ‚geflecktes Tier‘ anstelle von *koy šülüzin*.

Zusammenfassung

Den von Falck vermerkten Pflanzen- und Tiernamen kommt sprachhistorisch eine große Relevanz zu, denn daran ist zu ersehen, dass—mit Ausnahme von einigen schon im Alt- und Mitteltürkischen belegten Bezeichnungen—eine Reihe der im modernen Sprachgebrauch üblichen altaitürkischen Pflanzen- und Tiernamen etwa um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts lexikalisiert war. Zugleich unterstreichen oder ergänzen die Falck-Zitate die zeitgenössischen einschlägigen Angaben von Peter Simon Pallas.

Von besonderem Interesse sind die von Falck notierten euphemistisch benutzten Begriffe; sie haben sich entweder bis heute in dieser Funktion erhalten oder wurden in die Alltagssprache integriert und deshalb durch neue Hüllwörter ersetzt. Das von Furcht oder Ehrfurcht bestimmte Sprechverbot ist noch immer—zumindest latent— vorhanden und wird sowohl in der Jäger- als auch in der Frauensprache beachtet.

Abkürzungen für Sprachen und Dialekte

abk.	Abakan-Dialekt
alt.	Altaitürkisch
alt.-k.	Altai-Kiži-Dialekt
ba.	Baschkirisch
bar.	Baraba-Dialekt
chak.	Chakassisch
ewenk.	Ewenkisch
jak.	Jakutisch
kas.	Kasachisch
kirg.	Kirgisisch
kmd.	Kumandinisch
koib.	Koibalisch
kond.	Kondoma-Schorisch
krg.	Karagassisch (Tofa)
ktsch.	Katschinisch
kum.	Kumükisch
leb.	Lebedinisch (Quu-Kiži)
m.-tscht.	Mittel-Tschulymtürkisch
mong.	Mongolisch
n.-kmd.	Nieder-Kumandinisch
n.-kond.	Nieder-Kondoma-Schorisch

n.-tscht.	Nieder-Tschulymtürkisch
nuig.	Neuuigurisch
o.-kmd.	Ober-Kumandinisch
o.-kond.	Ober-Kondoma-Schorisch
r.	Russisch
sag.	Sagaisch
schor.	Schorisch
sib.-t.	Sibirisch-Tatarisch
tar.	Tara-Dialekt
tat.	Tatarisch
tel.	Teleutisch
teleng.	Telengitisch
tob.	Tobolsk-Dialekt
tschat.	Euschta-Tschat-Dialekt
tscht.	Tschulymtürkisch
tub.	Tuba-Dialekt
tuv.	Tuvinisch
tüm.	Tümen-Dialekt
usb.	Usbekisch

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RAS = Baskakov, N. A. (Red.) 1964. *Russko-altajskij slovar'*. Moskva: Sovetskaja énciklopedija.

RTuvS = Pal'mbax, A. A. (Red.) 1953. *Russko-tuvinskij slovar'*. Moskva: Inostrannyx i nacional'nyx slovarej.

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Silje Susanne Alvestad

The Uppsala Manuscript of Muḥammed Hevāʾī Üskūfī Bosnevī's *Maḳbūl-i ʿārif* (1631) from a Turcological Perspective:

Transliteration, Transcription, and an English Translation

The object of study in this book is the Uppsala manuscript, O. nova 546, of Muḥammed Hevāʾī Üskūfī Bosnevī's literary work *Maḳbūl-i ʿārif* from 1631. The manuscript, handwritten in Ottoman script, came from Cairo to the University Library in Uppsala in 1924. *Maḳbūl-i ʿārif* is frequently referred to as the first known Bosnian-Turkish dictionary, but this label is misleading. First, the work consists of three parts – a long and sophisticated foreword and an afterword in addition to the dictionary part. Second, the part of the work that is the cause of this label is not a 'dictionary' in the modern sense of the word: it is versified, dialogue-oriented, and split into chapters according to topic. The versified glossary is the only part where we find Bosnian words (approximately 650). The main motivation behind this book is the fact that *Maḳbūl-i ʿārif* has received little attention from a turcological perspective. Despite the fact that *Maḳbūl-i ʿārif* is a Turkish, or Ottoman Turkish literary work of art, the vast majority of researchers examine it from a Bosnian cultural and/or linguistic perspective. It is time *Maḳbūl-i ʿārif* receives attention from a turcological point of view, too.

