The palatal glide in Oghuz Turkic and Western Iranian morphophonemics

Marcel Erdal

This paper deals with the consonantal glide /y/ occurring in morpheme juncture in several languages in the Near East. Looking at the phenomenon from the vantage point of the Turkic languages, we find that a binding consonant *y* is vastly more prominent in the Western Oghuz branch of Turkic than elsewhere in the Turkic-speaking world.[1] The palatal glide appears to have been marginal at best in Common Turkic; its emergence as a central morphophonemic mechanism can, we will claim, be ascribed to the areal influence of Western Iranian languages, beside according with some universal principles of morphological development. This is, we think, one of many domains in which Turkish is atypical of Turkic languages in general; the wide-spread practice, in current typological work, of using Turkish as the "representative" of Turkic or even of Altaic languages can therefore be misleading.[2]

The phenomenon in question is conveniently exemplified with an Arabic suffix: The element *-ī,* which is very commonly used in Semitic languages to form adjectives from nouns, has in Arabic acquired a "consonantal glide" where it is added to stems ending in vowels. According to Semitic grammar any stem-final vowel, not being part of the (purely consonantal) root, should be dropped under such derivation, as when Arabic *kurī* 'spherical' is derived from *kura* 'sphere'.[3] In cases such as *abawī* 'fatherly', *aḫawī* 'brotherly' or *nabawī* 'prophetical' from *ab* 'father', *aḫ* 'brother' and *nabī* 'prophet', the /w/ appearing before the suffix is explained by both etymology and paradigmatics, as the third radical in the bases of these words is, in fact, *wāw*: It is present in the underlying stem, though deleted when no suffixes at all are added. A /w/ also intervenes in different cases, however, when it is not accounted for by the underlying shape of the root: In *maʿnawī* 'spiritual' or in *mawlawī,* which describes the mystical school founded by Jalāladdīn Rūmī, e.g., the third root element is *yā* and not *wāw*. The /w/ is equally unexplainable by etymology, but justified

1 Noted, e.g., by Schönig (1997: 265).

2 This follows also from Schönig (1993), where the status of Turkish among the Turkic languages is elaborated upon in detail.

3 The Arabic term for this formation is *nisba*. Formally, *kura* does not end in a vowel but in the so-called *tā marbūṭa*, which is pronounced as *t* when followed by inflectional suffixes.

by its keeping the base transparent, in such cases as *dunyawī* 'worldly'[4] and *ṣaḥrāwī* 'pertaining to the desert', which happen to have bases ending in vowels. We even find that *kura* forms a second *nisba* derivate, *kurawī*. What happened is that the *w* of the words where this consonant was the final radical of the root but did not appear in the surface form of the simple stem became metanalysed and joined this highly productive suffix, preempting obscure forms.[5] We can here observe the emergence of a consonant that separates the stem vowel from the suffix vowel, enhancing transparency; this element, now part of the suffix, is dropped in well-determined circumstances, namely when a base ends in a consonant.

Morphology is that part of grammar which takes care of a language's conciseness: It is common for highlighted grammatical categories to be expressed by paradigms of features alternating within the word, a means more concise than analytical alternatives. To account for the equally universal need for clearness, languages tend to make their morphology transparent by realizing these paradigmatic features in clearly delimitable affixes. Languages differ in the degree to which they actually do this; those with a majority of clearly delimitable affixes are called agglutinative, Turkish being the stock example. In many languages, analogy is the most important force for spreading regular affixes and for eliminating irregular ones, thus enhancing morphological transparency. Other means contributing to such transparency are the renewal of morphology by turning independent words into affixes, or by metanalysing chunks of stems, making these into affixes and joining them to stems. Sound processes, on the other hand, are the foremost force in language which introduces irregularity into morphology: Among other things, sound processes lead to mutual influences between vowels or consonants at junctures between affixes and between stems and affixes or even to their fusion, changing the shapes of these stems and affixes, thus leading to morphological irregularity. If consonantal glides turn up before suffixes starting with vowels, they avoid their clashing; by saving the vowels from deletion or fusion, they contribute to morphological transparency. In the Arabic example mentioned, the source of the consonantal glide clearly is metanalysis, made possible by the (prehistoric) dropping of root-final /w/ in word-final position.

Diachronically metanalysed bridging consonants can, of course, appear also in structures which not everyone would want to define as stem + suffix. The classical Persian preposition *be* 'with, to, in, for, etc.' e.g. has a /d/ between it and pronouns starting with vowels which follow it and which it governs, as *bed-o* 'to him' or 'to

4 Attested in Arabic with both a long and a short *a*.

5 Another Arabic *-i* suffix, the possessive suffix of the 1st person, avoids hiatus after final long *ī* and long *ā* by other means: It has recourse to an archaic variant, *-ya,* retained in this position. This, however, is not an instance of the two variants differing by just one consonant, as the alternating vowels, /i/ and /a/, also differ. I shall, in this paper, be interested only in cases where hiatus is preempted by a single consonant, morpheme variants being identical in other respects.

her', *bed-ān* 'to that', *bed-īn* 'to this', etc.; similarly in the plural. Synchronically, the appearance of the dental is conditioned by the juncture involving a following vowel; diachronically, it is the reflex of Middle Persian *pat*, which had a stable dental.

