

**A Study of the Turkmen Dialects of Afghanistan**  
**Phonology – Morphology – Lexicon – Sociolinguistic Aspects**

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## PREFACE

The dissertation project whose final written product is submitted here was devoted to the study of the contemporary Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan. At present the Turkmen speaking population of Afghanistan is estimated to make up close to two million. The Turkmen language, which belongs to the South Western or Oghuz group of the Turkic languages, has for centuries been present in the region which is today North Afghanistan but due to various historical reasons has not only not kept pace with the development of some of its neighboring languages, but has even been reduced to the condition of an illiterate idiom which includes a number of dialects but is not united by a shared standard language. The Teke dialect, which in the Republic of Turkmenistan forms the basis of today's standard state language, features among the Afghan Turkmen dialects, but speakers of the Ä:rsarı dialect by far outnumber those of the Teke dialects in Afghanistan. Along with these two most prominent idioms, roughly half a dozen distinct Turkmen dialects are represented on Afghan soil today.

The Loya Jirga of 2004, which passed the new Constitution of Afghanistan, has granted the Turkmen language – along with a number of others – the legal status of an official language in all regions inhabited by Turkmen speakers. This has opened a legal path towards unfolding and development of this language under the auspices of democratic progress in the country. While Article 16 of the Constitution warrants the official status of the Turkmen language along with the state languages on all territories inhabited by Turkmen speakers, Article 42 obligates the state to safeguard adequate conditions for the development of all official languages, among them Turkmen. At present the Ministry of Education of Afghanistan supports a department for composition and translation which is in charge of preparing schoolbooks in Turkmen. State radio and television as well as private agencies are broadcasting programs and various publishers are printing books, journals and newspapers in that language. Regardless of all these endeavors, a universally acknowledged standard literary language has as yet not come into being. The most basic reason for this deficit is the continuous lack of secured knowledge about the dialect basis in which such a standard language could be grounded. Therefore this author has undertaken the task of compiling and analyzing materials from all Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan in order to secure a scientific basis for the standardization of a Turkmen language in the future.

The product of this scholarly endeavor, which is being submitted to the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences (Kultur-, Sozial- und Bildungswissenschaftliche Fakultät) of Humboldt Universität zu Berlin as doctoral dissertation, has come into being under the guidance of Prof. Dr. Ingeborg Baldauf, who has devoted a lifetime's efforts to the study of Central Asian Turkic languages and cultures and has provided my project with unwavering support from its very inception. She has patiently read all draft papers and provided copious feedback on various stages of the project's development; without her suggestions and corrections this piece of scholarly work would not have come into being in its current shape. I am also deeply grateful to Prof. Dr. Semih Tezcan for having agreed, given his comprehensive Turkological expertise and particular familiarity with the Oghuz languages, to be the second reader of my piece.

This scholarly work would not have been possible without the generous support of the Afghan Ministry of Higher Education and my home institution, Balkh University of Mazar i Sharif, in particular its honorable Rector Mr. Mukammal Alkuzay and Dean of our Faculty of Languages and Literatures, Prof. Abduljabbar Shaychzada. My repeated long-term leaves for

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My very special thanks, however, go to all the people who have generously shared their knowledge and life time in support of this scholarly project, united by our common goal to further the development of the Turkmen language and culture in Afghanistan: Turkmen gentlemen, ladies, students and children from all parts of North East, North and North West Afghanistan wherever our beloved mother tongue is thriving – above all the honorable Mr. Muhammed Nazari, Dr. Muhammed Siddiq Emını, Mr. Anna Bağshi, Mr. Haji Abdullresul Rasul, Mr. Haji Shageldi, and Mr. Penji who spared neither time nor effort to enable me to collect the materials necessary for my study, and provided information and inspiration whenever I needed them. The list of names I would have to enumerate here is much longer than the "List of Informants" provided in the Appendix. To all benefactors and supporters, whose forgiveness I ask for not specifically naming them here, I extend my deep appreciation.

## CONTENTS

PREFACE .....	I
CONTENTS.....	III
<b>1. Introduction</b> .....	1
1.1. The aim of this study .....	5
1.2. State of research on the Turkmen dialects .....	5
<b>2. The Turkmen of Afghanistan and their dialects</b> .....	10
2.1. Turkmen and the regions inhabited by them .....	10
2.1.1. Ärsa:rı .....	14
2.1.2. Sa:rıq .....	15
2.1.3. Teke .....	16
2.1.4. Yomut .....	17
2.1.5. Salır .....	17
2.1.6. Yemreli .....	18
2.1.7. Qarqın .....	19
2.1.8. Ča:yı .....	19
2.1.9. Bayat .....	19
2.1.10. Muqrı .....	20
2.1.11. Xatab .....	20
2.1.12. Surxı .....	21
2.1.13. Xoja:mba:z .....	21
2.2. The Turkmen dialects .....	23
2.2.1. The Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan and their neighboring languages .....	24
2.2.2. Some sociolinguistic phenomena .....	27
2.2.2.1. Dialect difference: Politeness .....	28
2.2.2.2. Dialect difference: Address .....	31
2.2.2.3. Dialect difference: Incompatibility and misunderstanding .....	32
2.2.2.4. The urban and the rural .....	33
2.2.2.5. <i>Muhājirs</i> and the others .....	34
2.2.2.6. Literates and illiterates .....	35
2.2.2.7. Social status .....	38
2.2.2.8. Gender .....	39
2.2.2.9. Diglossia and dialect shift .....	40
2.2.2.10. Other Turkic idioms .....	42
2.2.2.11. The language of media .....	44
<b>3. Methodological and technical remarks</b> .....	47
3.1. Fieldwork .....	47
3.2. Sample and data processing .....	48
3.3. Technical remarks .....	51
3.4. Abbreviations .....	51
3.5. Symbols .....	51
<b>4. Phonology</b> .....	52
4.1. The phonemic inventory .....	52
4.1.1. Vowel phonemes .....	52

4.1.2. Consonant phonemes .....	54
4.2. Phonological processes: Vowels .....	55
4.2.1. Fronting and raising .....	55
4.2.2. Rounding and unrounding .....	58
4.2.3. Complex vowel change .....	59
4.2.4. Prothesis .....	59
4.2.5. Epenthesis .....	60
4.2.6. Epithesis .....	62
4.2.7. Deletion .....	62
4.2.8. Vowel harmony .....	65
4.2.9. Consonant-vowel synharmony .....	59
4.2.10. Disharmony .....	70
4.2.11. Vocalism and vowel harmony in copied lexemes .....	72
4.3. Phonological processes: Consonants .....	75
4.3.1. Voicing .....	75
4.3.2. Assimilation.....	77
4.3.3. Dissimilation .....	82
4.3.4. Metathesis .....	83
4.3.5. Prothesis.....	85
4.3.6. Epenthesis.....	86
4.3.7. Deletion.....	87
4.3.8. Consonant-vowel complex reduction.....	90
4.4. Vowels: Details of realization and processes .....	92
4.5. Phonetic realization, phonotactics, processes: Consonants .....	108
4.5.1. Stops / plosives .....	114
4.5.2. Nasals .....	125
4.5.3. Liquids .....	126
4.5.4. Fricatives .....	128
4.5.5. Affricates .....	132
4.6. Phonological difference among the dialects .....	135
<b>5. Morphology .....</b>	<b>144</b>
5.1. Nominal morphology.....	144
5.1.1. Nouns.....	144
5.1.2. Pronouns .....	165
5.1.3. Adjectives .....	180
5.1.4. Numerals .....	181
5.1.5. Adverbs .....	186
5.1.6. Postpositions .....	189
5.1.7. Relational nouns .....	201
5.1.8. Conjunctions .....	205
5.1.9. Modal words .....	214
5.1.10. Existentials .....	216
5.1.11. Particles .....	217
5.1.12. Interjections .....	223
<b>6. Lexicology .....</b>	<b>228</b>
6.1. Lexical difference between the Turkmen dialects .....	228
6.1.1. Homonyms varying in lexical meaning .....	230
6.1.2. Phonetic divergence in synonymic lexemes .....	231

6.1.3. Dominant versus recessive meanings .....	231
6.1.4. Monosemy versus polysemy .....	233
6.1.5. Lexical distinction .....	233
6.2. Lexical difference in special semantic fields .....	235
6.2.1. Animal husbandry .....	235
6.2.2. Agriculture and horticulture .....	236
6.2.3. Household equipment .....	237
6.2.4. Items of construction and architecture .....	237
6.2.5. Food items .....	238
6.2.6. Garment items .....	238
6.3. Proper names .....	238
6.4. Gender marking .....	241
6.5. Animal calls .....	241
6.6. Synonyms .....	242
6.6.1. Plain synonyms .....	242
6.6.2. Asymmetric synonyms .....	242
6.6.3. Synonyms and dialectal variation .....	242
6.7. Copying .....	243
6.7.1. Lexical and phraseological copying .....	243
6.7.2. Imitation of foreign language syntactical structures .....	245
6.7.3. Double coding .....	246
6.8. Euphemisms and vulgarisms .....	247
6.8.1. Euphemisms .....	247
6.8.2. Vulgarisms .....	248
6.9. Phraseologisms .....	249
6.10. Kinship terms .....	251
<b>Bibliography</b> .....	258
<b>Appendix</b> .....	261

## 1. Introduction

In the region that is today Afghanistan, the Turkmen language boasts a fairly impressive historical past and many literary works of prose and poetry have been laid down in this language over the centuries. However, more recently, due to undue policies and measures by the rulers of their day, the language has not only been deprived of many opportunities to develop into a fully-fledged modern means of communication, but just the contrary, there have even been attempts to take the Turkmen language and literature of the region to the brink of deletion and extinction. Undue policies and deprivation of adequate means of development have at last caused the language to fall into a deplorable condition, as a result of which it has been reduced to a means of oral communication only. In today's Turkmenistan during its period of inclusion in the Soviet Union a standard written language on the basis of the Teke and Yomut dialects has been brought into being, which permitted a wealth of books, a rich periodical press and many more products of high-level scripturality to emerge over the decades, partly in a Cyrillic alphabet and partly on the basis of various Latin alphabets. The sheer difference in alphabets employed in Turkmenistan and Afghanistan, and of course also the general lack of contact and cooperation between these countries, has to this day prevented the successful processes which unfolded in Turkmenistan from taking any major positive influence on the Turkmen language of Afghanistan.

In Afghanistan until 1979, practically nothing was printed in the Turkmen language and the language was not used in the periodical press or any audio or visual medium. Before the coup d'état of April 1978 only one book was printed in that language, namely, *Farzi Ayni Turki* which saw the light of day due to the efforts of two prominent religious scholars of those times, the honorable Khalifa Sahib Qızılayaq and Khalifa Sahib Qaramqol.<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact, this introductory catechism was due to its contentual orientation written in a rather archaic language; at the same time the text was rather short anyway. In the 1980s – the so-called "democratic decade" of Afghanistan – a special kind of political publications began to emerge under the auspices of the Communist Party. One of the issues of *Parcham*, the organ of the PDAP, contained a single poem written in the Turkmen idiom of Afghanistan by the late Oraz Muhammad under the pen-name "Far". From 1979 on here and there some pieces of

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<sup>1</sup> Khalifa Qızılayaq (1342): *Farzi Ayni Turki*.

Turkmen prose and poetry started to appear in print, on the radio and on TV. The first Turkmen newspaper to be published in Afghanistan was the bi-weekly *Göreş*. From its first issue on this newspaper caused discussions and dissent with regard to the kind of language, alphabet and orthography to be employed. Some community members favored a simple adoption of the Turkmen language of Turkmenistan, arguing that there existed a ready-to-use standardized idiom equipped with an alphabet and orthography, which should therefore be employed on the pages of *Göreş* as well. Another group argued against this opinion, saying that the Turkmen language of Turkmenistan was alien to the speakers of Afghanistan since the language of the latter should be based on the Ä:rsa:rı dialect, which is the majority Turkmen dialect of the country. Since the political regime of Afghanistan was dependent on Soviet protection at that time, a decision was finally taken in favor of the standard language of Turkmenistan. However, the superior importance of the Persian language in the society of Afghanistan and consequently, its tremendous influence on the local Turkmen idiom (as opposed to the Russian/Soviet influence on the Turkmenistani idiom) led to the result that this standard was never really achieved. Instead, the Turkmen idiom that was actually employed in Afghanistan remained under heavy influence of the Persian language. This very idiom is still widely used in Turkmen-language publications of Afghanistan today.

At the same "democratic" period a Turkmen Department was opened in the Directorate of Literary Production and Translation (*Riyāsati Ta'lif-u Tarjima*) of the Ministry of Education, whose employees authored a Turkmen-language set of all schoolbooks up to the sixth grade of primary school. These books were written in much the same idiom as the newspaper *Göreş*. In the Afghan Academy of Sciences a special department existed that was responsible for Turkmen matters; this department issued a poetry book by Mullā Davlatgeldi Fidāyi (with a prologue by the honorable Nur Muhammad Qarqin). The language of that book diverged so far from the regular language as employed elsewhere that according to a widespread saying, no one but the author himself can fully understand it. Mr Qarqin in his turn attempted to conform to the standard language of Turkmenistan to such a degree that his text abounds with loanwords as *progressiv*, *rekcion* and others, which according to Afghan Turkmen understanding are very difficult. In other writings, which he later published in Pakistan, the author continued to use that kind of language. The schoolbooks published by the above-named Directorate, on the other hand, did not succeed in creating a sustainable standard either, although (or because) their authors made ample use of books printed in Ashgabat when preparing their texts.



In later years the Afghan Writers' Union (*Anjumani Navisandagāni Afghānistān*) published several volumes of lyrics by contemporary writers. The language employed in these works is again heavily influenced by Persian, which renders it heavy and difficult. Articles which were published in journals like *Milliyathāyi Birādar*<sup>2</sup> and similar ones widely share these features as well.

Turkmen language broadcasting of Afghanistan's radio and television programs, on the other hand, did not follow a consistent language policy in the period of time under consideration.

Afghanistan's new Constitution of 2004 grants Turkmen, along with a number of other languages, the status of a "third official language".<sup>3</sup> However, due to the fact that no reliable standard language has been brought into being so far, the irregular and anarchical language usage continues to persist until today. A wide range of idioms that rely on different dialect bases and imaginations of standard and style is employed from schoolbooks to newspaper and journal articles, from volumes of lyrics and stories to all other writings that are currently being submitted to the public. Even the schoolbooks published by the Ministry of Education are linguistically inhomogenous due to the fact that each one of the six authors who form the authors' collective, in the absence of a reliable standard, uses more or less their own idiolect.

The Turkmen idioms of Afghanistan today can roughly be characterized as follows:

(1) The everyday language of the Turkmen population, which has not undergone standardization or normalization and is not normally scripturalized at all. The basis of this everyday language are dialects, which in the Afghan Turkmen case are in principle not locally, but ethnically determined. In ethnically mixed communication the dialects with higher prestige tend not only to be used by their primary speakers, but native speakers of lower-prestige varieties also attempt to speak the high-prestige variety. The highest prestige is by convention attributed to the Ä:rsa:ri dialect.

(2) The idiom of educated and enlightened people, which is so heavily influenced by Persian that words and phrases and even the total syntactic structure often seem to be copied from that language into Turkmen by way of translation or calque. The idiom of madrasa scholars is even more remarkable, since along with a large percentage of archaic vocabulary and phraseology, it bears a strong Arabic imprint in morphology and syntax, which in terms of

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<sup>2</sup> This journal was published under the auspices of the Ministry for Ethnic Groups and Tribes (*Vizārati Aqvām-u Qabāyil*) in seven languages: Dari, Pashto, Uzbek, Turkmen, Balochi, Nuristāni, and Pashai.

<sup>3</sup> Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, 2004: article 16.

copying follows the example of local high-brow Persian. The copying effect prevails to such a degree that one might assume these speakers first settle their thoughts in Arabic and then translate/copy them into "Turkmen" one way or another. This idiom differs significantly from contemporary everyday popular Turkmen as characterized above and is hardly intelligible to the majority of the population. The effects of copying from Arabic and Persian give this idiom an archaic appearance that resembles historical literary idioms of five or six centuries earlier.

(3) The idiom of contemporary scripturality, that is, the – however inhomogenous – Afghan Turkmen language of today's schooling, print, and media, which is heavily influenced by the standard Turkmen language of Turkmenistan. Due to the usage of morphological, syntactical and lexicological items alien to the dialect basis of Afghan Turkmen, this idiom differs significantly from the everyday language described above. Along with that, it still also bears a heavy imprint of contemporary Persian.

Language is an important feature of cultural group identity. Ethnic groups who strive for a cultural identity of their own within a given society or nation and on a given territory do so because they strive for their common good. A shared language is a decisive factor of community building and unification. Since more than one decade among the Turkmens of Afghanistan the awareness of language as a unifying factor and distinctive marker of ethnic identity has constantly increased. This awareness comes with a steadily rising desire to attain unity of language, and with the recognition of language-making as a major social duty.

In order to build a unitary language which then can form the basis of standard and norm, much work needs to be done for the Turkmen language of Afghanistan. Language building is a complex and demanding process; painstaking work by linguists and other scholars will be part of it, and so will be benevolent support on the part of the state. In order to even meaningfully start this process, it appears indispensable to create a sound knowledge of the underlying dialectal basis. Taking all this into account, I have made up my mind to contribute to the language making effort through an investigation into the different ethnic dialects of the Turkmens of Afghanistan. So far, these dialects have not been in the focus of local or foreign scholarship at all. I hope to take a first important step by collecting first-hand dialect materials, analyzing it, and publishing my documentation and analysis.

### **1.1 The aim of this study**

Undue and discriminatory policies pursued by states, together with radical changes in social, political, economic and cultural life, and an imbalanced availability of highly developed technologies have in recent years sported a trend away from local and minority idioms and towards the adaption of official and high-prestige languages. This trend, which has become apparent in Afghanistan as well, is putting pressure upon local and minority idioms and among these of course, the Afghan Turkmen language. Turkmen has over the last centuries actually not lost much importance in many domains of Turkmen social life. However, under the influence of all factors named above its position has been weakened. In particular, no attempts at standardization have so far been made.

This study aims at providing a documentation of, and investigation in the nature and quality of the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan and their position and function within the social fabric of the area. Since so far neither local nor foreign scholars have carried out in-depth studies on Afghan Turkmen, the compilation and documentation of texts from a broad ethnic, geographical and social sample will provide a preliminary survey of the dialect landscape. The analytical part of the study cannot aim at a comprehensive investigation; yet it aims at documenting the linguistic features and social uses of the Turkmen idioms of Afghanistan, as thoroughly as the compiled material allows. It will hopefully not only bring fresh knowledge to Turkology and Central Asian Studies, by providing a comparative perspective on these idioms, but also create a basis for upcoming social initiatives in the field of language planning and language making for the benefit of the community.<sup>4</sup>

### **1.2 State of research on the Turkmen dialects**

Turkmen dialects were first made the subject of scholarly research in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when in 1845-1848 the Russian orientalist Il'ya Nikolaevich Berezin published his studies on the Turkmen dialect of Astarabad.<sup>5</sup> Nikolaj Il'minskij collected much information on the Yomut dialect, which Schiefner translated and published in German.<sup>6</sup>

After the Russian occupation of major parts of the Central Asian region scholarly interest in these areas increased and the Turkmen dialects also came into the focus of Turkological, linguistic and ethnographic research by specialists like S. Agabekov, I.A. Belyaev, F.Y. Korš,

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<sup>4</sup> For the importance of these efforts cf. for example Mosel (2006).

<sup>5</sup> See Nartev (1994).

<sup>6</sup> Ilminsky, N. I.; Schiefner, A.: "Ueber die Sprache der Turkmemen. Aus einem Briefe des Herrn Ilminsky an A. Schiefner", *Mélanges asiatiques*, Vol. 4, 1860, 63-74; see also Nartiyev (1994:23).

P. Šinkevič and others. In 1904, Agabekov published his *Учебник туркменского наречия с приложением сборника пословиц и поговорок туркмен Закаспийской области* in Ashgabat. Regardless of its merits as an early piece of documentation and investigation this work has major shortcomings in that its author did not observe the living everyday language of his time but occupied himself primarily with the language of written texts.

Only with the prominent Turkologist A.N. Samoylovič, who in 1906/07, 1908 and 1912 undertook fieldwork in the region, the actual Turkmen dialects became an object of study. In 1912 Samoylovič published *Наречия ногойцев и туркменов Ставропольской губернии*. In 1927 he was on behalf of the Soviet Academy of Sciences again dispatched to the region and undertook dialectological and folkloristic research with speakers of the Salır, Teke of Marw and Sariq dialects. Only shortly after that, namely in 1930, a scientific commission headed by N.K. Dmitiriev was active in Turkmenistan and collected more materials on dialects and folklore, which were consequently in 1954 published under the title, *Туркменские народные сказки Марыйского района*.<sup>7</sup>

Another scholar to whom Turkmen dialectology and early linguistics in general owe major contributions was A.P. Poceluevskiy. From 1927 to 1932 he collected a wealth of materials on the Turkmen dialects and as early as in 1932 published *Диалекты туркменского языка*, which is still considered a major reference work<sup>8</sup>. In this study Poceluevskiy describes the important features that delineate the Turkmen dialects from each other, and attempts to establish the position of the Turkmen dialects among the Turkic languages. Poceluevskiy, in outlining the different idioms, does not relate them back to ethnic/tribal divisions but strives for a strictly areal delineation. Today it is difficult to understand if he did so because of ideological considerations – for example, so as not to "undermine the unity of the Turkmen nation" or to "rid society of noxious relics of the past" such as tribalism.<sup>9</sup> After all, we may assume that in the early Soviet period most Turkmens on Soviet territory still lived in tribally determined communities so that areal distribution would more or less coincide with tribal affiliation anyway. Only mass emigration to Afghanistan in the 1920s and early 1930s led to massive uprooting, relocation and resettlement in, to some degree, ethnically more mixed communities. The contemporary Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan prove to be ethnically

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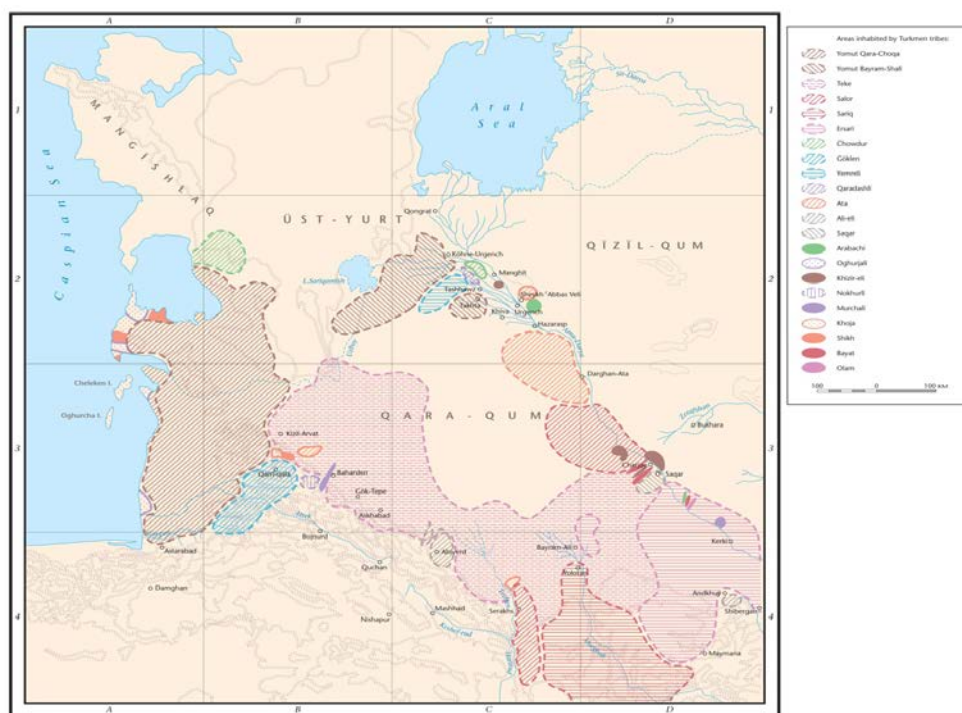
<sup>7</sup> Nartiev (1994:27).

<sup>8</sup> Nartiev (1994:29).

<sup>9</sup> Bregel (1981:12) explains that tribal division within a "socialist nation" was unwelcome in the early Soviet period to such a degree that even the materials of the census of 1926 did not lay tribal division open although the data had been collected. In the rich source materials on the Turkmens published in *Materialy* (1938), which among others include some historical information on the Ä:rsa:rı, Sariq, Bayat and other Turkmens of what is today Afghanistan, however, such information was not suppressed.

determined, which most probably they were back on Soviet territory as well, although Poceluevskiy prefers to read language difference not in ethnic but in areal terms.

Map 1: Distribution of the Turkmen tribes in the early to mid-20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>10</sup>



37. THE TURKMEN TRIBES IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

Starting from the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century a lot of research on the Turkmen dialects has been done by scholars from Turkmenistan. A number of candidate dissertations were written on particular dialects or subgroups of a dialect. Among these are N. Durdımıra:dov (1950) on the dialect of the Ali Ili<sup>11</sup>; J. Amansa:riev (1954) on the northern variants of the Yomut dialect<sup>12</sup>; in 1959 M. Atajanov graduated with a piece on the Salır<sup>13</sup>, and X. Muxıyev, on the Noxur dialect<sup>14</sup>; in 1960 N. Nartıev and G. Kulmanov followed suit with works on the Sariq<sup>15</sup> and the Göklen<sup>16</sup> dialects, respectively. R. Berdiyev supplied a study on the northern Yomut

<sup>10</sup> Bregel 2003:75.

<sup>11</sup> Н. Дурдымурадов: *Диалект алили туркменского языка*. Автореферат, Ашхабад, 1950.

<sup>12</sup> Дж. Амансарыев: *Северные говоры ёмудского диалекта туркменского языка*. Автореферат, Ашхабад, 1954. Regrettably, most of the studies I am citing here have not been available to me for inclusion into my own work.

<sup>13</sup> М. Атаджанов: *Салырский диалект туркменского языка*. Автореферат, Ашхабад, 1959.

<sup>14</sup> Х. Мухьев: *Нохурский диалект туркменского языка*. Автореферат, Ашхабад, 1959. .

<sup>15</sup> Н. Нартыев: *Сарыкский диалект туркменского языка*. Автореферат, Ашхабад, 1960.

<sup>16</sup> Г. Кулманов: *Геокленский диалект туркменского языка*. Автореферат, Ашхабад, 1960.

dialects<sup>17</sup>. In the late Soviet period in-depth studies came to be published which referred to special issues of the Turkmen dialects.<sup>18</sup> On the other hand, investigation in selected dialects continued.<sup>19</sup> As can be seen, in all of these studies the ethnic principle of dialect classification was resumed again.

From the 1970s on the basis was broad enough for comprehensive studies that put the accumulated materials and informations into perspective. In the year 1970 Amansariyev<sup>20</sup> and a collective of authors<sup>21</sup> published general overviews over all Turkmen dialects and Annanurov's dialect lexicon came out in 1977 as an endeavour supported by the Academy of Sciences.<sup>22</sup>

While the Teke and Yomut dialects, which in Soviet Turkmenistan were selected to form the basis of the standard language, have gained major attention in dialectology and even minor idioms such as the dialects of the Noxur, Yemreli, Arabacı, Parap, Anaw, Saqar, Čawdor, Olam, Hasar and so on have been scrutinized, the Ä:rsa:rı dialect – with regard to its speakers on the territory of Turkmenistan – has not gained just as much scholarly attention. A special study by Annanurov (1962) on the vocalism of the Ä:rsa:rı dialect of Turkmenistan<sup>23</sup>, a study by Kakajan Şamıra:dov on assimilation phenomena<sup>24</sup>, and a collective volume (1972) by Annanurov and others on the general characteristics of the dialect<sup>25</sup> can be mentioned here, all of which give evidence of the fact that there is some difference between the Ä:rsa:rı dialect on the Turkmenistan, and the Afghanistan side of the border.

Outside the Soviet Union scholars have time and again devoted major or minor studies on the Turkmen dialects or a selection from these. A comprehensive introduction into the contemporary Turkmen standard language, which due to the wealth of examples from literary and everyday texts allows some insight into non-standard phenomena as well, is Larry Clark's reference grammar published in 1998<sup>26</sup>, while Philippe Blacher's 1997 book<sup>27</sup> and an even more concise text by David Gray (1999)<sup>28</sup> give selective introductions for more practical

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<sup>17</sup>R. Berdiev: *Türkmen diliniň yomut şivesiniň demirgazık gepleşikleri*, Aşgabat 1970

<sup>18</sup>R. Berdiev: *Türkmen diliniň dialektlerinde ve gepleşiklerinde işlikler*, Aşgabat 1988.

<sup>19</sup>O. Čommadov: *Türkmen diliniň Kerki topar dialektleri*, Aşgabat 1991.

<sup>20</sup>J. Amansariyev: *Türkmen dialektologiyası*. Aşgabat 1970.

<sup>21</sup>S. Kürenow, K. Şamıradov, S. Arazkulyyev: *Türkmen diliniň dialektleriniň oçerki*, Aşgabat 1970.

<sup>22</sup>A. Annanurov: *Türkmen diliniň dialektologik sözlügi*, Aşgabat (Ilm neşriyatı) 1977

<sup>23</sup>Annanurov A.: *Türkmen diliniň Ä:rsa:rı dialektinde uzı:n we ğı:sğa çekimlileriň olanılış ayrıtı:nlıqları*. Aşgabat 1962.

<sup>24</sup>Şamıradov. K.: *Türkmen diliniň ä:rsa:rı dialektinde assimilatsiya*. Aşgabat 1962.

<sup>25</sup>Annanurov A., P. Berdiyev, I. Durdiyev, K. Şamıradov: *Türkmen diliniň Ä:rsa:rı dialekti*. Aşgabat, (TSSR naşriyatı) 1972.

<sup>26</sup>Clark, L.: *Turkmen Reference Grammar*. Wiesbaden, 1998 (= Turkologica 34).

<sup>27</sup>Blacher, Ph.: *Grammaire du Turkmène à l'usage des Francophones*, Istanbul 1997.

<sup>28</sup>Gray, D.: *A Short Descriptive Grammar of the Turkmen Language*, Cheltenham UK, 1999.

ends. Until Clark (1998) the most informative Western pieces on the Turkmen language were Dulling's<sup>29</sup> and Oskar Hanser's<sup>30</sup> introductions from 1960 and 1977, respectively, and Johannes Benzing's dissertation on the verb system<sup>31</sup>; Claus Schönig's chapter on the Turkmen language (1999)<sup>32</sup> is a brief but informative summary. Turkish scholars like Doğan Levent<sup>33</sup>, Saadet Çağatay<sup>34</sup>, Mehmet Kara<sup>35</sup> and Talat Tekin<sup>36</sup> have also engaged in the study of the Turkmen language, but they occupy themselves with the standard language or with general turkological issues rather than with the particularities of the Turkmen dialects. In the last decade the Turkmen standard language has repeatedly been in the focus of highly specialized linguistic studies of young Turkish scholars (e.g. Cahit Başdaş 2015, Özgür S. Berkil 2003, Erkan Salan 2011, Savaş Şahin 2012); the dialects are, however, not included in these studies.

Ethnographic studies on the Turkmens of Afghanistan, authored by scholars from abroad, may not be directed on language issues in particular, but they provide helpful background information since there is a very immediate relation between tribal background and dialects, as will be elaborated below. Gunnar Jarring's study published in 1939<sup>37</sup> gives an overview of all ethnic groups of Turkic affiliation in Afghanistan, including the Turkmens. Jarring's book is a valuable tool due to the author's painstaking investigation of all prior scholarly and other writing on the topic. In wealth of detailed information this book has only been outdone by the writings of Erhard Franz who – different from Jarring – relied on half a year of field research in 1970 and had verified most of his information through evidence or at least reports by first-hand informants.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Dulling, G.K.: *An Introduction to the Turkmen Language*, Oxford 1960.

<sup>30</sup> Hanser, O.: *Turkmen Manual. Descriptive Grammar of Contemporary Literary Turkmen. Texts, Glossary*, Wien 1977.

<sup>31</sup> Benzing, J.: *Über die Verbformen im Türkmenischen*, Inaugural- Dissertation Berlin 1939.

<sup>32</sup> Claus Schönig: "Turkmen", *The Turkic Languages*, ed. L. Johanson & Evá A. Csató, London&New York 1999, 261-272.

<sup>33</sup> Levent Doğan 1996: "Türkmen Türkçesinin Fonetik ve Morfolojik Özellikleri Üzerine", *Türk lehçeleri ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*, Sayı 5, Şubat.

<sup>34</sup> Saadet Çağatay: *Türk Lehçeleri Örnekleri*, Ankara 1977.

<sup>35</sup> Mehmet Kara: *Türkmen Türkçesi ve Türkmen Edebiyatı Üzerine Araştırmalar*, Ankara 1998.

<sup>36</sup> Talat Tekin (1995): *Türk dillerinde brincil uzun ünlüler*. Ankara (Simurg) 1995.

<sup>37</sup> Gunnar Jarring: *On The Distribution Of Turk Tribes In Afghanistan: An Attempt At A Preliminary Classification*, Lund 1939.

<sup>38</sup> Erhard Franz: "Zur gegenwärtigen Verbreitung und Gruppierung der Turkmenen in Afghanistan", *Baessler-Archiv Neue Folge* XX.1972, 191-239; see also Franz (1972b).

## 2. The Turkmen of Afghanistan and their dialects

### 2.1 Turkmen and the regions inhabited by them

The Turkmen are descendents of the ancient Oghuz who in the 10<sup>th</sup> century A.D. lived between the Altay Mountains and the Aral Sea basin, from where they emigrated to the South and West under the pressure exerted by the Seljukid Empire. While some of their tribes migrated as far as Azerbaijan and Anatolia to the West and Xinjiang, Gansu and Qinghai to the East, others remained in wider Central Asia. Those who left have mostly come to share only the denotation of "Turkmen" with the others but more often than not speak other languages today,<sup>39</sup> while those who stayed in the steppe of what is today Western Turkmenistan preserved their Turkmen idioms.

Starting from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the Salır and Ä:rsa:rı who had been dominant groups in the Western steppes,<sup>40</sup> migrated to the Amū Daryā basin, yielding the West to the dominance of the Teke, Yomut and Sariq.<sup>41</sup> In the middle course of the Amū the Turkmen who live there today appeared in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and along the Murghāb river Turkmen were reported since the 17<sup>th</sup> century as well.<sup>42</sup> By the late 19<sup>th</sup> century a large part of the Turkmen territory had passed under Russian rule and the rest was divided up between Iran and Afghanistan. Those Turkmen who had come under Russian rule for a number of decades underwent policies of Russification, which implied settlement and assimilation. These policies were continued in the Soviet period and additional pressure resulted from the persecution of wealthy layers of society, among them the Turkmen living on stockbreeding and carpet weaving. As a result, in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century many ten thousand Turkmen from Lebāb, Merv and other provinces emigrated to Afghanistan. Although before the October Revolution of 1917 some Turkmen had already lived on the left bank of the Amū Daryā in what is today Afghan territory, and in places like Turghundī (Qara Depe) in the Herat province, one may say that a large part of the Turkmen of Afghanistan are recent immigrants who crossed into the Northern, North Western and Western parts of Afghanistan only in the early Soviet period.

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<sup>39</sup> See Clark (1998:11) for further references.

<sup>40</sup> On the general history of the Turkmen, see Sümer, Faruk: *Oğuzlar (Türkmenler). Tarihleri, Boy Teşkilatı, Destanları*, 4. baskı Istanbul 1992; Bregel, Yuri: *An Historical Atlas of Central Asia*, Leiden (Brill) 2003, 72-74 and maps 36-37; on Southern Turkmen see Bregel', Juri: "Étničeskaja karta južnoj Turkmenii i Xorasana v XVII i XVIII vv.", in *Kratkie soobščeniya instituta étnografii* 31, 1959: 14-26; Džikiev, A.: *Očerki étničeskoj istorii i formirovanija naselenija Južnogo Turkmenistana (po dannym étnografii)*, Ašgabat (Ylym) 1972; Bregel, Yuri: "Ersari", *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd edition, suppl., fasc. 5-6, 1982 : 280-281.

<sup>41</sup> Bregel 1981:18.

<sup>42</sup> Bregel 1981:22f.



According to Döwletgeldi Fida:yi<sup>43</sup> (Fidayi, n.d.), the Turkmens first started to come to Afghanistan in a rather unsteady manner in the 1920s. In 1930, Turkmen tribes moved in significant number from the Lebāb, Dāšoğuz and Marw provinces to Afghanistan and settled in various locations like Andkhoy, Šibirghān, Aqča, Qataghan, the vicinities of Mazār-i Šarīf and even as far as Maymana and Herāt. Massive migration went on up to 1932, at which time the Afghan government began to relocate newcoming Turkmen tribes to Farāh, Čaxānsūr and Hilmand in Southern Afghanistan. This policy soon caused the migration flow to stop and from that point onward no significant inflow of Turkmen groups to Afghanistan happened.<sup>44</sup> – Basing his work on Soviet archival materials, the Tajik historian Kamoludin Abdullaev in his comprehensive book on Central Asian migration in the 20<sup>th</sup> century gives an estimate of more than 225,000 Turkmen migrants as having arrived in North-Western Afghanistan by 1926.<sup>45</sup> Among them were Junayd Khān's Yomut from the central Karakum who had left Turkmenistan for Iran in 1928 and went on to the Herāt region in 1929, as well as the Ğara clan from the region Jiliköl (East Bukhara, today Southern Tajikistan), whose total population had emigrated. The exodus of mainly Ä:rsa:rı Turkmens from the Southern Karakum to Andkhoy, Šibirghān and Aqča in 1922-25 reduced the district of Kerki to little more than half of its previous population.<sup>46</sup> On Afghan territory the migrants did not mingle with the locals, but preferred to continue to live in communities of their own.<sup>47</sup>

Until today the state authorities of Afghanistan have not published any reliable data and figures on the Turkmen population of the country. Informations given by foreign researchers are divergent and do not appear to conform to the contemporary reality of the Turkmen community of Afghanistan. According to the materials of I.I. Burgi between 1959 and 1987 the Turkmen population amounted to some 50,000, while according to the investigations of A. Davidov in late 1980 it was around 900,000<sup>48</sup>. Larry Clark (1998:10) relates the number of Turkmen, according to different sources, as between 300.000 and 900.000 and later renders an own estimate of 400.000, out of which 350.000 would belong to the Ä:rsa:rı tribe. Clark gives the following numbers of Turkmen for the respective provinces of Afghanistan: Jowzjān

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<sup>43</sup> Döwletgeldi Fidāi belongs to the rare learned persons among the Ä:rsa:rı Turkmens of his time. During the first stages of the Russian revolution he served as the governor of the city of Bo:rdaliq in today's Lebāb province of Turkmenistan. He eventually escaped Stalinist repression by fleeing to Afghanistan.