The contributions of this book are ordered as follows: a grapheme-by-grapheme transliteration of the entire Uppsala manuscript is followed by a transcription of the manuscript and an English translation of the entire *Maḳbūl-i ʿārif*. So far, none of these enterprises had been undertaken. The English translation may serve as a starting point to make *Maḳbūl-i ʿārif* available to a wider audience.

Michael Waltisberg

Syntax des Ṭuroyo

Die neuaramäische Sprache Turoyo war ursprünglich im Gebiet der Ṭur ʿAbdin in der Südosttürkei (Zentrum Midyat) beheimatet und wird noch heute von syrisch-orthodoxen Christen im nahöstlichen und europäischen Exil gesprochen. Trotz der Verbreitung und guten Dokumentation dieser Sprache blieb eine ausführliche Darstellung der Syntax lange ein Desideratum der Forschung. Mit dem vorliegenden Band schließt Michael Waltisberg diese Lücke.

Als Quellen der Untersuchung fungieren neben Daten von zwei muttersprachlichen Informanten die meisten bisher veröffentlichten Ṭuroyo-Texte in Dorfdialekten, die mehrheitlich von Helmut Ritter und Otto Jastrow ediert worden sind. Der syntaktische Stoff wird in den drei großen Kapiteln Nominalphrase, einfacher Satz und komplexer Satz dargestellt und mit einer Fülle von Beispielen belegt. Der methodische Ansatz ist dabei induktiv angelegt und funktional orientiert, indem der sprachliche Befund der Formulierung der Regeln vorangeht und Sprache als abstraktes System betrachtet wird, das mit semantischen und pragmatischen Faktoren interagiert. Eine allgemeine Charakteristik der Ṭuroyo-Syntax schließt das Buch ab.

Turcologica

Herausgegeben von Lars Johanson

110: Éva Á. Csató, Birsel Karakoç,
Astrid Menz (Eds.)

The Uppsala Meeting

Proceedings of the 13th International
Conference on Turkish Linguistics

This volume contains a selection of papers presented at the 13th International Turkish Linguistics Conference convened by Éva Á. Csató. The Uppsala meeting continued a significant tradition of gatherings held biannually since 1982.

The selected papers deal with different fields of linguistic studies including discourse, pragmatics, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, semantics, lexicology, word formation, syntax, dialectology, language acquisition, second language learning, bilingualism, language contact, historical linguistics, phonetics and phonology, contrastive studies, and Turkish Sign Language. The language studied in most papers is Turkish, but other Turkic languages such as Azeri, Kazakh, and Modern Uyghur are also represented. An introductory report gives a comprehensive account of the wide range of contributions presented at the conference. An overview of the Turkic language family accompanied by a map provides a first orientation even for readers not familiar with Turkic.

111: Christiane Bulut

Linguistic Minorities in Turkey and Turkic-speaking Minorities of the Peripheries

Language plays an important role for the identity building of nation states and smaller linguistic communities. The authors of this volume present different aspects of the mutual influences between linguistic identity, political dominance, religious denomination, and the social, political, and historical frameworks in which language choice or maintenance take place. Another major issue is the expression of a specific culture as reflected in literature and religious texts. Examples presented include Anatolia and the peripheries of Turkey, such as the Balkans, Greece, the Caucasus, the northern Black Sea region, Cyprus, and Iraq.

In these regions, most speakers of minority languages are bi- or multilingual, while the distribution of spoken varieties often does not coincide with political borders, which cut through much older areas of settlement or historical domains. Across the greater area, the long-lasting and at times extensive contacts of genealogically unrelated languages, representing the Turkic, Indo-European, Semitic, and South Kartvelian families, have led to considerable structural changes and linguistic convergence. These contacts have also contributed to the formation of characteristic regional traits in the cultures of the different peoples of these regions.