An important distinction to be made when dealing with bridging consonants concerns the way in which a language actually chooses such consonants, namely whether they are determined by the surrounding vowels or not. Arabic /w/ in the *nisba* suffix clearly is not, as it appears irrespective of whether the vowels surrounding it are labial or not. Looking at the variants of the genitive suffix in Chuvash, a Turkic language, we can state that the first /n/ of *laža+năn* from *laža* 'horse' is not determined by its surroundings, while the *y* of *śerśiyĕn* from *śerśi* 'sparrow' is determined by the preceding /i/.[6] This distinction should also serve as a typological classification to be made among languages or dialects. In Turkish, e.g., the identity of the unstable consonants is never determined by the phonic context. Consonantal glides whose identity is determined by their phonological surroundings can be expected to have a phonetic source, while the others come from morphological paradigmatics.

Persian, Kurdish and Zaza (another Iranian language spoken in Eastern Anatolia)[7] all make extensive use of suffix variants starting with and without a consonant depending on whether the stem ends in a vowel or a consonant (unlike Arabic, where the described phenomenon is rather isolated). The greater part of the Kurmanjī dialects of Kurdish have such consonants in their inflection, especially in the nominal domain, while other Kurmanjī dialects contract vowels. A part of the dialects which do not contract vowels in the nominal declension inserts /y/ before the suffix if the stem ends in /a, e, ê/ and /î/ but /w/ if it ends in the labial vowels /û/ or /o/, while other dialects always insert /y/. The indefinite form of *co* 'canal', for instance, is either *cowek*, *coyek* or *cok*; *zaro* being 'child', 'a child' is *zarowek* in some dialects but *zaroyek* in others. Similarly *zarowê min* 'my child', *cowa kûr* 'the deep canal' (context-sensitive glide) vs. *zaroyê min, coya kûr* (context-indifferent glide, in some eastern dialects): The difference between context-sensitive and context-indifferent hiatus bridgers, it turns out, is a distinguishing factor between Kurdish dialects. Note that /y/ is the unmarked, or the default, bridger between vowels even in those dialects which also make use of /w/ for this purpose, as it in any case appears after the

6 The *v* of *tăvăn*, the genitive of *tu* 'mountain', does not give us quite the same situation, as it is the reflex of the labialness of the /u/ but does not appear in conjunction with a labial vowel: We could also say, concerning this last example, that *tăv* is the allomorph of *tu* before vowels. The synchronical relationship between the forms is the reverse of the diachronical one: Historically, *tu* comes from *tăv* (< *taw* < *tay*).

7 Unlike the Kurds, the Zaza are not native to Eastern Turkey but moved westward from Iran in approximately the same period as the Turks; native name *Dïm(i)li* < *Daylāmī*.

vowel /a/, which is not a front vowel. /y/ is the default vowel bridger also in the Sulaimaniyya variety of Kurdish (which is not a Kurmanjī dialect).

In Zaza, the sound /y/ often intervenes when a word or a stem ending in a vowel is followed by a clitic (e.g. the copula) or a suffix starting with a vowel;[8] in the northern dialects especially when stems ending in /i/ (e.g. *bari* 'thin') or /ü/ (e.g. *çü* 'a stick') are followed by morphemes starting with /a e ê/ or /o/. In the southern dialects we meet intervening /y/ before suffixes (e.g. in the oblique plural *mī-yān* 'the sheep', where the suffix otherwise is *-ān*), before the copula (e.g. *ē mā yo* 'it is of (i.e. belongs to) us') or before the *ezafe* element: used genitively as in *sere* 'head' > *sereyē to* 'your head', adjectivally as in *belā* 'misfortune' > *belāyo gird* 'the great misfortune', with prepositions as in *jinī* 'woman' > *jinīya zey to* 'a woman like you' or, in the plural, e.g. *birā* 'brother' > *birāyē girdī* '(oh) great brothers'. The semivowel /w/ is much rarer in Zaza as a vowel bridger; if at all, it appears only beside labial vowels (e.g., in the Siverek dialect, *birā-wo bīn* 'the other brother', *žū-wei* 'one (oblique feminine)'. The contraction of vowels is a phenomenon also sometimes met with in South Zaza, usually apparently as a free variant.

Persian makes extensive use of both context-indifferent unstable consonants as well as of context-sensitive ones. The identity of the /d/ appearing in the classical language in the preposition *be(d)* (see above) is clearly indifferent to the phonological context. The anti-hiatus element /g/ in Persian inflectional forms and derivates such as *bande-gān* 'servants' with the plural suffix *-ān*, in *bande-gi* 'servitude' or *tešne-gi* 'thirst' with the abstract suffix *-ī*, or with the adverbial suffix *-āne*, as in *bačče-gāne* 'childish' or *judā-gāne* 'separately, apart' from *judā* 'separate' or 'distinct' is also a historical remnant from Middle Persian, dropped in the simple stem. It comes from the archaic stem although it now, synchronically, belongs to the suffix: The bases of these instances all go back to words which had a velar in Middle Persian, as *bandak, vačak* or *bačak, jutāk* and *tišnak*. Then this /g/ was transferred to many words which did not have it originally; e.g. to Arabic loans, as in *masxara-gi* 'buffoonery' from *masxara* 'buffoon', the well-known word found also in Italian. From being an etymological remnant, the /g/ turned into something rather different as far as the plural and abstract forms are concerned: In the plural, *-gān* is the normal allomorph of the suffix for bases ending in *-e*. The function of *-gī*, the variant of abstract-forming *-ī*, is more important, as, it turns out, the /g/ is partly distinctive: There are quite a number of *-i* suffixes or clitics in Persian, which are distinguished at least partly when added to bases ending in vowels. The *nisba* suffix *-ī* was borrowed into Persian (and Ottoman Turkic) as *-vī* in this position, adopting the Arabic variant which we mentioned before; its use is extended to Persian place names such as *Ghazna-vī* or *Ganja-vī; Sāravī* comes from the name of the Persian city of *Sāri* as,