<sup>44</sup> Fidā'i, n.d., *Šajarai Turkmaniya*. Unpublished manuscript.

<sup>45</sup> Abdullaev (2009:350) does not indicate how many of these migrants remained on Afghan territory. The figure of "around 200,000" at the time of the 1979 Soviet invasion which he renders p. 349 does not appear too plausible.

<sup>46</sup> 11,371 households left while appr. 13,000 remained there (Abdullaev 2009:349).

<sup>47</sup> Abdullaev 2009:351.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Durdiyev & Kadırov 1379:73.

180.000, Kunduz 73.912, Fāryāb 50.820, Balkh 39.036, Samangān 20.312, Herat 10.066. Since no reliable census of the population has ever been carried out by the government, all these figures must be considered as highly speculative. This fact has not changed for the better since Gunnar Jarring<sup>49</sup> back in the 1930s called for more ethnographic and linguistic studies on the local Turkic peoples (Jarring 1939:10).

Two kinds of more recent approximate figures are nevertheless around. On the one hand, the United Nations and the Independent Electoral Commission of the mid-2000s established the estimated figures of adults above age 18 who were legally entitled to vote, from which a more precise estimate of the current Turkmen population could be derived. On the other hand, tribal elders (*ya:šuli*) in every location know the details and particulars of their community's size in terms of number of households and household composition. Tribal structures are quite strong among Turkmens in Afghanistan and every tribe and lineage has its own body of authoritative elders. These elders, whose authority is mostly hereditary, know the approximate amount of households affiliated to their tribe who live in any given province, district and settlement. An average of 5 to 6 person per household thus yields an approximate number of persons per tribe. The late and much lamented 'Abdulkarīm Behmen, relying on information gathered from tribal elders, estimated the Turkmen population within Afghanistan as two million.<sup>50</sup>

The Turkmens have since ancient times been split up in tribes, clans and lineages. This system of division is reflected in distinguished texts like the *Oğuznāma*, Maḥmūd al-Kāšgarī's *Dīvān Luğāt at-Turk*, the *Jāmi' at-tavārīx* of Rašīduddīn Faẓlullāh. The largest tribes today are Teke, Ä:rsa:rı, Yomut, Sa:rıq, Chawdur, Gögleŋ, Salır, Yemreli, Noxurlı, Ali-Eli, Muqrı, Xatab, Bayat and Ata. The territories which these people inhabit extend from the Caspian Basin in the West to the upper reaches of the Amū Daryā in the East, and from Khiva in the North as far as the Iranian Turkmansahrā, North Afghanistan, Herat and Hilmand in the South. Not all of the above-mentioned groups are present in Afghanistan today. The major groups in Afghanistan are Ä:rsa:rı, Sa:rıq, Teke and Qarqın; a small number of dispersed Yomut, Yemreli and Salır live there, too. Some authors mention a population of Ali-Eli as living in Afghanistan as well, mostly in Andkhoy: Arminius Vámbéry (1865) states that Ali-Eli – in 2,000 houses and 3,000 tents – were living in and around Andkhoy at the time of his travels<sup>51</sup>; authors from Turkmenistan, among them Durdiev&Qadırov (1379) and Ayina

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<sup>49</sup> Jarring, G.: *On The Distribution Of Turk Tribes In Afghanistan: An Attempt At A Preliminary Classification*, Lund 1939.

<sup>50</sup> Behmen 1380:54.

<sup>51</sup> Vámbéry (1865:250), quoted by Jarring 1939:49.

Babaeva<sup>52</sup>, and also Clark (1998:10) and Dupree<sup>53</sup> indicate Ali-Eli as living in Afghanistan. Contrary to this information, today there is no more evidence of this ethnic group in Afghanistan. We may thus assume that Ali-Eli actually did live in Andkhoy at Vámbéry's time but later on emigrated from there to other places. Already Jarring in the 1930s suggested that there were none left in Afghanistan in his day (1939:49f.). The other authors seem to hand down Vámbéry's information without having checked for contemporary evidence.

Along with the above-mentioned groups who are – by themselves, that is – considered "true" (*xāliš*) Turkmen, North Afghanistan is also home to "non-actual" (*nāxāliš*) Turkmen groups whose dialects stand between Turkmen and Uzbek, such as the Muqri, Xatab, Bayat, Xoja:mba:z, Surx1, Čandır, Ši:x and others. Although I am aware of the positional character of these terms, which reflect the viewpoint of those tribes which dominate by number of members, economic importance and/or cultural prestige, I will for practical reasons continue to use the terms *xāliš* and *nāxāliš* as provisional denominations; they are, if not historically or politically correct, at least emic concepts and are widely used by members of all groups until today.<sup>54</sup>

The Afghan Turkmen dialects appear to follow tribal lines of divide rather than zonal or regional ones. The Teke, Ä:rsa:r1, Sarıq, Muqri and Xatab (to name the prevalent tribal groups in the country) all have their respective distinct idiom in common, no matter what their place of residence be. Tribal groups which feature only a small number in Afghanistan tend to follow the language habits of the dominant tribe of their location. The Burqaz, Qultaq, Saltuq, Čandır and Qarqın, for instance, do not use a dialect of their own but speak the idiom of the Ä:rsa:r1, among which they live. The Yemreli in their turn, who make up a few households in the city of Herat, speak the dominant Teke dialect of the region and have only preserved some traces of a different idiom.<sup>55</sup> My study will not answer all questions, but hopefully can elucidate the main features of dialect difference.

The main Turkmen tribes have a differentiated structure and consist of clans, which in their turn consist of many lineages and have genealogies of their own. Erhard Franz, the scholar who until today has carried out the most detailed study on the Turkmens of Afghanistan,

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<sup>52</sup> Babaeva 1992:22.

<sup>53</sup> Dupree, Louis: "Afghanistan iv. Ethnography". *Encyclopedia Iranica*, vol. 1, 1983, 495-501.

<sup>54</sup> Franz (1972a:226) also quotes the concept as being widely used in the early 1970s.

<sup>55</sup> Compare Franz (1972a:228f.) for details on the cohabitation of communities of different tribal affiliation, which is generally the exception rather than the rule.

mentions that while for members of the larger tribes (Ä:rsa:rı, Teke...), affiliation to the tribe is more important than their personal affiliation to a sub-entity, members of smaller tribes (Olam, Xoja:mba:z...) often consider the sub-entity as relevant.<sup>56</sup> A detailed description of the Turkmen tribes and their subdivisions cannot be provided here; for the purpose of this study only a rough overview of the large Turkmen tribes of Afghanistan, together with some information concerning their most important places of settlement, can be given.

### 2.1.1 Ä:rsa:rı<sup>57</sup>

The Ä:rsa:rı figure most prominently in Afghanistan, making up for an estimate of 80-85% of the Afghan Turkmens today although they had moved into what is today Afghan territory only late<sup>58</sup>. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century the estimates of Ä:rsa:rı households ran as high as 40,000<sup>59</sup> and many more have migrated to the area in the early Soviet period. The area of their settlement stretches from Dašti Arči in the Kunduz province in the North East to as far as Marūcāq in the province of Bādghīs in the North West. They consist of the Gōneš, Bekewil, Ulıdepe and Ğara clans. The following table gives an overview of the main lineages of these clans.

**Table 1:** The Ä:rsa:rı clans and their lineages

<b>Bekewil</b>	<b>Güneš</b>	<b>Ulıdepe</b>	<b>Ğara<sup>60</sup></b>
Tuwaçı	Ğa:basaqqal	Etbaš	Aranjı
Sa:rılı	Čaqır	Ğaraja	Qurayš
Yerli	Arıqba:tır	Ğızılayaq	Ögem
Ğošağoyun	Omar	Ğabırdı	Isla:m
Lamma	Ğızılja	Esenmeñli	Yabnı
	Čekir	Surx	Meñnejik
	Süleymen	A:qderi	Ta:ğan
	Bağşılı	Čöpbaš	Ğa:zan

<sup>56</sup> See Franz 1972a for an overview and discussion of the genealogical structure of the Turkmens of Afghanistan. Franz' findings in quite a few cases contradict ours, but this study is not the place to go into much detail on this.

<sup>57</sup> For the localization of the main Ä:rsa:rı communities and all other Turkmen tribes and subgroups, along with my own fieldwork findings I mainly rely on the unpublished manuscript *Türkmen görniši ta'rixde* by the late 'Abdulkarım Behmen.

<sup>58</sup> Jarring 1939:47.

<sup>59</sup> Jarring 1939:47, relying on statistical information about the Ä:rsa:rı of the left bank of the Amū given by Komarov in 1887.

<sup>60</sup> According to Jarring (1939:39): *Qara-aul*.

	Ĝı:nlı	Čatraq	Ha:ru:n
	Ĝuwaq	Eleč	Čıpar
	Alla:da:d	Dä:na:jı	Ba:y
	Ĝorčaŋı	A:jı	Dä:li
	Olam <sup>61</sup>	Ĝılġıstı	Čekiš
			Mamaš
			Ĝaraboyun
			Perrik

The geographical distribution of the Ä:rsa:rı in the provinces of Afghanistan, which I derive from my own recent fieldwork<sup>62</sup>, is as follows:

- Kunduz: Kunduz City; districts of Qal'ai Zāl, Imām Şāhib, Čār-Dara, Şerxān Bandar, Dašti Arči
- Baghlān: Čaşmai Şır (a village related to Pulixumri)
- Balkh: Bābāşiddīq (a village in the district of Xulm / Tāşqorghān); the districts of Keldār, Şortepe, Dawlatābād, Čārbölek, Balx, Dehdādī, Čāyi, Nahrşāhī; Mazāri Şarīf City
- Jowzjān: the districts of Aqča, Murdıyān, Meŋejik, Fayzābād, Xānqāh, Xojadüküh, Qarqın, Xamyāb; Şibiryān City
- Fāryāb: the districts of Andkhoy, Xānčārbāy, Qorghān, Qaramqol, Dawlatābād, Qaysār, Almār
- Bādghīs: Marūčāq (a village in the district of Bālā Murghāb)
- Hilmand: the village Nahri Sirāj

### 2.1.2 Sa:rıq<sup>63</sup>

The Sa:rıq form the second largest Turkmen tribe of Afghanistan today. As a compact group they live in Marūčāq in the North Western province of Bādghīs. Some disparate lineages also reside in Herāt.<sup>64</sup> The most prominent lineages of the Sa:rıq are the following:

<sup>61</sup> Bregel argues that the Olam (together with the Bayat and Bujaqlı) had lived in the region before the advent of the Ä:rsa:rı (1981:23). Franz (1972a:224) names the *Alam* as a subgroup of the Salor.

<sup>62</sup> I can, however, not give any figures concerning these settlements since that was not the aim of my work.

<sup>63</sup> For the Sa:rıq, Teke, Yomut, Salır and Yemreli I largely rely on Ataniyazov (1992: 263, 267, 271) and on supplementary information collected from tribal elders in the field.

<sup>64</sup> According to Jarring (quoting various sources, particularly the Border Commission) there were "hardly 30 families" of Sa:rıq left on Afghan territory, which seems to be a somewhat too low estimate (Jarring 1939:45).

**Table 2:** The Sa:rıq clans and their lineages

<b>Alıša</b> <sup>65</sup>	<b>Pölatša</b> <sup>66</sup>	<b>Amaša</b>
Alniš	Bedeņ	Barzaqı
Xora:sa:nlı	Bayraç	Ĝızlımıra:t
Ĝoyumjı	Suxtı	Ĝuöja
Ja:nıbeg	Ĝa:nlıbaš	Šayxdemir
Erkiseddix	Ĝojalı	Doyaşı
Momatay	Ĝızıl	
Usta	Xerzeki	
Xojanazar	Süyenalı	

### 2.1.3 Teke

Although the Teke are among the largest Turkmen tribes, in Afghanistan their number is only small. Teke live in the city of Herāt; at Bandari Turghundī; in the districts of Gülrān and Ghorīyān (province of Herāt); in Darai Šāx (province of Fāryāb); and in the village of Barmazīd (province of Balkh). The Teke tribe consists of three main clans, the most prominent lineages of which are the following:

**Table 3:** The clans and lineages of the Teke

<b>Toxtamiš</b> <sup>67</sup>		<b>Ötemiš</b>		<b>Yalqamiš</b>	
Beg	Weki:l	Siçmaz	Bağşı	Alaša	Polatša
Amaša	A:qweki:l	A:qso:pı	A:qdašayaq	Alniš	Bayraç
Ĝoņor	Ĝaraweki:l	Meriš	Burxuz	Usta	Herzeki
Ĝö:kçe	Ha:ru:n	Pereņ	Ĝaradašayaq	Alnax	Suxtı
Ha:r	Bükri	Ĝaraaxmed	Salıq		Xora:sa:nlı
	Ĝaršal	Topuz	Sulta:n		
	Ĝanjıq	Xojaso:pı	Ezi:z		

<sup>65</sup> Jarring 1939:37 has *Alaša* including *Alniš*, *Alnax*, *Usta* and *Xoji Nazara* (sic); the other lineages are not mentioned, while "*Xorasanlı*" figure among the Pölatša tribe.

<sup>66</sup> According to Jarring (1939:37) the *Pulat-šah* consist of *Sapi*, *Bayraç*, *Xorasanlı*, *Gerzeki* (sic), *Arxaki* and others (which he does not specify). There are no *Amaša* in Jarring's survey.

<sup>67</sup> Jarring (1939:38, 48f.) names the *Taxtamiš* ~ *Toxtamiš* (with sub-clans *Wekil* and *Bek*) and *Otamiš* ~ *Ötemiš* (with sub-clans *Bağşı* and *Siçmaz*) and mentions an unspecified "great number of minor divisions".

	Yüsüp		Miriš		
			Yasman		
			Čeltek		

#### 2.1.4 Yomut

Although the Yomut figure among the large Turkmen tribes, only a very small number of them live in Afghanistan today, namely in Herat City and in Bandari Turghundī. The most prominent clans and lineages are the following:

**Table 5:** The clans, sub-clans and lineages of the Yomut

<b>Ĝutlitimir (Ĝaračuqa)</b>		<b>O:tlitimir (Bayramša:lı)<sup>68</sup></b>			
<b>Čoni – Ataba:y</b>	<b>Šeri:p – Japarba:y</b>	<b>Salıq</b>	<b>Öküz</b>	<b>Orsaqçı</b>	<b>Ušaq</b>
A:qataba:y	Šeri:p Ya:ralı	A:q Salıq	A:q Öküz	Alınjašeyta:n	Baraq
Badraq	Šeri:p Nu:ralı	Ĝarasalıq	Ĝara Öküz	Jüneyt	Temeč
Tatar		Topčılar		Ĝırımsa	Ĝarsaq
Eymir				Ĝaraxoja	Ĝaraboyun
Güjök				Mıralı	Tebele
Ĝa:nyoqmaz					Xajı
Ĝojaq					
Igdir					

#### 2.1.5 Salır<sup>69</sup>

The Salır make up only a small group in Afghanistan today, smaller than the Teke, Yomut and Sa:rıq which had before the departure of the Salor from the Western Turkmen steppes been only their junior members.<sup>70</sup> They mostly live in Herāt.<sup>71</sup> Many Salır have after 1979

<sup>68</sup> According to Jarring (1939:38) *Bayramčoli* or *Utlitimir*; the *Ušaq* are in Jarring's systematization a sub-clan of their own.

<sup>69</sup> Against existent scholarship, I do not indicate the contemporary tribal name as Salor but as Salır in accordance with the pronunciation in Afghanistan.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Bregel 1981:18.

<sup>71</sup> Franz (1972a:204) locates Salor in several villages in the Herat province and an "eastern group" in seven villages in the Balkh province. The latter are, according to Franz, *Alam* and *Xoja:mba:z* and are by many not acknowledged as Salor; the *Ä:rsa:rı* with which they live together in the Balkh province are "not acknowledging them as *xālis* Turkmens" and some *Alam* (= *Olam*) and *Xoja:mba:z* are reported as counting themselves among

emigrated to Iran due to war and lack of security. Among their prominent lineages are the following:

**Table 5:** The Salır clans and lineages

<b>Kičia:ğā<sup>72</sup></b>	<b>Ĝaraman</b>	<b>Yalawač</b>
Arslan	Ajğam	Begsaqar
Sayat	Ku:šiboqa	Kese
Bokaš	Xalılčulum	Keri:ma:ğā
Bokğara	Gedek	Orduğoja
Ya:qu:p	Ökujikli	
Ya:jı	Begbölek	
	Oljuq	

### 2.1.6 Yemreli

The Yemreli in Afghanistan also make up only a small number. Some of their families live in Herāt. The most prominent ones of their lineages are the following<sup>73</sup>:

**Table 6:** The lineages of the Yemreli

<b>Da:ğh</b>	<b>Ĝumh</b>
Ba:y	Ĝaraja
Ĝazaq	Ĝarawı
Xıdır	Taqırdıñ
Ma:rıp	Dä:diš
Berdixoja	Jüneyt
Čaqan	Yarlı

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the local Uzbeks "although their language is Turkmen and their customs are said to be more similar to those of the other Turkmens than those of the Uzbeks" (Franz *loc.cit.*).

<sup>72</sup> Jarring (1939:37) has the same clan names for the Salor. He indicates that each one of them have "further 6-7 subdivisions, and each of them again is divided into 2-10 fresh groups", so that the tribal system of the Salor, according to him, amounts to about 110 names (which he does not specify).

<sup>73</sup> Jarring does not indicate any subdivisions of the Yemreli (*Yemrili* in his text).



### 2.1.7 Qarqın

The Qarqın are one of the 24 ancient tribes of the Turkmen. According to the Afghan Boundary Commission in 1886 they numbered around 1,000 households on Afghan territory.<sup>74</sup> Today they do not constitute a very big group either, nor does their dialect differ significantly from the Ä:rsa:rı dialect. A district bordering the Amū Daryā, i.e. Qarqın, bears the name of this ethnic group. Outside the Qarqın district, members of the tribe also live in Andkhoy, in the district of Imām Şāhib (Kunduz province) and, in yet smaller numbers, in several other districts. The Qarqın tribe comprises the following lineages: Topbaq, Solqa, Dügir, Ya:dam, Jarçı, Eşekli, Yerya:ğ, Jüyjik, Dikayaq, Hapbek, Sırğınlı, Hekge, Čoğma, Paxta, Mäleçä:kmen, Čaqqı, Tulum, Ğa:pla, Tusı, Öküz, Ğuzı, Kö:ne, Kömir, Maşša, Maxdum, Süytek, Kā:di, Mele, Tor, Bişik, Düyye, Demir, Da:ş, Čağşal, Toğsa, Xanba:d, Gö:k, Jürdek, Čerm, Bığırlı, Ğoduz, Ča:lbaş, Čalşaq, Sanaç, Kese, Pıçaqlı, Ğıjaq, A:lagöz, Ğa:wıncı, Dö:ş, Maşşaq, Pā:wler, Meleñler, Di:wa:na, Maymaq, Čıwalı.<sup>75</sup>

### 2.1.8 Ča:yi

In a compact settlement, members of this group live mostly in the district of Čāyi (Balkh province), while others live disparately in Aqča, Şibirghān and other towns. Their dialect does not differ from the Ä:rsa:rı dialect.<sup>76</sup> The main lineages within the Ča:yi tribe are said to be as follows: Sa:rıbaş, Pa:dalar, Yetdi, Salır, Ğaraçomaq.

### 2.1.9 Bayat<sup>77</sup>

The Bayat in ancient times formed one of the important Turkmen tribes and they may have lived along the Amū Daryā way before the Ä:rsa:rı and others moved in.<sup>78</sup> Today in Afghanistan there exist two ethnic groups named Bayat. One of them are Turkmen-speakers, while the other Bayat group are Fārsi-speakers and do not share linguistic or cultural similarities with the Turkmen. The Turkmen-speaking Bayat live in Pīrmazīd, a village near Şibirghān; in Aqča; in Mazāri Şarīf, and scattered over a few other towns.

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<sup>74</sup> Bregel (1981:17), quoting Adamec (1979:314-15).

<sup>75</sup> This list was kindly provided by our informant the esteemed Ha:ji Uwez Durdı, a 70 year-old resident of Qarqın. – Jarring (1939:39) mentions "some divisions" of the Qarqın but does not give names.

<sup>76</sup> Franz (1972:219) in his findings of 1970 names the Ča:yi as a subgroup of the (Ä:rsa:rı) *Qara-Baka'ul* (= Qara? Bekewil?) along with *Lamba/Lama*, *Qultaq*, *Sarli* and *Tuarai*.

<sup>77</sup> Information on the Bayat lineages was provided by Ha:ji Rahmatulla:h, age 48, a resident of Şibirghān.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Bregel 1981:23 fn. 44.

Along with the tribes enumerated above there exist another couple of tribes which live in much the same regions as the Ä:rsa:rı, but are not part of the basic structure of that tribe. Nartıyev characterizes their dialects as "of Qıpçaq origin",<sup>79</sup> we count them among the *nāxālīə* dialects. They are subdivided into the following lineages: Kette, Tirmek, Šağal, Sayat, Qadam, A:rıqlı, Sa:bıq, Gö:šti:mez, Qazaq, Mañqa, Güneybaxtarlı.

#### 2.1.10 Muqrı<sup>80</sup>

Members of the Muqrı tribe<sup>81</sup> live in compact groups in Aqča, Murdıyān, in the province of Jowzjān; in the district of Xāncārbāgh (Fāryāb province); in the district of Davlatābād and in villages around Šaharak and Siyāhgird (all in the Balkh province); in the Čārdara district of the province of Kunduz. Some more Muqrı live in disparate settlements elsewhere in the region. Their dialect differs significantly from the *xālīş* Turkmen dialects. Their main subtribal division reads as follows: Alçı, Köpek, Örgenji, Başığarğalı, Egrikelle, Či:şdepeli, Yigrimtö:rtatlı.

#### 2.1.11 Xaṭap<sup>82</sup>

Members of this tribe live in the vicinity of Muqrı Turkmen in Aqča, Murdıyān, in the province of Jowzjān; in the district of Xāncārbāgh (Fāryāb province); in the district of Davlatābād and in villages around Šaharak and Siyāhgird (all in the Balkh province); furthermore in the districts of Qal'ai Zāl, Imām Šāhib and Čārdara of the Kunduz province, as well as in a disparate form in other places. The Xaṭap are mostly immigrants from the southeastern regions of today's Turkmenistan who came to North Afghanistan as refugees in the 1920s, as did the Ä:rsa:rı, the Muqrı and Xoja:mba:z. According to their own traditions, in their places of origin they had also lived as neighbors of the Muqrı. Their dialects are similar. Their tribal subdivision is as follows: Dö:nmez, Telter, Joñ, Ğaralar, Jü:jeler, Kö:seler, Yu:ha:, Gö:k, Ğartañ, La:flar, La:jerem, Čekene, Yağmır, Nawa:yı, Abaytal, Ča:naqçı, A:qeşekli, Tutan, Ğaraburuğçı.

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<sup>79</sup> Nartıyev 1994:36.

<sup>80</sup> Data was provided by Da:wu:d A:ğa:, 70, resident of Siyāhgird, Balkh province.

<sup>81</sup> Jarring (1939:39) mentions the *Mukri* as a group related to the Gögleñ and gives no further details.

<sup>82</sup> The data on the Xaṭap subtribal division was collected from Xuda:yberdi A:ğa:, a resident of the Aqča district.

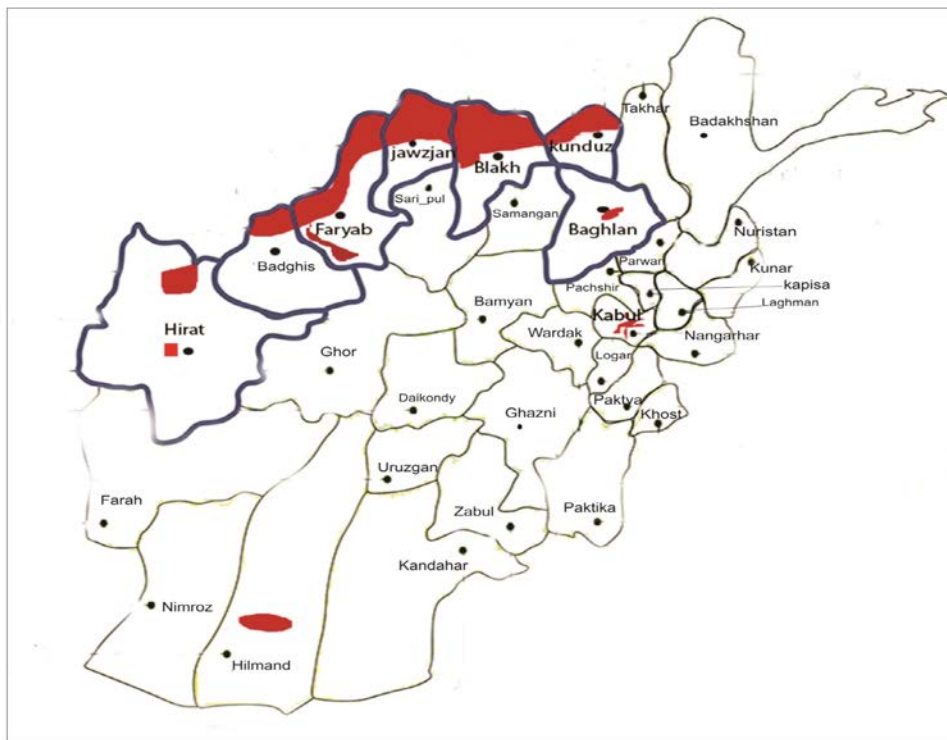
### 2.1.12 Surxı<sup>83</sup>

Members of this little tribe live in disparate settlements in the district of Xāncārbāgh; in Aqča, Murdiyān and Fayzābād (all Jowzjān province); in the districts of Qal'ai Zāl, Imām Šāhib and Čārdara of the Kunduz province. Their dialect depicts closeness to the dialects of the Bayat, Xaṭab, and Muqrı. They are divided into Yu:lıq, Muğul, Qarğalı, Qullar, Dü:pberdi, Süple, Čumbegli, Čä:ğa:rıqlı.

### 2.1.13 Xoja:mba:z

Members of this tribe live along the river Amū Daryā in the districts of Qal'ai Zāl, Imām Šāhib and Čārdara of the Kunduz province; in the district of Šortepe (Balkh province) and in Aqča. Their dialect belongs to the *nāxālıš*<sup>84</sup> group of Turkmen dialects. Xoja:mba:z divide into Kō:seler, Qazaq, Küyük, Laqqa, Čaqqa:n, Gürji, Girrik, Šaṅṅı, Dä:liajam, Yetdiuruğ, Tosal, Keltek, Araplar, Zıya:n.<sup>85</sup>

Map 2: Residential places of Turkmen people in Afghanistan

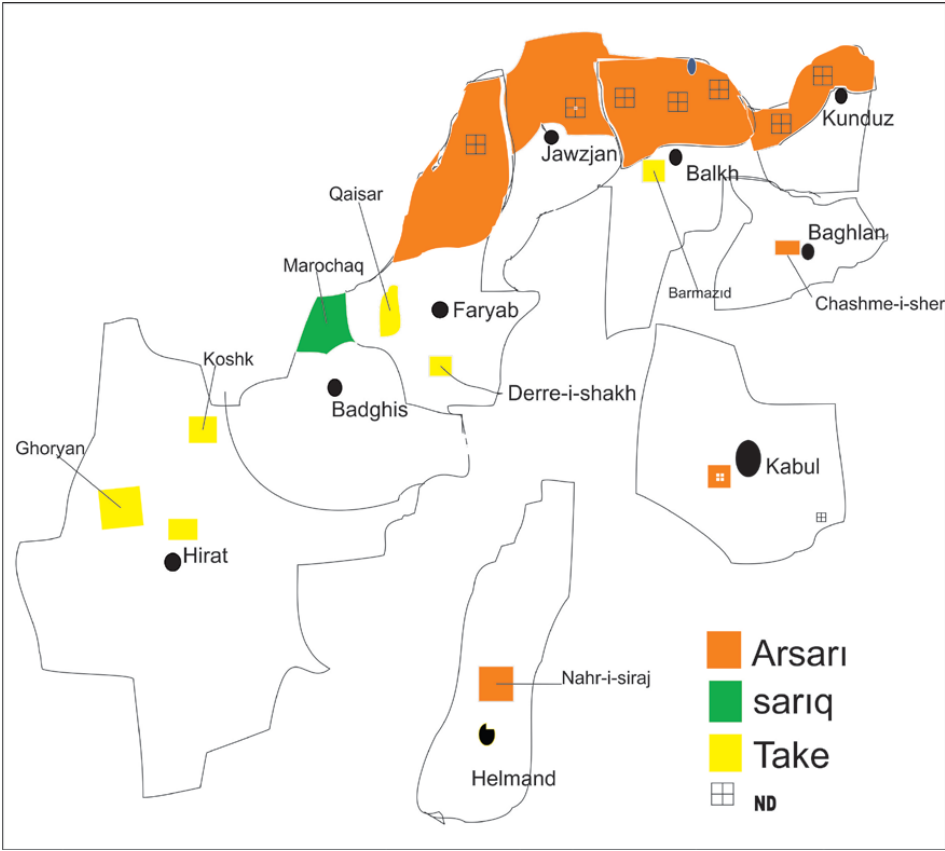


<sup>83</sup> Data was provided by Alla:berdi surxı 64, resident of Xa:nča:rba:ğ, Fa:riya:b province.

<sup>84</sup> Compare Qiyāmuḍḍin Rā'i (1358:45-46).

<sup>85</sup> The list was gathered from Muxammad Ami:n Qa:ni', 60, a resident of the city of Kunduz. – The informants of Franz (1972a:224) mentioned the Xoja:mba:z as a subgroup of the Salor and, in very limited overlapping with our own information, reported the lineages of *Ačam*, *Arab*, *Bešleri*, *Ča:rek*, *Dä:li*, *Herekli*, *Qireq*, *Sağır*, *Šaṅı*, *Šı:x* and *Tat* (the latter of which points to the "Uzbekness" ascribed to the group since *Tat* is among Turkmen of Afghanistan a familiar derogatory denomination for Uzbeks).

Map 3: Residential places of the Turkmen tribes in Afghanistan



In addition to the aforementioned groups, members of the Qultaq, Burqaz, Čandır and Saltıq tribes are also to be found within Afghanistan's borders, particularly in the North of the country where they reside mostly among, or in close geographical proximity to the Ä:rsa:rı. As a consequence, their idioms present very few differences from that of the Ä:rsa:rı. This is even the case of the Qultaq who live among themselves in an eponym settlement in the district of Šortepe.

Gunnar Jarring (1939:50) mentions a tribe named Qarama (sic) which dwelt to the East of Andkhoy and amounted to 12,000 families. He hypothesizes that the British agent Burnes may have mixed them up with the Saqar who lived on the shore of the Amū Daryā and whose population he estimated as 2,000 individuals. We regard these considerations regarding the Qurama as being downright mistaken. The label Qurama does not refer properly speaking to a tribe, but to an agglomeration of small Turkmen tribes and lineages who dwelt in the vicinity of Andkhoy but are not considered by Turkmen tribes as being part of the Ä:rsa:rı. According

to Ä:rsa:rı authoritative elders (*ya:şuli*), the denomination appeared in the 1930s as an outcome of the process of taxpaying to the central government of Afghanistan. As the Ä:rsa:rı settled in Afghanistan after having fled from the Soviet Union, their tribal leaders agreed to collect taxes from each Turkmen tribal group within their boundary of authority. The Ä:rsa:rı split the task of tax collection between the Ğara, Bekawul, Göneş and Ulıdepe tribal divisions but did not take responsibility to collect taxes from the small non-Ä:rsa:rı tribes. The state grouped these small tribes under the pseudo-tribal name *Qurama* for the sake of tax collection. The label applied even to tribal groups like the Kiyikçi (whom the Ä:rsa:rı do not consider as being Turkmens at all). The word indeed means “agglomeration, assemblage, grouping”. Besides Andkhoy, people called Qurama are also present in other places like in Şortepe, where small tribal divisions are grouped under this very label.<sup>86</sup>

## 2.2 The Turkmen dialects

Scholars from the Soviet and Turkmenistani school consider the Turkmen dialects to essentially fall into two groups, namely, the Oghuz and Qıpçaq dialects. The Oghuz group includes the Teke, Yomut, Ä:rsa:rı, Sa:rıq, Salır, Ali-Eli, Gögleñ, Yemreli, Saqar and Burqaz; the Qıpçaq group includes the Noxur, Olam, Surxı, Xařab, Muqırı, Ćawdur, Bayat, Eski, Qaraĉ, Änäw, Hisa:r, Saya:d, Bu:jaq, İğdır, Diyeji and others.<sup>87</sup> This classification had first been introduced by the Russian linguist A.P. Pocoluevskij and was refined by the Turkmenistani Turkmen scholars A. Annanurov and N. Nartıyev. For classificatory purposes, they relied primarily – on phonological grounds – on the distribution of the interdental /t/ and /đ/ and on the formation of the present continuous with *yörmek* versus *durmaq*, respectively.<sup>88</sup> Scholars who write in Persian also acknowledge the existence of two major dialect groups, but rather use the denominations "Turkmens proper (*turkmanāni xālīş*)" and "non-proper Turkmens (*turkmanāni nāxālīş*)"<sup>89</sup>, which I will also apply in my study. Jāvad Hāy'āt uses the terms *lahjahā-ye xālīş* and *lahjahā-ye maxlūt* instead.<sup>90</sup>

The Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan, including the majority Ä:rsa:rı dialect, have hitherto not been objects of scholarly investigation. The only publication so far is a small introductory article authored by Qiyāmuddin Rā'i which was printed in the Afghan Yearbook of 1980;<sup>91</sup>

<sup>86</sup> The data regarding the Qurama was collected from Muxammadqul Ba:y, son of Ama:ngeldi Ba:tır, a *ya:şuli* of the Ćaqır subdivision of the Ä:rsa:rı tribe.

<sup>87</sup> Nartıyev 1994:27.

<sup>88</sup> Nartıyev 1994:37-38.

<sup>89</sup> Qiyāmuddin Rāay 1358:45-46.

<sup>90</sup> Jawad Hayat 1380:285.

<sup>91</sup> Qiyāmuddin Rāay 1358:45-46.

this article introduces the Turkmen language of Afghanistan in very general terms but does not provide any detailed linguistic information.

### 2.2.1 The Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan and their neighboring languages

In Afghanistan there exist a broad variety of Turkmen dialects, among which feature the Ä:rsa:rı, Sa:rıq, Teke, Yomut, Qarqın, Salır, Yemreli, Muqrı, Xaṭab, Bayat, Olam, Xoja:mba:z, Surxı and Šı:x. As for the other dialects which have been identified by students of the Turkmen idioms, no speakers have so far been found so that we may assume that either none, or only very few at best live on Afghan territory today who probably communicate in other idioms than those enumerated above.

On dialectological grounds and by linguistic classification we can divide the Turkmen idioms of Afghanistan into two groups: dialects which belong to the Oghuz or *turkmanī-yi xālīş* group and others which belong to the Qıpçaq or *turkmanī-yi nāxālīş* group. The former include the Ä:rsa:rı, Teke, Yomut, Sarıq, Qarqın, Olam, Salır and Yemreli; the latter include the Muqrı, Xaṭab, Bayat, Surxı, Xoja:mba:z and Šı:x. For the purpose of this study we will employ the denominations *xālīş (XD)* and *nāxālīş (ND)* dialects.

In addition to all dialects mentioned before, I have come across a dialect in Herāt whose speakers are called Mewri. These Mewri insist on being Turkmen and on having moved into their current area of residence from Marv in ancient times, which is where perceivedly their name originates from. However, after carefully listening to two representatives of that group, and analysing their idiom, I concluded that their idiom is much closer to Uzbek than to any variety of Turkmen. My impression was shared by the supervisor of this study, Prof. Ingeborg Baldauf, who is an expert on the Uzbek dialects of Afghanistan. I argue that this idiom may belong to descendents of the Timurids of Herāt who for a lengthy period of time ruled over Herāt and environs. Erhard Franz in his study on the Turkmens of Afghanistan does not come to a final conclusion; he mentions some 4,100 *Mauri* as living in four settlements near Herāt, and in Herāt city. According to Franz, their idiom is a "Turkic language interspersed with Persian and Pašto elements, which is not understood by Turkmens according to consensual information given by other Turkmens". While the *Mauri* themselves claimed Turkmen affiliation, their Turkmen neighbors denied them that status.<sup>92</sup> For a final understanding of the actual affiliation of that idiom it will be necessary to investigate the subject in more depth.

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<sup>92</sup> Franz 1972a: 203.

The most widely spoken Turkmen dialect of Afghanistan is the Ä:rsa:rı dialect, whose speakers, according to reasoned estimate, make up for approximately 80% of the total of Turkmen speakers of the country. Speakers of various Ä:rsa:rı idioms – which among themselves show little variation only – inhabit the whole region at all populated by Turkmen. In places and regions like Andxoy, Davlatābād and the Qaysar and Almār districts (all Fāryāb province) as well as in Šibirghān, Aqča, Xānqāh, Murdıyān, Fayzābād and Xoja Dūkūh (all Jowzjān province); Qal'ai Zāl, Bandari Šerxān, Čārdara and Kunduz City (all Kunduz province); and in Herāt City, Bandari Turghundī and the districts of Gulrān and Ghoriyān (all Herāt province) the Ä:rsa:rı live in close vicinity of Uzbeks, Tajiks and Paštuns, while some places like the districts of Xamyāb, Qarqın and Mengejik (all Jowzjān province), Šortepe and Kaldār (Balkh province) are exclusively populated by Ä:rsa:rı, and Turkmen constitute the overall majority of the inhabitants of regions like Qal'ai Zāl (Kunduz province) and Marūčāq (Bādghīs province). In the public sphere, Turkmen idioms find themselves under pressure by high-prestige varieties such as Fārsī-Darī or Uzbek in many places.