8 See Selcan (1998: 224-225 § 12.1.5.2) for a northern dialect, Paul (1998: 11 § 27 and 37 § 54) for one of the southern dialects.

in fact, the sect name *ʿAlawi* from the name of the caliph *ʿAli*. Now Persian still has some further similar-sounding suffixes and clitics, and their postvocalic variants are, again, different: *i* also means 'you are', being the 2nd person sg. copula, which is enclitic. In this case, the hiatus, i.e. the glottal stop, is adhered to, as is done in all forms of the copula in Classical Persian. On the other hand the indefinite article *+i*, as in *hāne+(y)i* 'a house' does have a glide, namely, if it is used with bases ending in a vowel. We thus have a tendency towards a four-way morphophonemic opposition between at least four suffixed elements, which is realized only after vowels. The opposition is not as systematic as that between the Turkish accusative and 3rd person possessive suffixes, which appear as *+yI* and *+sI*, respectively, after vowels but coincide after consonants (see below), because not all Persian abstracts have the form *-gī*, because hiatus and /y/ can be interchanged in spoken varieties, and so forth; it is useful, however, when the distinction becomes necessary for the functioning of communication.

The Persian use of /y/ between bases ending in vowels and suffixes starting with vowels originally also comes from diachrony: Such words as *pā* 'foot', *rū* 'face', *mū* 'hair', verbal stems such as the second part of the compound *dāneš-jū* 'student', all originally ended in a /y/ (which came from an even older /d/). It is therefore not surprising that their plural forms should be *dānešjūyān, xub-rūyān,* etc., whereas other *u*-stems have the context-sensitive /w/ instead: The bases of *bāzuwān* 'arms', *abrūwān* 'eyebrows', *gīsūwān* 'locks', *āhūwān* 'gazelles', *jādūwān* 'sorcerers', etc. had no such /y/ at the end.[9] The source of the *ezafe* (relative particle) morpheme *e* (Classical Persian *i*) is the Old Iranian relative pronoun *ya*; that is why it, also, has a /y/ after all vowels.[10] It will not be possible, here, to discuss in detail all the phonological and morphological situations in Persian in which /y/ is used to bridge hiatus, and in which a glottal stop is pronounced between the vowels.[11] Suffice it to state that /y/ appears both as permitted by an /i/ following it and, in specific nominal and verbal morphological structures, also when not followed by an /i/.

9 In fact, *āhū* and *jādū* happen to have ended in velars originally, and might have had /g/ in their plural forms, had synchrony consistently followed diachrony.

10 The diphthong *ow*, which has been mentioned as an exception to the rule concerning vowels, isn't really one, as its second part is a semivowel.

11 I have found Sadeghi (1991) quite useful on this topic; he also mentions a few previous publications on it and, more important, quotes from the practice of several sources from the first centuries of New Persian. That practice, however, needs to be studied very carefully, both from a philological and a linguistic point of view, since hypercorrect spellings and spelling traditions must have had their influence. The strictly synchronical description of Majidi (1990: 28-35), which is not mentioned by Sadeghi, is also worth reading. The subject is definitely worth detailed research, which should deal both with usage in the different modern dialects and varieties of Persian and with the history of the phenomenon.

Let us sum up our observations concerning the languages we have looked at. Although the elision of morpheme-initial vowels is not unknown in them,[12] the normal procedure at the morpheme junctures of these languages is for suffixes and clitics to retain these vowels unchanged and to introduce semivowels (/y/ much oftener than /w/) as glides before them. Two further alternatives, contraction of the stem vowel with the affix vowel and the glottal stop as a partitioner between these two vowels, are also made use of, but much more rarely.

After having discussed Arabic, Kurdish, Zaza and Classical Persian with respect to consonants appearing at the end of stems when followed by vowels or at the beginning of suffixes and clitics when following upon stems ending in vowels, we now turn to Western Oghuz. Beside the standard languages Turkish, Azerbaijanian and Gagauz (spoken in the Republic of Moldova, in Rumania, Bulgaria and the Ukraine), this branch of Turkic also comprises dialects on the Balkan (in Bulgaria and Macedonia), the Crimean peninsula (Crimean Ottoman and, partly, varieties of Crimean Tatar), in Turkey, Georgia, Armenia, Syria, Iraq, Iran (Azerbaijanian, Kashkay, Aynallu, Sonqor Turkic) and Afghanistan.[13] The Oghuz groups which moved into the Near East and (starting in the 14th century) into the Balkans have been in contact with varieties of Western Iranian for a thousand years.[14] We will now look in detail at morpheme juncture in Turkish as a representative of Western Oghuz, then come to Western and Central Oghuz divergences from Turkish, insofar as these concern our topic.

In one class of alternations in Turkish,[15] suffixes change in length depending on whether their base ends in a vowel or a consonant: A stem ending in a vowel is, in this class, followed by an alternant starting with a consonant, while a stem ending in a consonant is followed by an alternant starting with a vowel. By this conspiracy, which applies in derivation, in inflection as well as in cliticisation, vowels do not come into adjacency; vowel fusions or sequences of two or more vowels are pre-

12 Cf. e.g. the use of the *waṣla* in Classical Arabic (especially when replacing the initial vowel of the definite article), or *nīst*, the negated 3rd person sg. copula in Persian.

13 The Afshar, whose language is close to central dialects in Persia, live in Afghanistan. This is, of course, in the South-East of Turkmenistan, and not in its West. We still speak of "Central Oghuz" because we know that the Afshar migrated to Afghanistan from Western Iran.

14 In the 9th century, great numbers of Turks served in the Abbasid army, but they might have given up their Turkic to use Arabic exclusively. We can expect a Turkic speaking community to have evolved in the Middle East with the beginning of Selčük supremacy over Iran and Iraq in the 10th century. The 11th century then saw the defeat of Byzantium by Selčük armies and the subsequent opening up of Anatolia to various Oghuz groups. Masses of Oghuz appear to have arrived in the 13th century, fleeing the terror of the Mongol armies; in the 14th century they were (as earlier) attracted by the promise of rich booty in the West.

15 In this language only suffixes but not stems have alternants.

vented at junctures, thus precluding opacity and irregularity. The agglutinativity of Turkish, which is the fact that cooccurring morphemes form few amalgams and rarely share one syllable, may be the reason why the morphology of this language has been so stable over the centuries; it may not, that is, have had much need for morphological renewal precisely for this reason. Turkish has three means to achieve this conspiracy:

The first means is for the suffix to drop an initial vowel: type ±(V)C.[16] One example for this procedure is the possessive suffix of the 1st person singular, which has a shape as in *ev+im* 'my home' when the stem ends with a consonant but *oda+m* 'my room' when the stem ends in a vowel. Another Turkish suffix which shows this behaviour is the ordinal suffix, *bir+inci* 'first', *iki+nci* 'second', etc. Further, approximative colour names such as *sarı+msı* and *sarı+mtırak* 'yellowish' also have their vowels deleted initially. All the other Turkish suffixes with unstable suffix-initial vowels belong to the domain of word formation, while all Turkish inflectional suffixes except the ordinals and the 1st and 2nd person possessives use the third means (described below). Word formation is, of course, a conservative domain of language, involving at least as much the speaker's memory as it involves his or her productivity.

The second means for avoiding hiatus or contraction is limited to word formation altogether: Some formatives do not appear after vowels at all; their job is, in such cases, taken over by some other element. Thus e.g. the passive suffix *-Il-*[17] in Turkish, whose task is supplemented by basically reflexive *-(I)n-*, e.g. in **oyna-l-* → *oyna-n-* 'to get played'. This is partly similar to suppletive phenomena, e.g. with the causative: The causative suffix allomorph *-Ir-*, used in derivates such as *geç-ir-* 'to transfer' or *bat-ır-* 'to submerge (tr.)', is not found after vowels, while *-t-*, another allomorph, appears only after vowels (e.g. *oyna-t-* 'to move (etc.; tr.)').[18]

16 In the morphophonemic notation adopted here for Turkic, + shows nominal, - verbal juncture.

17 Capitals (such as the letter *I* used here to represent standard Turkish) indicate archiphonemes (in this case the alternation *i / ı / ü / u*). *A*, which appears below, stands for the alternation /a/ – /ä/. When mentioning affixes in Turkic languages other than Standard Turkish, *I* refers to the alternation /i/ – /ı/, *U* to the alternation /u/ – /ü/ and *X* to a more general alternation involving at least /i/, /ı/, /u/ and /ü/. Letters put into brackets appear under certain circumstances but are absent in others.

18 It follows that two interpretations are possible for what the derivational suffix *+A-*, found in *oyn+a-* 'to play', *harc+a-* 'to spend', *kan+a-* 'to bleed' or *yaş+a-* 'to live', actually does after vowels: One could either assume it to leave its task to *+lA-*, the highly productive formative with identical functional and semantic profile (found e.g. in *sıra+la-* 'to put in a row'); alternately, one could take it to get dropped, giving homophonous noun and verb stems like *eski-mek* 'to grow old' or *boya-mak* 'to paint'.

The third means, the main topic of this paper, consists of the dropping of a suffix-onset consonant: type ±(C)VC. This means is the only one in Turkish inflectional morphology, excepting the 1st and 2nd person possessives and the ordinals. The consonant which gets deleted in this way is /s/ in the 3rd person possessive suffix, /ş/ in the suffix for distributive numerals and /n/ in the genitive suffix; in all other cases the unstable consonant is /y/. The 3rd person possessive suffix has the shape *+(s)I(n+)*[19] in Turkish and in all other old and modern Turkic languages except Chuvash. The common opinion concerning this alternation, supported by Chuvash[20] and, among other things, by the fact that the suffix appears to have been exclusively front in Common Turkic, seems to be that **i(n)* and **si(n)* once were distinct independent pronouns, which subsequently entered into complementary distribution. *+(ş)Ar*, the suffix for distributive numerals, is found in this shape in most Turkic languages. In Old Turkic we find *+(r)Ar* and not *+(ş)Ar*, however, which has been taken to have been metanalysed from *bir+är*.[21] The /ş/ is believed to have come from a metanalysis of *beş+är*. Karachay-Balkar and Chuvash have extended the use of *+şAr* to numerals ending in consonants as well (except to 'one'). Since *+(r)Ar* and *+(ş)Ar* cannot be brought under a common Proto-Turkic denominator, it would seem that the original shape of this suffix must have been **+(A)r*; i.e., it must originally have been of the first type.[22] The genitive ending, the third suffix to be discussed here as belonging to the third type, is *+(n)In* in Standard Modern Turkish. It had this *n* – Ø alternation already in the earliest Old Turkic,[23] when its shape was *+(n)Xŋ*. We find the full variant extended to consonant bases already in most of Old Uyghur, and *+nXŋ* is the shape this suffix has in most Turkic languages today. The onset nasal here may have come from the pronominal /n/, whose introduction into the accusative case also already took place in late Old Uyghur.[24] Like Oghuz Turkic,

19 With some minor differences, e.g. the sibilant being voiced in South Siberian languages or becoming *t* in Yakut, the absence of the pronominal *n* in Uzbek, the vowel being lowered in the nominative in Yakut and so forth. The resort to *n* is conditioned by morphology: It is dropped in the nominative while the oblique cases show the suffix in its full form. The appearance of the *s*, however, depends on phonology, namely a quality of the phoneme preceding it.