Turkmen is the regular language of communication in locations which are totally or almost exclusively populated by Turkmen, for example Xamyāb, Qarqın, Šortepe, Kaldār, Marūčāq and Mengejik. Wherever Turkmen live interspersed with other ethnic groups, as is the case with Andxoy, Šibirghān, Aqča and Dawlatābād, the language of communication in domains like state administration and education is either Fārsī-Darī or Uzbek. In large cities such as Mazāri Sharīf and Kunduz the Turkmen regularly use Fārsī-Darī. Since most shopkeepers and traders in the cities are either Uzbeks or Tajiks, the regular language of trade and commerce is in more local contexts Uzbek, or in big cities altogether Fārsī-Darī.

It comes as no surprise that, these conditions prevailing, the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan are heavily influenced by Fārsī-Darī, particularly in the realm of lexicon but also to a certain degree in morphology and syntax. The influence of the neighboring Uzbek dialects – or perhaps it is more adequate to speak of similarities between the Turkmen and Uzbek dialects as long as the history of their cohabitation is not fully explained – is significant to varying degrees. While the *xālīš* dialects depict surprisingly little influence, the *nāxālīš* dialects are in many respects so similar to their immediate Uzbek neighbor dialects that one might even consider them as intermediate varieties to be placed between Uzbek and Turkmen. My study contains many details on this relation but I have not come to a definite conclusion about the issue.

Along with Fārsī-Darī, the Paštu language plays an important role, being the other overall official language of Afghanistan. Ever since the territory of what is today Afghanistan has

been under dynasties of Paštun ethnic affiliation, this language has enjoyed particular attention by the ruling class. The peak of this development was reached around 40-50 years before, when the Paštu language had come to be employed as the overall and only language of state school instruction in Northern Afghanistan regardless of the prevailing ethnic and linguistic composition of the population. The goal of promoting Paštu was entrusted primarily to the institution *Paštu Tolena* which was well provided with all means to push the state policy through. Fluency in Paštu was a compulsory requirement for all state employees and people had to pass annual language exams; if they failed to pass these exams, they would be removed from office. The policy of linguistic Paštunization, so as to say, went hand in hand with an aggressive settlement policy pursued ever since the times of king Amānullāh Khān, with a large number of Paštun-speaking households having been relocated from the Southern and Eastern regions of Afghanistan into the North. The state sponsored their new settlements primarily on the expense of the neighboring Uzbeks and Turkmens who lost part of their lands in that historical context.

In some villages, for example in the villages of Aylanmajar (district Čārdara, province of Kunduz); Zulmābād, Halqa Kö:l, Afghānmazār and Ä:rsa:rīšāx (district Qal'ai Zāl) and in the district of Čārbölek (province of Balkh) Paštuns live in close vicinity with the local Turkmens.<sup>93</sup> The Turkmen villagers there do not speak Paštu. The interethnic language of communication is mostly Fārsī. I have even observed some Paštuns speaking Turkmen. Interestingly, irrespective of its status as official language of Afghanistan and of the massive support granted by the state, the Paštun language has to this day not exerted any significant influence on the Turkmen dialects beyond the inclusion of some items of military and administrative vocabulary such as *sa:ranwa:l*, *sa:randu:y*, *dagarwa:l*, *pu:hantu:n*, *loya jirga* and the like. There may be various reasons for this reluctance of the Turkmen dialect speakers to accept too much Paštu into their idioms. For one thing, not Paštu but Fārsī is the time-honored and prestigious language of culture and power in the region. It is in Fārsī that religion-based primary and secondary education was given, administration was carried out, and literature and all other high-prestige culture was handed down over the last centuries. For local Turkmens as well as Uzbeks Fārsī was, and for most individuals and families still is, the language to know when striving for social acceptance and upward mobility.

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<sup>93</sup> For details on the Turkmen settlements in the province of Kunduz I rely on the valuable help of Ha:jjī: Ima:mqul and Xayruddi:n Šerza:d from Qal'ai Zāl.



The Turkmen of Afghanistan were for a long time not entitled to use their mother tongue in public because if they did so, they would face disapproval and contempt by members of the neighboring ethnic groups. People were even ashamed of using their own language in mixed assemblies. Modern media like the press, radio and TV, or modern means of education were not available in the Turkmen language. As has already been mentioned before, this situation only changed for the better when in the Constitution of 2004 (§ 16) the Turkmen were granted the right to use the Turkmen language as an official language (along with Darī and Paštu) of schooling, administration, court etc. in areas where they live.

These new liberties notwithstanding, development in society has not yet progressed to a degree that factual equality of the different idioms would be achieved. Social reality until now finds the Turkmen idiom deep down the scale of social prestige, as we can observe from the following observations. If in a gathering almost everybody is Turkmen and there are only one or two Uzbeks present, the Turkmen will immediately try to speak Uzbek. If, on the other hand, Turkmen and Uzbeks together take part in an assembly of any kind where only very few Tajiks are present, too, both the Turkmen and the Uzbeks will switch to Darī. It is safe to assume that this phenomenon, which testifies to the higher social prestige of the Persian language, on the other hand lies at the basis of the higher degree of general development and cultural achievement of the Tajik population today and continuously grants people from that ethnic group better access to a professional life in the domains of science and culture. Remarkably, even in regions with a dominant Turkmen population most teachers and state officials are either Uzbeks or Tajiks, while only a small number of Turkmen have so far made it into such professions.

### **2.2.2 Some sociolinguistic phenomena**

Most languages coexist with related dialects (geolects) that differ from them to a lesser or higher degree. Differentiation in lects can not only be determined by geographical distribution, but in many cases it correlates with difference in economic status, gender, age, religion, profession and other socio-cultural markers.<sup>94</sup> In the case of Turkmen of Afghanistan, ethnic and tribal differentiation appears to play the decisive role in dialect differentiation, much more than any of the other above-named factors. If a standard language exists – which is not yet the case of Afghan Turkmen, as has been stated earlier – it would be

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<sup>94</sup> *Language and Space. An International Handbook of Linguistic Variation. Vol. 1: Theories and Methods*, ed. Peter Auer, Jürgen Erich Schmidt, Berlin / New York 2010: Chapter 1 "Introduction: Language and Space" (p. 18-69).

the idiom supported by the state authorities which is applied in the domains of education and everywhere else in the universe of writing. The written standard language, as opposed to other varieties, is stable and does not undergo change at a quick pace. By the same token it is less prone to decline and loss than other varieties.

Language as an abstract phenomenon depends on circumstances and preconditions. Dialects, the spoken language of the everyday, are immediately influenced by the given social conditions under which they exist. The Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan find themselves under the impact of social, economic, cultural and religious phenomena, which on the other hand the dialects are again a reflection of and, dialectically, have a hand in shaping. Many social factors determine the concrete mode of speaking that is practised by individuals and groups of people. Speech as the concretization of language for ends of mutual communication is a complex phenomenon which demands special in-depth investigation. Since in order to achieve its socio-cultural and "political" goal of laying the knowledge basis for a future standard Afghan Turkmen language this study is primarily concerned with documenting and analyzing the systemic basis of the Turkmen dialects rather than with describing and analyzing their realization in the concrete speech of individuals or groups. Therefore this book is not the place to describe such phenomena in detail. However, a few preliminary observations that have come up in the course of my fieldwork may support a deeper understanding of some – in a systemic rather than functional understanding – linguistic phenomena later described in detail. Therefore I will briefly introduce them here.

### **2.2.2.1 Dialect difference: Politeness**

The concrete modes of speaking as we can observe them in the Turkmen dialects differ in co-variation with difference in socio-cultural aspects in matters of phonology just as they do with regard to morphology and lexicon, and more generally, phenomena from spontaneous accent to stylistics and others.

An obvious case in point is linguistic features related, in a broad sense, to the functional category of politeness. Although so far the Turkmen dialects seem to be considered as one homogenous entity in this respect,<sup>95</sup> my field results indicate that they do in fact differ. Forms of address which in the Teke, Yomut and Sa:riq dialects express a sufficient degree of politeness in social interaction, would in the Ä:rsa:rı, Muqri, Xaṭab and other dialects not

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<sup>95</sup> Baskakov (1970:180f.) states that the pluralized pronoun *sizler* in Turkmen would be a honorific form typical of the spoken language as such, which may occasionally occur in the written language as well, but does not give any indication of dialect differences in these matters.

conform to standards of polite expression. The details of this distinction demand for more in-depth investigation for there is even reason to assume that an overarching linguistic divide between *xāliş* and *nāxāliş* runs through these dialects which might indeed, perhaps among other things, be marked particularly by the relevance or irrelevance of the functional criterion of politeness.<sup>96</sup> Although I cannot go into sufficient detail here for lack of systematic enquiry on this topic, some preliminary observations may still be worth drawing the readers' attention to.

For example, addressing a person of higher social rank than ego as 2.P.SG. *sen* (rather than 2.P.PL. *siz*) is conventional in the Teke and other dialects dominant in Turkmenistan and is not considered an insult by the addressees – which would obviously be the case if the same mode of speaking were employed when geared at speakers of Ä:rsa:rı and the other Afghan Turkmen dialects enumerated above. It appears as if this particular Teke etc. convention were, by virtue of the prestigious and exemplary character attributed to those dialects and the standard language of Turkmenistan that builds on them, in Afghanistan since 1979 about to even take an influence on the local dialects as well, which might sooner or later end up in a full copying of the phenomenon into the Afghan Turkmen dialects. The Teke etc. group of dialects also does not employ the plural suffix *-lar* in predicates of 3.P.PL. related to human beings, a kind of omission which in Ä:rsa:rı etc. would not conform to the social rules of politeness.

The assumption that social conventions find a surprisingly immediate reflection in speech conventions is supported by observations like the following: In the everyday lives of members of the Teke and Yomut ethnic groups the general standards of "politeness" (as Ä:rsa:rı etc. would call it) are considerably lower in many ways. For example, verbal as well as nonverbal expression of politeness in hospitality, like receiving and treating guests at one's home, when measured against the standards of Ä:rsa:rı etc. would appear greatly deficient: The guest is not repeatedly invited to help himself, but in many situations he even seems to be expected to serve himself without any support on the part of the host. Conventions of communication<sup>97</sup> thus clearly differ between members of the different dialect communities, as can also be shown by the following situation observed in the field: Food is served and the guests are assembled around the *saçaq*, but salt and pepper are missing. While Ä:rsa:rı convention

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<sup>96</sup> Claus Schönig in his paper "The internal division of modern Turkic and its historical implications" (1999:73) defines the "Central Asian Turkic Area" as characterized by the "paradigms of politeness". In this sense, the Afghan Turkmen dialects would share more commonalities with the Central Asian Turkic idioms than the dominant dialects of Turkmenistan.

<sup>97</sup> For the generalities of the notion see Austin (1962); more specifically: Penco&Vignolo (2005); Liu n.d.

demands for an indirect hint such as asking in a polite tone, *üyde du:z barmı?* lit. 'Is there any salt in the home?' (which in its turn might be considered a sarcastic and rude saying!), Teke etc. guests would come up with a straightforward and, by measures of an Ä:rsa:rı recipient of the message, truly rude *saçaqda du:z yo:q du:z getir!* 'There is no salt at table, fetch salt!'

Generally speaking, those Turkmen dialects which numerically dominate in Afghanistan observe a subtle and rather strictly-to-be-applied expression of social relations and hierarchies in verbal as well as non-verbal communication. In some cases there is even some additional internal differentiation between these dialects, as the following example will demonstrate. What has been said about the impossibility to use 2.P.SG. *sen* when addressing a person of higher social rank than ego, in the case of the Muqrı dialect also extends into the realm of the third person. When I attended an assembly of honored elderly men from the Muqrı ethnic community in the district of Aqča (Jowzjān province), one of the gentlemen introduced me to the others saying,

- turkmen tilden ya: xatab tilden, ya: misa:li ola:m tilden her qaysıdan bir neti:je alar eken de bu kişiler (Mu. 1)  
This gentleman intends to derive results (insights) about the Turkmen or Xaṭab or for example Ola:m language, from every one of them.

What sets this example apart from conventions of the Ä:rsa:rı dialect – not to mention Teke etc. – is the pluralisation of the postponed subject *kişi-ler*. As a rule, however, single or even multiple pluralisation in comparable circumstances is compulsory in all Afghan Turkmen dialects when one refers to men of an elevated religious rank, such as *pi:r* and *muršid* of a Sufi order; in these cases a honorific plural marker of some kind needs to be applied not only in the presence of the person talked about, but also in their absence:

- ö:z-ler-i            sağ-mı-lar? (Är.13)  
self-PL3POSS healthy-QPL  
'Is he healthy?'
- tağsı:r!            siz    qačan biz-iñ-k-ä:            bar-ar=qa:-ñız? (Är.9)  
sirEXCL            youPL when we-GENPARTDAT    go-AORCLT2PLPOSS  
Sir, when are you intending to visit us (at home)?

- ı:ša:n ba:ba-lar                      ayd-ıpdır-lar (Är.1)  
   *eša:n ba:ba:-PL*                      say-PSTPL  
   The honorable *eša:n ba:ba:* has said...

Generally, dialect-speaking men with close ties to the religious sphere (in the local idioms denoted as *ahli madrasa* 'people of the madrasa') display a marked inclination towards overuse of pluralisation. Not only do they more or less regularly replace the PRON2SG *sen* with PRON2PL *siz* in whatever contexts, but they also attach a plural suffix to the regular IMPER2PL, e.g., *geliñler!* 'come!', *barıñlar!* 'go!', obviously inspired by the excessive politeness that prevails at madrasas.<sup>98</sup>

### 2.2.2.2 Dialect difference: Address

Address is a special cultural domain where politeness and other phenomena connected to human and social relations are played out in language. Whenever a speaker directs word on someone or has to call him, the specificities of the relations between these two human beings are likely to be reflected in what is being said, and how. The Turkmen dialects differ from one another in these matters to a sensible degree. Generally speaking, address reflects either balance or imbalance.

In the Afghan Turkmen dialects a balanced relation such as the one between friends, colleagues of equal status, etc. is expressed by way of addressing each other with one single term, namely, either a given name (anthroponym) or an alias / nickname / pen-name (*taxalluş*). An imbalanced relation, on the other hand, such as would be teacher-pupil, doctor-patient, master-worker, landowner-farmer, but also all asymmetrical relations in terms of age and gender, and special relationships such as host-guest, necessitate a special mode of address. More often than not, the given name or *taxalluş* is in such cases not used at all or if it is, it needs to be supplied with a term of address such as – from "below" directed to "above" – *sa:yib* (to follow the respected person's, male or female, name). Terms of address that are real or symbolic kinship terms can be directed "up" or "down" the social hierarchy in accordance with the hierarchy of age expressed by the term; the given name may precede the term of address, but only "up the ladder" (*Oraz ağa* 'Mr Oraz', *A:qnaba:t eke* 'Ms A:qnaba:t', *ini:m* 'my dear (lit. 'my little brother') ...'). When communicating with an unknown person, about

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<sup>98</sup> Whether or not this pluralisation of IMPER2PL might be copied from neighboring Uzbek dialects, which also show this phenomenon, remains to be investigated.

whose social status the speakers are uncertain so that they do not know for sure which term of address would be appropriate, one does not employ any term of address but resorts to a simple *siz* 'you 2PPL/FRM'.

While these conventions are carefully observed among Ä:rsa:rı dialect speakers and others who speak that dialect in a given context, speakers of the Teke dialect do not conform to them at all, but apply *sen* 'thou 2PSG/INFRM' to persons about whose social status they are not informed, or even elders and guests, who by virtue of age or specificity of status in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect would by nature be liable for a respectful address, as which Ä:rsa:rı speakers would only consider *siz*. In the Teke dialect terms of respectful address such as *sa:yib* are hardly used at all; even a student would address his professor with a simple *mä:lim!* 'teacher!', which according to Ä:rsa:rı standards would be totally unacceptable.

### **2.2.2.3 Dialect difference: Incompatibility and misunderstanding**

Divergence in standards is not confined to the usage or non-usage of given terms and forms, but extends to pronunciation and the realm of emphasis and accent as well. The typical Teke "tone of speaking" is by speakers of most other dialects perceived as loud (!), somewhat rude, and commanding; to the sense of Ä:rsa:rı speakers, typical Teke word accent "shifts to the first syllable, which makes their speech sound fierce and vigorous" (quoted from my informant Är.1). I remember a humorous saying of a good friend of mine, according to whom "a true Teke would be a man who, when saying '*beh!*' out of surprise, makes whatever paper, straw and other light objects lie in front of him, fly up into the air" (Är. 10). The other way round, Teke speakers attribute connotations of "woman-like" feebleness, effeminacy and lack of straightforwardness to "typical Ä:rsa:rı speech" – to which the Ä:rsa:rı respond that their speech simply bears the mark of high literacy and that if any one should be accused of speaking unmanly, it should be the Teke, who use the purportedly more effeminate present form *-yä:r-* instead of *-yo:r-*. Teke speakers go still as far as applying the offensive pseudo-ethnonym "Tat" (which denotes ethnic aliens) to Ä:rsa:rı speakers, arguing that many features of their dialect do not belong to the Turkmen language but are rather borrowings, either from Persian or from Uzbek (Te. 2).

As comes clear from these last examples, dialect difference is in quite a few cases fraught with mutual stereotypisation and prejudice in perception, which in its turn appears to result from actual or perceived social imbalance between communities of speech. Most probably these phenomena result from a historical group experience rather than from individual and

actual perception and interpretation. However, individuals today do make meaning of language difference as they perceive it. The following saying, which I have not only collected once again during my recent fieldwork but which had been familiar to me for a long time from serious as well as nonsense talk, is just one out of many points that are put forward as proof of the "superiority" or "inferiority" of one dialect or another: In the Teke dialect, the polite word to invite a guest into a room would be *geč!* 'go ahead!'; the same word in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect is employed for whipping on goats... (Är. 9). If a given Ä:rsa:rı speaker who is not familiar with the Teke dialect were addressed by a Teke speaker this way, interdialectal misunderstanding would doubtlessly lead to feelings of insult.

The fact that the lexicon of different dialects may feature – sometimes unexpected – differences comes as no surprise. However, the overall similitude of the Turkmen dialects seems to lead to surprise and misunderstanding especially in the case of "false friends". One of these, which has repeatedly been mentioned by my informants, is the verb *gı:ğır=* which in Ä:rsa:rı dialect means 'to call, to summon' while in the Teke dialect it means 'to fly into a rage, to hassle'. Many a time a Teke speaker, when hearing an Ä:rsa:rı speaker say *ata:ŋ ğı:ğıryo:r!*, would ask with surprise, "Why is his father angry with him?".

#### **2.2.2.4 The urban and the rural**

Turkmen tribes have from ancient times been mobile stockbreeders with a less marked inclination towards city-dwelling. This condition to a certain extent persists until today: The percentage of urban Turkmen population is very low. In the provinces and districts which have above been mentioned as home to Turkmen, the majority of these live in rural areas rather than towns. This situation has slowly been changing in recent years: Due to a significant development of trade and commerce, but also as a result of civil war and lack of security in the countryside and of a general trend towards the amenities and cultural attractions of city life Turkmen have also begun to flock towards urban centers such as Mazāri Sharif, Shibirghān and Kunduz. In town the official language and means of – also, inter-ethnic – communication is predominantly Persian. Thus Persian is taking more and more influence on the language of Turkmen city dwellers, too. First of all, urban Turkmen include Persian vocabulary into their lexicon. Secondly, they constantly reduce the domains in which Turkmen is the exclusive or predominant medium of communication. The young generations who grow up in the city not unexpectedly lack a proper command of agricultural and pastoral terminology and do not know the specific vocabulary of folklore and ancient customs. They either prefer Persian lexemes at all, or apply and pronounce the Turkmen words incorrectly.

Along with singular lexical items the city-dwellers also copy elements of Persian grammar into their dialect or blend Persian conjunctive phrases and even morphological items into the Turkmen language: *ba:-vujū:diki* 'in view of the fact that...', *dar kulli ...* 'all over ...', *agarçi* 'although'; *yüzha:* 'hundreds', *münha:* 'thousands' etc.

Rural-urban difference can also be made out in mode of speech and intonation. Rural people, especially stockbreeders who live at the margins of the steppes, are said to speak at a louder voice and higher pitch than city-dwellers. I have often observed disapproving remarks by Turkmens who had got used to city life over a period of time, when rural relatives came to town and were seemingly "arguing and contending" among themselves all the time; in fact, the speakers under consideration were just talking at their own normal pitch.

The urban-rural divide in dialect is most striking among the speakers of small dialects such as Muqri, Xatab, Surxi and Bayat: While the idioms of the city-dwellers among those display a rather heavy influence of the Ä:rsa:rı majority dialect, villagers and rural people preserve dialects without a major imprint of Ä:rsa:rı, Persian, or other influence.

#### **2.2.2.5 Muhājirs and the others**

As has been stated above, the larger part of the Turkmen population of Afghanistan are descendents of *muhājirs*, i.e., immigrants to North, North-West and West Afghanistan who in the 1920s and 1930s settled in from the territories that are today Turkmenistan and to a lesser extent, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. The ancestors of the others had been dwelling in the Amū Daryā Basin of the northern regions of today's Afghanistan for many centuries.

These two categories of Turkmens differ quite significantly in custom, gear and lifestyle; a major item of differentiation that permits immediate attribution of individuals to their descent group is the so-called *esgi*, a delicate veil that is attached to both sides of the female headgear. This *esgi* is red in the case of the *muhājir* women while women of ancient local descent wear the *esgi* in golden yellow.

Interestingly, in linguistic terms the difference between *muhājirs* and non-*muhājirs* is insignificant. Actually, the Turkmen population of Afghanistan as a whole has over time been mobile. Due to landlessness and inadequacy of the available lands for pastoral purposes people kept being on the move; along with this many were forcefully resettled from one area to another through cruel policies implemented by the governments of its day. However, *muhājirs* as well as internally displaced Turkmens have always aimed at settling down in the vicinity of co-ethnics and as a result of the tribalism that prevailed in Turkmen society, local



residents always attempted and managed to provide locations for their co-ethnics to make a home in their close neighborhood. This has led to relatively compact "ethnic" settlements, which is also reflected in many toponyms and denominations of villages and regions, such as *Čaqır-Qıšlağ*, *Olam-Qıšlağ* (villages where members of the respective tribes or sub-entities dwell), *Ä:rsa:rı Ša:x* (an irrigation canal along which Ä:rsa:rı population dwells) and similar ones. The fact that the majority of the Afghan Turkmens live in compact settlements of this kind has until this day prevented the internal cohesion of the dialects from breaking down.

The *muhājir*-non-*muhājir* divide does not seem to be a decisive criterion for dialects, nor does the geographical one. Mobility has not significantly affected the dialectal structure of the Afghan Turkmen population. In fact, the dialect borders run along ethnic lines. The Turkmens are more conservative in keeping up the tribal organisation than any other ethnic group in the region, so that until today the ethnic differentiation really matters. On the other hand, the tribal groups are not linguistically differentiated: Regardless of the considerable geographical distance between their locations, Teke from the city of Herat in the far West would not depict any significant difference in dialect from Teke who live in the village of Barmazīd (Balkh province, central North). The dialect of the Ä:rsa:rı from the Kunduz province does not differ from the dialects spoken in the Jowzjān and Fāryāb provinces either. The idioms of the Ä:rsa:rı Qarqın and Xamyā:b, who live along the Amū Daryā and are non-*muhājirs* with a long pre-history in the region, do in their turn not differ significantly from the idioms spoken by *muhājir* Ä:rsa:rı of Andkhoy, Davlatābād, Aqča and Šibirghān.

#### **2.2.2.6 Literates and illiterates**

The spoken language of people with formal education differs in significant ways from the idioms of illiterates. Illiterates do not copy items of other languages into their own speech; in popular local interpretation, their idioms are thus perceived as "purer" (pers. *šāftar*). The popular interpretation mostly relates to the lexicon – illiterate Turkmens use a higher percentage of "originally Turkmen" vocabulary (*kalimahāyi ašili turkmanī*). Along with that, literate intellectuals with a marked relation to urban cultural life (*ravšanfīkrān*, *farhangiyān*) do not only copy or include a whole lot of Persian vocabulary into their language, but their speech is heavily influenced by Persian morphology and grammar, too, to the degree that it appears as if straightly copied or "translated" from Persian. Examples of this kind of speech are:

- sizleriñ ta:nkerha:yı a:blarñız ba:r eken, nä:dip bulara su: çıqaryo:sıñız? (Är.19)  
You have water tanks, so why are you pulling up water to these?
- a:dım Esedulla:, bir ya:rım yıl boldıki bö:rde besıpatı wılıswa:l ijra:yı wezi:pe etyo:n.  
(Är.23)  
My name is Esedulla:, it's been one and a half years that I am serving in the position of a district head here.
- ana şundağ etib ol neferi:ki öz ya:nında urgenedi behisa:b isti:da:di xuda:yı dige xayya:ti-yem. soñ xayya:tiñ ya:nına barse, bā:zi: ra:zini bilse we tari:qasını nä:me etse soñ yaxşı boladı. (Ba.3)  
By doing so that person who learns (the craft) by himself, so to speak (his knowledge) is a God-given craft after all, the taylor profession, too. If later he goes to a (real) taylor and learns some of his (professional) secrets and [accepts; lit. does stuff] his modes, then that's fine.

As has been stated earlier, in this context the idiom of people with close relations to the religious sphere (*ahli madrasa*) deserves special attention. Within this social group we again need to differentiate, since the language of those elderly men who are in popular expression named *mullāhāyi vaṭanī* ('home-grown mullahs') is very different from the language of proselytization as employed by mullahs who have been educated in Pakistani madrasas of today. The language of the *vaṭanī* mullahs is heavily influenced by Arabic in lexicon as well as in grammatical structure. The speech of these mullahs sounds as if – not unlike what *mutatis mutandis* has been said about the speech of intellectuals influenced by Persian – they first phrased their sentences in Arabic and then translated them into "Turkmen" by way of calque as best they can. As my informants would put it, this language "does not resemble the language of today but sounds as if spoken five or six hundred years ago" (Är.50) and makes an "outdated", "old-fashioned" impression on them. The following example, which has been recorded from a sermon delivered by Mawlawī Mawliddīn Zahabī (Är.50), was actually directed upon a contemporary audience of non-experts in religious matters, that is to say, a general Turkmen public, but in structure, vocabulary and style it heavily resembles literary texts of the *Qişaş ul-Anbiyā'* kind:

- (...) elbetde yuba:rduq Nu:hni qawmıñ tarafına, bes di:di olarğa ö:z da'wat tilinde, ey qawmım! qulluq aydıñ alla: ta'a:la:nıñ ö:zi:ğa ki yo:q sizler üçün hi:ç qulluq etku:çi

ondan başga bir za:t, çünki qorqyo:rn sizler uçu:n ol küniň aza:bindan yä:ni: qıya:mat küniniň aza:bindan qorqyo:n sizlerge şa:mıl bolar di:p (...) (Är. 50)

Obviously I dispatched Noah to the people. Then (Noah) said to them in his language of proselytization, «My people! Express your gratitude to God Himself – for there is nobody else for you to be grateful. Because I am afraid of the pains on your behalf, I am afraid that you might be included in the pains of that day, (namely) the Day of Judgement (...)».

In fact elements like *yuba:rduk*, *olarğa*, *tilinde*, *qulluq*, *ö:zi:ğä*, *etku:çi* and *sizlerge* contain phonological and morphological elements that do not conform to any Turkmen dialect of today but seem to be copied from the Chagatay literary language of a bygone age, which in its turn depicted exactly the kind of copying from Arabic syntax as we observe it here. However, the speaker did care for some phonetic adaptation to the contemporary Ä:rsa:rı Turkmen dialect.

The language of proselytization employed by mullahs with a Pakistani madrasa education, on the other hand, bears a totally different character. They struggle hard to speak the idiom of the masses they address, to make sure that their message is well understood and received. Their language also contains Arabic elements in lexicon, syntax and stylistics, but to a far lesser degree than the language of the *vaṭanī* mullahs. The proper Turkmen elements of their speech conform to the regular Afghan Turkmen of today, mostly its Ä:rsa:rı dialect.

- Alı ši:ri xuda: qaysı bir do:stlarınnan - bi:rinnen bi:rek dirhem qarz aldı. bi:rek dirhem. munı aldıda ba:zar bardı. bi:rek dirheme-de bi:rek ena:r berdi. hezireti Alı ši:ri xuda: şini ö:z yağşı göröyö:nja hemdi:wa:l juftlerne, ö:z aya:llarna alıq-gelyo:tı ğoltığna ğıslıp, bir waxt bir köçeden geliberse, bir meri:z yatı:r köçä:niň ğırasında. ğara:ň misilma:nlar! hezireti Ali ši:rı xuda:nı alla:h (j) imtiha:n edip göröyö:r onı. soň hezireti Alı ši:ri xuda: ötip bilmedi do:şinnan yaňqı meri:ziň. meri:zden so:radı nä:raqam ahwa:liň? nä:dip yatı:rsıň bi köçä:niň ğırasında? (Är. 2)

Ali, the Lion of God, took a loan of one dirham, one single dirham, from one of his friends. He took it and went to the bazaar. (The seller) gave him one pomegranade for one dirham. Hazrat Ali was taking this (pomegranade) to his beloved friend and partner, his own wife, stuffing (it) into his armpit. When he passed along the street (he saw that) an ill person was lying on the roadside. Look, Muslims! Allah (j) was examining Hazrat Ali the Lion of God. Then Hazrat Ali the Lion of God was unable to

(just) pass by the side of the above-mentioned sick person. He asked the sick person «How is your condition? Why are you lying on the side of this road?».

First of all, this text does not contain any outdated vocabulary or phrase; all lexical elements are taken from the active Ä:rsa:rı dialect. Secondly, the style of the text is easy and natural and keeps to popular speech. – These proselytizers have not studied at traditional Afghan Turkmen madrasas, which is why their language is not influenced by ancient literary Turkmen. Instead, they are trained to use the popular oral language which they only supply with additional lexemes in case of need. Otherwise they observe the conventions of everyday Turkmen speech, based on one of the local dialects.<sup>99</sup>

The speech of people without formal education stands out due to simplicity and most prominently, due to the evident absence of lexical and morphosyntactic copies. In the following I am quoting the words of an illiterate woman in her seventies which may illustrate this characterization:

- men bosa ođlan, oyna:rıma bosa ođlan yo:q. bir toqmađı bā:bek edip do:nimi burenip da:đa çıqıq gityo:n. ekelerimiz bosa sö:kıyo:r, heley bolıp ölen diyib. yekeje i:rigip etyo:rın-da.(Är.5)

I was a child, but there was no (other) child for me to play with. I made a doll from a stick, covered myself with my coat and climbed the hill. My elder sisters would insult me saying, may you die (immediately) after getting married. (But) I only did so (because of) being lonesome...

### 2.2.2.7 Social status

Much has been said about language and speech as a means to create social distinction and exert power.<sup>100</sup> The Afghan Turkmen speech community might be an excellent case for investigation into how imbalanced power that comes with hierarchies of age, gender, wealth, and social status in a broad sense, is played out in speech on the "linguistic market"; the differentiation into dialects adds yet another important aspect. However, since this study primarily pursues other goals, a few observations may suffice to point only to very few issues in this place. Much further investigation would be necessary to give justice to the topic.

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<sup>99</sup> Informant Är. 2, Mawlawi: Ubaydulla:h, is a resident of the Qaramqol district of Färyāb province. His speech is based on the local Ä:rsa:rı dialect.

<sup>100</sup> *Pierre Bourdieu: Language and Symbolic Power*, ed. John Thompson, Harvard 1993.

The typical speech of members of elevated Turkmen social groups (*a'yān*, *ašrāf*) is characterized by a grave and solemn pronunciation of single words and a relatively slow pace of speaking and low pitch of intonation. Vowel reduction and consonant omission can hardly be observed at all. This mode of speaking has by many informants been characterized as "emphatic" (*mu'akkad*) and "bossy" (*āmirāna*). As for stylistics, members of these social groups display a remarkable favor of inserting proverbs and clichéd phraseologisms, words of wisdom quoted from notables (*suxanāni buzugān*), and so on. – Speakers from lower social strata (*avvām*), however, generally prefer to speak at a quicker pace, with less concern for a careful pronunciation and a marked inclination to reduce vowels (especially /ɪ/ and /i/) and omit consonants (especially /r/). Elaborated stylistics does not seem to play a major role in the speech of these people, except for perhaps an occasionally inserted proverb.

These features all occur, as has been said, in an absolute manner in non-mixed speaker constellations. However, they are – at least by members of the elevated groups – also consciously employed and taken to an even higher level of distinctiveness when speakers from different social strata participate in one given situation. Afghan Turkmen *ašrāf* do play out what they perceive as linguistic superiority. Their speech behavior clearly shows that they are well aware of language as an instrument of power, which they purposefully apply to make their conversation partners aware that they are facing a person of elevated status.

#### **2.2.2.8 Gender**

Difference in language and speech is not confined to the socio-economic and socio-cultural sphere, but can also be observed in the realm of gender, which is (along with age) the most obvious and important mode of social differentiation among Afghan Turkmen.

Beyond verbal utterances that are necessitated by immediate demands of everyday life, typical male conversation is related to thematical fields like professional work, politics, societal matters and the like, while female conversation revolves around the concrete problems of life, social and economic hardship, and personal and family affairs. In mixed-gender situations it is the males who direct the conversation in the guise of intellectually superiors, setting thematical focusses and expecting the females to accord with them and abstain from alternative aspirations. While it is normal for men to allow themselves to interrupt female speech at will, the same hardly happens in the reverse direction. Females show a marked inclination towards asking questions. While men when asking questions do so in order to elicit answers, females rather apply the questioning mode as a communicative strategy to keep conversation going.

Conversation analysis would be a promising field of gender-related study. Men appear to be more versatile in control mechanisms that prevent conversation from going astray – they build up consistent lines of explicit and transparent argumentation, put forward or withdraw arguments in a strategic manner, and draw explicit verbal conclusions. Observing strict rules of seniority in bilateral and group conversation leads to what could be termed "orderly conversation" in the male sphere, which of course deprives and often silences persons low down on the hierarchical scales or enables them only of interfering with very brief and deficient sayings. – In the female realm, "orderly conversation" of the male kind is as such absent, since there seem to be no obvious rules of sequence, non-interruption, or general consistency in female group conversation. It regularly happens that two or three persons talk at the same time while nobody seriously cares to receive these verbal messages and adequately react on them, just as if communication were generally not the primary, or at least not the only important function of these verbal interactions. Arguments are mostly not elaborated in detail but come as compact, general, and often intransparent entities.

As far as I have been able to observe, women's speech generally differs from male's speech in that tempi are quicker, pitches are higher, and there is a remarkable tendency to reduce or remove vowels and consonants in positions which only an in-depth study could define. Specific morphemes are employed much more frequently than in male speech. This is mostly the case with diminutive and emphatic morphemes, such as the denominal *-ji:q-* derogative-emphatic and deverbal *-iyi:p-* mirative-emphatic. On the lexicological plane, there seems to be only little difference between female and male language; one distinctive feature is the usage of *hay!* or *ahay!* as an interjection to draw attention ('hey!') in the male, and of *ayu:!* in the female sphere. Cursing and applying derogatory speech seems to be a prerogative of females rather than men; cursewords like *yer tartan*, *a:di ğa:lan*, *juwa:nmerg* and phrases like *boq iyen*, which are in common currency in female speech, would hardly ever be heard in male settings.

#### **2.2.2.9 Diglossia and dialect shift**

Speakers of the *nāxālīş* dialects (Muqri, Xatab, Bayat, Xoja:mba:z ...) in their everyday lives find themselves in a diglossic situation: On the bazaar, in public assemblies and more generally, whenever they communicate with Turkmen non-fellow-community members, their means of communication would be Ä:rsa:rı, the Turkmen *franca* variety of North Afghanistan, whereas in their private homes, with family and in their quarters and villages where they live along with community members only, they speak their own dialect. The

Afghan Teke and Sa:riq, on the other hand, are not subject to such a diglossy: they use their own dialect when interacting with other Turkmen speakers, even if those belong to the statistically dominant Ä:rsa:rı tribe.

This observation corresponds with what is otherwise described as the typical relation of dialects and standard languages in a diglossic L- and H-variety constellation.<sup>101</sup> In the Afghan Turkmen case, the Ä:rsa:rı dialect, although still far from having attained the status of a standard language, seems to be regarded as a high-prestige variety which should be preferred to the other dialects in formal situations.

During my conversation and recording sessions with speakers of *nāxālīş* dialects I realized that in this respect the speech of young persons differs again significantly from the speech of more aged men: While elderly people regularly used their own dialect under the conditions and in the domains described above, most of the younger men seem to be trying hard to keep to the Ä:rsa:rı language even in situations when they are explicitly encouraged to use their own dialect. Such was the case, for example, when in Muqri-only assemblies I tried to make young men speak that dialect. (Old people responded to my request very positively, as if proud of their dialect and grateful for an occasion to boast it.) The youngsters appeared to feel ashamed of doing so, as if they were considering their dialect a socially inferior variety that needed to be denied. Once I asked a dormitory student from the village Siyāgird in the environs of Mazāri Sharif, where many Muqri Turkmen live, what he considered to be the main difference between life in town and life in the village. He responded

- leyliyeyi yu:rde gelenmiz yağsı boldı, bu yerde hem yağşı ders oqıyo:rs, hem-de Türkmen dilini u:rendik bu yerä: gelip. (Mu. 3)

It's been good that we came to the boarding school, here we study well and I have also (at last) learned the Turkmen language when I came here.

From his statement we may derive that he does not consider his native Muqri dialect as "proper Turkmen" at all, but for him Turkmen is tantamount to the Ä:rsa:rı dialect which he only apprehended in town.