20 See below for the Chuvash possessive suffix of the 3rd person.

21 Some South Siberian Turkic languages have *+(l)Ar* instead, which comes from *+(r)Ar* through dissimilation. For this dissimilation, which is an areal feature involving Mongolian, see, e.g., Erdal (1998: 72-73).

22 *+(r)Ar* can also have come about through a reduplication of the suffix (**iki+r+är*) in order to have it expressed by a syllable of its own: A tendency in this direction is known from elsewhere as well.

23 The runiform inscriptions found in Mongolia and the earliest Old Uyghur (mostly Manichaean) sources.

24 Another theory relates the suffix to Old Turkic *näŋ* 'thing, matter', which, in turn, may be a derivate from *nä* 'what'. See below for the accusative suffix. The "pronominal n" ap-

Chuvash also has the variant without /n/ after consonants, with /n/ after vowels. The only exception in Chuvash is the Viryal dialect of the village of Kurmïš in the government of Simbirsk, where Ašmarin[25] found that the genitive suffix was *-yăn* after both back and front vowels.[26] At any rate, the three Turkish suffixes starting with unstable consonants other than *y* are clearly not specifically Oghuz; nor is this behaviour of theirs limited to the South Western part of the Turkic world. It is, however, significant that one among these three, the genitive suffix, retains its variable behaviour only in Oghuz Turkic and Chuvash.

Turkish has /y/ as an unstable element in most suffixes and clitics whose shapes vary according to whether the stem ends in a vowel or a consonant. They are:

- the case suffixes *+(y)I* and *+(y)A*, serving the accusative and the dative respectively;
- the modal paradigms: *-(y)AyIm* in the 1st, *-(y)AsIn* in the 2nd, *-(y)A* in the 3rd person singular (dialectal and archaic), *-(y)AlIm* in the 1st,[27] *-(y)In* in the 2nd person plural;
- the participle suffixes *-(y)An* (non-future), *-(y)AcAg* (future) and *-(y)IcI* (typical or professional activity; often lexicalised);
- verbal nouns: *-(y)Iş* and, in the lexicon, *-(y)Im*[28];
- the converb suffixes *-(y)A* (doubled except in a few lexicalised instances), *-(y)Ip* - *(y)IncA, -(y)ArAk* and *-(y)AlI*;
- the postverb fusions *-(y)Abil-* and *-(y)AmA-* (respectively expressing ability and inability to carry out an action) and *-(y)Iver-, -(y)Agel-*, etc. (expressing modes of action), formed from the *-(y)A* converb followed by auxiliaries;
- the clitic 1st person singular and plural pronouns *(y)Im* and *(y)Iz*.[29]

In a coherent area covering all the Western Oghuz languages as listed above and including all stages of Ottoman, these suffixes and clitics appear (insofar as they are attested in existing sources) with initial /y/ if they happen to follow a vowel.[30] There

pears in the oblique case forms of demonstratives, possessive suffixes and a few words signifying 'all'.

25 Ašmarin, N. I. 1898. *Materialy dlja izsledovanija čuvašskago jazyka.* Kazan'. 118-119, quoted by Benzing (1942, § 13).

26 This is a very special development which cannot be judged without dealing with the whole sound system of that particular dialect. The /y/ variant may, e.g., have become generalized starting from the stems ending in /i/, which do show a *y*-glide, as *u* and *ü*-stems have a *v*-glide. The way the matter is presented by Schönig (1995: 135) is, I think, a misleading stretch in an otherwise very important paper.

27 *-(y)Ak* in all the East, starting from Central Anatolia.

28 *deyim*; *deneyim* 'experience' vs. *denem* 'experiment'.

29 *(y)Ik* and similar forms in much of Central and East Anatolia and further east.

30 Sources will not be quoted in detail; for Central and Eastern Oghuz, the reader is referred to the numerous publications of Gerhard Doerfer and his co-authors.

is only one suffix among the ones mentioned concerning which the area is divided: Starting from the province of Kars in Eastern Anatolia and going east through the varieties of Azerbaijanian (spoken in Azerbaijan and in Northern Iran), Sonqori, Aynallu and Khorasani all the way to the speech of the Afshar in Afghanistan, we find the accusative marker to be as in Turkmen (and Yakut), *+nI* after vowels instead of *+yI*.[31] Note that other non-Oghuz languages have *+nI* in all positions; the Central and Eastern Oghuz varieties also adopted that marker for the accusative, but introduced it into their typical alternation (*+nI – +I* like *+yI – +I*). For all other suffixes mentioned, Central Oghuz appears to behave like Western Oghuz (e.g. the converb *-yUbAn* after vowels in Kashkay (Qašqā'ī, the form *yi-yäk* 'let us eat' in Khorasani, the participle *de-yän*, modal *de-yäx* or the converb *de-yä* in Afshar, etc.). This third means is the most important one in the domain delimited here, but is exceptional elsewhere in the Turkic world, to which we now turn our attention.