This is not an individual case. The inclination to shift from one's own dialect to Ä:rsa:rı can be observed with many members of the *nāxālīş* dialects. They try hard to adapt to Ä:rsa:rı modes in matters of morphology and lexicon and more generally, in their ways of speaking as

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<sup>101</sup> Compare for example Brit Mæhlum's chapter on "Language and social spaces" (sub-chapter 2: "The linguistic market", in *Language and Space* 2010, 18-32).

such – but they face major difficulties, for example, with regard to phonology: Using long vowels appropriately seems to be a big challenge and in a desire to "do things right" these speakers even resort to hypercorrect vowel lengthening: *a:t* instead of (Ä:rsa:rı) *at* 'horse', *a:ta* instead of *ata* 'father', *a:rpa* instead of *arpa* 'barley' (all examples from Mu. 2). Hypercorrectness is just one phenomenon that comes with the desire to accommodate to the high-prestige variety. Another one would be the inability to correctly interpret phonetic specificities of lexemes unknown to their native dialects, which then results in pseudo-correct pronunciation (and in cases of coincidence even in pseudo-lexemes). An example of this kind I encountered with the same young Muqri speaker (Mu. 2), who used to say *doğrı at* instead of *do:rı at* – when meaning to talk about a "grey horse" he in fact said "right horse".

Male, in particular young male speakers of *nāxāliş* dialects who frequently interact with Ä:rsa:rı Turkmens appear to be under heavy pressure to accommodate to the H-variety in many domains. Interestingly, a different situation seems to prevail in the female realm. Generally speaking, the linguistic gender divide is more conspicuous in the *nāxāliş* dialects than in the others: Females do not seem to share the strong inclination encountered in the male sphere, to copy from, or even shift to the dominant Ä:rsa:rı dialect. My material may not support an ultimate statement, but it seems as if females – most probably due to lesser contact with outsiders to their dialect group – preserved the dialects in a "purer" form. I should like to conclude with an observation I have made when working with a pair of brother and sister (Gula:m Saxı, 42, and Runa, 23, both natives of Mazār-e Şarīf) from the Bayat group, whose speech I compared carefully. As a result we can state that the idiolect of the sister (Ba.3) contains a significantly higher percentage of Uzbek and Persian vocabulary, and many more items of morphology and syntax copied from these languages, than is the case with her brother's idiolect (Ba. 3), which is in its turn influenced by the Ä:rsa:rı dialect. Thus the male sibling accommodates to the "better Turkmen" variety while the female sibling accommodates to non-Turkmen high-prestige idioms altogether. This observation deserves attention and the study should in the future be extended to similar pairs of speakers from all dialects.



### 2.2.2.10 Other Turkic idioms

Over the last centuries Turkmens of the Ä:rsa:rı, Muqrı, Xaṭab, Surxı, Bayat and Xoja:mba:z tribes used to live intermingled with Uzbeks or at least at the margins of the latter's areas of residence. Uzbek or Uzbek-speaking dynasties reigned over most regions populated by these Turkmens from the 17<sup>th</sup> to the early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, such as was the case in the Emirate of Bukhara and the Khivan Khanate. Wherever historical Turkmen settlements existed on what is today Afghan territory – for example in the regions of Qarqın, Xamyāb, Šortepe and Marūčāq –, these Turkmens also lived in close vicinity of Uzbek communities and/or under Uzbek rule. This is why the dialects of all these Turkmen groups depict a considerable Uzbek influence today as opposed to, for example, the dialects of the Teke, Yomut and Sa:rıq Turkmens who lived distant from Uzbek-speaking communities.

Bilingualism with some kind of Uzbek was and still is a widespread feature among the Turkmens of the above-named groups. Along with that, for many centuries the influence of Uzbek via the Chaghatay literary language has been quite considerable, too. As a result, many features of the various local and literary Uzbek idioms have found their way into the Turkmen dialects of North and North-West Afghanistan. Many of my informants were aware of this fact and commented on it in our conversations. Standard features that are always mentioned when people talk about difference between the above-named dialects and the Teke-Yomut-Sa:rıq cluster would be striking differences in lexicon, such as the frequently used "uzbekoid" lexemes *yağşı* 'good', *kette* 'big' and *yaqı:n* 'near' and quite a few more – as opposed to *oṅat ~ ğawı*, *olaqan ~ oli* and *ğolay*, respectively. While popular scholarship is very much aware of these surface phenomena, little or no mention is made of copied features or calqued phenomena within deeper structures of the language, such as verbal morphology and grammar, although these also play a significant role, specifically in the Muqrı, Xaṭab, Surxı, Xoja:mba:z, Bayat and Olam dialects.

Many Turkmens, especially males, due to their frequent contacts with Uzbeks in the non-familial sphere have a full or at least sound command of the respective local or regional Uzbek idioms. What has already been mentioned above with regard to Persian, in an analogous manner can be stated with regard to Uzbek as well: If speakers of Uzbek and Turkmen are present in one situation, the Turkmens will automatically switch to Uzbek for communication, whereas the opposite hardly ever happens.

We have observed regional difference in the speech behavior of mixed groups. In the regions of Andkhoy, Šibirhān, Mazāri Šarīf, Kunduz and Davlatābād an assembly of Turkmen

speakers is likely to switch to Uzbek immediately upon the arrival of an Uzbek, although local Uzbeks indeed to understand quite a bit of Turkmen. On the other hand in Marūčāq, Herāt, Khamyāb and Qarqin this type of switching occurs on a smaller scale. The social position of the given interlocutors plays an important role as well: If the Turkmen conversation partner is for example a trader or a big businessman while the Uzbek belongs to the lower stratum of society (farmers, day-laborers, servants) or is in some way socially or economically dependent on the Turkmen under consideration, the Uzbek will try hard to speak Turkmen and make his partner happy, even if he cannot speak adequately - particularly the pronunciation of long-vowel words causes difficulties. The desire to accommodate to the idiom of the other does not seem to depend on the hierarchy of age, but on social, political, and most prominently, economic hierarchies.

A phenomenon that has come to the fore only in recent years is the influence of Turkish (of Turkey) on the Afghan Turkmen idioms. Commercial and business ties are constantly intensifying, and so are encounters of Turkmen with Turks and Turkey in the cultural domain. Social media, Turkish films and serials on Afghan television bring Turkmen in contact with the Turkish standard language which they can easily pick up for receptive purposes. Partially Turkish schooling in Afghan-Turk schools, which is for many young men followed by university studies in Turkey and for others by an employment in enterprises run by Turks, has brought about a significant degree of active proficiency in that language. A detailed study of Turkmen-Turkish (receptive?) bilingualism or more generally, the specific challenges of a situation that shares many features with diglossia, would be worth the effort, but this is not the place to go in any detail. It may suffice to mention that again, much as is the case with Uzbek, popular scholarship primarily observes surface phenomena that concern the lexicon: Single lexemes such as *saygılı* 'honored', *aday* 'deputee', *toplantı* 'meeting', *sayın* (to be added to words of address), and *batı* 'West' have come to substitute the respective *hürmetli*, *wakil*, *majlis*, *sa:yib*, and *ğarb* in the oral and sometimes even written language of the urban Turkmen youth of Afghanistan, which everybody seems to be aware of, but many elders also seem to disapprove of. For many young Turkmen who are involved in Turkish language schooling/studies and/or professional work, when communicating among each other even language shift to Turkish seems to be a welcome option – whether caused by the lack of a fully-fledged Turkmen language of their own that conforms to the standards they aspire, or in order to avoid a shift to Persian, Paštu or any other standard language, or merely out of convenience since people perceive Turkish as "similar", "close" and "almost one's own", remains to be investigated.

### 2.2.2.11 The language of media

A unified and standardized Turkmen language of Afghanistan does not exist until today, as has been stated above. None of those people who actively participate in media like radio and TV, periodical and non-periodical press, audio broadcasting, and the internet have had proper schooling in their Turkmen mother tongue. Therefore oral and written speech is in a widely anarchical condition, where what one given author considers to be correct in phonetic realization, morphology and grammatical construction, and orthography is predictably contested and disqualified as "against the rules" (!) by many other members of the community of speech.

The language which speakers and textwriters employ in the media depicts all kinds of influences: Since many news and programs are anyway simply translated from Persian models, there is a heavy imprint of Persian on media language in the first place. In order to make up for deficiencies in available Turkmen vocabulary, people copy or translate the terms they need from Persian as best they can; these translations are often inadequate or even ridiculous. Individual attempts at terminology-making have resulted in lexemes like, for example, *tez çapyo:n* which is a calque imitating *tundrav* 'extremist, fundamentalist' (lit. 'Fast-runner'), which in Persian by convention is properly understood but when transferred into Turkmen is simply misleading and inadequate. Attempts at imitating standard Turkmen of Turkmenistan or copying from it, which other individuals deem appropriate, have so far not yielded satisfactory results either.

The language of blogs and internet sites is even more anarchic than the language of more conventional media, and the proposed innovations in lexicon and other fields are not any more convincing; just the contrary, they are often simply unintelligible. The internet has developed into a field of competition where some people – often persons with little or no experience at all in the scripturality of their mother tongue – are putting forward individual proposals and others join the debate with approval, rejection or sometimes with suggestions for improvement. According to my unsystematical observations, out of the Afghan Turkmen dialects the *Ä:rsa:rı* idiom is the one predominantly used for internet purposes. The kind of content typically put on the Web are literary and folkloric exercises and contributions concerning cultural topics whereas political, judicial and social topics – obviously, for lack of terminology – are so far not discussed in Afghan Turkmen, let alone scientific or technical ones.

The language of schoolbooks, as has been said before, is not consistent either since the texts are being written by different people from different dialect backgrounds without sufficient coordination. Many a textbook is simply translated from a Persian book rather than being written creatively in the mother tongue, which makes the texts appear artificial and clumsy. On the other hand some authors rely on model texts from Turkmenistan, which for reasons already discussed above turn out to be widely unintelligible for Turkmen children from Afghanistan. Inconsistency in terminology and orthography render these books totally inadequate for use at primary educational institutions.

### 3. Methodological and technical remarks

#### 3.1 Fieldwork

In this study, for the extraction of the characteristics of the dialects under consideration I essentially rely on materials collected from the field. I primarily relied on elicitation through conversations which I recorded. Turkmens of various group affiliations are said to live in 37 different administrative units in the North, North East, North West, and West of Afghanistan.<sup>102</sup> I have been able to visit most of these regions, carry out conversations and make recordings. However, over the last few years the tightening of the security situation in parts of the country has had a negative effect on the accessibility of some of the regions which were actually relevant to my study. Among the regions which I should have included in my fieldwork but due to security considerations have not been able to, are for example Marūčāq and Darai Šāx, which feature Teke population, and the village of Nahri Sirāj in the Hilmand province, where a number of Turkmens are located who in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century had immigrated from the Soviet Union. In such cases I relied on a different method of investigation: Since the areas under consideration do not have major bazaars and opportunities to provide all needs of everyday life, people from there, who speak various dialects, travel to the prominent commercial cities of North Afghanistan, for example Mazāri Sharīf, Šibirghān and Andkhoy, and also to the capital, Kabul. For my fieldwork I partly relied on people who had come to such places where I was able to work.

Another problem which has become salient especially during the last years is the general increase of political tension, which comes with the security problems and has led to a loss of trust in social relations. Many people have become shy of conversing with strangers, which made access to informants difficult for me and in some cases rendered it totally impossible.

A particular problem is the prevailing gender segregation in society. Women have been hardly accessible for conversation at all, either out of an unwillingness of their own or because their families did not grant them permission to talk to an unrelated male person like me. In some cases I have been able to explain my scholarly aims and was finally granted access, in others I resorted to the help of female family members, students and colleagues for the collectioning of records of female voices. Nevertheless there is a clear male bias in my materials.

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<sup>102</sup> Behmen 1380:54.

Yet another methodological problem was caused by the fact that quite a few speakers of various dialects in conversation with me as a representative of the Ä:rsa:rı Turkmen tribe, whose dialect in North Afghanistan enjoys the highest prestige of all varieties and functions as a *franca* variety in interethnic communication, were trying to adapt and adjust to my own dialect. In some of these cases I left the stage after having explained my goals and having asked my informants to continue their conversation in my absence, so that recording would take place without me being present, and to just call me back in when they were done. This method of recording has proved quite efficient in avoiding echo effects and other interference phenomena.

### **3.2 Sample and data processing**

My materials have been collected through various approaches. In many cases I had to first explain that whatever recordings I would make were not intended for political or other goals alien to scholarly work, and would be used for my research purposes only. When informants had finally agreed to cooperate, we would start our conversation from topics related to the life situation given persons find themselves in, or about their professional background, and people would respond to these questions as they pleased. In some cases when a person was irritated by the technical devices used for recording, or did not explicitly agree to have their voices recorded, I myself, or in some situations my helpers, had to carry out covert recordings. Recordings about religious topics which were carried out in public audiences where religious personnel pursued a clearly missionary intention have been recorded with the consent of these persons only.

One of the main goals of this investigation was to include people from as many different personal backgrounds as possible into the recording sample. Thus males and females, aged and young people, highly educated persons as well as analphabets and people without or with only very little formal education, rich and poor, (descendents of) migrants from the Soviet Union as well as non-migrants, farmers and people engaged in animal husbandry, merchants and traders, religious personnel and intellectuals, craftsmen, day laborers, politicians and representatives of society, members of noble families, city-dwellers as well as rural people have been included in the research process. Except a few intellectuals, the conversation partners were not bilingual. All respondents considered themselves as active speakers of their respective dialects.

As a result of this fieldwork, 162 persons have been included in the sample and from most of them recordings have also been taken. The total of the recordings comprises 30 hours 27

minutes,<sup>103</sup> out of which 3 hrs. 38 min. proved technically inappropriate for further usage, including inadequate audibility or comprehensibility, and were thus ruled out. Since in Northern Afghanistan the majority of the Turkmen are Ä:rsa:rı and their dialect functions as a *franca* idiom understood by almost all and is used by many in interethnic communication, contributions from members of the Ä:rsa:rı tribe have been included in the sample according to their proportional relevance. While this seeming imbalance in the sample correlates to social reality and has therefore been willingly accepted, another type of imbalance also prevails, however against my initial intentions and only out of lack of better options: the gender imbalance. As explained above, I have not been able to include as many female voices into the sample as I had intended to. Among my informants of smaller dialects, namely Sa:rıq, Muqrı, Surxı and Xoja:mba:z, there is not a single female, and among the speakers of all other dialects which I have included in my study, women are also heavily underrepresented.

This study aims at a description and analysis of materials related to the basic features of the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan; the materials have been collected through fieldwork. While doing fieldwork, three essential methods of acquisition have been employed, namely, conversation, elicitation and observation. Many of my informants who know their dialects very well are at the same time analphabets or people with only very little formal education. When working with people who share these preconditions, elicitation through conversation and the recording of informal conversations between two or more speakers of the dialect under consideration proved to be the most suitable, reliable and easy methods of material acquisition. Compared with interviewing along questionnaires and the collecting of notes, conversation and the recording hereof has been chosen as primary method of data collecting, while elicitation has been used only when necessity of special in-depth enquiry arose. This method does not unravel all features of the Turkmen dialects which one may deem necessary and it does not yield full paradigms, which will be seen everywhere in my chapters. I am aware of these shortcomings, but on the other hand I argue that full paradigms which are actually full of only theoretically relevant "ghost features" which never occur in natural situations are not superior to incomplete paradigms which mirror the realities of natural speech. Many features which in actual speech just never occur would have been extremely difficult to elicit, too. In such cases I have not strived for completeness.

Besides purely linguistic analysis, this work aims at providing insights into the social uses of the idioms in question, all of which are understudied in Turkology. This is why I mostly give

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<sup>103</sup> See Appendix 1.

full sentence examples from natural speech rather than extracting singular phenomena and presenting them out of context.

In a first step of analysis, the phonological, morphological and lexical features have been extracted from the materials. After double-checking these findings against the recordings and field notes, the features drawn from the analysis have been systematized in order to establish the main differentiation between the dialects; in some chapters dialect difference plays a minor role compared to the description of the main features as such, since the dialects simply do not differ a lot. Difference comes out most prominently in the phonology and lexicology chapters, whereas dialect difference in morphology plays a lesser important role. Verbal morphology, where dialect difference is relatively important, has not been included in this study.

For the analysis of my materials and for the presentation of the findings, Abdurrisit Yakup's study on *The Turfan Dialect of Uyghur* (2005) has been a source of manifold inspiration, and so has been Larry Clark's *Turkmen Reference Grammar* (1998). On the other hand I have not been able to follow the modes of analysis, presentation and documentation of dialectological work from Turkmenistan. As stated above, most studies from the Soviet period have not been available to me so that systematic comparison would have been impossible; rather than going for accidental comparison then, I decided to build my study primarily on my own material for the time being, hoping that in the future there may be opportunities for me to work in Turkmenistan and avail myself of all the relevant dialectological literature. There is no doubt that the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan will add important fresh material to Turkmen dialectology – after all the Afghan Turkmen dialects have remained widely untouched by developments of their respective correlates in Turkmenistan over the last eighty years in which the contacts of speakers from both sides of the border were occasional at best. Contacts with correlating Turkmen dialect speakers from Iran may have intensified over the last decades in the context of Afghan Turkmen (refugee or labour) migration to Iran; in my sample there are no such speakers either so that this interesting topic cannot be touched here.



### 3.3 Technical remarks

My informants comprised people from age twenty to seventy-five, who are representatives of different social strata, as has been mentioned above. Information about ethnic and linguistic group-affiliation, age, gender, educational level and so on is provided in Appendix 1.

### 3.4 Abbreviations

Är.	Ä:rsa:rı
Ba.	Bayat
Mu.	Muqrı
Ol.	Olam
Qa.	Qarqın
Sa.	Sa:rıq
Sal.	Salır
Su.	Surxı
Te.	Teke
Xa.	Xaṭab
Xoj.	Xoja:mba:z
Yem.	Yemreli
Yo.	Yomut
ND	<i>nāxālīṣ</i> dialect(s) (Bayat, Xatab, Muqrı, Xoja:mba:z and Surxı dialekts)
XD	<i>xālīṣ</i> dialect(s) (Ä:rsa:rı, Teke, Olam, Sa:rıq, Salır, Yemreli and Yomut dialects)

These abbreviations are also used for short reference to my informants: (Xa.1), (Är.13) and the like.

### 3.5 Symbols

( )	elements inserted into original texts by this author
[ ]	elements inserted into translations for additional explanation
V:	long vowel
A ~ B	"A is at variation with B"
>	"becomes"
<	"comes from"

## 4. Phonology

### 4.1 The phonemic inventory

#### 4.1.1 Vowel phonemes

(a) In the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan, like in the Turkmen language as such, eight short and eight long vowel phonemes can be determined: /a, ä, ɪ, i, o, ö, u, ü/; /a:, e:, ɪ:, i:, o:, ö:, u:, ü:/. In that, along with Yakut and Khalaj, Turkmen counts among those Turkic languages which have systematically preserved ancient vowel length.<sup>104</sup> The Turkmen language in general has the fullest matrix of long vs. short vowel phonemes of all Turkic languages.<sup>105</sup> The Afghan Turkmen dialects preserve the phonemic distinction of long and short vowels.

(b) Some scholars have argued that Turkmen has nine short and long vowel phonemes. They were considering /ä/ and /e/ as phonemes in their own right which come as short as well as long, respectively; however it has been admitted that /e:/ exists in two verbs only.<sup>106</sup> Our findings do not support this assumption but rather indicate that /e/ is the short correlate of long /ä:/ while neither \*/e:/ nor \*/ä/ can be regarded as phonemes. In fact a few Persian / Arabic words which were by informants copied on an individualistic, spontaneous basis but should not be considered part of the regular Afghan Turkmen lexicon, seem to form minimal pairs whose meaning differs along with the /ä:/ vs. /e:/ opposition. However, these singular and spontaneous rather than systemic, examples do not justify the assumption of a regular complete opposition matrix of /ä/ vs. /ä:/ and /e/ vs. /e:/.<sup>107</sup>

**Table 4-1:** Vowel phonemes

phonemes		closed syllables		open syllables	
/a/	/a:/	<i>at</i> 'horse', <i>ǧal</i> 'stand up!'	<i>a:t</i> 'name', <i>ǧa:l</i> 'stay!'	<i>ǧara</i> 'black'	—
/e/	/ä:/	<i>ek</i> 'grow up', <i>pel</i> 'yard'	<i>ä:k</i> 'seam', <i>pä:l</i> 'intent'	<i>depe</i> 'mound'	—
/ɪ/	/ɪ:/	<i>ǧız</i> 'warm up', <i>ǧır</i> 'hill'	<i>ǧı:z</i> 'girl', <i>ǧı:r</i> 'gray'	<i>ǧarri</i> 'old, aged', <i>duri</i> 'clear'	—
/i/	/i:/	<i>biz</i> 'our', <i>pil</i> 'elephant'	<i>bi:z</i> 'awl', <i>pi:l</i> 'shovel'	<i>peri</i> 'fairy', <i>kiči</i> 'small'	—
/o/	/o:/	<i>ot</i> 'grass', <i>ǧol</i> 'branch'	<i>o:t</i> 'fire', <i>ǧo:l</i> 'mountain edge'	—	—
/ö/	/ö:/	<i>öl</i> 'die', <i>öč</i> 'be silent'	<i>hö:l</i> 'soggy', <i>ö:č</i> "revenge"	—	—
/u/	/u:/	<i>but</i> 'shoe', <i>uč</i> 'fly, jump'	<i>bu:t</i> 'leg', <i>tu:t</i> 'mulberry', <i>u:č</i> 'brim'	—	—
/ü/	/ü:/	<i>düş</i> 'come down', <i>süri</i> 'herd'	<i>dü:š</i> 'dream', <i>sü:ri</i> 'elliptical'	—	—

<sup>104</sup> Annanurov 1972:10; for a discussion of the nature of Turkic vowel length and especially the /ä/-/e/ issue see Johanson 1998:81- 90.

<sup>105</sup> Tekin 1995: 118.

<sup>106</sup> Azmun 1981:18.

<sup>107</sup> The same opinion is held by Nartiev 2010:44.

The minimal pairs given in Table 4-1 prove the phonemic quality of vowel length (mind the opposition of short /e/ and long /ä:/, however, as explained above). As Table 4-1 demonstrates, the phonemic long vs. short distinction is thoroughly represented in one-syllable minimal pairs. In open syllables the opposition can be demonstrated only in a few minimal pairs. If the minimal pair consists of a verbal and nominal stem – which is the most frequent kind of minimal pairs –, the verbal stem normally has short vowel and the nominal one, long vowel. Minimal pairs consisting of nominal stems are not as frequent as verb-and-noun pairs; verb-only pairs are rare in the Turkmen dialects.

(c) Primary phonemic length in the dialects mostly conforms to ancient Turkic length. In some lexemes length / non-length varies between the different Afghan Turkmen dialects. In these cases, the Ärsa:rı and Sa:rıq dialects appear closest to general Turkic, while Teke, Yemreli and Yomut dialects differ from the broad picture. Examples:

- Är. *yo:lbars* ~ Te. *yolbars* 'lion' (yo:l Clauson 1972:917, bars (< ir. pars) p.368)
- Är. *ğo:n-* ~ Te. *ğon-* 'landing' (Ko:n- Clauson 1972:632)
- Är. *ğo:ra-* ~ Te. *ğora-* 'definding' (Kori:- Clauson 1974:645-646)
- Är. *jaha:n* ~ Te. *jahan* 'world' (< pers. jaha:n)
- Är. *dünya:* ~ Yem. *dünye* 'world', (< pers. dunya:)
- Är. *a:xı:rqi* ~ Yo. *axırqi* 'the latter' (< pers. a:xır)
- Är. *yöri:ŋ* ~ Sa. *yöriŋ* 'go!'

(d) Along with primary phonemic length, the dialects also have vowel length in copied lexemes, and secondary length resulting from contraction and reduction. Details about length in copied lexemes, and secondary length, will be given in the paragraphs on the individual vowels below.

**Table 4-2:** Vowels: high-middle-low, front-back

	front		back	
high	i	i:		
middle	e	ä:	ı	ı:
low			a	a:
high	ü	ü:	u	u:
middle	ö	ö:	o	o:

**Table 4-3:** Vowels: rounding

	front		back	
close	i / i:	ü / ü:	ı / ı:	u / u:
mid-open	e	ö / ö:		
open	ä / ä:		a / a:	o / o:

### 4.1.2 Consonant phonemes

The Afghan Turkmen dialects have 27 consonant phonemes: /b, p, d, t, j, g, k, q, m, n, ŋ, r, l, w, s, z, š, ž, y, ğ, h, č/. In addition, there are [ḡ] (~ /g/), [ḅ] (~ /ḡ/), [f] (~ /p/), [ḃ] (~ /b/), and [x] (~ /h/), whose character of either phonemes or, more probably, allophones in variation with the phonemes indicated here, needs as yet to be determined.

**Table 4-4:** Consonant phonemes and their systemic allophones (in brackets)

	stop-plosive		fricative		affricate		trill	nasal	lateral	glide
	voiced	voiceless	voiced	voiceless	voiced	voiceless		voiced	voiced	
bilabial	b	p	[ḃ] (~ /b/)					m		w
labio-dental				[f] (~ /p/)						
inter-dental			[ð]	[θ]						
dental	d	t	z	s						
palatal			ž	š	j	č	r	n	l	Y
velar	g	k	[ḡ] (~ /g/)					ŋ	[ɬ] (~ /l/)	
uvular	[ḡ] (~ ḡ)	q	ḡ							
glottal				h		[x] (~ /h/)				

(a) The allophonic alternance between [b] and [ḃ] and between [p] and [f]

The phoneme /b/ has two reflexes, [b] and [ḃ], occurring respectively in head and intervocalic positions, compare for instance the two realizations of /b/ in *baba*: [baḃa]. The fricative bilabial may also appear in non-intervocalic intrasyllabic position in the context of a voiced consonant, for instance, in [tadbir] ~ [tadbḃir] ('measure, precaution') and [Abdulla] ~ [Aḃdulla].

Similarly, the phoneme /p/ has two reflexes, [p] and [f], occurring respectively in tail and intervocalic positions, compare for instance the two realizations of /p/ in *köpürüp*: [köfḃirip] ('foaming'). In non-intervocalic intrasyllabic position, one may observe a freely occurring allophonic alternance, as for instance between [körpe] and [körfe] ('green, unripe'), and between [kö:fte] and [kö:pte] ('meatball').

(b) The allophonic alternance between [g] and [ḡ] and between [ḡ] and [ḅ]

The phoneme /g/ appears to have an allophonic reflex [ġ] which occurs only in intervocalic position. For instance *gö:gimtil*, ‘bluish’, is realized as [gö:ġimtil], *yegen* ‘nephew (ZS)’ as [yeġen], *bi:gelmek* ‘to grow tall’ as [bi:ġelmek]. In copied lexemes, [g] and [ġ] seems to freely alternate: [bi:ga:na] ~ [bi:ġa:na]. One should note that it never appears in non-intervocalic position: *gö:klem*, ‘spring’ is realized as [gö:klem] but never as ???[gö:ġlem], and the like.

In word-head position, [ġ] can appear as an allophonic reflex of /ġ/: *ġatanč*, ‘alloy’ is systematically realized as [ġatanč], *ġol*, ‘hand, arm’ as [ġol]. Despite the clear phonemic opposition between /q/ and /ġ/ in word-head position (contrast for instance *ġara:r* [ġara:r], ‘(sb.) looks (after)’ with *qara:r*, ‘decision’), in that position [q] and [ġ] seem to freely alternate, like for instance in [qanar] ~ [ġanar] ‘(a kind of) huge sack’.

(c) The allophonic alternance between [l] and [ɭ]

The lateral phoneme /l/ exhibits two reflexes, the palatal [l] and the velar [ɭ], occurring respectively in front and back vowel contexts. For instance, we can contrast *elek* realized as [elek] with *ala*, realized as [aɭa] ; or [gö:l] with [ġoɭ], and [ätlär] with [atɭar].

(d) The allophonic alternance between [h] and [x]

Two allophones, [h] and [x], seem to occur across Afghan Turkmen dialects as reflexes of the same phoneme, transcribed as /h/ in Table 4-4; the choice of reflex does not follow any apparent regularity, or predictable dialectal distribution, but rather seems to be either the result of the force of habit, or even merely idiosyncratic. For instance [ha:n] appears to freely alternate with [xa:n] (‘Khan, tribal leader’), [xorruq] with [horruq] (‘snore’), [muhit] with [muxit] (‘environment’), [muxaddır] with [muhaddır] (‘stupefiant, intoxicating’) and [šayx] with [šayh] (‘Sheikh, religious leader’). In voiceless consonant contexts, we observe regressive assimilation as, for instance, in [xudmuhtar] ~ [hudmuhtar] (‘autonomous’).

(e) The dialectal and sociolectal alternance between [s] and [θ] and between [z] and [ð]

In the Teke dialect, and exclusively in this one, /s/ is systematically articulated as [θ] and /z/ as [ð], in all position where [s] and [z] would occur in the other dialects. In other dialects, the alternance between alveo-dental ([s] and [z]) and inter-dental ([θ] and [ð]) fricatives is merely idiosyncratic. Also, a few religiously educated people make use of the inter-dental fricatives in their sermons and speeches in lexemes copied from Arabic, where the corresponding consonant is an interdental: *za:lim* ‘cruel; ignorant’ in such a context would be realized as [ða:lim] rather than as [za:lim].

## 4.2 Phonological processes: Vowels

### 4.2.1 Fronting and raising

(a) Fronting of low vowels in native stems occurs in the Afghan Turkmen dialects, but its character is occasional rather than consistent and systematic; in most cases the low variants coexist with their raised correlates in either different dialects, or even within the same dialect.

(i) A few single native stems exist with low-back /a:/ in part of the dialects, and with raised /ä:/ in others, or both variants coexistent in the same dialect:

- **a:ŋ ~ ä:ŋ** : jima:ba:yıŋ-am **a:ŋı** gäçıpdır. (Är. 3)  
Jima:ba:y has lost his mind.
- **a:ŋ ~ ä:ŋ** : esa:si: **ä:ŋ** edip otırsaq hira:t wela:yatı turkmen kökenli şehir bolya: . (Te. 2)  
If we consider (the matter) principally, the province of Herat – (Herat) is a city with Turkmen roots.
- **a:(r)dım ~ ä:dım** : gōrgan biyerden ozaq yer dā:l, bir **a:rdım** yo:l. (Är. 13)  
Gōrgan is not a place far from here, it is (just) one footstep's way (to there).
- **a:(r)dım ~ ä:dım** : hä:zir türkmenler oğıl-ğı:zlarını mektebe berya:lar, şuna:m bir **ä:dım** öñe diyip hasa:plamaq gerek. (Te. 5)  
Nowadays the Turkmens send their sons and daughters to school. This (we) need to consider a step forward.

(b) Raising of low and front, unrounded as well as rounded vowels occurs in the Afghan Turkmen dialects. While in stems this phenomenon appears rare and unsystematic, in the suffixation process it is quite frequent and follows systematic rules.

(i) Raising of unrounded low back /a/ into [ɨ] occurs in a few dissyllabic native stems; mostly there coexist a variant that preserves the low back /a/, and a raised one with [ɨ], whether within one dialect or distributed along dialect boundaries. The analogous pairing has been observed with low front /e/ä:/ and [i/i:]. Actually the question which variant is primary or secondary cannot be solved here; we consider the phenomenon as raising (instead of lowering of primary /ɨ/ and /i/ into [a] and [e], respectively). Examples:

- **ayra ~ ayrı** : a:ğam bilen gōyunlarımız **ayra** dā:l yö:ne onıŋ gi:rdijisni ya:rım iki bölüp paylaşyo:rs. (Är. 12)  
Our sheep are not separate from my brother's, but we divide the revenues equally.
- **ayra ~ ayrı** : bul purzalar **ayrı** dā:l, kempilit satıya: . (Te. 17)  
These parts are not sold separately, but as a set.
- **čü:re- ~ čü:re-** : alma **čü:redi**. (Te.5)  
The apple rotted.
- **čü:re- ~ čü:ri:-** : üzümü yaxča:lda qoysam-am iki günde **čü:ri:di**. (Är.32)  
I stored the grapes in the refrigerator, but after two days spoiled .
- **nä:če ~ niče** : **nä:če** deli:llere görä: bu xi:l inek oğanista:nıŋ yağdayna bara:bar gelyo:r. (Är. 4)  
According to quite a few pieces of evidence, this sort of cattle fits to the conditions of Afghanistan.
- **nä:če ~ niče** : haji ba:ba **niče** qoyıŋız ba:r? (Mu. 1)  
Sir, how many sheep do you have?
- **ni:re- ~ ni:ri-** : **ni:redi** bolsağam sizden xabar aljaq bolars. (Te. 6)  
Wherever we are we hope to get news of you.
- **ni:re- ~ ni:ri-** : Emi:ni: sa:yıbı **ni:ride** görđiŋiz? (Är. 13)  
Where have you seen Emi:ni: Sa:yıb?

(ii) Raising of first-syllable rounded low front /ö/ into /ü/ has been observed in a few dissyllabic native stems; the non-raised variants persist, mostly in the Teke dialect, while

raising is more typical of the Ärsa:rı dialect: Te. *kökrek* ~ Är. *kükrek* 'breast'; Te. *öylen-* ~ Är. *üylen-* 'to marry'; Te. *döşek* ~ Är. 5 *düşek* 'mattress'.

- **töket-** ~ **tüket-** : geçen a:yda a:xı:r qarzımı **tökətdim**. (Te. 21)  
Last month I paid off my debts at last.
- **töket-** ~ **tüket-** : ğa:wını satıp **tüketdiñizmi?** (Är. 17)  
Did you sell off (all) melons?

The phenomenon has also been observed in a few strongly nativized copied stems: Te. *göw(i)n* ~ Är. *güw(i)n* ~ *guwin* 'spirits, liking' < arab. *kawn*; Te. *hötdə* ~ Är. *hütde* 'obligation' < pers. *uhda*, Är. *u:ren-* ~ 'learn' Te. *öwren-* .

- siz bıl i:şin **hötdesinnen** gelip bilmejek bolsañız öñnen aydın. (Te. 3)  
If you can't carry this piece of work out as necessary, tell (me) from the start.
- her ha:lda men bıl i:şin **hütdä:sinnen** gelip bilerin. (Är. 19)  
I will in any case do this work as I am supposed to.

(iii) In the Afghan Turkmen dialects, dissyllabic verbal stems which end in a vowel can only have a low unrounded /a/ or /e/ there. These low vowels are preserved as low /a/a:/ and /e/ä:/ in some grammatical forms while in others they are raised into /ı/ı:/ and /i/i:/, respectively. The details of these processes are discussed in the respective paragraphs of the morphology chapter. Generally speaking, the Ärsa:rı and all *nāxālīş* dialects shows a tendency towards raising, while the Teke, Yomut and Sa:rıq dialects preserve the low quality in most cases. Examples:

- alma **čü:redi** (Te. 5) ~ **čü:ridi** (Är. 32)  
The apple rotted.
- alma **čü:rä:n** (Te. 13) ~ mewä **čüri:pdir** (Är. 53)  
The fruit is rotten.
- **üşä:rsıñ** (Te.) 'you are going to catch a cold!'
- bā:beñiñ ğolajıñnı yap **üşi:mesin!** (Är. 28)  
Cover the baby's ears, it must not feel cold!
- gerdene bir nerse **döredi**. (Te. 3)  
Something (i.e., a bump) appeared at his neck.
- oğım yaman bolıp **döri:p** dir. (Är. 7)  
My son has taken a bad development.
- ders **oqı:masa** meniñ ıla:jım nä:me (Är. 1)  
What can I do if he doesn't do his homework.
- na:mı xuda: qura:n **oqı:şın** yağşı eken. (Är. 17)  
By God, your Koran recitation is good!
- o yerde bir ya:rim yıl i:şlä:nen soñ alma:nı dimukirati:ge gidip altı a:y **oqadım**. (Sa. 2)  
After I had worked there for one and a half years I went to the GDR and studied six months.
- oğlımın yağşı **oqasın** dib mazar uzatdım. (Mu.2)  
I sent my son to Mazar, saying he should study (something) good.

#### 4.2.2 Rounding and unrounding

(a) Rounding of unrounded high and low vowels occurs mostly in juxtaposition with the bilabials /b/ and /w/; it is an unfrequent phenomenon and is unevenly distributed in the Afghan Turkmen dialects.

(i) In copied lexemes which have /w/ in juxtaposition with the low front vowel /e/, rounding can in rare cases result in [ö]: pers. *sawdā*: > Te. *söwda*: (but Är. *sewda*:); Te. *örküč* 'hump' > Är. *ürküč*, Te. *öwey* 'step- (relative)' > Är. *üwey*.

In some copied lexemes /a/+w/ is rounded into [ow]; the non-rounded correlates also exist. Examples: *awal* ~ *owal* 'first' < pers. *awwal*; *awa:z* ~ *owa:z* 'voice' < pers. *āwāz*.

(ii) The vowel [i] of singular copied lexemes can be rounded into [ü], [u] or an intermediate [u] : pers. *birinj* > Är. *bürünj* ~ *burinj* 'rice'; pers. *jilga* > Te. *jülge* 'meadow, pasture' (but Är. *jilge*), pers. *ji:b* > Te. *jübi* 'pocket'.

(iii) In native lexemes rounding of high vowels has been observed only in single cases, in many of which juxtaposition of bilabial consonants is involved. Examples: *min-* (Är.) ~ *mün-* (Te.) 'riding, to mount, to climb'; *imsim* (Är.) ~ *ümsüm* (Te.) 'silent, shutting up'.

The lexeme 'camel' exists in an unrounded variant *di:ye* in the Teke dialect, and in a rounded variant *dü:ye* in the Ärsa:rı dialect.

(iv) Rounding of low front vowel /e/ mostly occurs in connection with the demonstrative adjective/pronoun *bu*; it may result in a rounded low [ö] as well as rounded high [ü]. Unrounded and rounded variants coexist, with unrounded ones being typical of the Teke dialect and rounded ones, of the Ärsa:rı dialect. Examples: *bu yerde* (Te.) > *bö:rde* (Är.); *o yerde* (Te.) > *ö:rde* (Är.), *ö:dip-bö:dip* (Är.) ~ *eydip-beydip* (Te.); *büyleki mı:xma:nlar* 'the other guests' (Är.) ~ *be:yledi ihtiya:jliği uči:n* 'for its other needs' (Te.).

The coexistence of a variant with low back vowel /a/ and a rounded back correlate /o/ in the Ärsa:rı lexeme pair *čaq-* ~ *čoq-* 'to sting' is so far the only example of its kind recorded in my materials:

- *menä:m ičya:n čaqdi.* (Är. 31)  
A scorpion has stung me!
- *meni čıya:n čoqdi.* (Är. 26)  
A scorpion has stung me.