Let us first look at the situation in Old Turkic, then return to languages spoken today.[32] As shown in Erdal (1979), which deals with Old Turkic morpheme juncture in general, the first type of hiatus preemption, the dropping of the suffix-initial vowels, is the most general means in use in that language. This first means is the most widespread one also in all the past and present Turkic languages outside Western Oghuz. The second means is present in Old Turkic as well, but to the same limited and unproductive degree as in Turkish. So are the variants of the 3rd person possessive, the distributive and the genitive suffixes as discussed above; they represent the third means by using, respectively, the consonants /s/, /r/ or /n/ when added to bases ending in vowels. The alternations with and without consonant in the 3rd person possessive and in the distributive suffixes exist in practically all Turkic languages to this day.

31 Some Azerbaijanian dialects nevertheless have *+yI*; cf. Širaliev (1983: 75-80). In some Early Anatolian texts, on the other hand, we find *+nI*; cf. e.g. Gülsevin (1997: 33): Since this *+nI* appears also after consonants in those texts, this is a matter of dialect mixing. The Proto-Turkic accusative marker was *+(X)g* for nominals; for pronouns it was *+I*, preceded by the pronominal *n*, as in *bunï*. Already in later Uyghur, the metanalysed pronominal accusative suffix *+nI* was gradually added to more and more nominals, at first to foreign ones and those that were put to near-pronominal use. Subsequently, and in most modern Turkic languages, it replaced the original nominal accusative suffix altogether. Oghuz *+I* would appear to come from the pronominal and not from the nominal accusative (as against the opinion of Gülsevin (1997: 31), for instance), seeing that it consistently had twofold harmony in Early Ottoman.

32 Old Turkic is the dialect cluster documented in inscriptions and manuscripts written down in various writing systems in the 8th-14th centuries in (present-day) Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan and South Siberia. All varieties of Middle Turkic (the sources written down between the 14th century and the middle of the 19th) with the exception of Ottoman are intermediate between Old Turkic and the non-Oghuz languages as regards the topic dealt with here; Ottoman, however, hardly differs from Modern Turkish in hiatus preemption.

Erdal (1979: 107-109) tried to show that there is no hiatus-preemptory /y/ in Old Turkic. The only cases where one might have some justification for positing such an element would be the (possibly interrelated) suffixes for the vowel converb and the aorist, which have the shapes *-yU* and *-yUr* when following stems ending in vowels. I would, for the following reason, say now (as then) that the *y* in these Old Turkic forms is not phonologically conditioned: When these suffixes follow stems ending in consonants, they appear not just as *-U* and *-Ur* respectively, but also as *-A* and *-Ar* or as *-I* and *-Ir,* the choice depending mostly on derivative morphology. Old Turkic verb stems ending in vowels are either underived or denominal, but never derived from verbs. However, the converb and aorist vowel for underived or denominal consonant stems is normally *A* and not *U* (see Erdal 1979a for details). Therefore, if we had mere hiatus-preemptory *y* in these suffixes, we would expect *-yA* and *-yAr* (but not *-yU* and *-yUr*) after vowels. Unstable *y* in the simple sense that we have it in Turkish was completely absent from Old Turkic. Be that as it may, the form *-yUr* was only retained in Khalaj (Doerfer 1988: 156-157). The vowel-dropping alternant *-r*, which is used everywhere nowadays, is known (sporadically) already from the earliest Old Turkic sources.[33] *-yU*, in turn, now normally appears as *-y* after vowels: It lost its final vowel in most Turkic languages; even, in fact, in Turkmen, which belongs to the Oghuz branch (Clark 1998). This *-y* is an allomorph, but the consonant is no longer used to bridge any hiatus. In Siberian Turkic and in Chuvash, *-yU* is contracted with vowels appearing at the end of stems;[34] here again, we find, the bridging function has disappeared, if it ever existed. Not only, then, was the palatal glide not introduced into the modern non-Oghuz Turkic languages; even those instances of it which may have existed were dropped from their systems.[35]

In Turkmen, the language of those Oghuz who never left Central Asia, we find only two suffixes starting with an unstable /y/, both forming deverbal nominals. One is *-(y)Iš*, dealt with in Erdal (1998a), where the following conclusion (among others) is drawn: The use to which this suffix is put in the whole of Oghuz Turkic, in Uzbek and in New Uyghur probably came about through contamination with the Persian suffix of very similar shape, meaning and function, which also makes use of the palatal glide. Otherwise there is no palatal glide either in Uzbek or in New Uyghur. The only other possible intervening /y/ in Turkmen is found in the agentive suffix *-IcI*, which appears as *-ycI* after low vowels, e.g. in *bāgla-ycï* 'conjunction', *diŋle-*

33 In modern languages this alternant may, in some cases, also have resulted from contractions of the stem final vowels with *-yUr*.

34 Schönig (1995: 124-126) sums up the details, also referring to another paper of the author devoted to this matter.

35 The future suffix *-(y)Ajak* used in written Uzbek was presumably copied from Ottoman. This might, admittedly, be the case also for the two Turkmen suffixes in the next paragraph.

yci 'listener', *ayïpla-ycï* 'prosecutor'.[36] Otherwise, Standard Turkmen either contracts any vowels at the ends of stems with suffix-initial vowels:[37] When the dative suffix *+A* is added to stems ending in /i/, for instance, the result is a contraction to long *+Ā*. Similarly *gapï+Im* 'my door' > *gapīm, köčä+iŋ* 'your street' > *köčāŋ, yāša-Ar* > *yāšār* 'will live', *yāša-An* > *yāšān* 'who lived', *yāša-AyIn* > *yāšāyïn* 'let me live', *yāša-AlIŋ* > *yāšālïŋ* 'let us live', *yāša-Iŋ* > *yāšāŋ* 'live (pl.)', *yāša-Ip* > *yāšāp* 'living', *yāša-As+*, e.g. in *yāšāsïm geldi* 'I feel like living'.[38] There seems to be no reason to assume (as done, e.g., by Bazin 1959) that this contraction passed through an intermediate stage involving /y/; Turkmen is outside the *y* area altogether. Rather, it has, somewhat like Chuvash, given up the Common Turkic resistance to the clashing of vowels in morpheme junctures. Khorasan Turkic, which is spoken in eastern Iran in a geographically intermediate position between Central Oghuz and Turkmen, is intermediate also in this matter: It is not always like Western Oghuz with the verbal suffixes (e.g. the imperative-optative paradigm), but does show *y* in the dative.[39]

The deletion of suffix-onset vowels, which is the principal means for dealing with vowel + vowel juncture in the rest of the Turkic world has, in Western and

36 See Clark (1998: 525) and Tekin et al. (1995: 13) for this suffix and Clark (1998: 69, 334-335) for *-(y)ïš. okīcï* 'reader' from *oka-* 'to read' (pronounced *oko-*) would appear to have retained the original stem *okï-*. Cf. also *yörīš* (thus in the dictionaries) 'gait; functioning' from *yöre-* 'to walk'. The syncopation of the first vowel of the suffixes accords with general Turkmen phonotactic rules and takes place also with *-(y)Iš* when followed by vowels, e.g. in *belle-yš+i* 'his pointing out'. One is reminded of *(y)mIş, (y)ken, (y)sA, (y)dI+*, the clitic forms of the copula in Turkish: The general assumption is that their post-vocalic *y* comes from a de-syllabification of the first vowel in *imiş*, etc.; a better hypothesis would be, I think, that the source of these clitics is *(y)ImIš*, etc., clearly attested in some Early Ottoman sources: cf. forms like *quvvetlü=yimiš, qanda=yïdï, bu=yïdï, gözlü=yidi, satdï=yïdï, gečdi=yidi* quoted by Adamović (1985: 208, 219, 222) and his opinion of them (p. 219). Note also that many Anatolian dialects retain the first vowel of these forms after consonants as well (e.g. *yoγ+udu* 'there was none'). It would be natural for the vowel which immediately follows the stressed final syllable of the base to be syncopated. Historically, therefore, the enclitic forms of the Turkish copula could also have been instances of intervocalically intervening /y/.

37 Initial vowels of formatives are dropped, e.g. *dara-k* 'comb', *eyle-m* 'tanning', *gōro-w* 'protection', *isle-g* 'wish', *kese+r-* 'to stretch out', *kōnö+l-* 'to get old', *yasa-l-* 'to be constructed', *bašla-n-* 'to be begun'. This is apparently also what happens with the ordinals, *iki+nci* 'second', *altï+ncï* 'sixth', etc.

38 Other lengthenings at junctures need more elaborate explanations, which would be out of place here.

39 As are Turkmen dialects along the Persian border (Anauli, Xasar, Noxurli), which also have *+yä* (Poceluevskij 1975: 107). Their speakers are secondarily Turkmenicized, as we know from history.

Central Oghuz (though not in Khorasani), become limited to possession in the 1st and 2nd persons, and to word formation, much of which is inherited and not subject to productive creation in any case. In productive affixation and cliticisation, this procedure was replaced by its phonological opposite, the addition of the palatal glide. Postvocalic variants were thus (less economically but more transparently) made longer by two phonemes.

A part of the instances of the Western Oghuz palatal glide are reflexes of lost /g/, whose realisation between front vowels no doubt came quite close to [y]: This happened in the suffixes *+(y)A* (< *+gA*, dative), *-(y)An* (< *-gAn*, participle), *-(y)AlI* and *-(y)IncA* (< *-gAlI and -gInçA*, gerunds), *-(y)AsIn, -(y)ArAk, -(y)AcAg* and the optative *-(y)A* (presumably from the optative suffix *-gA*,[40] with *sän, +rAk* and *çak* added respectively). With the pronoun *(y)Iz* the *y* apparently came from /b/ via [w]: < *wUz*[41] < *biz* 'we'. The ultimate source of the postposition *(y)lA* '(together) with' is similar: *wilä* and its source *bilä* are both attested in Turkmen speech. In *(y)lA* the *y* is not a glide, however, as it does not appear between vowels: Being a clitic, its first vowel was syncopated away.

In other instances, with the case ending *+(y)I*, the modal suffixes *-(y)AyIm, -(y)AlIm* and *-(y)In,* the converb suffix *-(y)Ip*, etc., the /y/ was simply added before the suffix. Why did such a fundamental change in morphophonemics take place in this part of Turkic? One possible motive for this could be the enhanced transparency; why, however, did this motive not function with Yakut, South Siberian Turkic, Turkmen or other languages which contract vowels upon dropping the voiced velar or labial stops? I think the specific reason in this case is contact among the languages of the area. None of the languages of the Middle East deletes suffix-initial vowels to prevent coalescence with stem-final vowels, and stem-final vowel alternation is exceedingly rare. However, consonantal glides are widely resorted to in the West Iranian languages we have looked at, and /y/ is their default glide; the palatal glide is clearly the result of areal convergence.