(v) Rounding of low vowels in the second syllable of dissyllabic native stems (labial attraction) has in very few cases been observed in the Teke dialect; the other dialects preserve the unrounded vowel in these cases: Är. *čörök* ~ all others *čörek* 'bread'; Är. *ö:rdök* ~ all others *ö:rdek* 'duck'.

(b) Unrounding is an unfrequent phenomenon in the Afghan Turkmen dialects, but it seems to occur in all dialects.



(i) Unrounding of /u/ in juxtaposition with the bilabials /m/ or /b/ occurs mostly in the Ärsa:rı dialect: Te. *yumurta* ~ Är. *yımırta* 'egg'; Te. *murut* ~ Är. *mırı:t* 'moustaches'; *munča* ~ Är. *minča* 'so many/much'; Te. *juma*: ~ Är. *jıma*: 'Friday', *bul* ~ Är. *bil* 'ADJ/PRONDEM'; *bu* ~ Är. *bı* ~ *bi* 'ADJ/PRONDEM'.

(ii) In the Yomut dialect, in native lexemes which have rounded vowels in a /w/ environment, these vowels can undergo unrounding. Examples: Är. *uwren-* vs. Teke, Yo. *ewren-* 'to learn'; Är. *du:w-* vs. Teke, Yo. *dew-* 'demon'; Är. *öwüt* vs. Teke, Yo. *ewit* 'advice'.

(iii) In copied lexemes [ɪ] may in individual cases result from original rounded [u]; these variants may occur in variation with preserved original rounded [u] (or [ü] that renders original [u]). Examples: *npu:s* ~ *nüpu:s* (Är.) 'population' < pers. *nufūs*; *wılıswa:l* 'district mayor' (Är. 21) < paš. *wuluswāl*; *mina:sıp* 'adequate' (Är. 12) < pers. *munāsib*; *jıma: güni* 'Friday' (Är. 17) ~ *juma: güni* (Te. 14) < pers. [juma]; *sıpa* 'sofa' (Te. 13) < pers. *suffa*; *tapa:wıt* 'difference' (Te. 13) < pers. *tafāwut*; *merdim* 'people' (Är. 4) < pers. *mardum*.

### 4.2.3 Complex vowel change

(a) A fairly common phenomenon in clusters of [a]<sup>108</sup>/e/+w/ and /i/i:/+w/ of copied lexemes is the rounding and raising, combined with contraction of the vowel with the consonant into [u:w] or [u:]. (The original [aw]/[ew] cluster can coexist with rounded-cum-raised variants and be realized like this by some speakers, but they do so only in careful and educated speech.) Examples: *duwa:m* ~ *dawa:m* 'continuation', *duwa:* ~ *dawa:* 'medicine', *muwla:na:* ~ *mawla:na:* '(religious title of honor)'; *yo:lbarsıy gu:resi* 'the body of the panther' (Är. 17) < *gewre*; *hu:li:mızda* 'in our house' Sa.1, *hu:lısı* 'his house' (Är. 12), *hu:lıda* 'in the house' (Te. 8) < pers. *hawlı*; *uwalı* 'first of all' (Te. 3) < pers. *awwal*; *ku:şım* 'my shoe' (Te. 3) < pers. *kawş*; *şu:qun* (Är. 9) ~ *şu:xun* (Te. 5) 'noise' < pers. *şawqın*; *duwıy ustıne* 'onto the *dēw*' (Är. 42); *huwwa:* (Är. 11) ~ *hawa:* (Te. 16) 'air'; *du:leda:ba:d* (Te. 4) ~ *dewleda:ba:d* (Är. 38) 'Dawlatābād'.

(b) Of a few singular lexemes there coexist variants indicative of different stages of vocalization – unrounded low-back /a/ ~ rounded low-back /o/ ~ rounded raised back /u/. Examples: Te. Sa. *ğawı* ~ Te. *ğowı* ~ Te. Är. *ğuwı* 'good'; Te. *tawıq* ~ Yo. *towıq* ~ Är. *tu:q* 'hen'.

(c) Singular lexemes exist in variants with low-front unrounded [e] and high-front rounded [ü] : Te. *mejber* ~ Är. *müjber* 'measure' < arab.

### 4.2.4 Prothesis

(a) Vowel prothesis occurs in all Afghan Turkmen dialects, although there is some variation in detail.

(b) The prothetic vowel is in most cases identical with the vowel of the subsequent syllable. Another option, which is less frequently observed, is harmonization in analogy with the high vowel harmony (see below), and there are individual cases which do not follow either of these principles. There is variation between the dialects in details of the phonetic realization of vowel prothesis.

<sup>108</sup> As a rule, short /a/ of copied (Persian and other) lexemes is in the Turkmen dialects interpreted as /e/; however, in singular cases it is nevertheless realized as [a], like e.g. *awal* (not ???*ewel*) 'first' < pers. *awwal*.

- **ro:za** > **oro:za** haydı bilen ğorba:n haydınıñ aralığında toy eden yo:qlar. (Te. 3)  
They don't celebrate weddings between the *'īd al-fitr* and the *'īd al-qurbān*.
- **ro:za** > **ara:za** ayında bir yerä: gidišem ği:n bolya:r. (Yo. 1)  
Going places is difficult in the fasting month.

(c) Vowel prothesis is most often realized with copied lexemes whose original has a consonant in the onset which does not, or only in very few cases, exist in the onset of native lexemes – such as /r/, /l/, /š/, /č/, and /n/ : *raxma:n* > *iraxma:n* 'merciful'; *ra:diya* > *ira:diya* 'radio'; *ra:hat* > *ira:hat* 'calm'; *ra:zi:* > *ira:zi:*; *ru:s* > *orus* 'Russian', *šülle* > *üşüle* ~ *išülle*.

- **la:y** > *aqpa:mıq kulčä:niñ gä:dilen yerine* **ila:y** yabširsam bolar diyip šarta bir a:zajiq **ila:y** tafib kulčä:niñ gä:dik yerine yapıšdirip dir. (Är. 44)  
*Aqpa:mıq* said (to himself), it is fine if I spread (some) clay on the spot where the breadloaf is shredded, and he quickly found a little bit of clay and spread it on the shredded spot of the loaf.
- **šu:le** > *günerta:n üšüle* biširen ekenler üyde. (Sa. 5)<sup>109</sup>  
Early in the morning they had prepared (the rice dish) *šu:le*.
- **ner** > ana **iner** šul asil arwa:na: šul ayri:ni ğoysañ **iner** doğyā: . (Te. 1)  
Well, an *iner* (is) – if you crossbreed the precious (female camel) *arwa:na* with a Bactrian camel, an *iner* will be born.

In those dialects which do not regularly have /k/ in the onset of native lexemes, such as the Ärsa:ri dialect (which would have /g/ in those cases), loanwords with initial /k/ also have prothetic vowels.

- **kita:p** > ö:zi ölenen soñ **ikita:plara:m** asta-asta tozıpdır. (Är. 1)  
After he had died, his books also slowly-slowly got lost.

(d) Vowel prothesis is also applied in order to break consonant clusters in the onset of copied lexemes: *sport* > *isport* 'sports'; *spožmey* > *ispožmey* '(an originally Pashto name)'; *štrij* > *ištiriñ* 'role'.

(e) Vowel prothesis can be combined with elision of the first syllable vowel, so that in fact the result of this process appears like a product of metathesis: *rejeb* > (*\*erejeb*) > *erjeb* (Te.Yo.) '(the month of) Rajab; n.pr.m.', .

#### 4.2.5 Epenthesis

(a) Vowel epenthesis occurs in all Afghan Turkmen dialects, although it is not a very frequent phenomenon.

(b) High unrounded [i] and [ɪ] are the vowels that most frequently appear in epenthesis; [a] also occurs, while all other vowels do not seem to be used as epenthetics.

(c) Epenthesis appears to be confined to copied lexemes, in which it breaks clusters of consonants which do in that respective form not at all occur in native lexemes, or at least not in the respective position.

<sup>109</sup> Sa. 5 is a speaker of what he calls the "subdialect *Suqdi*" of the Sa:riq dialect; the existence of a distinct *Suqdi* subdialect cannot yet be confirmed on the basis of my materials.

/pl/ > [pal] [pil]	<i>pla:stik</i> > <i>pala:stik</i> (Sa. 2), <i>pila:stik</i> (Är.) 'plastic'
/sl/ > [sıl]	<i>asl</i> > <i>asıl</i> (Är. 53) 'basis'; <i>fasl</i> > <i>pasıl</i> (Är. 44) 'season'
/pq/ > [paq]	<i>şapqat</i> > <i>şapaqqat</i> (Te. 10) 'mercy'
/pn/ > [pin]	<i>depn</i> > <i>depin et-</i> (Är. 1) 'to bury'
/hr/ > [har] [hir] [her]	<i>qahr</i> > <i>xalqıñ ğaharı</i> (Är. 16) 'the anger of the people'; <i>şehr</i> > <i>şehir</i> 'city'; <i>zehr</i> > <i>zeher</i> 'poison'
/kr/ > [kir]	<i>şükr</i> > <i>şükir</i> (Te. 4) 'thanks'
/mr/ > [mir]	<i>emr</i> > <i>emir</i> (Är. 39) 'order'; <i>ömr</i> > <i>ömir</i> (Är. 1)
/zr/ > [zir]	<i>hezret</i> > <i>pa:şša: hezireti</i> (Är. 39) 'his majesty the king'
/lm/ > [lım]	<i>xulm</i> > <i>xulım</i> (Te. 1) 'Xulm (n.pr.loc.)'

Epenthesis of this kind is mostly retracted if the cluster under consideration is anyway broken by agglutination of a suffix with a vowel in the onset or by an initial vowel in the subsequent word; however, it can be sustained in such cases as well. Examples:

- *biziñ üyimiz şehiriñ içinne* (Är. 18)  
Our house is located in the city.
- *xalqam zulıma çidamaz a:xi:r turarlar bir gün* (Är. 19)  
The people don't tolerate oppression, in the end they will revolt one day.
- *sadaqa qabır aza:bınnan ğotararmış adamı* (Är. 38)  
(Giving) alms is said to rescue man from the pains of the grave.

In individual lexemes there exist individual epenthetic solutions, such as for example the epenthetic breaking of *waqt* 'time' into *wağıt* in the Teke dialect (while in the Ärsa:rı dialect the unwelcome [qt] cluster is affricated into *waxt*).

(d) In some cases it is difficult to decide whether a given phonological realization is the result of epenthesis, or rather a relic of an original form which has otherwise disappeared. Thus, the second syllable [i] of *payidası* 'its advantage' (Är. 31) (< pers. *fāyda*) may either be epenthetic, or it may point to the alternative phonological realization of the original as trisyllabic [fa:'ida] in some local Persian dialect.

(e) In native stems, epenthesis is a very rare phenomenon. In my material so far only one example has been found, in which the difference of Teke and Ärsa:rı variants is caused by epenthesis in the Ärsa:rı lexeme: Te. *büdre-* ~ (Är. 14) *büdire-* 'to stumble'.

(f) Seemingly "epenthetic" vowels in native stems or suffixes are also difficult to interpret. While, for example, the Teke dialect has the intraterminal marker *-yA:r* immediately follow the stem syllable, my material also contains examples like the following:

- *çöregi saçağa salıp ğoymasañ ğataya:r*. (Te. 5)  
If you don't keep the bread in the tablecloth it will dry out.

whose "epenthetic" second syllable [a] is reminiscent of converbial *-A* of other Turkic languages in comparable constellations (which, however, does not exist in the Afghan Turkmen dialects).

A similar phenomenon can be observed with the comparative marker, which in the Afghan Turkmen dialects is generally *-rA:Q* :

- bağışlaŋ men köprä:k kepleyä.n. (Te. 18)  
Excuse (me), I talk too much (lit. more).

In the Yomut and Ärsa:rı dialects examples like the following have been found,

- doqma i:nče bolsa hayalıra:q doqalya: . (Yo. 2)  
If the carpet is delicate, it is woven more slowly.
- ulkä:miziŋ köpirrä:k nupu:sini dı:xanlar we çarwaçılar ğurşayo:r. (Är. 3)  
Farmers and cattlebreeders make up most (lit. more) (of the) population of our country.

which have an "epenthetic" [ɪ] breaking the consonant cluster between stem (*hayal*, *köp*) and suffix. Or should it be interpreted as reflecting *ıra:q* 'farther', the etymological background of today's comparative suffix?

#### 4.2.6 Epithesis

Epithesis is a rare phenomenon in the Afghan Turkmen dialects. It has so far been observed only in single lexemes of the Teke and Ärsa:rı dialects: *kepderi* (Te.) 'pigeon' < *kepter* << pers. *kabūtar*; *xarji* (Är.) 'expense' < pers. *xarj*.

- **kepder** > Maza:rşeri:pde hemme **kepderiler** a:ğ eken, Hira:tda we kä:bilde weli:n **kepderiler** her xi:l bolya:r. (Te. 13)  
In Mazāri Šarīf all pigeons are white, but in Herat and Kabul the pigeons are (of) all sorts.
- **xarj** > her bir i:şi etmek üci:n **xarjı** gerek. (Är.7)  
To start a deal, funds are needed.

#### 4.2.7 Deletion

##### (a) Deletion of initial vowels

(i) In singular native lexemes, the initial vowel can be deleted. My materials do not permit an interpretation of this rare phenomenon: *aša:qi* (Är.) ~ *ša:qi* (Sa.) 'lower down'.

(ii) Initial vowels of copied lexemes are in singular cases deleted in some dialects, while in their correlates in other dialects they are preserved. The Ärsa:rı dialect appears to be more conservative with regard to non-deletion: *hek* (Te.) ~ *ehek* (Är.) 'lime'; *na:r* (Te.) ~ *ena:r* (Är.) 'pomegranade'.

##### (b) Deletion of unstable vowels

(i) Unstable unrounded and rounded high vowels of second stem syllables, which are a familiar phenomenon in the Turkic languages<sup>110</sup> and do not appear in front of suffixes with a vowel in the onset, occur in many Afghan Turkmen lexemes. The non-appearance of these vowels is here interpreted as deletion. Some examples (+POSS3SG or +DIR) :

<sup>110</sup> Compare Johanson 1998:31f.

oğıl 'son' > oğlı (all dialects) ~ oğli (Är.)  
ağız 'mouth' > ağzı (all dialects)  
könil 'heart' > köñli (all dialects)  
deñiz 'sea' > deñze ğolay 'near the sea' (Är.)  
burun 'nose' > burnı (all dialects)  
ğoyun 'sheep' > ğoyı (sic; all dialects)  
\*uğur 'favorable auspices' > uğrı > u:rı bolan yo:q 'it was inauspicious' (Är. 6)

The lexeme 'moustaches' has two short stem vowels in the Teke dialect, the second one of which is unstable: Te. *murıt* 'moustaches' > *murtı* 'his moustaches'<sup>111</sup>; the correlate in the Ärsa:rı dialect has long vowel in the second stem syllable, which consequently is not unstable but appears before suffixes with a vowel in the onset: Är. *murı:t* > *murı:di* ~ *murı:di*. – Yet another interesting case is the lexeme 'brains', which in the Teke dialect is *bi:ni* and in the Ärsa:rı dialect is *pi:ni* (TRS *beyni*; Sevortyan 1978:106f. *beyin* etc.), with regular suffixation (*pi:ni:m* 'my brains' Är.; *bi:nisi* 'his brains' Te.), which does no longer show an indication of a previously unstable second-syllable vowel.

(ii) The vowel of the lexicalized directive suffix *-rI / -rA* is unstable and often does not appear before suffixes with a consonant in the onset: *yoqarı* 'above' > *yoqarda* (Te. Yo. Sa. Yem. dialects); *\*ni:re* > *ni:rden* 'from where?!' (Är.14).

- **bä:ri-rä:k** > **bä:rrä:k** süşip otırıñ! (Är. 6)  
Come sit closer!
- **añırı-qı** > alla:beren qaryada:rıñ üyi **añırqı** o:bada bolmalı. (Är. 3)  
The house of village mayor Alla:beren is probably in the village over there.

However, the final vowel of *\*ni:re-/ni:ri-* 'where-' need not be deleted but can appear, which seems to be the case especially if the word is used in its direct, non-rhetorical sense:

- emi:ni: sa:yıbı **ni:ride** gördiñiz? (Är. 13)  
Where have you seen Emi:ni: Sa:hib?
- biz **ni:red**e bolsağam sizden xabar ajlaq bolars. (Är. 6)  
Wherever we are, we hope to get news about you.

(iii) The vowel in the onset of POSS1PL, POSS2PL and POSS3SG is unstable to a degree that renders the assumption plausible that it might even be at all missing; in any case it does not appear before a further suffix with a vowel in the onset or – in the case of POSS3SG – the pronominal *n*.

- **ğışla:ğ-ımız-** > **ğışla:ğmızda** bä:ş-altı dükä:n bar. (Te. 9)  
In our village there are five or six shops.
- **aya:ğ-ım-** > bu ku:ş **ayağma** sığmadı. (Är. 5)  
The shoe is not the right size for my foot.
- **çeken-i-(ni-hem)** > onıñ neşe **çekennä:m** hi:çkim görmedi. (Är. 19)  
Nobody has seen him smoke hashish, either.
- **ğolajığ-ı-** > bä:beñiñ ğolajığnı yap. (Är. 28)  
Cover the little ears of the baby!

<sup>111</sup> In my material there is also the variant *murt* which lacks the unstable vowel from the beginning: *da:yım (...)* *murt* ğoyberipdir (Te. 3) 'My uncle has grown moustaches'.

- **yüreg-i-** > *kä:bi:riniñ yüregni urya:r eken*.  
It affects the heart of many a person. (Te. 10)
- **yan-ı-** > *her hepde ya:nna barıp ğaytyo:s. (Är. 22)*  
Every week we go to him (lit. to his side) and come back.

(c) Deletion in word boundaries

If in word boundaries the final vowel of the precedent and the initial vowel of the subsequent word get into a hiatus position, this unwelcome hiatus can be avoided through deletion of one of the vowels, generally the one in the coda position of the precedent. The phenomenon occurs in all Afghan Turkmen dialects.<sup>112</sup>

(i) Compounds of numeral + substantive noun are particularly prone to undergo this type of deletion; some of them are lexicalized, others co-exist in the lexicalized form and in an unreduced spontaneous form: *\*altı atar > altatar* 'six-shooter' (lexicalized); *iki u:çlı > iku:çlı* 'double-ended'; *yeke üyli > yeküyli* 'single-married (i.e., not polygamous)'; *altı a:y > alta:y* 'six months'.

(ii) Compounds whose subsequent element is the copula *eken* can undergo deletion of the final vowel of the precedent word: *do:lı eken > do:l-eken*.

- *soñ ça:ğä bir a:yla:p şu ta:yd-ekeni (Sa. 2)*  
Then the child was (= remained) like that for one month.

(iii) Compounds formed with the interrogative *nä:me* as precedent element can undergo deletion of the final vowel of the interrogative pronoun: *nä:me oqaya:r > nä:moqaya:r* 'what is he reading?' and the like.

- *şolar ya:nı ğı:n yağdayda ümsüm otıra:masağ nä:mi:ş edibiler a:dam? (Är. 7)*  
In such a difficult situation, what (else) can one do than sit still?!

(iv) More generally, vowel deletion often occurs when words with a vowel in the final and initial positions follow on another; it appears as if it were always the word-final vowel that is deleted: *kiçi oğlum > kičoğlum* 'my little son'; *ro:za a:y > ro:za:y* 'the fasting month'; *ğara athı > ğaratlı* 'a man riding a black horse'; *jinlı a:dam > jinla:dam* 'a crazy person'; *kö:ne örgeñč > kö:nörgeñč* 'Kö:ne Örgenč (n.pr.loc.)'.

(c) If in the interior of copied lexemes vowels aggregate into hiatus constellations (which are unwelcome in the Turkmen dialects), one of these vowels – either the first or the second – is deleted; the deletion can lead to a lengthening of the remaining vowel: *mä:lumlär (Är.) ~ mu:lumlar* (Sa. 4) 'the teachers' < *muallımlar* << pers. *muallim*; *na:la:j (Är. 23) ~ na:ıla:j* 'willy-nilly' < pers. *nā-ilāj*. – This phenomenon is extended to cases of complex reduction, for example of consonant deletion + vowel contraction in words like *mä:sil* 'student' < *mua:sil* << pers. *muhassıl*; *mä:rek* 'blessed' < *\*muä:rek* << pers. *mubārak*.

<sup>112</sup> The phenomenon has in detail been described for the Turfan dialect of modern Uyghur by Yakup 2005:88ff.

## 4.2.8 Vowel harmony

### (a) Vowel harmony in native stems and in suffixes

In native dissyllabic or polysyllabic stems vowel harmony implies that a front vowel in the first syllable may be followed by front vowels only, and a back vowel in the first syllable may be followed by back vowels only. In derivational or grammatical suffixes, the front or back quality of vowels is determined by the respective quality of the syllable that immediately precedes them.

Generally, /a/a:/, /ɨ/ɨ:/, /o/o:/ and /u/u:/ are back vowels while /e/ä:/, /i/i:/, /ö/ö:/ and /ü/ü:/ are front vowels. However, the /ɨ/ vs. /i/ opposition and, to a lesser degree, the /u/ vs. /ü/ opposition is not as strictly determined as the /a/ vs. /e/ or /o/ vs. /ö/ oppositions. In stems as well as in suffixation processes the harmony principle is often disregarded when [ɨ]~[i] is involved, so that back consonants combine with front [i] rather than back [ɨ]; in the case of the [u]~[ü] opposition, we rather observe the realization of an intermediate [u] than a clearly back [u] or front [ü]. (For details see below.)

### (i) Vowel harmony in stems

Tables 4-5 and 4-6 give an overview of the patterns of harmonic front and back stem syllables in the Afghan Turkmen dialects. The primary goal has been to identify which patterns exist in all dialects; examples of this kind are unmarked in the tables. In patterns which do not exist in all dialects, the specific dialects have been indicated.

**Table 4-5:** Patterns of harmonic front syllables in native and copied lexemes

<p>/e – e/ <i>jeren</i> 'deer', <i>wesket</i> 'jacket', <i>kesel</i> 'sick', <i>kebelek</i> 'butterfly'            /ä: – e/ <i>dä:de</i> Yo. 'father', Är. 'elder sister', <i>mä:rek</i> 'blessed'            /i – e/ <i>yigrime</i> 'twenty', <i>siŋek</i> Te. 'fly', <i>iner</i> Te. 'kamel'            /i: – e/ <i>gi:je</i> 'night', <i>ki:se</i> Är. XD 'pocket', <i>i:ge</i> 'file'            /ö – e/ <i>göle</i> Te. 'calf', <i>öpge</i> 'lung', <i>döret-</i> 'to create', <i>čörke-</i> 'hurt', <i>töleg</i> 'payment'            /ö: – e/ <i>ö:ke</i> Är. 'grudge', <i>ö:rdek</i> 'duck', <i>kö:ne</i> 'obsolete'.            /ü – e/ <i>üše-</i> 'to feel cold', <i>tüpeŋ</i> 'gun', <i>süyeg</i> 'backrest'            /ü: – e/ <i>ü:ke</i> Te. 'grudge', <i>sü:se</i> 'glass', <i>sü:ke-</i> 'pulverize', <i>sü:bek</i> 'oval-shaped',</p>	<p>/e – ä:/ <i>tenekä:r</i> 'brazing flux', <i>dellä:k</i> 'barber', <i>zergä:r</i> Te. 'goldsmith'            /ä: – ä:/ <i>dä:nä:</i> 'wise', <i>mä:tä:j</i> Te. 'needy'              /i – ä:/ ———              /i: – ä:/ <i>bi:kä:r</i> 'workless', <i>bi:čä:re</i> 'poor', <i>bi:gä:k</i> 'hooligan'            /ö – ä:/ <i>örä:n</i> Xa. 'very', <i>göra:</i> Xa. 'compared to'            /ö: – ä:/ ———              /ü – ä:/ <i>hünä:r</i> 'art', <i>üzä:rlik</i> Te. 'wild rue', <i>günä:</i> Te. 'guilt'            /ü: – ä:/ <i>ü:lä:n</i> Är. 'at noon', <i>ü:lä:k</i> Te. 'as'</p>
<p>/e – i/ <i>erkin</i> 'independent', <i>eriš</i> 'warp', <i>ekin</i> 'farming', <i>egri</i> 'crooked'            /ä: – i/ <i>ä:dik</i> 'boot', <i>šä:nik</i> 'kernel', <i>ä:girt</i> Te. 'high', <i>dä:li</i> 'lunatic', <i>ä:pišge</i> Sa. 'window'.</p>	<p>/e – i:/ <i>erti:r</i> 'morning', <i>heni:z</i> 'as yet', <i>eli:n</i> 'genuine', <i>enti:-</i> Är. 'to tramp'            /ä: – i:/ <i>mä:ši:n</i> 'machine', <i>tä:mi:r</i> 'building', <i>tä:si:n</i> 'approval', <i>tä:li:n</i> 'by good luck', <i>hä:ki:m</i> Är. 'village/district'</p>

<p>/i – i/ <i>ilki</i> 'first'; <i>pikir</i> 'thought'  /i: – i/ <i>i:ri</i> 'big', <i>di:ri</i> 'living', <i>i:njik</i> 'leg',  <i>i:šik</i> 'door'  /ö – i/ <i>göni</i> Te. 'straight', <i>ötir-</i> 'to let pass',  <i>ötinč</i> 'apology'  /ö: – i/ <i>bö:ri</i> 'wolf', <i>ö:ri</i> 'pastureland'  <i>sö:ginč</i> 'swearword, curse', <i>ö:nim</i> 'yield',  <i>ö:rim</i> 'tressed',  /ü – i/ <i>süygi</i> 'love', <i>süri</i> 'herd', <i>hünji</i> 'shell'.  /ü: – i/ <i>tü:dik</i> 'fife', <i>tü:pilik</i> 'spit', <i>sü:ri</i> ,  'elliptical', <i>gü:jik-</i> 'to gradually stauten',  <i>gü:lin-</i> 'to purl'</p>	<p>mayor', <i>ä:rti:r</i> Mu. 'morning',  /i – i:/ <i>sigri:s</i> 'cigarette', <i>giri:p</i> 'grippe',  <i>gizli:n</i> 'secretly', <i>silti:-</i> Är. 'to shake'  /i: – i:/ <i>i:šli:-</i> Är. 'to work', <i>di:ši:-</i>Är. 'to  transfer', <i>pi:ši:n</i> 'noon'  /ö – i:/ <i>hözi:r</i> 'reward', <i>yöri:-</i> Är. 'to walk',  <i>döri:-</i> Är. 'to emerge'  /ö: – i:/ <i>gö:ri:p</i> 'jealous', <i>ö:gi:-</i> Är. 'to  puke', <i>ö:rli:-</i> Är. 'to get up'   /ü – i:/ <i>üči:n</i> 'for', <i>yüzzi:n</i> Är. 'face down '  /ü: – i:/ <i>čü:ri:-</i> Är. 'to putrefy', <i>sü:ri:-</i> Är.  'to drag'</p>
<p>/e – ö/ ———  /ä: - ö/ ———  /i – ö/ ———  /i: - ö/ ———  /ö – ö/ <i>čörök</i> Är 'cookies ', <i>gödök</i> Är.  'young child'  /ö: - ö/ ———  /ü -ö/ ———  /ü:-ö/ ———</p>	<p>/e – ö:/ ———  /ä: - ö:/ ———  /i – ö:/ ———  /i: - ö:/ ———  /ö – ö:/ ———   /ö:- ö:/ ———  /ü-ö:/ ———  /ü- ö:/ ———</p>
<p>/e – ü/ <i>endirewük</i> Te. 'wonky', <i>gübirdewük</i>  Te. 'with a roaring voice'  /ä: - ü/ <i>bä:gül</i> 'rosewater', <i>mä:šüwe</i> 'corn  soup'  /i – ü/ ———  /i: - ü/ <i>bi:rgün</i> 'after tomorrow'  /ö – ü/ <i>ömür</i> 'life', <i>kömür</i> 'coal', <i>gönük-</i> 'to  start'  /ö: - ü/ <i>dö:nük</i> 'traitor', <i>bö:gür-</i> 'to rave'  /ü – ü/ <i>ümsüm</i> Te. 'quiet', <i>dürüs</i> 'correct',  <i>yüzük</i> 'ring', <i>üşük</i> 'cool creek', <i>ümür</i> 'haze',  <i>ümlük</i> Te. 'ruler', <i>kükürt</i> 'sulphur', <i>düwük</i>  'broken'  /ü: - ü/ <i>sü:šük</i> 'extra, additional', <i>čü:rük</i> '  decayed '</p>	<p>/e – ü:/ ———   /ä: - ü:/ ———   /i – ü:/ ———  /i: - ü:/ ———  /ö – ü:/ ———   /ö: - ü:/ ———  /ü – ü:/ ———   /ü: - ü:/ ———</p>

**Table 4-6:** Patterns of harmonic back syllables in native and copied lexemes

<p>/a – a/ <i>hačan</i> 'when', <i>tarap</i> 'side', <i>bağana</i>  'lambskin', <i>dašarı</i> 'out', <i>ğajraw</i> 'urceolate',  <i>balaq</i> 'trousers'  /a: - a/ <i>a:la</i> 'motley', <i>pa:da</i> 'herd', <i>ča:ğa</i>  'child', <i>ğa:zan</i> 'pot', <i>da:ban</i> 'metatarsus'  /ı – a/ <i>ılan</i> Mu. 'snake', <i>sičan</i> 'mouse',  <i>čira</i> 'lamp', <i>ınam</i> 'trust', <i>işğalañ</i> 'lighting'</p>	<p>/a – a:/ <i>bala:r</i> 'wood stick', <i>tama:</i> 'greed',  <i>qala:</i> 'castle'.   /a: - a:/ <i>pa:ta:</i> 'beginning', <i>da:lğa:</i> 'cold  wind'  /ı – a:/ <i>ıla:y</i> 'mud', <i>ıla:laşıq</i> 'agreement',  <i>biča:ğ</i> Mu.'knife '</p>
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<p><b>/i: - a/</b> <i>ǧi:nanč</i> 'regret', <i>si:naǧ</i> 'exam', <i>či:ban</i> 'rash'</p> <p><b>/o – a/</b> <i>oraq</i> 'sickle', <i>oqara</i> 'bowl', <i>oǧat</i> 'good', <i>čola</i> 'hidden', <i>doqma</i> 'carpet', <i>doǧan</i> 'brother'</p> <p><b>/o: - a/</b> <i>o:ba</i> 'village', <i>do:daq</i> 'lip', <i>jo:ra</i> 'pair; peer', <i>so:raǧ</i> 'question'</p> <p><b>/u – a/</b> <i>buǧday</i> 'wheat', <i>tumar</i> 'scroll', <i>buqa</i> 'bull', <i>duzaq</i> 'snare'</p> <p><b>/u: - a/</b> <i>u:qala-</i> 'to knead', <i>u:sar</i> 'bridle', <i>bu:jaq</i> '(the tribe) Bu:jaq', <i>du:la-</i> 'to pail'</p>	<p><b>/i: - a:/</b> <i>i:ša:n</i> 'eshan', <i>i:la:n</i> Mu. 'declaration'</p> <p><b>/o – a:/</b> <i>doǧa:</i> 'prayer', <i>soǧa:p</i> 'oblation', <i>jorra:p</i> 'socks'</p> <p><b>/o: - a:/</b> <i>o:la:m</i> '(the tribe) O:la:m', <i>jo:ma:rt</i> Te. 'chivalrous',</p> <p><b>/u – a:/</b> <i>usda:d</i> 'professor', <i>juǧda:n</i> 'thorax',</p> <p><b>/u: - a:/</b> <i>ǧu:ǧa:</i> 'din', <i>qu:qa:ja</i> '(a kind of ringdove)', <i>su:sa:n</i> 'thirsty', <i>su:ra:t</i> 'photo'</p>
<p><b>/a – ɪ/</b> <i>ayı</i> 'bear', <i>yaziǧ</i> 'inscription', <i>alqım</i> 'double chin', <i>darı</i> 'millet'</p> <p><b>/a: - ɪ/</b> <i>a:ǧı</i> 'poison', <i>ya:ziq</i> 'sin', <i>pa:rim</i> 'mild', <i>a:wi</i> 'venom', <i>sa:bin</i> 'soap', <i>ya:šıl</i> 'green', <i>ǧa:wın</i> 'melonen', <i>ǧa:biq</i> 'haut'</p> <p><b>/ɪ – ɪ/</b> <i>biqın</i> 'flank', <i>diriši</i> 'suit', <i>ǧısım</i> 'handful', <i>yılǧın</i> 'tamarisk', <i>ırım</i> 'presage', <i>yılqı</i> 'female horse'</p> <p><b>/i: - ɪ/</b> <i>pi:qı</i> 'falcon', <i>ǧı:qılıq</i> 'noise', <i>ǧı:šıtq</i> 'crooked', <i>si:qılıq</i> 'catcall', <i>di:nım</i> Är. 'break'</p> <p><b>/o – ɪ/</b> <i>topır</i> 'dust', <i>toqım</i> 'saddle', <i>otız</i> 'tirthy', <i>otır-</i> 'to sit', <i>soqı</i> 'pounder', <i>oyın</i> 'play', <i>orm</i> 'place', <i>ǧoyın</i> 'sheep', <i>boyın</i> Är. 'neck', <i>omuz</i> 'scapula'</p> <p><b>/o: - ɪ/</b> <i>čo:rı</i> 'bondwoman', <i>ǧo:nım</i> 'seat', <i>lo:lı</i> 'whore', <i>do:lı</i> 'full'</p> <p><b>/u – ɪ/</b> <i>čuqır</i> 'deep', <i>ǧuzı</i> 'lamb', <i>ulı</i> 'big'</p> <p><b>/u: - ɪ/</b> <i>u:qı</i> 'sleep', <i>šu:qın</i> 'turmoil, noise', <i>hu:lı</i> 'house', <i>ǧu:rı</i> 'dry', <i>qu:čın</i> '(the tribe) Qu:čın'</p>	<p><b>/a – ɪ:/</b> <i>yaqı:n</i> 'near', <i>paqı:r</i> 'poor', <i>taǧsı:m</i> 'distribution', <i>dašarı:q</i> Te. 'out(side)'</p> <p><b>/a: - ɪ:/</b> <i>qa:ni:</i> 'sufficient', <i>qa:rı:</i> 'reader; blind', <i>pa:ni:</i> 'inconstant', <i>a:lı:n</i> 'upmost', <i>a:dı:</i> 'normal', <i>a:si:</i> 'insurgent', <i>da:rı:-</i> Är. 'to stand', <i>ya:ši:-</i> Är. 'to live'</p> <p><b>/ɪ - ɪ:/</b> <i>ırı:-</i> 'to shake', <i>çıısi:-</i> Är. 'whimper', <i>ııjı:-</i> Är. 'to miff'</p> <p><b>/i: - ɪ:/</b> <i>si:xı:-</i> Är. 'to curry',</p> <p><b>/o – ɪ:/</b> <i>yoǧı:n</i> 'thick', <i>orı:-</i> Är. 'to round something', <i>dolı:-</i> Är. 'to twist', <i>oǧrı:n</i> 'secretly, hidden', <i>doǧrı:n</i> 'clearly'</p> <p><b>/o: - ɪ:/</b> <i>ǧo:rı:-</i> Är. 'to advocate', <i>so:rı:-</i> Är. 'to ask'</p> <p><b>/u – ɪ:/</b> <i>uzı:n</i> 'long', <i>utı:</i> Mu. 'boot'</p> <p><b>/u: - ɪ:/</b> <i>hu:lı:-</i> Är. 'to mope', <i>ǧu:ni:-</i> Är. 'to heal', <i>ǧu:rı:-</i> Är. 'to become dry'</p>
<p><b>/a – o/</b> _____</p> <p><b>/a: - o/</b> _____</p> <p><b>/ɪ – o/</b> _____</p> <p><b>/i: - o/</b> _____</p> <p><b>/o – o/</b> <i>oǧol</i> Är. 'boy, son', <i>motor</i> Är. 'car', <i>čoloq</i> Är. 'shepherd's hand', <i>mojoq</i> Är. 'bad'</p> <p><b>/o: - o/</b> _____</p> <p><b>/u – o/</b> _____</p> <p><b>/u: - o/</b> _____</p>	<p><b>/a – o:/</b> _____</p> <p><b>/a: - o:/</b> _____</p> <p><b>/ɪ – o:/</b> _____</p> <p><b>/i: - o:/</b> _____</p> <p><b>/o – o:/</b> _____</p> <p><b>/o: - o:/</b> _____</p> <p><b>/u – o:/</b> _____</p> <p><b>/u: - o:/</b> _____</p>
<p><b>/a – u/</b> <i>tawuq</i> Mu. 'hen', <i>sawuq</i> Mu. 'cold', <i>ǧaytawul</i> 'reaction'</p> <p><b>/a: – u/</b> <i>ǧa:wun</i> 'melon', <i>tapa:wut</i> 'difference'</p> <p><b>/ɪ – u/</b> _____</p> <p><b>/i: – u/</b> _____</p>	<p><b>/a – u:/</b> <i>alu:-satu:</i> Är. 'buy and sell', <i>qabu:l</i> 'admission', <i>patnu:s</i> 'tray'</p> <p><b>/a: - u:/</b> <i>a:lu:</i> 'plum', <i>a:xu:n</i> 'mullah', <i>qa:nu:n</i> 'law', <i>pa:nu:s</i> 'lamp'</p> <p><b>/ɪ – u:/</b> _____</p> <p><b>/i: - u:/</b> _____</p>

/o – u/ <i>boğun</i> 'joint', <i>doğum</i> 'birth'	/o – u:/ <i>boyu:n</i> Är. 'in full length'
/o: - u/ _____	/o: - u:/ _____
/u – u/ <i>uruğ</i> 'tribe', <i>duluň</i> 'temple', <i>uzun</i> Mu. 'long', <i>ulus</i> 'people', <i>quduq</i> ND. 'well', <i>yumuş</i> 'order'	/u – u:/ _____
/u: - u/ <i>şu:qun</i> Te. 'noise', <i>su:ğuş</i> 'seagull'	/u: - u:/ _____

(ii) Vowel harmony in stem + suffix

The Afghan Turkmen dialects have low vowel suffixes with a double twofold variation of the vowel as either [a] and [a:], following back vowel syllables, or [e] and [ä:], following front vowel syllables. This twofold variation is symbolized by capital A. Examples are plural *-lAr*, negative *-mA*, conditional *-sA*.

High vowel suffixes have a double twofold variation of either [ɪ] and [ɪ:], following back vowel syllables, or [i] and [i:], following front vowel syllables. This twofold variation is symbolized as capital I. Examples are possessive 1PSG *-Im* and the deprivative deriv. *-sIz*.

High vowel suffixes following syllables with rounded vowels can through labial attraction be realized as also rounded. Whether this is a regular phenomenon or rather depends on situational or individual preferences only, can for shortage of materials not be determined here. Since the regularity of this fourfold variation cannot be considered as established, we employ the symbolization as capital I in suffixes which at least occasionally depict fourfold variation, rather than capital X (*-Ip* for CONV rather than *-Xp*). Examples: *ğoy-up* (Te.) ~ *ğoy-ıp* (all) 'to put' + CONV; *doy-up* (Te.) ~ *doy-ıp* (all) 'to get full' + CONV.

Many examples suggest that the rounding phenomenon mostly (re-)occurs in non-final syllables which follow rounded syllables while in final syllables that follow rounded ones, rounding does not frequently occur: *üyün-de* 'in his home' vs. *üy-i* 'his home' (Är.); *küjü-jik* 'little puppy' and *güjüg-i* 'his puppy' (Te.) vs. *küjik* 'puppy' (Te.) (but Är. also has an occasional *küçük* 'puppy'); *süri* 'flock (of sheep etc.)' > *sürüler*.

Rounded low vowels – as a feature of labial harmony – only very scarcely occur in deriv. suffixes. Examples: *dök-öm* (Är.) 'fertilizer', *dök-ön* (Te.) 'id.', *ğoyon* (~ *ğoyun*) 'sheep' (Är.).

Rounded low vowels have also been observed in grammatical suffixes, although very infrequently. Examples: *ğoy-oň* (Är. 39) 'to allow + IMPER2PL'; *bolor* (Är.) 'to be(come)' + AOR, *görör* (Är.) 'to see' + AOR.

(iii) Vowel harmony across word boundaries

Vowel harmony across word boundaries has in the Teke and Ärsa:rı dialects been observed in singular cases, mostly in combinations of demonstrative adjectives and substantives.

- **bügün** ča:rı:ŋ oğlanları da gelipdi. (Te. 5) < **bu gün**  
Today Ča:rı:'s sons have also come.
- bu yere **şügün** gelenimiz gowı bolı. (Te. 7) < **şu gün**  
It's turned out good that we have come here today.

- **buwin** yağmır çabğala:p yağyor. (Är. 13) < **bu gün** (also > **buwin** Är. 35)  
Today is raining heavily.
- **şuwin** geldiñizmi? (Är.12) < **şu gün** (also > **şuwin** Är.)  
Have you come today ?

This type of harmony across word boundaries has also in singular cases been observed as regressive harmony – although generally speaking, regressive vowel harmony is not a phenomenon typical of the Afghan Turkmen dialects. We have again identified single examples mostly in combinations of demonstrative adjectives + substantives. My materials hitherto don't support the formulation of a general rule governing this rare phenomenon.

- **bil wesket** maña kiçjik geldi. (Är. 40) < **bil** << bul 'this'  
This jacket is (too) small for me.

#### 4.2.9 Consonant-vowel synharmony

In the Afghan Turkmen dialects, the principle of intrasyllabic and intersyllabic consonant-vowel synharmony is generally preserved in native lexemes.

##### (a) Intrasyllabic synharmony

(i) The frontness or backness of a syllable is signalled by both vowels and consonants,<sup>113</sup> with /q/, /ğ/, /x/ and [g̃] occurring in back syllables together with the vowels /a/a:/, /ı/ı:/, /o/o:/ and /u/u:/; and /k/, /g/ and [g̃] occurring in front syllables together with /e/ä:/, /i/i:/, /ö/ö:/ and /ü/ü:/. The other consonants can be regarded as neutral and occur with all vowels. Examples: *buq-* 'take shelter', *doğri* 'straight', *maxta-* 'to praise', *gö:n-* 'to perch'; *ki:k* 'stag', *göni* 'straight', *çi:ğ* 'raw'; *ba:lıq* 'fish' ~ *bi:l* 'waist', *mö:jek* 'wolf' ~ *mulıq* 'silly', *pi:qi* 'hawk' ~ *perek* 'feather', *dart-* 'to pull' ~ *dü:r-* 'to roll up', *sığır* 'cow' ~ *ses* 'voice', etc.

(ii) Deviation from intrasyllabic synharmony is in native lexemes an infrequently observed phenomenon, which seems to generally affect the [ı] / [i] opposition only. Almost all examples in my material come from *nāxāliš* dialects: *qiz* 'girl' (Mu.), *qazıq* 'peg' (Mu.), *qır* 'forty' (Mu.), *çaqır-* 'to call' (Xa.). The only example from a *xāliš* dialect is *g̃i:n* 'difficult' (Är.), as opposed to a regular *g̃i:n* 'id.' (Te.).

##### (b) Intersyllabic synharmony

(i) In the suffixation process, the front or back quality of the (last) stem syllable, either indicated by its vocalism, by front/back consonants, or by both, determines the quality of the derivational or grammatical suffix as front or back, again with regard to both vowels and (where applicable, see above a.i) consonants: *a:ç-lıq* 'hungry + ABSTRSUBST' (Är.) ~ *yigit-lik* 'young man + ABSTRSUBST' (Är.); *kiçi-rä:k* 'small + COMP' (Te.) ~ *ulı-ra:q* 'big' + COMP' (Te.); *a:rtla-maq* 'to jump + INF' (Är.) ~ *git-mek* 'to go + INF' (Är.); *g̃i:nan-sa-q* 'to regret + COND1PL' (Sa.) ~ *gör-se-k* 'to see + COND1PL' (Sa.).

(ii) Intersyllabic synharmony is more strictly observed with regard to back/front consonants than with regard to back/front vowels. Thus, phenomena like *a:za-jıq* 'few/little + DIM' (Är.)

<sup>113</sup> Johanson 1998:31.

42) and *di:xa:n-čiliq* 'farmer + ABSTRPROF (Xat. 5), where the suffix with back consonant contains a front vowel, occur quite frequently, while the reverse phenomenon – back stem followed by a back-vowel yet front-consonant suffix (???*a:za-jik*) – is not found in my materials.

#### 4.2.10 Disharmony

In the Afghan Turkmen dialects we cannot always draw a clear distinction between occasional deviation from the harmony-and-synharmony principle and systematic disharmony. Deviation from the harmony principle occurs quite frequently, but my materials give reason to assume that it is mostly an occasional or idiolectal phenomenon only, which can be countered by an equal or greater number of non-deviant examples. Such cases have been mentioned above in 4.2.1 and 4.2.2. Although deviation from the harmony principle occurs in all dialects, it appears to affect the XD dialects more thoroughly than the ND dialects.

(a) Deviation or disharmony?

(i) Deviation from the harmony principle affects native stems only in rare cases: *ğati* 'hard' (Yo. 1), *u:ren-* 'to learn' (Te. 14), *qaziq* 'peg' (Mo. 4), *da:yi* 'maternal uncle' (Är.10). In the suffixation process, on the other hand, it is a frequent and diverse phenomenon:

- *daşarı yu:rtlerdä:ki ya:şolılar* (Är. 10)  
influential elders abroad
- *oniñ bir hepbes-ä:m esgere yetmedi.* (Är. 14)  
Not a (single) grain of it reached the soldiers.
- *awad bolmaqıñ ustıne baryo:-da* (Mo. 2)  
It has to do with becoming well-bred.
- *yu:sañ a:t awad bolmalı.* (Mo. 2)  
If you wash the horse, it will become well-bred.
- *sekiz otaği ba:rti, şüniñ daşini-içini suwaşdirip berdiler* (Sa. 2)  
(The house) had eight chambers, they whitewashed them outside and inside.
- *tilpo:mı yoqarda ça:rja ğoydınızmi?* (Är. 11)  
Have you put the telephone on the charge upstairs?

(ii) A few consonant-vowel constellations depict an almost regular deviation from the harmony principle, so that we may assume that erosion of the principle is under way, which might end up in phenomena of systemic disharmony. The vicinity of sibilants – intrasyllabic, intersyllabic and also across word boundaries – very often causes a shift from back to front vocalism in stems and suffixes: *yabış-* 'to stick' (Är.); *a:zajiq* 'very little/few' (Är.); *burč* 'corner' + POSS3SG > *burči* (Är.); *di:xa:nčiliqlarmız* 'our agricultural activities' (Xat. 5), *yaxti čira* 'bright lamp' (Te. 5), *yatsin* 'may he go to sleep' (Mu. 4).

The vicinity of the approximant /y/ also often causes a shift from back to front vocalism in stems and suffixes: *da:yim* 'my maternal uncle' (Är. 14, Te. 14); *serpa:yimiz* 'our garment of honor' (Xo. 1); *ya:diñızda* (Är. 9) and *ya:diñızda* (Är. 7) 'in your memory'.

(b) Systemic disharmony in suffixes

In the Afghan Turkmen dialects most grammatical suffixes are harmonic along the principles defined above. However, there are also a few suffixes which represent an early stage of suffix

development<sup>114</sup>; this can imply that they are systemically not (yet) harmonized, or that in some dialects they are already harmonized while in others they are not yet, or even that the situation is undecided, which is demonstrated by the coexistence of harmonized and non-harmonized variants in the same dialect.

(i) The intraterminal *yo:r* (Är., Xat., Xoj., Mu.) ~ *o:r* (Sa.) is generally excluded from harmonic adjustment to the preceding syllable (but is followed, in accordance with the harmony principle, by back syllables):

- *göreşe gitjek bolip ađlyo:rtım-am* (Är. 6)  
When I was to go to war I wept (a lot).
- *xa:hiş etyo:s ki burs berilse* (Är. 36)  
We demand that stipends be given.
- *ökizlere yim beryo:s, merdikä:r tütyo:s* (Xat. 5)  
We give fodder to the oxen and employ daylaborers.
- *ağşamna palaw keba:b beryo:tılar.* (Xo. 1)  
At night they would serve (us) pilav and kebab.
- *a:t yaramas bolsa hem tepyo: hem tişliyo:.* (Mu. 2)  
If a horse is bad, it kicks and bites.
- *yerkumme diyo:s türkmeni: dilde* (Sa. 3)  
We call (these objects) dugouts in the Turkmen language.
- *ha:lı şu marçağıñ ö:zinnen çıqo:r.* (Sa. 2)  
The carpets emerge from this very (town of) Marçaq.

In contrast, the Teke correlate has developed into a low vowel suffix *-(y)A:r* and follows the harmony principle:

- *şehr içinne ya:şaya:lar.* (Te. 6)  
They live in town.
- *derrä:niñ yoqarsınnan aylanıp su: gelyä:r eken.* (Te. 3)  
The water comes from the upstream (part) of the valley.

The Yomut correlate seems to vary between a disharmonic *-(y)a:(r)* and harmonic *-(y)A:(r)*; my material contains examples of both variants.

- *oña buxara:yı diyelar.* (Yo. 1)  
They call it Bukharan.
- *erişem kelep bolya:, ši eriş diyya:s.* (Yo. 2)  
The warp is (sold) in bundles, we call this a warp.
- *i:r zama:nlarda ğati ha:la: uns beryetılar, jıda: uns beryetiler.* (Yo. 1)  
In former times (people) would care about carpets, they would care a lot.

(ii) In the Ärsa:rı dialect the participle is an invariable, disharmonic *-yo:n*, in the Sa:rıq dialect it is invariably *-o:n*.

- *aşağında di:mä:n, teyinde diyo:n dir* (Är. 1)  
(They) don't say *aşağında* 'below', (but) they say *teyinde*.
- *giyo:n dırışı:ñızıñ müjberi qanča?* (Är. 22)

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<sup>114</sup> Johanson 1998:109.

How much is the size of the suit you are wearing?

- mektep oğlanlaryň gelo:n waxtı boldı. (Sa.3)  
It's the time when the schoolboys are coming.

In the Teke and Yomut dialects, the participle has two possible forms, one being a disharmonic, invariable *-yo:n* and the other a harmonic *-yA:n* (Te.) ~ *-(y)A:n* (Yo.):

- qadı:m waxtlarda ğudalara öňinde ğoyulyo:n etler-em belli eken. (Te. 19)  
In ancient times the (pieces of) meat that were served to the in-laws were clearly defined.
- werzişden kä:ra:ta: gidyä:nlammız-am ba:r ya:şlardan. (Te. 18)  
Among the youth, we also have those who (among) sports go to karate.
- başğa za:t bo:ma:n soň (Yo. 1)  
since nothing else was (there)

(iii) The negation of the habitual past is in the Teke dialect a combination of participle and negative existential, contracted into the complex *-Ano:q* (as opposed to non-contracted *-(y)An yo:q* in the other dialects), when necessary supplied with a possessive suffix referring to the satellite of the construction; the syllable which comes from the existential has clearly developed into a suffix, but it is always disharmonic and invariable:

- biz o yerä: ğatna:p bilemmizo:q, olaram gelip bilenno:q. (Te. 2)  
We cannot go there for a visit, nor can they come (here).
- axtaran bile tapamo:q. (Te. 5)  
I didn't find (it), although (I) looked for it.

(iv) Some postverbs like *ber-* (and its derivatives) and *bil-*, which are realized as quasi-suffixes, are also generally disharmonic. They can in their turn even cause regressive harmonization of the preceding converbial *-I-* into [i].

- ö:z tiliňizde aytweriň. (Mo. 1)  
Tell (it) in your own language!
- yerinnen turribilen yo:qti. (Är. 12)  
He was unable to get up from his place.

#### 4.2.11 Vocalism and vowel harmony in copied lexemes

(a) The vocalism of copied lexemes

(i) Copied lexemes, regardless of their initial provenance, mostly enter the Afghan Turkmen dialects via Dari or the local Persian dialects by whose phonetic realization, consequently, the phonetic realization of these loanwords in the Turkmen dialects is primarily determined. There is, however, a marked tendency to include loanwords into the general Turkmen phonetic system by subjecting them – although not thoroughly or systematically – to the principle of vowel and vowel-consonant harmony.

(ii) For the interpretation of a copied lexeme as back or front, the consonants of the lexeme are of primary importance. The vocalism of copied lexemes that contain only consonants which are not marked as back or front (/d/, /m/, /z/, /l/, /r/ ...) can consequently be interpreted

as either back or front, or mixed. The dialects often differ in realization, but there seems to be no definite rule according to which, for example, the Ärsa:rı dialect would prefer front vocalism against predominantly back vocalism of the Teke dialect, or vice versa. My material is not rich enough to permit statements about frequencies; we can only state that no option seems to be generally excluded. Examples: Är. *wä:de* ~ Te. *wa:da* 'promise', but Är. *da:na:* ~ Te. *dä:nä:* 'wise' and Är. *zında:n* ~ Te. *zindä:n* 'prison'; Te. *hä:zir* ~ ND *ha:zir* 'nowadays'.

The unmarkedness of this type of loanwords also permits a simple copying of the vocalism of the original without any harmonization at all. Examples: *tilpo:n* 'telephone'; *pu:hantu:n* 'university'; *du:šemme* 'Monday'; *a:rši:p* 'archive'.

(iii) Loanwords' back consonants that exist in native lexemes as well (/q/, /ğ/, /x/ ...) in most cases not only determine the intrasyllabic realization of the vowel as back, but generally also lead to intersyllabic harmonization of the whole lexeme as back-vowel. Examples: *qadı:m* (Är. 31, Yo. 1, Te. 19) 'ancient' < pers. << arab. *qadīm*; *zaxı:ra* (Är. 12) 'storage' < pers. *zaxīra*; *qarīb* 'almost' < pers. *qarīb*; *xalqı:* (Te. 3) 'member of the Xalq faction' < pers. *xalqī*; *paqı:r* 'soft (person)' << arab. *faqīr*. Copied lexemes that contain a long vowel [a:], however, can regardless of a back consonant also be totally realized as front, or at least contain front vowels as well. Examples: *inqıla:b* 'revolution' (Te. 3); *xa:hiş* 'wish' (Är. 36); *qa:no:ni:* 'law-abiding' (Är. 4).

The original quality of retroflex-alveolar, emphatic-alveolar or otherwise perceivedly "back" consonants<sup>115</sup> whose original (Arabic, Pashto, ...) phonetic realization is not preserved in Persian (*toy, şad, 'ayn, hā', ...*), does in general not determine the Turkmen vocalism as back (which points to the fact that loans have generally entered the Turkmen dialects orally rather than through a written medium). Examples: *rütbe* 'rank' < pers. [rutbā]; *esger* 'soldier' < pers. *askar*; *şert* 'condition' (Är.) < pers. *şart*; *mehessil* 'student' (Te.) < pers. *muhassil*; *heltek* 'wheel' (Är.) < pers. *ğaltak*; *setil* 'bucket' (Mu.) < pers. *satil*. – In the Teke dialect, however, a small number of lexemes with alveolar and other "Arabic back consonants" do have back vocalism. In some cases this phenomenon coincides with particularities observed in renderings of originally Arabic lexemes in the Tatar language, so that we may assume that these loans have come via Tatar rather than Persian, and have been "imported" into Afghanistan by *muhājirs* from the Soviet Union (on whose language for some time in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century Tatar intellectuals exerted a strong linguistic influence): Te. *watan* 'homeland' vs. *weten* in all other dialects.

(iv) In other cases the consonantism of the originals does not necessarily imply back vocalism, although back-vowel variants do exist. The dialects show an ambiguous picture in this phenomenon: Many lexemes have back-vowel variants in the Teke dialect while the Ärsa:rı variants have front vocalism: Te. *taya:r* ~ Är. *teyya:r* 'ready' < pers. *tayyār*; Te. *wa:da* ~ Är. *wä:de* 'promise' < pers. [wa:dā]; On the other hand, there are correlates whose back-vowel variant is typical of the Ärsa:rı dialect while Teke has front-vowel variants: Är. *a:lam* ~ Te. *ä:lem* 'world' < pers. *ālam*; Är. *aynek* ~ Te. *eynek* 'eyeglasses' < pers. *aynak*; Är. *şama:l* ~ Te. *şema:l* < pers. *şamāl*; Är. *da:na:* ~ Te. *dä:nä:* 'wise'; Är. *zında:n* ~ Te. *zindä:n* 'prison' < pers. *zindān*.

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<sup>115</sup> The perceived "back" quality is actually not grounded in the consonants themselves, but in the articulation of their surrounding vowels. Neither in the immediate Persian originals, nor in their Turkmen copies this effect on the vowels is, however, preserved.

(v) The vocalism of copied lexemes that contain consonants marked as front (mostly /k/ or /g/) is generally front: *köçe* 'street, quarter' < pers. *kūča*, *tä:kje* 'shelf, board' < pers. *tākča*, *gül* 'flower; carpet pattern' < pers. *gul*. Original short [u] of front-consonant copied lexemes is in the Turkmen dialects often retracted into a rounded high vowel [u̠] between [u] and [ü], neither clearly front nor back: [mukemmel] 'perfect'; [şukir] 'thank God'.

(vi) The stem vowels of copied lexemes can be harmonized. This is particularly the case with [i] and [i:] in syllables anteceding a long [a:] (or less frequently, short [a]), which are regressively harmonized (i.e., lowered) into back-middle [ɨ] and [ɨ:], respectively. Examples: *i:ma:n* 'faith' (Är. 2) < pers. *ī:mān*; *ixtiya:r* 'free will' (Är. 10) < pers. *ixtiyār*; *zinda:n* 'prisons' (Är. 16) < pers. *zindān*; *piša:r* 'blood pressure' (Te. 10) < pers. *fišār*; *mi:za:n* '(the month of) Mizan' < pers. *mīzān*; *muna:r* 'minaret' (Te. 13) < pers. *minār*; *i:da:m et-* 'to sentence to death' (Är. 17) < pers. *īdām*; *si:lxa:na* 'flooded area' (Te. 3) < pers. *sīlxāna*; *xızmat* 'service' < pers. *xizmat*.

Another harmonization phenomenon is the unrounding of [u] > [ɨ] in dis- or polysyllabic stems that also have an [a] or [a:]. Examples: *wuluswa:l* 'district mayor' (Är. 21) < paš. *wuluswāl*; *muna:sıp* 'adequate' (Är. 12) < pers. *munāsib*; *juma: güni* 'Friday' (Är. 17) ~ *juma: güni* (Te. 14) < pers. [juma]; *sıpa* 'sofa' (Te. 13) < pers. *suffa*; *tapa:wit* 'difference' (Te. 13) < pers. *tafāwut*; *merdim* 'people' (Är. 4) < pers. *mardum*.

(vii) Along with the tendency towards harmonization of the stem vowels of copied lexemes, we can also observe an inclination towards assimilation of vowels in copied dissyllabic and polysyllabic stems. The phenomenon has been observed in XD dialects, without obvious preferences or rules; in quite a few cases the dialects show difference, or assimilated and non-assimilated variants exist even within one dialect. Examples: *hasa:plan-* 'to count as sth.' (Är. 17) << pers. *hisāb* 'account'; *derweze* 'gate' (Är.) < pers. *darwāza*; *teyya:r* (Är.) ~ *taya:r* (Te.) 'ready' < pers. *tayyār*; *šama:l* (Är.) ~ *šema:l* (Te.) 'wind' < pers. *šamāl*; *xarman* (Te. 4) ~ *xirman* (Är. 12) 'crop' < pers. *xirmān*; *ala:j* (Te.) ~ *ila:j* (Är.) 'medicine' < pers. *ilāj*; *qa:ğız* (Te.) ~ *qa:ğaz* (Är.) 'paper' < pers. *qāğaz*; *maha:jir* 'migrant' (Är. 31) < pers. *muhājir*.

## (b) Harmony of copied lexemes + suffix

(i) Derival suffixes agglutinated to the stems of copied lexemes in principle follow the same rules as suffixes agglutinated to native stems: The quality of the suffix vowel(s) and consonant(s) as back or front is determined by the quality of the syllable immediately preceding the suffix. Examples: *bi:güna:-lıq* 'innocence' (< pers. *bēgunāh* 'innocent'); *šä:girdlik* 'apprenticeship' (< pers. *šāgird* 'apprentice'); *do:st-luq* 'friendship' (< pers. *dōst* 'friend'); *a:damča-jıq* 'tiny little man' (< pers. *ādamča* 'little man'); *depterče-jik* 'little notebook' (< pers. *daftarča*).

(ii) The back/front quality of grammatical suffixes agglutinated to copied stems is in principle determined by the quality of the syllable immediately preceding the suffix. Examples: *sa:z-ı* 'his instrument' (Är. 9) < pers. *sāz*; *ustaxan-ı* 'his bone' (Mu. 1) < pers. *ustaxān*; *motar-ıñ çayn-ı* 'the chain of the car' (Te. 16) < pers. [çayn] << engl. [çäyn]; *derya:-nıñ o yaqıda* 'on the other side of the river' (Mu. 1); *tarap-lar-a* 'to the directions' (Är. 12) < pers. *taraf*; *bir ja:y-da* 'in one place' (Mu. 2) < pers. *jāy*.

(iii) Although long [a:] in copied lexemes is generally interpreted as a back vowel, the quality of high vowel suffixes (e.g. GEN *-(n)Iñ*, AKK *-(n)I*, POSS1PL *-(I)mIz* etc.) depicts a marked



tendency to shift from back to front-high [i] when such suffixes are agglutinated to stems that have [a:]. Examples: *molla:-niñ oğlu* (Sa. 1) 'the son of the mullah' < pers. *mullā*; *mi:rza:-niñ zama:nında* 'at the times of Mīrzā' (Te. 13) < pers. *mīrzā*; *ši:ri xuda:-niñ dili* (Är. 2) 'the tongue of the Lion of God' < pers. *xudā*; *bir na:n-i suwa aqdiriq gido:r* 'he has a (loaf of) bread float away with the water' (Sa. 7) < pers. *nān*; *serpa:y-imiz* 'our clothes of honor' < pers. [sarpāy]; *piša:r-ijiz* 'your blood pressure' (Är. 17) < pers. *fišār*.

As has been stated in 2.2.2, it is the marked consonants rather than the vowels that determine the back/front quality of a stem; this is underlined by the fact that the shift from back to front vowel following [a:] does not cause a simultaneous shift from back to front in the consonants of suffixes that contain marked consonants (e.g. NOMABSTR *-IIQ*): *di:xa:n-čiliq* (not *di:xa:n-čilik*) 'the farmer profession' (Xa. 5) < pers. *dehqān*; *ihitiya:j-liğ-i* (not *\*ihitiya:j-lig-i*) 'its necessity' (Te. 3) < arab. *ihitiyāj*.

However, alongside this shift from [ɪ] to [i], in many cases the back quality [ɪ] is also often realized in the high vowel suffixes. Examples: *pa:y-ı* (Är. 1) 'his share' < pers. *pāy*; *za:d-ıñız-ı beriñ* 'give your belongings' (Är. 6) < pers. *zāt*; *qaryada:r-ıñ üyi* (Är. 3) 'the house of the village mayor' < pers. *qaryadār*.

(iv) In the Sa:rıq and Teke dialects the shift from [ɪ] to [i] occurs not only after long [a:], but also after short [a] : *xalq-ı ayt-* 'to invite the people' (Sa. 2); *Balx wela:yat-i-niñ* 'the Balx province's ...' (Te. 15) < pers. *walāyat*, *weza:rat-ıñ a:damı* 'a man of the ministry' (Te.) < pers. *wazāyat*.

### 4.3 Phonological processes: Consonants

#### 4.3.1 Voicing

(a) Voiceless obstruents and affricates in the coda position of native monosyllabic long-vowel stems and of native dis- or polysyllabic stems are voiced when a derivational or grammatical suffix with vowel in the onset is agglutinated. (Voicing does not occur if the suffix has a consonant in the onset.)<sup>116</sup>

/p/ > [b] or [b̥]

*ya:p* 'canal' > *ya:bı* 'canal + ACC'; *gā:p* 'sack' > *gā:bı* 'sack + ACC'; *etra:p* 'around' > *etra:bı* 'its environs', *dü:p* 'bottom' > *dü:bı* 'its bottom'; *gāzap* 'wrath' > *gāzabı* 'his wrath', *ayaqgā:p* 'shoe' > *ayaqgābı* 'his shoe'.

/t/ > [d]

*a:t* 'name' > *a:dım* 'my name'; *ya:t* 'strange' > *ya:dirğa-* 'to have stranger anxiety'; *nesi:hat* > *nesi:hadı* 'admonition + ACC'; *o:t* > *o:dı* 'fire + ACC'; *sü:t* 'milk' > *sü:di* 'its milk'; *paraxat* 'peace' > *paraxadı* 'his peace of mind'.

<sup>116</sup> Johanson 1998:32 explains the phenomenon without reference to the long vowels in monosyllabic stems; he postulates two morphophonological variants of an originally weak (lenis) obstruent which is devoiced in syllable-final position.

/k/ > [g]

*gö:k* 'blue, green' > *gö:ger-* 'to sprout' ; *ki:k* 'stag' > *ki:giŋ gö:šti* 'the stag's meat'; *i:k* 'spindle' > *i:gi* 'her spindle'; *mö:jek* 'wolf' > *mö:jegi* 'wolf + ACC'; *kičirä:k* 'smaller' > *kičirä:gi* 'the smaller one of them'.

/q/ > [ğ]

*a:q* 'white' > *a:ğar-* 'to become white'; *gi:q* 'noise' > *gi:ğır-* 'to shout'; *ğapaq* 'lid' > *ğapağı berk* 'its lid is closed'.

/č/ > [j]

*a:č* 'hungry' > *a:ji-* 'to become hungry'; *ağaç* 'tree' > *ağajı* 'tree + ACC'.

(b) Voicing of this kind also occurs across word boundaries:

- *mä:kä:m yapıšib oturdım* (Är. 29)  
I sat and clung tightly (to ...)
- *pes alışla:h aldım* (Är. 13)  
then I exchanged (it)
- *burs berilse köprä:g onda:m* şil billeş Türkmenlemimize kömek edilse (Te.2)  
If (only) stipends were given more and then our Turkmen were supported with that...

(c) The possessive suffixes (+ pronominal *n*) have an unstable initial vowel which does not appear before suffixes with a vowel in the onset (see "deletion of vowels"). However, final /q/, /k/, /p/, /t/ and /č/ of dissyllabic stems, when a possessive suffix as mentioned above is added, do undergo the same voicing as described in (a) although the initial vowel of the possessive suffix is missing:

- **küçük** > \*küçügimiz > küçügmiz daŋıgli. (Är. 30)  
Our dog is tethered.
- **ğolaq** > \*ğolağina > ğolağna tamğa basyo:rlar. (Är. 12)  
They put a mark on its ear.
- **ğolaq** > yoqarı çıqanımda **ğolağma** bir ses geldi. (Sa.3)  
When I went up, I heard something .
- **ğışalaq** > **ğışlağmıza** ya:zda su: barano:q. (Te.14)  
There is no irrigation water in our village during summer
- **yürek** > \*yüreğini > hemmä:niŋ yüreğni tapıp du:r (Är. 8)  
He finds the heart of everybody.
- **yürek** > \*yüreğini > piša:r kä:bi:riniŋ yüreğni urya:r eken (Te.3)  
(High) blood pressure attacks the heart of many a person.

(d) The voicing of final /t/ of verbal stems when these are followed by a suffix with a vowel or the approximant /y/ in the onset (e.g., *et-* 'to do' > *edip*) occurs in all Afghan Turkmen dialects; non-voicing has only been identified in some examples from the Bayat dialect.

- *iki xarman edipdik* (Te. 4)  
we made a double harvest
- *deli:liŋizi ešdip* imsim boldı. (Är. 10)  
When he heard your arguments, he fell silent.
- *Kä: waxt diri:werler sä:girdleri pulsızam algidyo:r.* (Xa.2)

- Sometimes, the drivers take the students to the destination without money.
- ana şundağ **etip** (Ba. 3)  
doing like this

### 4.3.2 Assimilation

Assimilation of three different types – progressive, regressive and combined – occurs in all Afghan Turkmen dialects. However, there is some difference in detail. In the Teke, Yomut and Sa:riq dialects the phenomenon plays a greater role than in the Ärsa:rı dialect, Muqri, Xatab and others. Assimilation is an overall phenomenon: It affects native as well as copied stems and happens in the suffixation process.

#### (a) Progressive assimilation

(i) Clusters where voiced plosives follow their voiceless counterparts, either in stems or as a result of suffixation processes, can through fortition be assimilated into voiceless-only clusters:

- /pb/ > [pp] *topbaq* > *toppaq* 'together' (Är.5) (Clason: *tobik* (<to:b)<sup>117</sup>)  
 /td/ > [tt] *gitdi* > *kitti* 'went' (Mu.2)  
 /kg/ > [kk] *sekgiz* (Är.) 'eight', > *sekkiz* (ND.), > *sekiz* (Te.) (Clason: *sekkiz*)<sup>118</sup>  
 /qǵ/ > [qq] *čaqǵi* > *čaqqi* 'knife' (Clason: *čaki*, *čakki*)<sup>119</sup>

(ii) Clusters in which /d/ follows the liquid /l/, the alveolar fricative /z/, or the nasal /n/ are progressively assimilated: /ld/ > [ll]; /zd/ > [zz]; /nd/ > [nn]. This assimilation occurs in stems as well as in the suffixation process. It is most prominent in the Teke dialect, but occasionally occurs in other dialects as well.

/ld/ > [ll]

- **baldız** > bu menin **ballızım** bolya: (Te.12)  
This is my sister-in-law.
- **ǵaldı** > doqma satilmadi weli:n čiten doqmalari ellerniñ ustinne **ǵallı**. (Te. 6)  
The carpet was not sold, but (instead) the carpets they had made remained on their hands.
- **geldi** > şu inqıla:biñ dewra:nında mana başǵa yerlerdä:kilermiz-em **gelli**. (Te. 3)  
In this revolution period our (relatives) who were in other places have come (here).

/zd/ > [zz]

- **aramızda** > heni:zem **a:ramızza** edebiya:t dil türkmeni hi:č bir şüyle üytgä:n za:di yo:q. (Te. 4)  
Among us so far there is nothing Turkmen that has changed (for the worse) – literature, language...
- **alanımızda** > ha:li:nıñ erişini satin **alammızza** (Yo. 2)  
when we purchase the warp for the carpet
- **gezdirim** > sizi bugün ča:rya:r **gezzi:r**. (Te. 13)  
Today it is Čäryär who guides you round.

<sup>117</sup> Clason. 1972: 437.

<sup>118</sup> Clason. 1972: 823.

<sup>119</sup> Clason. 1972: 613.

/nd/ > [nn]

- **sandıgıñ** > **sannıgıñ** açarını yitirdim. (Te. 5)  
I have lost the key of the chest.
- **indi** > bend dä:lde açılan **inni**. (Te. 3)  
It is not closed, it has been opened now.
- **mindik** > ba:zar orta: ešek **minnik**. (Yo. 1)  
We rode on donkeys as far as the bazaar.

The /n+d/ > [nn] assimilation in the Teke dialect occurs even across word boundaries:

/nd/ > [nn]

- **men dä:l** > ağşam ği:ğıran **men-nä:ldim**. (Te. 6)  
(The person) who shouted (last) night was not me.

The /n+d/ > [nn] assimilation occurs in all Afghan Turkmen dialects when the locative or ablative suffixes (-dA, -dAn) follow a final /n/.

/nd/ > [nn]

- **men-de** > **menne** munča pul yo:q. (Te.16)  
I don't have that much money.
- **üstin-de** > bir da:ğıñ **üstinne** (Te. 7)  
on top of a mountain
- **için-de** > šehr **içinne** ya:šaya:lar. (Te. 6)  
They live in the city.
- **kim-den** > bı atı **kimnen** aldınız? (Är.25)  
Who bought that horse from?
- **yoqarsın-dan** > derrä:niñ **yoqarsınnan** aylanıp su: gelyä:r eken. (Te. 3)  
Water comes from upstream.
- **milliyetin-den, wela:yatın-dan** > türkmen **milliyetinnen** bolyo:rn, ğunduz **wela:yatınnan** bolyo:rn. (Är. 21)  
I am from the Turkmen nation, (...) I am from Kunduz province.
- **özin-den** > ha:lı şu marçağıñ **özinnen** çıqo:r. (Sa. 2)  
The carpets come from this very Marçaq.
- **bolan-dan** > **bolannan** soñ (Mu. 3, Yo. 1)  
after initially being from....

(iii) Clusters in which /b/ follows the bilabial nasal /m/, whether in stems or across word boundaries, are often assimilated: /m+/b/ > [mm] : *tümbek* > *tümmek* 'fraught' (Är.5); \**yerkümbe* > *yerkumme* 'dugout shelter' (Sa.). This phenomenon is known in all dialects.

- **i:šim ba:r** > i:šim-ma:r. (Är. 51)  
I am busy.
- \***üm bilmez** > men-em **ümmülmez** oğlan šo pille (Är. 6)  
I also was a silly boy at that time.
- **ja:nım bilen** > men sağ bolsam ja:nım-milen i:šlejek. (Te. 18)  
If I were healthy I would work with pleasure (lit. with my soul).

(iv) Clusters in which /t/ follows the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ can be assimilated: /st/ > /ss/. This process has been observed in the Teke dialect.

- **üstinden** > depelerin **üssinnen** (Te. 21)  
over the hills

(v) Clusters in which /l/ follows the voiced alveolar fricative /z/ are assimilated: /zl/ > [zz]. Examples have been found only in the Teke dialect.

- **gözle-** > şu depelerin üssinnen **gözzä:p** durya:s kä: waxtlar. (Te. 21)  
Sometimes we watch from the top of those hills.
- **gizle-** > oynjaqları yoqarda **gizzä:p** goydım. (Te.12)  
I hid the toys upstairs.

On the other hand, in the combination of PRONOM1PL and PRONOM2PL and the plural suffix, regressive assimilation takes place: *biz-ler* > *biller*, *siz-ler* > *siller*.

- /zl/ > [ll] **bizler** > **biller** erte gitmeli boldıq. (Är.45)  
We will be going tomorrow.
- /zl/ > [ll] **sizler** > **siller** ni:rden geldiñiz? (Är.48)  
Where do you come from ?

(vi) Clusters where /k/ or /g/ follows the velar nasal /ŋ/ are assimilated: /ŋk/ > [ŋŋ], /ŋg/ > [ŋŋ]. This phenomenon occurs in the Teke dialect only.

- /ŋk/ > [ŋŋ] **süñki** > etleri **süñği** bilen goymalı eken. (Te. 19)  
The meat was to be served together with its bones, as they say.
- /ŋk/ > [ŋŋ] **i:şenği:r** > na:mı xuda: oğlanlarıñ hemmesi **i:şenği:r** bolıp çıqdı. (Te. 16)  
By God, all your sons have come out as hard-working!

(vii) Clusters where /ç/ follows the voiceless postalveolar fricative /š/ are assimilated: /šč/ > /šš/. This phenomenon has been observed in the Ärsarı dialect only.

- /ŋb/ > [ŋm] **müñbaščılıq** > buxara: pa:šša:sı **müñmaščılıq** rütbe beren eken. (Är. 9)  
The king of Bukhara used to award the rank of *müñbaşı*.

## (b) Regressive assimilation

(i) Clusters where /s/ follows the voiceless plosive /t/ as result of a suffixation process, are assimilated: /ts/ > [ss]. This phenomenon is typical of the Ärsa:rı dialect.

- /ts/ > [ss] **sat-saq** > altı mitiri **sassaq** qarzımı bererin. (Är. 41)  
If we sell the six-meter (carpet), I will pay my debts back.
- **git-se git-sin** > goyoñ kö:la:ta **gisse gissin!** (Är. 39)  
Let him (go), may he go to the pumpkin field if he wants to!
- **et-sin** > i:r bilen i:š **essin!** (Är.5)  
Let him do his work early!

(ii) Clusters where /š/ follows /ç/ - which mostly occurs across word boundaries – are assimilated: /čš/ > [šš].