The Turkmen, although speaking a language which in many respects is the most archaic among the Oghuz, roamed the steppes north or west of Lake Aral till the 15th century, while the rest of the Oghuz moved south and west much earlier. The Turkmen's contact with Persian became more and more intensive in the last centuries, now showing a deep-going influence mainly in the lexical domain, but the structure of their language features many traits linking them rather to the Central Asian Turkic languages. Dealing with vowel sequences resulting from morpheme

40 While *-gAy* is the more common variant of this suffix in Old and Middle Turkic and in the modern languages, *-gA* is also found, e.g. in Karakhanid sources and in the Codex Cumanicus. I take the suffix to be prehistorically identical with the formative *-gA* (e.g. in *bilgä* 'wise'), which (unlike most other deverbal nominals) is not "ergative" but agentive in Old Turkic.

41 With secondary rounding of the vowel due to the presence of the labial consonant.

juncture, Turkmen behaves like South Siberian Turkic or Chuvash. Khalaj did not participate in the wholesale adoption of the palatal glide either, although its speakers live in the West Iranian heartland; the fact that it does not drop suffix initial /g/ may have meant that it lacked the base for doing so.

What, then, is the source of the palatal glide among the Western Iranian and Western Oghuz languages, which evolved under mutual contact? Is it documented first in Turkic or first in Iranian? Bailey (1930) is the earliest publication, I think, to supply us with the answer: He showed that /h/ (in the North-West) and, even more, /y/ (in the South-West), were introduced already in the Middle Persian stage to avoid hiatus; at least in one case Middle Persian has the palatal glide where the North-Western dialect preserved original intervocalic *v*. Since no Turks were in the Near East when Pahlavi was spoken, since all Oghuz were, in the 10th century, in present-day Kazakhstan together with the ancestors of the Turkmen and further away in earlier times, it must have been the West Iranians who were the first to resort to consonant glides. The *h* glide might have been graphic and might, at least, in some cases, have stood for phonetic *-y-*. It was the Western Oghuz who, however, practically reduced the whole glide inventory to *y* and, in accord with the structure of their language, made it into a systematic morphophonemic phenomenon.

References

Bailey, H. W. 1930. Iranica 1. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1930, 11-15.

Bazin, Louis 1959. Le turkmène. In: Deny, Jean et al. (eds.) *Philologiae turcicae fundamenta* 1. Aquis Mattiacis: Steiner. 308-317.

Benzing, Johannes 1942. Tschuwaschische Forschungen 4. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 96, 421-470.

Clark, Larry 1998. *Turkmen reference grammar.* (Turcologica 40.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Doerfer, Gerhard 1988. *Grammatik des Chaladsch.* (Turcologica 4.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Erdal, Marcel 1979. Die Morphemfuge im Alttürkischen. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 71, 83-114.

Erdal, Marcel 1979a. Die Konverb- und Aoristendungen des Alttürkischen. *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* 51, 104-126.

Erdal, Marcel 1979b. The chronological classification of Old Turkish texts. *Central Asiatic Journal* 23, 151-175.

Erdal, Marcel 1998. Mongolische Verbalbildung in ostsibirischen Türksprachen? In: Nevskaja, I. A. (ed.) *Šorskaja filologija i sravnitel'no-sopostavitel'nye issledovanija* 1. Novosibirsk: Novokuzneckij Gosudarstvennyj Pedagogičeskij Institut. 63-76.

Erdal, Marcel 1998a. On the verbal noun in *-(y)Iş*. In: İmer, Kâmile & Subaşı Uzun, Leyla (eds.) *Doğan Aksan armağanı.* Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi. 53-68.

Gülsevin, Gürer 1997. *Eski Anadolu Türkçesinde ekler.* Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu.

Majidi, Mohammed-Reza 1990. *Strukturelle Grammatik des Neupersischen (Fārsī) 2. Morphologie*. (Forum Phoneticum 34.) Hamburg: Buske.

Paul, Ludwig 1998. *Zazaki. Grammatik und Versuch einer Dialektologie*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

Poceluevskij, A. P. (1936) 1975. Dialekty turkmenskogo jazyka. [Reprinted in: *Izbrannyje trudy*. Ašxabad: Ylym. 71-122.]

Sadeghi, Ali Ashraf 1991. Hiatus und hiatustilgende Konsonanten in der persischen Sprache. *Spektrum Iran* 4/2, 3-24. [Translation of a paper which appeared in the *Iranian Journal of Linguistics* 3/2 (1986).]

Schaeder, Hans Heinrich 1935. Beiträge zur iranischen Sprachgeschichte 1. *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 15, 560-579.

Schönig, Claus 1993. Das Türkeitürkische, eine zentrale Randsprache. *Journal of Turkology* 1, 39-58.

Schönig, Claus 1995. Analogie als sprachbildende Kraft in den Türksprachen. In: Kellner-Heinkele, B. & Stachowski, M. (eds.) *Laut und Wortgeschichte der Türksprachen*. (Turcologica 26.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. 123-144.

Schönig, Claus 1997. A new attempt to classify the Turkic languages (2). *Turkic Languages* 1, 262-277.

Selcan, Zülfü 1998. *Grammatik der Zaza-Sprache. Nord-Dialekt (Dersim-Dialekt)*. Berlin.

Širaliev, M. Š. 1983. *Dialekty i govory azerbajdžanskogo jazyka*. Baku: Ėlm.

Tekin, Talat et al. 1995. *Türkmence-Türkçe sözlük*. (Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları Dizisi 18.) Ankara: Simurg.