- /čš/ > [šš] **üč šertim** > saŋa **üš šertim** ba:r. (Är. 39)  
I have three conditions for you (to fulfill).
- **a:č šağal** > senem **a:š šağal** ya:nı çapala:p yörme. (Är.1)  
Don't you run everywhere like a hungry jackal!
- **uč šä:rik** > biz **uš šä:rik** bolip işliyors. (Ar.11)  
We are three partners, working together.

(iii) Clusters where /č/ follows /t/ as a result of suffixation processes, are assimilated: /tč/ > [čč].

- /tč/ > [čč] **para:xatčılıq** > o:ğä:nista:nna-da **para:xaččılıq** bolsa başğa hi:č kemi yo:q. (Te. 16)  
If in Afghanistan there were also peace, nothing else would be deficient.

(iv) Clusters where /m/ follows the nasal /n/ or the trill /r/ are assimilated: /nm/ > [mm] and /rm/ > [mm]. The phenomenon has been found in the Teke and Ärsarı dialects.

- /nm/ > [mm] **bilenmiz yo:q** > biz o yerä: ğatna:p **bilemmizo:q** olaram gelip bileno:q. (Te. 2)  
We cannot go for visits there, nor can they come (here).
- **alanmız yo:q** > bizem kita:p **alammizo:q**. (Te.5)  
We did not receive the books yet .
- **ğarındaşlarmıza** > wi:ze za:dlar berse biz **ğarındaşlammıza** yetip biljek. (Te. 14)  
If they gave visas and stuff, we could reach our relatives (there).
- **türkmenlermize** > **türkmenlemmize** kömek edilse (Är. 36)  
if our (fellow) Turkmens were supported
- **tujjarlarmızıñ** > **tujjarlammızıñ** yuzde segseni (Är. 25)  
eighty percent of our merchants

The /rm/ cluster is excluded from assimilation of this kind if the personal suffix *-mIz* follows the lexeme *ba:r* : *ba:rmız* 'we are present', but not *ba:mmız*.

(c) Dialect difference in progressive / regressive assimilation

(i) As the examples in (a)-(b) show, the Teke dialect depicts a strong tendency towards progressive assimilation, while the Ärsa:rı dialect is mostly characterized by regressive assimilation; however, there are exceptions to this general observation in both directions, too. As for the other dialects, my materials do not provide sufficient examples to support general assumptions about them in these matters.

(ii) In clusters of /n/+l/ the distribution becomes most clearly visible: While /nl/ is in the Ärsa:rı, Yomut and Sa:rıq dialects assimilated into [ll], it is in the Teke dialect assimilated into [nn]:

*günlükçi* 'workman' (Är.) ~ *güllükçi* (Yo., Sa.) ~ *günnükçi* (Te.)  
*yağınlı* 'rainy' (Är.) ~ *yağılı* (Yo., Sa.) ~ *yağınni* (Te.)  
*gelneje* 'sister-in-law (BW)' (Är.) ~ *gelleje* (Yo.) ~ *genneje* (Te.)  
*gelin alji* '(relatives who go to fetch the bride from her father's home)' ~ *genna:ji* (Te. 2)

- **dalna-** > men **danna:p** duramo:q, nä:me bolsa i:yä:n! (Te. 13)  
For me, I am not picky, I eat everything. (see Clauson: tañil-<sup>120</sup> or: tinil- < tin-<sup>121</sup>)
- **dalna-** > men hemme za:dı i:yä:n, hi:č **danna:mo:q** (Te. 18)  
I don't differentiate, I eat whatever is there.
- **dalnama:n** iyiberde! (Är. 8)  
Just eat without picking!

### (c) Coalescence

Along with full assimilation, partial/mutual assimilation (coalescence) of consonant clusters also occurs in the Afghan Turkmen dialects.

(i) Clusters of /s+/j/, as results of a suffixation processes, coalesce into a devoiced "compromise cluster". This phenomenon occurs in the ND dialects.

/sj/ > [sč] *kes-jek* > *kesček* 'want(s) to cut'; *as-jaq* > *asčaq* 'want(s) to hang'.

(ii) If the affricate /č/ forms a cluster with a subsequent /d/, /l/ or /s/, it is reduced into [š] and the other consonant is preserved without assimilation. This phenomenon occurs in XN dialects.

/čd/ > [šd] *ač-di* > *ašdi* 'he opened'

- **geč-dik** > sa:leŋde ğa:r köp yağan eken, ağşam ğı:nlıq bilen **gešdik**. (Är. 10)  
Much snow had fallen on the Säläng Pass. Last night we crossed (it) with difficulties.

/čl/ > [šl] *a:člıq* > *a:šlıq* 'hunger'

- **ač-lıq** > ellinji yillarda meymene, ba:diği:s we ğo:r taraplarda örä:n yaman **ašlıq** bolıptı. (Är. 7)  
In the 1350s over there in Maymana, Bädğīs and Ğör there was a terrible famine.

/čs/ > [šs]

- **ač-sa-da** > kă:rmeliŋ waxtında hökü:met zında:nlarıŋ derwezelerni **ašsa-da** xalqıŋ ğaharını ğaçirip bilmedi. (Är. 16)  
Although in the time of Kārmal the government opened the doors of the prisons, they could not fend off the anger of the populace.

(iii) If the affricate /č/ forms a cluster with its voiced counterpart /j/ or with another /č/, t the cluster coalesces into [šš]. This phenomenon occurs in XD dialects.

/čj/ > [šš]

- **ač-jaq** > biz geldik, i:šigi **aššaqmı?** (Är. 8)  
We have arrived, will you open the door?

/čč/ > [šš]

- **ağaç-çı** > demir-pala:stik za:tlar çıqannan bā:ri indi öŋkiler ya:li **ağašşı** ussalar-am yo:q. (Sa. 2)

<sup>120</sup> Clauson, 1972:520.

<sup>121</sup> Clauson, 1972:514.

Since iron and plastic objects have appeared, there are no (more) carpenters like previously, either.

(iv) Clusters of /t/ + /j/ coalesce in a devoiced [čč]. This phenomenon occurs in the Ärsa:rı dialect.

- **git-jekmi** > šinnan siz maza:ra **giččekmi**? (Är. 35)  
Are you then going to Mazār?

(v) Clusters of /ŋ/ + /b/ coalesce into [ŋm] : *müŋ-başı* > *müŋmaşı* (Är. 9) 'commander', *müŋ-bi:r* > *müŋmi:r* (Är.) 'thousand and one '.

(vi) If postverbs with /ğ/ or /g/ in the onset follow a converb with /p/ in the coda position, the consonant clusters /pğ/ and /pg/ coalesce into [qg] (without, in the latter case, observation of vowel-consonant harmony). The phenomenon has been observed in the Ärsa:rı, Sa:rıq, Xatap, and Muqri dialects.

- **bolp-ğal-** > hezireti ali ši:ri xuda: köp peri:ša:n **bolıqğaldi**. (Är. 2)  
Hazrat Ali the Lion of God fell into great confusion.
- **alp-gel-** > šuni soŋ pes ı:zina ğaytarıp **alıqgeldiler**. (Är. 1)  
Then they returned him back (lit. on his footprints).
- **gelip gör-, aqdırıp-git-** > soŋ bosa **gelikğörse** bir ya:şoli a:dam bir na:ni suwa **aqdiriğido:r** ekeni. (Sa. 7)  
Then, as he arrived and looked, an old man had a (loaf of) bread float away in the water.
- **alp ğaç-** > **alıqğaçar** o:ğa:nlardan ekende ol. (Mu. 1)  
And he obviously was one of these thievish Pashtuns.

### 4.3.3 Dissimilation

Dissimilation is in the Afghan Turkmen dialects a rather infrequent phenomenon, but it does occur in all dialects. My material contains examples of dissimilation of geminates and – as the opposite of coalescence – separation.

(a) Dissimilation of geminates

The co-existence of analogous stems which occur with geminate plosives in some dialects, and with a cluster of analogous voiceless and voiced plosives in others, allows for two different interpretations: If the geminates /pp/, /tt/, /kk/, /qq/ and /čč/ are primary, the clusters [pb], [td], [kg], [qğ] and [čj] would be products of dissimilation. If the dissimilar clusters /pb/, /td/, /kg/, /qğ/ and /čj/ were primary, the simple geminates would be products of assimilation. Since the distribution does not support a consistent assumption, the problem is left open for the time being.



**Table 4-7:**

	Teke	Ärsa:rı	ND dialects	Gloss
pp ~ pb	topbaq <sup>122</sup> , hepbe	toppaq, heppe	toppaq, hepbe	'pill'
tt ~ td	(yedi) --	yetdi, ketde	yetti (Mu.), kette (Xa.)	'seven' 'big'
kk ~ kg	(sekiz)	sekgiz	sekkiz (Ba.)	'eight'
qq ~ qğ	(doquz) çaqqı	toqğız~toqğız çaqğı	toqqız (Mu.), çaqqı (Mu.)	'nine' 'knife'
čč ~ čj	(kiči)	kičjik ~ kižžik	kičik	'small'

(b) Separation

Separation – as the opposite of coalescence – implies that a cluster of consonants that share one feature, in this case voicelessness, is dissimilated with regard to that feature. My material contains examples of separation of /kt/ > [kd], /šq/ > [šğ] and /pt/ > [pd].

/kt/ > [kd] *mektep* > *mekdebe gityo:r* 'he goes to school' (Är. 28)

/šq/ > [šğ] *bašqa* > *bašğa* 'other' (Te. 3)

/pt/ > [pd] *ğaptal* > *ğapdal* 'side' (Är), *kepter* > *kepder* 'pigeon' (Är. 40)

#### 4.3.4 Metathesis

Metathesis occurs in all Afghan Turkmen dialects, although with some variation in detail. There exist several types of metathesis.

(a) Simple metathesis

(i) Simple metathesis in consonant clusters of native stems often occurs if /ğ/ or /ŋ/~n/ are elements of the cluster. The metathetic and non-metathetic variants mostly coexist in the same dialect.

bğ ~ ğb

- buwın yağmır **čabğala:p** yağyo:r. (Är. 13)

Today it rains cats and dogs.

- bizem **čağbada** ğa:lıp suwa düşen sıčan ya:mı boldıq. (Är. 40)

We were caught in a heavy shower and were soaked like mice fallen into the water.

mğ ~ ğm

- ğoyunların ğolağna **tamğa** basyo:rlar soň herkim ö:z ğoynını **tamğasınnan** taniyo:r. (Är. 12)

They print a mark on the ears of the sheep, then everybody recognizes his own sheep by its mark.

- deri:niň (...) **tağması** ba:r eken (Är. 5)

The sheepskin has a brand mark.

<sup>122</sup> Clauson 1972:437 tobik (< to:b).

rğ ~ ğr

- bı yıl **yorğan**-düşegin hemmesini tä:zeledik. (Är. 5)  
This year we have renewed all quilts and mattresses.
- paxtası kem bolsa-da:m ğışda kempelden görä: **yoğran** yağşı. (Är. 41)  
Even if it (contains) little cotton only, in winter a quilt is better than a blanket.

şğ ~ ğş

- pä:kista:ni: bürünjiñ bişirmesi **başğa** burinjlere ğara:nda ańsa:t. (Är. 11)  
Pakistani rice is easier to prepare than other (sorts of) rice.
- türkmenler maha:jır bolıp bildilerki oqu:dan **bağşa** hi:ç za:dıñ pa:yidası yo:q. (Är. 31)  
As migrants the Turkmens have understood that nothing but studying (brings) advantage.

lñ ~ ñl

- men šo pille-dä:m aytdım, sizleriñ bul i:şiniñiz **yalñıš** di:dim. (Är. 19)  
I already said so at that time: I said it is wrong what you are doing.
- men size **yañlıšma:n** ğürriñ bereyin. (Är. 31)  
I tell you (all) without mistake.

şñ ~ ñš

- a:t **kıñnese** hem onıñ bir ma:nası ba:r. (Mu. 2)  
If the horse neighs, there is some meaning to that.
- at mö:jegin yaqı:n gelenni gözi görmese-de bilbilyo:rmıš we **kiñšiyö:rmıš**. (Är. 12)  
Even if the horse does not see that the wolf has come close, it seems to somehow know it and neighs.

Simple metathesis of /pr/ ~ /rp/ as in (ND) *torpağ* ~ (XD) *toprağ* appears as a singular phenomenon in the dialects.

- **toprağı** yağşı bolan soñ bı yerlerde nä:me ekseñ gö:geryo:r. (Är. 34)  
Since its soil is good, whatever you sow at these places here, will grow.
- ka:rteyi xura:sa:n šehire yaqın bolsa-da onıñ **torpağı** bolmıyo:r, **torpağı** šo:r onıñ. (Mu. 1)  
Although the Xurāsān Quarter is close to the city, its soil won't do, it is salty.

(ii) Clusters that result from the agglutination of a *-II* suffix to a participial noun ending in *-IG* in the coda can be subject to simple metathesis; however, their non-metathetic correlates also exist, although dialect difference can be observed: The Teke dialect appears most inclined towards metathesis in such cases, while the Ärsa:rı dialect favors the non-metathetic clusters. Examples: Är. *tikiğ-li* ~ Te. *dikiğli* 'sewn'.

- xayya:tlıqda aslan mata:nı bišmek ğı:n, **biçigli** küynegi tikmek ańsa:t. (Är. 5)  
Actually in tailoring the difficult thing is to cut the fabric. Sewing together a tailored shirt is easy.
- ağşam **biçilgi** za:tları bir ya:nnan dikip başladım. (Te. 5)  
I have started to sew together all the items (I) tailored (last) night.
- geliberiñ! küçügmiz **dañgli**. (Är. 30)  
Come in! Our dog is tethered.
- sıpamıñ aşağında iki sa:nı at-am **dañlğı** du:r eken. (Te. 3)  
Down the platform two horses were tethered.
- olar yüzine aji:b xatlar **yaziğlı** sikkeler-ä:m bize görkezdiler. (Är. 17)  
They showed us coins on whose sides interesting inscriptions were drawn.

- belki olar ba:rada **yazılǵı** mektu:b za:tlar elimizde yo:q.(Te.13)  
But we don't have letters or stuff with writings about them in our hands.

(b) Metathesis across a vowel

Metathesis of consonants across an in-between vowel is a rare phenomenon; my materials contain examples from the Ärsa:rı dialect only.

- **turuz-** > yatıbersin o:qıdan **tuzurma!** (Är. 40)  
May he sleep on. Don't make him get up from sleep.
- **horaz** : **horaz** hemme yerde bir xı:l qı:ǵıryo:r eken aǵam! (Är. 16)  
My friend (lit. brother), the roosters crow the same way everywhere!
- **horaz** > i:rden turıp çöle tarap u:radım, ortaşaxdan ötenimde **hozarlar** qı:ǵıryo:rtı.  
(Är. 41)  
I got up early and made my way to the steppes; when I passed by Ortaşax the roosters were crowing.

The swearword *peder nä:let* 'curse over his father' (< pers. [padar la:nat] ~ [padar na:lat]) is familiar in all dialects. However, it seems to have been readily copied from Persian in the metathetic form rather than being a product of spontaneous metathesis across an in-between vowel.

(c) Consonant-vowel metathesis

(i) One special type of metathesis appears to be designed for the avoidance of /r/ in syllable-initial position following a consonant in the coda position of the preceding syllable; the /r/ actually swaps places with the vowel of the subsequent syllable:

ırı > ır

- **arı** > xataplar bile muqrılar **arıda**-da türkmenistanda-da bir yerrä:kde ya:şıyo:r-ekenler. (Mu. 1)  
The Xatap and Muqri used to live rather (close) together over there, in Turkmenistan.

ıri > ır

- **tejrıbe** > biz ö:zimiz şu i:şi **tejrıbe** edip gördük. (Är. 37)  
We have tried out this work as an experience for ourselves.

ǵrı > ǵır

- **doǵrı** > **doǵırdan-am** şul oǵlanlara nä:me bersejiz arzıyo:r. (Är. 10)  
These guys are truly worth whatever (reward) you give them.

(ii) A singular case of consonant-vowel metathesis is the lexeme *čıya:n* ~ *ičya:n* 'scorpion', which appears in both variants: *meni čıya:n čoqdı* (Är. 26) ~ *menä:m ičya:n čaqdı* (Är. 31) 'a scorpion stung me'.

#### 4.3.5 Prothesis

(a) Prothesis is a rare phenomenon in the Afghan Turkmen dialects. My materials contain a few single examples of *y*- and *h*-prothesis in copied words, whose situational specifics indicate that the prothetic consonants might have been inserted in order to bridge the hiatus at word boundaries.

- **esi:r** > qadı:m zama:nlarda bir yerini bası**h** alsalar merdimi **yesi:r** alyo:r ekenler. (Är. 44)  
In ancient times, when they raided a place they would take the people as hostages.
- **izzet** > ola: hürmet kiçä: şapaqqat mı:xmana **hizzet** gerek diyipdirler. (Te. 10)  
They say, one must (pay) respect to the elders, mercy to the little ones, and generosity to guests.

(b) In native lexemes, *h*-prothesis occurs with the demonstrative pronoun where enhanced stress appears to cause the phenomenon:

- **ol** > haji resu:lđanı **ho:l** köçede yaşaya:rlar. (Te. 3)  
The Haji Resu:l family live in *that* street over there!
- **ol** > ba:la:po:şığızı **ho:l** yerde goyandırn. (Te. 14)  
I have left your overcoat over *there*!

The prothesis of [h] has otherwise been observed in single lexemes, native as well as copied. The phenomenon appears to be confined to the Teke and Sarıq dialects: *añırmaq* (Är.) ~ *hañırmaq* (Te. Sa.) 'to bray' (Clauson: *añra-*)<sup>123</sup>; *aqıllı* (Är.) ~ *haqıllı* (Te. Sa.) 'intelligent'.

(c) In singular copied lexemes, "prothetic" [h] appears to reflect an '*ayn*' of the original (which in the intermediate Persian is, however, not phonetically realized): *asa:* ~ *hasa:* 'walking stick' < pers. *asa:* << arab. '*asa:*'.

#### 4.3.6 Epenthesis

(a) Epenthesis of the approximant [y] has been observed in the Afghan Turkmen dialects, but it is a rare phenomenon. In some copied lexemes *y*-epenthesis seems to bridge vowel hiatus where an intervocalic glottal stop of the original is otherwise not preserved: *na:ınsa:p* ~ *na:yınsa:p* 'unfair' < pers. *nā'insāf* [nā'insāf], in others it may reflect an original [h] which otherwise is not preserved in the copied lexeme: *kö:ne* ~ *kö:yne* ~ *köyne* 'old, ancient' < pers. *kohna* [kōnä].

(b) Epenthesis of the approximant [r]

Epenthesis of [r] has been observed in the lexeme 'step', which is *ä:dim* in the Teke dialect, but *a:rdım* in the Ärsa:rı dialect. (Compare *a:dim* in Clauson 1972:59; and *a:dim* in Sevortyan 1974:88f., who cites *a:rdım* uniquely from the Sa:rıq dialect.<sup>124</sup>)

- ba:zar bilen biziñ üyimiziñ ortası dört **ä:dim** yer. (Te. 6)  
The distance between the bazaar and our home is four steps.
- biziñ üyimiz bilen şehreçe birki **a:rdım** yo:l. (Är. 11)  
From our home to town it's (only) one or two steps' way.

(c) Gemination as a special case of epenthesis occurs in the Afghan Turkmen dialects. As a spontaneous phonological process – of, however, a certain regularity and predictability – it needs to be separated from an obviously historical phenomenon that concerns the lexicalized

<sup>123</sup> Clauson 1972:189.

<sup>124</sup> Sevortyan (1974:89) quotes N. Nartyev: *Türkmen diliniñ sarık dialekti*, unpublished cand.diss. Čärjew 1959:67.

occurrence of readily geminated consonants, so to speak. Some details about gemination processes are discussed in subchapter 4.5e on phonological difference between the dialects, and in the respective paragraphs on the phonemes that are affected.

#### 4.3.7 Deletion

Deletion of consonants is a familiar phenomenon in all Afghan Turkmen dialects, although there is some dialectal difference in detail.

##### (a) Deletion of word-initial consonants

The non-representation of initial \*y and \*h in native lexemes, which characterizes some of the dialects against others, is here not considered as a contemporary, active process of deletion but as the pre-existent product of a historical process. The phenomenon is discussed below in the chapter on phonological difference of the dialects (4.5.e).

(i) Deletion of the initial /h/ of the enclitic particle *hem* 'also' is a regular phenomenon in all Afghan Turkmen dialects; only in rare cases of very careful and distinct speech is the lexical copy *hem* preserved in its original form. Deletion of the initial consonant, attraction of the enclitic to the preceding word, and even harmonization of the vowel in line with low-suffix harmony (most prominent in the Teke dialect) form a complex process. (The meaning of the particle is often reduced from an explicit 'too' to a more general 'and', or to the simple stressing of the general meaning of the word to which it is attached; for details see the chapter on particles.)

- **men hem** > **men-em** erte kā: bil gitjek, bile giders. (Är. 19)  
I am also going to Kabul tomorrow, we will go together.
- **hä:zir hem** > šol mu:lımlardan **hä:zir-em** ine xuda:yrahı:mxax:n diyip šol o:ba:nıñ ö:zinde ğa:lan. (Sa. 4)  
And nowadays out of those teachers (only) Xuda:yrahımxax:n has remained in that village.
- **peštu:nı hem, ol hem** > qanča köp bilsek šonča ğawı, xusu:san pa:rsı hatta **peštu:n-a:m** u:rensek ğawı, **ol-am** resmi: dewlet dili. (Te. 14)  
The more (languages) we know the better. It is good if we learn especially Persian, or even Pashto – that is also an official state language.

##### (b) Deletion of intervocalic consonants

Intervocalic [y] can be deleted in stems, derivals, in the process of grammatical suffixation, and across word boundaries. Secondary hiatus, which would emerge from this deletion, is prevented through simple contraction, or through assimilation of the coalescing vowels (identical and different ones, respectively). Deletion in stems: *ğıyn* > *ğı:n* 'difficult'. – Deletion in derivals: *giyimlik* > *gi:mlik* 'slice'. Deletion in the suffixation process: verbal stem+INF+POSS3SG : *sayra-* > *sayrı:şı* 'his singing' (Är.), *geple-* > *gepli:şı* 'his mode of speaking' (Är.), *sözle-* > *sözli:şı* 'his mode of talking' (Är.). Deletion across word boundaries: *bu yerde* (Te.) ~ *bö:rde* 'here' (Är.) ; *o yerde* (Te.) ~ *ö:rde* 'there' (Är.) .

(c) Deletion of consonants in final position

(i) Deletion affects the trill /r/ in word- and stem-final position and in the coda of syllables. My materials contain examples of *r*-deletion in the lexeme *ba:r* :

- **ba:r+ti** > tö:rt sa:naq ği:zim **ba:ti**, tö:rt sa:nağam oğlim **ba:ti**. (Är. 2)  
I have four daughters and also four sons.
- **ba:r+dırs** > yedi yuz nika: **ba:dırs** (...) (Te. 7)  
Us are 700 married couples (...).

In all dialects, *r*-deletion often affects the intraterminal marker *-yo:r* ~ *-yA:r* ~ *-yAr* :

- **tur-yo:rsıñız** > siz gi:ç **turyo:rsıñız**. (Är. 45)  
You get up late.
- **bol-yo:r** > bizleñ i:şimiz şı mı:za:nnan soñ köp **bolyo:** . (Är. 41)  
Our work is particularly much after this (month of) Mızān.
- **ya:şa-ya:r** > hıra:tdä:ki ti:releri sa:na:p geşjek bolsaq yomutlar tekeler sa:riqlar **ya:şaya:**. (Te. 2)  
If we'd like to enumerate the tribes in Herat: (there) live Yomut, Teke and Sa:riq.
- **bol-ya:rs, ya:şa-ya:rs** > wela:yati meymeneden **bolya:s** (...) yedi yuz nika: ba:dırs ki biz şo ta:yda **ya:şaya:s**. (Te. 7)  
We are from the province of Maymana (...). Us are 700 married couples that live there.
- **alın-yer** > bılar bı ta:yda afğa:nista:nda arza:n **alınye**. (Yo. 2)  
These (carpets) are here in Afghanistan purchased at cheap price.
- **ber-yer** > i:r zama:nlarda ğati ha:la: uns **beryetılar**. jıda: uns **beryetılar**. (Yo. 1)  
In former times they would consider carpets important. Very important.

(ii) Deletion of the liquid /l/ occurs in word- and stem-final position.

- **dä:l** > elbetde pul alan **dä:** dir (Te. 3)  
He has obviously not got (any) money.
- **dä:l** > hökü:metimiz ańsa:tçılıq döretse biz-em ha:lı:nı pä:kistan üstinnen uzatma:na xoş **dä:** . (Är. 35)  
If our government made things easy (for us), we would not want to export the carpets via Pakistan!
- **bol-sa** > bizler tarapda **bosa** imkā:nat yo:q. (Är. 1)  
As for us here, there are no facilities.

Since the demonstrative pronouns are regularly *ol*, *şol*~*şul* and *bıl*, the co-existence of the variants *o*, *şo* and *bı* is by the speakers perceived as *l*-reduction.

- **ol** > ena:r alayın di:se pulı yo:qtı, **o** yo:ğ **o**, ki:sede indi, soñ ya:rtı ena:r alyo:. (Är. 2)  
As he wanted to buy a pomegranade he had no money, neither in his pocket, (so) then he purchases a half pomegranade.
- **şol** > **şo** görünyo:n depeden a:şsaq, qarqınıñ ğışlağları mä:lim bolyo:r. (Är. 7)  
If we cross that hill, the Qarqın villages will be visible over there .  
**bıl** > **bı** but maña bara:bar gelmedi. (Är. 45)  
This shoe is not fet in my feet.

(ii) Deletion of /h/ occurs in word- and syllable-final position of copied lexemes. This deletion can lead to the lengthening of the precedent vowel. Examples: *isla: bolan* 'corrected' (Är. 4) < pers. *islāh*; *lejelerin her haysısı* 'each one of the dialects' (Te. 13) < pers. *lahja*.

(iii) The deletion of final /q/ in singular words can occur in all dialects. It affects frequently used lexemes:

- **yo:q** > **yo:** *içimizä: inni ğışlağa gitsek a:z-kä:n içimiz ğısyä: .* (Te. 14)  
No – our heart-ä, if we now go to the village, our heart is a bit unhappy...
- **qırq-qırqaltı** > a:talarmizin ölenä:m **qır-qıraltı** yıl boladı da. (Mu. 1)  
It's now forty or forty-six years that our father has died.

(iv) Deletion of /ğ/ in syllable-final position occurs in singular cases and results in the lengthening of the precedent vowel: *yağlıq* > *ya:lıq* 'kerchief'; *uğrı yo:q* > *u:ri yo:q* 'it has no blessing' (< *uğur*).

(v) The deletion of syllable-initial /ğ/ in the lexeme *yumurtğa* ~ *yumurta* 'egg' has been observed in the Ärsa:ri dialect (where, however, the lexeme exists in variants with and without /ğ/); for the Teke dialect we have evidence of /ğ/-lessness only. (Compare TRS *yumurtğa*, but western Oghuz *yumurta*; Clauson 1972:938 has *yımrıtğa: / yumurtğa*).

- *şu şekilli isla: bolan tu:qlarin gö:ştinin ya: yumurtasının maza:sı yo:q.* (Är. 4)  
The meat or eggs of chickens ameliorated that way have no (good) taste.
- *iki derjen yumurta-da:m alıñ!* (Te. 5)  
You take please two dozen of eggs.

(vi) The deletion of /n/ in the word *onsoñ* > *osoñ* 'following this' is a frequently heard singular reduction phenomenon in fluent and careless speech; it occurs in XD dialects.

(d) Deletion from consonant clusters

(i) The deletion of word-final /q/ and /k/ of dissyllabic native stems occurs regularly when these are followed by the diminutive suffix *-jIQ*:

- **ayaq+jıq** > *şı jorra:p bä:beğin ayajığna bara:bar gelermikä:?* (Är. 15)  
Will this stocking fit the tiny foot of the baby?
- **küçük+jik** > *öten yıl-am men ı:sa:qxa:na bir küçüjik beripdim.* (Te. 7)  
Last year I had presented a little puppy to I:sa:qxa:n.

Interestingly, no comparable deletion of /q/ or /k/ occurs if to a verb stem finalizing in [q] or [k] a suffix with initial [j] is added:

- *heni:z waxt, da:rıqjaq bolmañ!* (Är.24)  
There is still time, don't hurry!
- *biz indi bi:r-bi:ri:mize bi:rikjek bolip kö:şi:ş etmeli.* (Är.18)  
Now we have to try to support each other by uniting (with one another).

The suffixation of the diminutive *-jIQ* can lead to the above-named reduction effect with monosyllabic native words that have a consonant cluster containing a right-hand /t/, in the coda position. This type of reduction is, however, not as regularly realized as the one just mentioned before: *gurtjiq* 'little worm' (< *gurt-jiq*) is preserved in the Sa:riq dialect, while in all other Afghan Turkmen dialects the word is realized as [gʊrjɪq] – in which the original voiceless word-final consonant /t/ has left its traces insofar as the suffix consonant appears devoiced.

(ii) In word-boundary clusters of /p/+b/ in converbial phrases with the postverb *bil-* 'to be able to...', deletion of [p] is a frequent, although not invariable phenomenon in the Ärsa:rı dialect<sup>125</sup>; in the other dialects it does not occur. The phenomenon can come with fricativization of the remaining bilabial into [b].

- biz birleşmesek hi:ç i:ş-em **edibilmers** (Är. 1)  
If we don't unite we cannot achieve anything.
- ümsüm otıra:masaŋ nä:mi:ş **edibiler** a:dam? (Är. 7)  
What else can one do than (just) sit and shut up...
- yerinnen **turibilen** yo:qti. (Är. 12)  
He was unable to stand up from his place.
- her ha:lda men bıl i:şiŋ hütdä:sinnen **gelibilerin**. (Är. 19)  
In any case I can perform this piece of work as necessary.

(iii) Cluster reduction in the final position of copied lexemes has been observed in all dialects; in careful speech, however, the respective original consonant clusters can be preserved as well: *ra:st* ~ *ra:s* 'right'; *pest* ~ *pes* 'low, lowly'; *dürüst* ~ *dürüs* 'sound, correct'; *jüft* ~ *jüp* 'pair'.

(iv) Cluster reduction in singular lexemes is unevenly distributed among the Afghan Turkmen dialects. Its rules cannot be determined on the basis of my materials. Example: *alaŋqa* 'a little rodent, pers. *müş-xurma*' in the Sa:riq dialect ~ *alaqa* in the Teke dialect ~ *alaqğa* in the Ärsa:rı dialect. (Compare DTS 33 *alaŋır* with reference to Kāšgārī, who indicates that "the Turkmens eat this animal".)

#### 4.3.8 Consonant-vowel complex reduction

Complex reduction, which involves consonants and vowels, is a common feature in the Afghan Turkmen dialects. While there are regularities in some cases, in others the process of complex reduction appears occasional and non-systematic. Some phenomena are equally distributed in the dialects while in others, there is difference among the dialects.

(a) Complex reduction of consonant-vowel clusters in the Afghan Turkmen dialects frequently affects words that contain a genitive suffix. The genitive forms of the PRON1SG and PRON2SG are only in very accurate speech fully pronounced, but otherwise are almost regularly reduced: *meniŋ* > *meŋ*; *seniŋ* > *seŋ*. The same reduction of the cluster *nI* can generally affect the genitive allomorph *-nIŋ* (which follows stems with a vowel in the coda) > *-ŋ*.

<sup>125</sup> Yakup 2005:76 (50a-c) mentions the same phenomenon for the Turfan Uyghur dialect; in his case, the postverbs *qoy-*, *kät-*, *baq-* and *ber-* are involved, but not *bil-*.



- **meniŋ** > yö:ne dä:dem birinji giŋiki meŋ zindegi:mde köp bir yaxti čira **meŋ** uči:n. (Te. 5)  
But my father is the number one person in my life, (he is) a very bright lamp for me.
- **meniŋ** > ata-ba:bamam-hem **meŋ** usta:dım bolo: . (Sa. 1)  
My father and grandfather are also my masters.
- **seniŋki** > meniŋ etya:n i:šim na:doğrı bolsa yüzimi görmä:n **seŋki** bolano:q diyiŋ men qabu:l etyä:n. (Te. 5)  
If what I do is wrong, don't consider me (lit. without looking at my face), but say yours is not right – I will accept that.
- **-niŋ** > bugün **ča:rı:ŋ** oğlanları-da gelipdiler. (Te. 5)  
Today Ča:rı:'s kids have also come.

If the genitive suffix follows a plural suffix (*-lAr+Iŋ*), the cluster *rI* is reduced:

- **olarıŋ** > **olaŋ** aytya:nı doğru dä:l. (Te. 14)  
What they said is not right.
- **bizleriŋ** > bu at **bizleŋ** atımız ya:lı dä:l. (Te.7)  
This horse is not like ours, there is a difference
- **-larıŋqı -leriŋki** > **o:ğa:nlaŋqı** bilen **türkmenleŋki** ikisi bir. (Är. 1)  
The [language] of the Afghans and that of the Turkmens, both are equal (in difficulty).

(b) In the Teke and Yomut dialects reduction of clusters that involve the consonants /l/ or /r/ is a phenomenon of some importance, while the Ärsa:rı dialect does not favor this type of complex reduction.

(i) Reduction of the cluster *li* occurs in the Teke and Yomut dialects when the converb of *al-* 'to take' is combined with a postverb: *alıp ber-* > *apber* 'bring!':

- ya:nıŋda:qı piya:la:nı **apber!** (Te. 16)  
Give (me) the cup which is next to you!

(ii) Reduction of clusters [rA] and [lA] occurs in the Teke, Yomut and Sa:riq dialects in aorist forms of verbal stems that have a /r/ or /l/ in the coda position; the reduction process results in the lengthening of the remaining vowel: *yedirer* > *yeti:r*; *berer* > *be:r*; *bolar* > *bo:r* .

- **yedirer** > ğam i:mä:ŋ! toyıŋ xarjın-a:m xuda: **yeti:r**. (Är. 5)  
Don't worry! God will grant (you) the expenses for the feast.
- **berer** > bize-de **be:rmikä:** di:yä:n. (Te. 17)  
I say (to myself), will he also give us (something)?
- **bolar** > marčaqda hemme za:tlar ekip **bo:r**. (Sa. 2)  
In Marčaq everything can be cultivated.

(c) In the Teke, Yomut and Sa:riq dialects reduction of clusters that occur in the negative forms of postterminal PART+POSS + *yo:q* is a regular phenomenon.

- axtaran bile tap**amo:q**. (Te. 5)  
I didn't find (it), although (I) looked for it.
- men hemme za:dı i:yä:n, hi:č **danna:mo:q** (Te. 18)  
I eat everything, I don't differentiate.

- biz o yerä: ğatna:p **bilemmizo:q**, olaram gelip **bilenno:q**. (Te. 2)  
We cannot go there for a visit, nor can they come (here).
- mektebi ğotarannan soğ yoqari oqu:lara bäre:ri:k ornaşasi **geleno:qdilar**. (Sa. 4)  
When they had finished primary school they did not even think of settling closer for higher learning.

(d) Word clusters that contain the interrogative pronoun *nä* or *nä:me* 'what?' often undergo complex reduction: *nä:(me) etjek* > *nä:tjek* 'what is he doing?'; *nä:me ederin* > *nä:derin* 'what shall I do?'

- **nä:(me) üči:n** > siz **nä:şe** mınyɑ:nı boldıñız? (Är. 5)  
Why have you become like that?
- **nä:(me) edeyin** > oğlanlaram erti:rden bäre:ri şo:xlıq ba:rımı etdiler **nä:di:n** bıları? (Är. 15)  
The kids have committed all sorts of nuisance since the early morning – what shall I do (with) them?

(e) Word clusters that contain demonstrative pronouns *bu*, *šo*, *o(l)* or derivatives of these, in the Ärsa:rı dialect often undergo complex reduction, which often also affects the high/low and/or front/back and/or rounded/unrounded quality of vowels involved: *bu yerde* > *bö:rde* 'here' (Är.); *şu yerde* > [şö:rde] 'here'; *eyle edip* > [ö:dip] 'that way (lit. doing like that)' (Är.); *şeyle edip* > [şö:dip] 'id.'; *beyle edip* > [bö:dip] 'like this'; *şeyle di:di* > [şö:di:di] 'he said so' (Är.).<sup>126</sup>

- mana şı za:dları ö:zimiz ğorşayo:rs **bö:rde**. (Är. 37)  
These things we construct here ourselves.
- **şö:rde** ya:şıyo:n nıpu:sıñ ya:rımınnan ğo:rra:ğı türkmenler bolyo:.. (Är. 18)  
More than half of the population that live here are Turkmens.
- **şö:di:n** soğ yuregne ğulğula duşdi (Är. 2) < **şüyle diyen**  
After saying that, worries befell his/her heart.

#### 4.4 Vowels: Details of realization and processes

##### A. /a/ and /a:/'

(a) In the Afghan Turkmen dialects /a/ and /a:/ are unrounded open low-back vowels.

The phonemic context doesn't have any influence on the quality of the vowel, be it in velar or liquid context, or in open and closed syllables. For instance in *ġara*, the two /a/ share the same realization.

(b) The phonemic contrast of short /a/ and long /a:/ exists in all dialects, but primary length of [a:] is not evenly realized in the dialects.

In the *nāxāliş* dialects primary [a:] occurs in fewer lexemes than in the XD; on the other hand, however, in the Muqrı dialect a few nominal stems have [a:] as opposed to an [a] of the other dialects:

<sup>126</sup> Yakup 2005:88, (69a), describes an analogous reduction phenomenon for the Turfan Uyghur dialect, but without rounding of the vowel.

- qırq күnde **a:t** ö:zini yetiryo:r. **a:rpa** beren pillen (...) bir xorji götermeli. (Mu.2)  
In forty days the horse will get ready. When (you) give barley, you need to bring a handful.
- bu yıllarda **a:ti** saqlamağ-am aňsat dä:l. (Mu.3)  
These days, raising the horse is not so easy
- ti:zrä:k **atıñı** alda yo:la duş, **arpasın-a:m** oğlaq ja:yda berersiñ. (Är. 25)  
Quickly, outwit your horse and you can give it its barely at the buzkashi arena.
- yağşı seyis bolsa **atıñ** suwını-**arpasını** yetirip, iki ayda oğlağa tıya:rlı:du:r. (Sa.3)  
A good horse trainer timely gives water and grass (to) the horse, then it will be ready in two months.
- o wağıtlar qa:qamız altı-yetdi **at** saqlıya:rdı, arslan a:ğa olara günde üç mertebe **arpa** berya:rdı. (Te.7)  
In the past, my father used to raise six or seven horses, and Arsalan A:ğa used to give them barely three times a day.

(c) Primary length of /a:/ occurs frequently in lexemes copied from Persian/Arabic. In these lexemes the Ärsa:rı dialect systematically preserves [a:], while in the other dialects, most of all in Teke, there is a remarkable tendency for a reduced realization as [a], or altogether allophonic variation [a:] ~ [a].

- O:ğa:nısta:nda mawa:dı muxaddır **a:za:d** bolsa-da, bu yerde neşe çekyo:n a:dam a:z. (Är.11)
- Although narcotics are permitted in Afghanistan, there are (only) few people here who use opium.
- Türkmenista:n **azatlıgını** alan soñ o yerä: barıp gelmek biraz aňsa:tlaşdı. (Te. 8)  
After Turkmenistan got its independence, going there has become a bit easier.
- bir za:t meni **a:za:r** beryo:r usta:d! hä:zir bir Türkmen sa:zı dä:l, belki Türkmençiligem ortadan gidip baryo:r.(Är.9)  
Professor, one thing troubles me! Today not only Turkmen music gets lost, but so does Turkmenhood as well.
- haywa:nlara-da **azar** bermeli dä:l, onıñ günä:si bar. (Te.1)  
One must not torture animals either, that is sinful.
- qadı:mılar **na:squtı** yo:ğ eken, **na:s** kä:di ba:r eken. (Är.31)  
In ancient times there were no *nas* tins but *nas* pumpkins.
- bizde ekseren yigitler **nas** atmaya:r, olar indi sigrit we kä:bi:rleri çars çekyä:ler. (Te.16)  
Mostly men don't take *nas* here, they now smoke cigarets or some (smoke) hashish.
- ya:dıñızda bolsa, ölkä:mizde birinji yo:la: türkmen dilinde xalı:pa sa:yıp gızıl ayağın parzı aynı **ça:p** bolıptı. (Är.17)  
If you remember: In our country for the first time in Turkmen language Xalı:pa Sa:yıp Gızılayağ's *Farzi 'Ayn* was printed.
- Mağtımğulı:nıñ kita:bı güma:nıma o:ğa:nısta:nda iki gezek **çap** edildi. (Te.2)  
Mağtımğulı's book was in Afghanistan printed twice, I believe.
- menä: ol o:ğa:nıñ ti:z gepli:şine **hayra:n** galdım. (Är.13)  
I was surprised how fast that Pashtun there was speaking.
- soñ ol gişi ederne i:ş tapma:n **hayran** bolıp otirip dir. (Yo.1)  
Then that person didn't know what to do and remained stunned.

(d) Secondary vowel length<sup>127</sup> occurs in all dialects. The conditions under which it occurs differ among the dialects in cases which are described below; unless otherwise stated, a lengthening rule applies to all dialects.<sup>128</sup>

(i) In all *xāliš* dialects the combination of final short [a] in both nominal and verbal stems, and a suffix with initial [a] (e.g. directive suffix *-A*) results in secondary [a:]. (This lengthening rule also applies to all other final short vowels.)

- **ma:ma** > *şil za:tlar-a:m şol ğarrı ma:ma: bermeli.* (Är. 22)  
It is also necessary to give these things to that old woman.
- **molla** > *siz bu söziñizi maña aytma:ñ, qaysı bir molla: aydın!* (Sa.1)  
You don't tell me your mind, you have to say it to some mullah.
- **sa:da** > *hüşya:r a:dama bir aytsañ dūsino:r, amma: sa:da: o:n aytsañam dūsınmi:du:r.* (Sa. 5)  
If you tell a wise man one time it's okay, but to a stupid (one), even if you tell him ten times, (he's) not going to understand.

(ii) In the *xāliš* dialects the final short [a] of nominal stems is lengthened when followed by suffixes with initial *n* or *m*, such as for example the suffixes of possessives 1.PSG and 1.PPL, genitive, and accusative.

- **ata** > **ata:m** *şo waxtlarda qaryada:rtı ta:ğana:rıqda.* (Är. 6)  
At those times my father was village headman at Ta:ğana:rıq.
- **molla** > *siz-em molla:niñ oğlı bolaññız üçi:n şerei: geplere yağşı dūsünyo:rsıñız.* (Sa. 1)  
You also, since you are the son of a mullah, understand sharia matters well.
- **bala** > *altı-yetdı bala:nı baqıp, olaldıp güzera:n etmek añsa:t dā:l.* (Är. 5)  
Looking after six or seven children, raising and caring (for them), is not easy.

Exception: The final [a] of some nouns – my preliminary assumption is that they are all kinship terms, e.g. *ma:ma* 'grandmother', *a:ğa* 'elder brother', *dayza* 'maternal aunt', *qa:qa* 'father' (but not *ata* 'father') – is excluded from this lengthening rule:

- **ma:ma** > *erti:r mektebe baryo:n, pi:şi: ma:mam bilen baqışyo:n.* (Är. 36)  
In the morning I go to school, in the afternoon I help my grandmother.
- **a:ğa** > *şil ğoyunlar-am a:ğamqı.* (Är. 12)  
These sheep are my brother's.
- **dayza** > *kelderde-hem meniñ bir dayzam ba:r.* (Är. 3)  
I have an aunt in (the district of) Kelder.
- **qa:qa** > *meniñ a:dim Jama:liddi:n bolyä:, qa:qamıñ a:dı Bayram.* (Te. 15)  
My name is Jama:liddi:n, my father's name is Bayram.
- **ata** > *şo pille iki muñ ğoyunı ba:rtı ata:mızıñ, hanı indi ol ğoyunlar hanı?* (Är. 5)  
In those times our father had two thousand sheep, where are these sheep now?!

(iii) In the case of adverbial derivatives in *-n* of lexemes with final [a], the final syllable vowel is lengthened into [a:] : *arqa* 'back' > *arqa:n yat-* 'to lie on the back'.

<sup>127</sup> Cf. Nartyev 2012:48.

<sup>128</sup> The materials collected for this study do not permit to give a full sample for all dialects under all conditions.

(iv) The original short vowel of the locative suffix *-dA* is lengthened if followed by the suffix *-QI* which makes locatives attributable to substantives.

- **eliḡdä:ki** xalta:nı maḡa berseḡä:!( Är. 32)  
Pass me the bag (you hold) in your hand!
- üyimiz iḡ **alında:qı** daraxtı aḡsa:tlıq bilen ulaltmadıq. (Sa. 3)  
We raised the tree in front of our house only with difficulties.

(v) When verbal stems ending in [a] take on the aorist suffix *-(A)r*, the converbial suffix in *-p*, or the imperative 2.PPL in *-ḡ*, or the 1.PPL *-yIn*, the resulting vowel is long [a:].

- **yalma-** > sala:m haqımı bermedik bolsaḡ seni iki üzüp bir **yalma:r-tım**, diyip, dew gözlerini a:lartdı. (Är. 42)  
The *dew* rolled his eyes saying, "If you had not granted me the salute I am entitled to, I would have swallowed you at two bites".
- **baḡla-** > öḡki itimiz örä:n ya:raqtı, onı hemi:şe **baḡla:p** ḡoyyo:rtıq. (Är. 13)  
Our former dog was very savage, we would always keep him tethered.
- **ba:rla-** > motarı yaḡşı **ba:rla:ḡ!** diyip hemme za:tlarmızı düşırtti. (Är. 30)  
He said, "Search the car carefully!" and had all our belongings unloaded.
- **dara-** > şol daraḡı alıp ber, saçıma **dara:yın**. (Te. 5)  
Give me that comb, I want to brush my hair.
- **alma-** > indikillä: ba:nkden qarz **alma:yın**, diyip ähd etdi. (Te.5)  
The (people) of today swear not to take a loan from the bank.

(vi) In the Teke dialect the vowel of the infinitive / necessitative *-mAQ* is lengthened (and *q* > ḡ) when it takes on the directive case suffix.

- mejlise gelip **aytma:ḡa** otanya:lar. (Te. 10)  
They are shy of coming to a reunion and speaking up.

The Ärsa:rı infinitive / necessitative *-mAQ*, when taking on the directive, can be realized either as *-maḡa* (without lengthening of the vowel) or *-ma:na* (with vowel lengthening).

- qomanda:n bolıp bılarıḡ jena:yat i:şleri kâ:n, **aytmaḡa** dilim baran yo:q. (Är. 1)  
As commanders, their crimes are plenty. My tongue is not ready to tell.
- onda hezireti alı şı:ri xuda:nıḡ dili barmadı bı za:dı **aytma:na**. (Är. 2)  
At that (time) Hazrat Ali the Lion of God's tongue was not able to say anything.

(e) Secondary vowel shortening a: > a

This type of vowel shortening does occur in the dialects, but my materials do not permit to specify the conditions under which this happens.

- **a:dıl** > hä:ki:m bolan a:dam xalqıḡ ḡamını iyip, **adıl** bolmalı, di:di. (Te.1)  
He said, "A man who becomes a governor should care for people and be just".

(f) For the systematic raising of final /a/ of verbal stems into /ı/, see the above paragraph 4.2.1.b(i) on vowel-raising.

(g) In copied lexemes which have long *ā* in the Persian or Arabic prototype, the quality of this vowel is in the vicinity of front consonants /p/, /k/, /t/, /š/ etc. often raised from [a:] to [ä:]. Examples: *pä:ki* 'razor' < pers. *pākī*; Te., Yo. *šä:li* ~ *ša:l* 'rice' < pers. *šālī*; *kä:r* 'job' < Pers. *kār*; XD *tä:rät* 'ritual purity' ~ ND *ta:rat* 'id.' < arab. *tahārat*.

## B. /e/ and /ä:/

(a) In the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan, /e/ and /ä:/ are front unrounded vowels.

The phonemic context doesn't have any influence on the quality of the vowel. In open and closed syllables context as well as before and after occlusive and fricatives, they are realized the same.

(b) The short-long phonemic opposition is reflected in the phonetic realization: Short /e/ is mid-open while long /ä:/ is an open vowel.

(i) In the Teke dialect, there are two exceptions to this rule: In the aorist form of *gel-* 'to come' and *ber-* 'to give', syllable contraction results in secondary vowel length; however, in these two cases the mid-open quality of [e:] is preserved: *berer* > *be:r*, *geler* > *ge:r*.

- *elbetde pul alan dä: dir, alan bolsa bizede be:r.* (Te. 3)  
He has obviously not got (any) money, if he gets, he gives us (some), too.

(ii) The /ä:/ phoneme is long and open. Short [ä] can occur as a result of syllable reduction in frequently used lexemes such as *äkäl-* 'to fetch' (< *alıp käl-*), *akit-* 'to take away' (< *alıp git-*), *äpber-* 'to bring' (< *alıp bär-*).

- *Jıma:ğulı:nıñ enesi dä:ktere barmazdan yağşı bolıp, şunı pes ı:zına ğaytarıp äkeldiler.* (Är. 1)  
Jıma:ğulı's mother recovered without having gone to the doctor; they turned back and brought her (home).

Short [ä] also occurs in a number of lexemes copied from Persian / Arabic, where the Turkmen realization conforms to the pronunciation rules of the model: [ähd] 'contract', [zähär] 'poison', [mährıba:n] 'dear'.

(iii) Length of [ä:] in lexemes copied from Persian / Arabic or other languages – where the model words have [a:] in that place – may be preserved as [ä:] in some dialects while being reduced, with the realization resulting in [e], in others: *pä:ki* 'razor' < pers. *pākī*; *pä:külte* 'faculty' < pers. *fākulta*.

- *kıta:bi tä:kçede* ğoyıptım, kim aldıqa:? (Är. 23) < pers. *tākça*  
I have put the book on the shelf, who has taken it away?
- *tä:kjä:ni* gör! (Te. 5)  
Mind (lit. see) the shelf!
- *soñ ça:ğa bir a:yla:p şu ta:yda ekeni, şol suwıñ içinde, tekjede* ya:şı:du:r . (Sa. 7)  
Then the child stayed like that for a month, in that water, he lived on a shelf.

(c) Secondary length of [ä:] occurs in all Afghan Turkmen dialects, although with some difference in detail. Unless otherwise stated, the phenomena described below apply to all dialects.

(i) In all *xāliš* dialects the combination of final short *e* or *i* in both nominal and verbal stems, and a suffix with initial [e] (e.g. directive suffix *-A*, participle suffix *-An*) results in secondary [ä:].

- **kelle** > omar a:ğa:nıñ şalgamnan bedi gelyo:nı **kellä:** gelmä:n dir. (Är. 11)  
It did not come to mind that Omar A:ğa might dislike turnips.
- **döre-** > muja:hidlar **dörä:n** soñ şi ğı:nçılıqlar tapıldı, öñ yo:qdı. (Te.16)  
After the *mujāhidīn* emerged, a lot of hardship was brought about; before (that, there) were none.
- **geple-** > sizem ümsüm oturma:ñ, **geplä:ñ**, di:di. (Sa.1)  
He said, "Please say something, do not be silent!"
- **kiçi** > **kiçä:** kiçi bermeli ula: ulı bermeli! (Är. 1)  
One needs to give to the little one a little (gift) and to the big one, a big!
- **gä:di** > **gä:dä:** minip sä:wçilige gidenmişin, di:diler. (Är. 5)  
They told (us) that they had taken a carriage and had gone to woo for a girl.

(ii) If nominal stems ending in [e] take on a suffix with initial *n* (e.g. AKK. *-nI*, GEN. *-niñ*), *m* (e.g. 1.SGPOSS, 1.PLPOSS) or *ñ* (e.g. 2.SGPOSS, 2.PLPOSS), the [e] is lengthened into [ä:].

- **tä:kje** > **tä:kjä:ni** gör! şo yerde ğoyan dırım. (Te. 5)  
See the shelf! I have put (it) there.
- **yeke** > biz birleşmesek hi:ç i:ş-em edibilmers, **yekä:niñ** çarı çıqmaz diyipdirler qadı:mnan. (Är. 1)  
Unless we unite we cannot achieve anything, (as) in olden times they would say, "Dust won't rise from a single (horseman)".
- **mi:de** > ti:z-ti:z na:n i:mesem, **mi:dä:m** a:ğrı: du:r. (Sa. 5)  
If I don't eat regularly, my stomach aches.

(iii) If in the Ärsa:rı and Sa:rıq dialects, final [e] is followed by the particle *de* (actually *dA*) 'also', the contraction of these elements results in the realization of long [ä:].

- **yere** > sağlıq, imkä:na:t we emniyet. bu üç za:d bolmasa hi:ç **yerä:-de** ğo:rjanıp bilmiyä:ñ a:dam. (Sa. 1)  
Health, opportunities and safety. If these three things are not (given), man, you cannot go anywhere.
- **jemi:le** > bı hepde **jemi:lä:-de** pül bermedim. (Är. 53)  
This week, I haven't given money to Jemi:le.

By the same token, in the Ärsa:rı, Teke, Yomut and Sa:rıq dialects, the enclitic particle *hem* 'also'<sup>129</sup> often coalesces with its antecedent. If the antecedent ends in *e* or *i* (which is particularly often the case if the clitic *dA* 'also' has already been added to the word) contraction results in the deletion of *h*, and lengthening of the vowel into [ä:].

<sup>129</sup> The meaning of *hem* is actually in many cases reduced; the particle then simply adds some semantic stress to its antecedent or loses all of its primary meaning, becoming sort of an expletive.

- **nemedə hem** > ol **nemedä:m** aslan ö:zi qawmlıǵna arab, yö:ne özbeki gepliyo:r. (Är. 1)  
For some reason he again speaks Uzbek, although he is an Arab by ethnicity.
- **yenedə hem** > yö:ne šo waxt köp bi kita:blarım yitdi, muja:hıdlar we ta:lıba:n dewrlərində, men **yene-dä:m** tä:zedən oları tapıǵ aldım. (Sa. 1)  
At that time many a book of mine has been lost, at the time of the *mujāhidīn* and Taliban, but I have found them anew.
- **geçi häm** > šu aydan sözleriñi bir waǵtlar bir **geçä:m** aydıpdı. (Te. 13)  
These words which you have said, an(other) time a goat has also said.
- **bir-ikisi häm** > šu tatarlarıñ šu ja:yda, tatar diyip yazılan da:šlara:m ba:r, bir-ikisini alıp ğaytdı höku:met, **birikis-ä:m** ba:r-dı. (Sa. 2)  
These Tatars -, in that place there are stones with allegedly Tatar writings; the government has taken away one or two of them, but one or two were (still there).
- **gi:mi häm** > ğunduzda türkmenleriñ **gi:m-ä:m** bä:ri maza:rıšeri:pde ya:šayo:n türkmeniñkiden parx etyo:r. (Är. 1)  
In Qunduz, the garments of the Turkmens are all different from those of the Turkmens living in Mazāri Šarīf.

(iv) In the case of adverbial derivatives in *-n* of lexemes with final [e], the final syllable vowel is lengthened into [ä:] : *üyle* 'noon' > *üylä:n* 'at noon'.

(v) The original short vowel of the locative suffix is lengthened if the suffix *-QI* is added.

- **yu:rtlerde** > šo:ra:ni açmaq üci:n Pä:kista:nnan başǵa **yu:rtlerdä:ki** ya:šolılar bilen-em maslaxat etdik. (Är. 10)  
In order to found (lit. open) the Council we also consulted with elders in other countries than Pakistan.
- **meymenede** > ma:llarıñ hemmesini diyen ya:lı satdıq, bir **meymenedä:ki** ma:llar ğa:ldı. (Te.3)  
We sold almost all (our) belongings; only those in Maymana remained back.
- **elinde** > bıl **elindä:ki** pulını yo:ğadıp gelip dir. (Sa.5)  
This (boy) squandered whatever money he had in hands.

(vi) When verbal stems with final [e] take on the aorist suffix *-(A)r*, the converbial suffix in *-p*, or the imperative 2.PPL in *-ŋ*, the resulting vowel is long [ä:].

- **diñle-** > jıma:ba:y hi:čkimiñ sözini qabu:l etmese-de, meniñ sözimi **diñlä:r**. (Är.17)  
Although Jumabay doesn't accept anybody's words, he listens to my advice.
- **meñze-** > na:mı xuda: bujaǵaz ma:masına **meñzä:p** du:r. (Är. 5)  
By God, this little (baby) does resemble her grandmother!
- **gözle-** > men geli:nçä:m šu ča:ǵa: **gözlä:ñ!** (Te. 5)  
Look after this baby until I come (back)!

(vii) In the Teke dialect the vowel of the front variant of the infinitive/necessitative *-mAQ* is lengthened (and *k* > *g*) when it takes on the dative case suffix.

- **i:mek** > mö:jek ata baqip men seni **i:mä:ge** geldim diyä:r. (Te. 13)  
The wolf looked at the horse and said, "I have come to eat you up".



The Ärsa:rı infinitive/necessitative following a front vowel, when taking on the directive, can be realized either as *-mege* (without lengthening of the vowel) or *-mä:ne* (with vowel lengthening).

- **dimek** > kettelerin gepini ğaytarıp, yo:q men minı qabu:l etjek dä:l, men moŋa ğarşı **dimege-de** jüret gerek. (Är. 19)  
Talking back on elders, saying no, I don't accept this, I am against that, also demands courage.
- **dilemek** > bil mennen na:n **dilemä:ne** gelyo:r eken (Är. 2)  
This (person) seems to come in order to ask me for food.

(d) Secondary shortening of [ä:] into [e]

In ND dialects, instead of long vowel [ä:], a secondary short [e] occurs with some lexical copies, as for example Är. *kä:şir* ~ ND *keşir* 'carrot'; Är. *kä:di* ~ ND *keci* 'gourd'.

- ana qıslağımızda su:w kemra:ğ, künji ekemiz, qawun-tarbiz, **keci** ekemiz, yene terkeri boledı bu yerde. (Mu.2)  
In our village there is very little water; we (only) sow sesame, melons and gourds, and greens also grow there.
- palaw pişirgende awal piya:zni kü:dirip, soŋ **keşirni** taslamalı. (Xa.2)  
When we prepare pilaff, fist we fry the onions and then the carrots need to be added.

### C. /ɪ/ and /ɪ:/

(a) In the Turkmen dialects, /ɪ/ and /ɪ:/ are unrounded middle back vowels; realization of long [ɪ:] causes the tip of the tongue to move closer to the palate.

(i) There is some difference in occurrence of [ɪ] and [ɪ:], as opposed to other vowels, between the dialects. For example, in a few verb stems which have final *a* in all other dialects, the Ärsa:rı dialect features final long *ɪ*: – Är. *daşɪ:-* 'to carry' vs. Te. Sa. Yo. and ND dialects *daşa-* 'id.'; Är. *da:ri:-* 'to stroll, to stop by' vs. Te. Yo. Sa. and ND dialects *da:ra-* 'id.'; Är. *aldɪ:-* 'to cheat' vs. all other dialects *alda-* 'id.'.

- ba:zardan nä:rse **daşɪ:dım**. (Är. 8)  
I carried things (home) from the bazaar.
- büti:n ya:zda çölden o:dın **daşadım**. (Te.21)  
The whole summer, I was busy carrying bushes (home) from the steppes.
- yo:lɪda ça:rı hajılaŋqa:-da **da:ri:dıq**. (Är. 5)  
On (our) way we stopped by at Ça:rı Haji's place.
- Meymenä: gidende bir-iki gün Şaxa-da:m **daradıq**. (Te.16)  
When we travelled to the Maymana, for one or two days we visited Şax, too.

In the Ärsa:rı dialect, aorists from verbal stems whose first-syllable vowel is *o* and second-syllable vowel is *a* undergo raise of the second-syllable vowel to *ɪ*; *gora-* 'to answer' > *ğori:r* (*ğora:r*), *oqa-* 'to study' > *oqı:r*. The other dialects do not share this phenomenon.

- kiçi oğlum ketde bolsa bil pä:külte **oqı:r** inşa:alla: . (Är. 8)  
When my little son is big, he will hopefully study at the faculty.

- toydan gelip soň ha:lı **doqı:rs.** (Är. 28)  
Back from the wedding, we will start carpet weaving.

(ii) In copied lexemes unrounded [ɪ] may in individual cases occur in variation with preserved original rounded [u] (or [ü] that renders original [u]). Examples: *nıpu:s* ~ *nüpu:s* (Är., Sa.) 'population' < pers. *nufūs*; *nuqa:p* ~ *nıqap* 'mask' < arb. *nuqa:b*.

(b) The short-long phonemic opposition is preserved in all dialects, but it is not completely evenly distributed.

(i) The Ärsa:rı dialect has long *ɪ*: in a few lexemes where all other dialects feature short *ɪ*. Examples: Är. *sı:p-* 'to scoot' vs. Te. *sıp-* 'id.'; Är. *sı:n-* 'to go bankrupt' vs. Te. *sin-*; Är. *sı:la-* 'to stroke' vs. ND *sıla-* 'id', Är. *du:z* 'knee' vs. ND *tız*.

(ii) In many lexemes copied from Persian / Arabic, original high [i] or [i:] is realized as low [ɪ] or [ɪ:], respectively: *a:lım* 'learned person' < *ālim*, *pa:lbn* 'diviner' < *fālbān*.

(iii) In lexemes copied from Persian / Arabic, the Ärsa:rı dialect renders original long [ɪ:] conservatively in a few cases where the Te. Yo. Sa and ND dialects have short [ɪ]. Examples: Är. *ma:nı:l* 'bearing meaning, meaningful' vs. Te. *ma:nılı* 'id.' ~ ND *manılı*; Är. *qa:nı:* 'satisfactory', Te. And ND *qa:nı* 'id.'.

(c) Secondary length of *ɪ* occurs under specific conditions as described below. Unless otherwise stated, the phenomenon relates to all dialects.

(i) Final *ɪ* followed by suffixes with initial *m* (e.g. 1.PSGPOSS *-(I)m*), *n* (e.g. ACC *-nI*, GEN *-nIŋ*) or *ŋ* (e.g. 2.PPLIMPER *-ŋIz*). In the ND this lengthening does not occur regularly.

- **gōrqı** > *xıya:nat etmedigim üçi:n meniŋ hi:čkimnen gōrqı:m yo:q.* (Är. 16)  
Since I have not betrayed (anyone), I am not afraid of anybody.
- **gūzi** > *soň mö:jek bu gūzi:m i:jek bolıp dır.* (Te. 22)
- **quzi** > **quzını** *nime qıldıñız?* (Xa.2)  
What have you done to the lamb?
- **yağşı** > **yağşı:nı** *görmeg-em soga:p! diyip dirler.* (Är. 10)  
They say, "It is merit(orious) to simply see a good (man)!"
- **yağşı** > **yağşını** *gepiden-hem bilesiz.* (Mu.2)  
You can recognize the good man from his speech.
- **pı:qı** > *hä:zirki mudırn heleyleriŋ dırnağ-a:m pı:qı:nıŋ dırnağı ya:lı bolo:r.* (Sa. 1)  
The fingers of modern women of today are similar to falcon claws.
- **gūzi** > *ya:š şı:rba:zı gūzi:nıŋ gö:şti onıŋ başğa maza:sı bar.* (Är. 12)  
The meat of a young four-month-old lamb is especially delicious.
- **yılgı** > **yılgı:ñız** *nä:me boldı?* (Är. 31)  
What has happened to your mare?
- **yılgını** *nime qıldıñız?* (Xa. 5)  
What have you done to the mare?

(ii) In the Afghan Turkmen dialects, the POSS1./2.PSG/PL suffixes have all short vowels. When following a "pronominal n" supplied to the demonstrative pronouns *bu*, *o* and *šo*, however, the first vowel of the suffix is lengthened (*-I:m*, *-I:mIz* etc.). Again, the ND often disregard this rule and have a short vowel instead.

- siz hemi:še gi:č turyo:sınız, **šoni:ηız** bolan yo:q. (Är. 10)  
You always get up late, that (habit) of yours won't do.
- kiči oğlım yağşı oqıyo:r, **oni:mız** bir gün-em mekdepden ğa:lan yo:q. (Är. 33)  
My little son studies well, he has not cut school a single day.
- **muni:mız** köp aqıllı, a:ğası ya:lı tentek dä:l. (Te. 5)  
This one (lit. of ours) is very smart. He is not a troublemaker like his elder brother.
- aydılan waxtda geleño:q, **šuni:η** yağşı dä:l. (Sa. 7)
- You're not coming at the agreed time, this (behavior) of yours is not good.
- **šuniη** bolmeydi-da! (Mu. 1)  
This (behavior) of yours won't go!

The same lengthening of *ı* occurs if the possessive follows a back vowel numeral ending in consonant: *on* > *oni:mız* 'ten of us', *qırq* > *qırqı:ηız* 'forty of you'. If the possessive follows a back vowel numeral ending in vowel, it is this vowel that will be lengthened: *altı:mız* 'six of us'.

- qırq ğı:zlarıη hemmesi, biz **qırqı:mız-am** qala:dan taşla:lı diyip ähd edip dirler. (Är. 43)  
All forty girls made a pledge (saying), "All forty of us will jump down from the fortress".
- siz **o:ni:ηız** birinji bolıp barıη, soη başğaları i:beryä:s. (Te. 18)  
First the ten of you should go there, then we'll dispatch the others.
- biz šonča ğa:lan palawı **dö:rđi:miz** bolıp i:dik. (Yo. 1)  
The four of us ate up this much (of the) remaining pilaff!

(d) Deletion of [ı] occurs under the conditions named below.

(i) If the dative suffix *-A* follows a nominal stem with final [ı], the [ı] is deleted but the two vowels merge into a long [a:] :

- **prı:qı** > sa:ra:nıη enes-ä:m tu:q basdırdı, jü:je köp çıqdı weli:n, yağşı ketegi bolma:n soη **prı:qa:** i:mit boldı jü:jeler. (Är. 30)  
Sa:ra's mother had the hen hatch (eggs), many chicks came out, but since she did not have a proper henhouse the chicken fell prey to the hawk.
- **ba:lıqçı** > derya:nıη boynında iki sa:nı **ba:lıqça:** duwışdıq. (Te. 16)  
On the river bank we met two fishermen.
- **ya:şulı** > biziη gelenmizi **ya:sula:** xabar berdiηizmi? (Sa. 3)  
Did you inform the chief about our arrival?

(ii) If in the *xālış* dialects the enclitic particle *hem* 'also' follows a word featuring (for whatever reason) final *ı*, contraction results in the deletion of the *h* of the particle, in lowering and lengthening of the vowel into [a:], and in accent shift to the last syllable : *onu hem* > *oná:m* 'him also'; *şı dayza:nı hem* > *şı dayza:ná:m* 'that auntie, too'; *atası hem* > *atasá:m* 'his father as well'; *ğarnı hem* > *ğarná:m* 'his stomach as well'; *yağdayı hem* > *yağdayá:m* 'his situation, too'.

- **oni hem** ; **ğarnı hem** > **ona:m** aytma:m gerek, mana birki yıldan bā:ri mana xuşksa:llıq gelip dä:ni ğoyunlarıη **ğarna:m** otdan doymadı. (Är. 12)

I also need to say that since one or two years this draught has come and the stomachs of the sheep did not get full with the grass (they ate).

- **yağdayı hem** > şupille hä:zirki waxtda marčaq xalqınıñ **yağdaya:m** ğawı dä:l, amma: šonda-da ya:şı:do:rlar. (Sa. 2)

Now the present situation of the people of Marčaq is not good, but they nevertheless survive.

- **resim-rava:jı hem ; dessu:rı hem** > öñki bolıšı ya:lı, čenna:n ü:tgä:nnoq, ğuwı, **resim-rava:ja:m** ğawı, **dessu:ra:m** ğuwı. (Te. 4)

As (things) used to be before, not many things have changed, traditions and etiquette are good.

In the *nāxāliš* dialects, on the other hand, contraction of words with final *ı* and the enclitic particle *hem* results in the raising of the vowel to [i], and insertion of the approximant *y*, without shift of accent: *atası hem* > *atasyem*, *onu hem* > *oniyem*.

- **ši hem** > özbek-em bolsa bizlerdeki gepuredi **ši-yem**. (Ba. 3)  
He, although he is an Uzbek, he talks like us.
- **a:ti hem** > jima:nazarnı **a:ti-yem** oğlaqqa boladı. (Mu. 2)  
Jima:nazar's horse will do for buzkashi.

(f) In the *Ärsa:rı* dialect, aorists and imperatives derived from verbal stems whose first-syllable vowel is *o* and second-syllable vowel is *a* undergo raising of the second-syllable vowel to *i*; *gora-* 'to advocate, ward off' > *ğori:r* (not *ğora:r*).

- **oqa-** > kiči oğlım ketde bolsa, bıl pä:külte **oqı:r** inša:alla: . (Är. 8)  
When my little son is big, he will hopefully study at the faculty.
- **ši:ri yalñış oqı:mañ!** (Är. 9)  
Don't recite the poem incorrectly!
- bı ha:lıça:nı bir ayda **doqı:rın** inša:lla: . (Är. 5)  
I hope to weave this rug in one month.

The other dialects do not share this phenomenon.

#### D. /i/ and /i:/

(a) In the Afghan Turkmen dialects, /i/ and /i:/ are front-high, close unrounded vowels. When following the consonants k, g and j, [i] / [i:] may be slightly lowered without, however, attaining quite the middle (or back) quality of [ɪ].

(b) The short-long phonemic opposition is observed in all Afghan Turkmen dialects, but between the dialects there is some difference in detail.

(i) In lexemes copied from Persian / Arabic the *xāliš* dialects generally preserve original length of [i:], while in the *nāxāliš* dialects, short [i] replaces it in many cases. Examples: *ki:ne* XD vs. *kine* ND 'desire for revenge', *ki:se* XD vs. *kise* ND 'purse', *pi:r* XD vs. *pir* ND 'spiritual leader', *mi:z* XD vs. *miz* ND 'table'.

(c) Secondary length of *i* occurs under the specific conditions described below. Unless otherwise stated, the phenomenon relates to all dialects.

(i) In adverbial derivatives in *-n* of lexemes with final [i], the final syllable vowel is lengthened into [i:] : *gizli* 'secret (adj.)' > *gizli:n* 'secretly'; *kindi* 'prayer before dinner' > *kindi:n* 'at prayer time'.

(ii) In the *xāliš* dialects, final *i* followed by suffixes with initial *m* (e.g. 1.PSGPOSS *-(I)m*), *n* (e.g. ACC *-nI*, GEN *-nIn*) or *ŋ* (e.g. 2.PPLIMPER *-ŋIz*), is lengthened into [i:] while in the *nāxāliš* dialects such lengthening does not take place.

- **geči** > **geči:miz** günde iki setil sü:t beryo:r. (Är. 41)  
Our goat gives two buckets of milk every day.
- **geči** > bir inek we iki **geçimiz** ba:r. (Ba. 2)  
We have one cow and two goats.
- **öli** > **öli:ni** depin etmä:ne-de köp xarji gerek. (Är. 1)  
Large expenses are necessary for burying a deceased.
- **öli** > bizde xu **ölini** liba:si bilen kömmeydiler, hetmen kefen qıladılar. (Be. 5)  
At ours they don't bury the dead with his garments, they absolutely wrap (lit. do) him (in) a shroud.
- **gişi** > bu zama:nda ğari:b **gişi:ni** kim esgeryo:r? (Är. 38)  
Who cares for the poor these days?!
- **kişi** > her **kişini** loyejirgege çaqirmeydiler. (Xa. 3)  
They do not invite (just) everybody to the Loya Jirga.
- **yöri-** > **yöri:ŋ**, gideli! (Är. 32)  
Come on, let's go!

(iii) The lengthening of first vowels in possessive suffixes 1./2.PSG/PL following numerals, which has been described above (cf. C.c.ii.), also occurs with front vowel numerals: *tö:rdi:miz* 'four of us', *üçi:ŋiz* 'three of you', *bä:şi:ŋiz* 'five of you'. If the possessive suffix follows a front vowel numeral ending in a vowel, that final vowel is lengthened: *iki:miz* 'two of us', *yetdi:miz* 'seven of us'.

- ulağ tapmadıqda, hađı resu:llarıŋ toyına bir **iki:m** bardıq. (Te. 7)  
Since we did not find a vehicle, only the two of us went to Hađı Resu:l's feast.

The vowel of the numeral 'one' *bir* is in its turn lengthened when possessive suffixes (those of first and second persons, following the above-mentioned rule; the 3.PPOSS suffix vowel is short and does not undergo change) are added: *bir* 'one' > *bi:ri:m(iz)*, *bi:ri:ŋ(iz)*, but *bi:risi*.

*Bir* 'one', when added to a decadic numeral, also has its vowel lengthened: *onbi:r* 'eleven', *yigrimebi:r* '21' etc. Lengthening of *bir* also occurs when the diminutive / intensive suffix *-ejik* is supplemented:

- xuda:ya: şükir xuda:yıŋ berenne yitdi axtığım ba:r, tö:rdisi oğıl üçisi ğı:z, **bi:rejik** oğlım bar, **bi:rejik** oğlımnan ö:nen bılar. (Är. 28)  
Thank God, (thanks) for God's gifts, I have seven grandchildren, four of them are boys and three are girls. I have one single son, they have (all) been begotten through him.

(iv) In the *Ärsa:rı* dialect, the lengthening of the 1.PSGPOSS suffix does not only occur with numerals as described above. So far the rules governing the occurrence of the phenomenon have not been discovered. Examples are:

- **gün** > bıl meni pul beren **güni:m** yağşı göröyö:r, pul bermedik **güni:m** ya:nımada gelen yo:q. (Är. 6)  
On days when I give (him) money he likes me, (but) on days when I don't give (him) money, he does not even come to me.
- **yer** > ğu:rra:q boljaq **yeri:m** da:yımlaŋqı, mira:dlaŋqa:-da:m kä:pille bararın. (Är. 32)  
The place where I am more often is my uncle's, and sometimes I go to Mira:d's as well.

(v) Lengthening of *i* can occur on a spontaneous basis in order to stress the lengthened word.

- soŋ bosa:ni:nim men aytdım, ortaŋ dil ši pa:rsı **ji:q** geplä:ŋ di:dim. (Är. 1)  
After that I said, "Persian is the common language; do speak (it)", I said.
- men size birmebir wa:qıyeti aydıp bereyin, siz **eşdi:p** durıŋ! (Är. 7)  
I will tell you one by one what has happened, you listen (carefully)!
- bi yeri:ni issi görseŋiz, mı:xma:n di:wala baralı, şo yerde ça:y **içi:p** yatars. (Är. 6)  
If you deem this place (too) hot let us go into the guestroom, there we (can) drink tea!

In the latter examples, the lengthening of the vowels in *eşdi:p* and *içi:p* also underlines the durative meaning of the action described in the clause.

(vi) Secondary length of *i:* also occurs as a result of contraction of syllables containing the liquid *r*. This is often the case with the aorist form:

- **yetirer** > ğam i:mä:ŋ! toyıŋ xarjın-a:m xuda: **yeti:r**. (Är. 5)  
Don't worry! God will also grant (you) the expenses for the feast.

(d) The high-front quality of *i* and *i:* is in the cases which are described below given up for lowering and shift towards mid-back [ɨ] and [ɨ:], respectively.

(i) In lexemes copied from other languages, original high-short [i] is generally preserved, but in word-initial position or in a back-vowel surrounding it can also be lowered and realized as [ɨ]. The exact rules that govern the phenomenon have as yet to be determined; lowering or non-lowering might even be an individual choice depending on the educational and linguistic background of the speakers. Examples: *isla:h* (Är. Te. Yo. Sa.) ~ *isla:* (Är. 4) 'correction, melioration'; *sa:hib* (Är. 2) ~ *sa:yıp* 'sahib' (Är. 17) < pers. *sāhib*; *mira:a:t et-* 'to observe' (Te. 10) < pers. *mir'a:t*;

(ii) In lexemes copied from Persian / Arabic, an original high-long [i:] can be preserved, but it can also be lowered and then realized as long [ɨ:]. This phenomenon has been observed in the Ärsa:rı dialect. Examples: *xalı:pa* (Är. 17) ~ *xalı:pa* 'spiritual leader' < pers. *xalīfa*; *şeri:pe* (Är. 5) '(a female name)' < Ar. *şarīfa*. In the ND dialects it is only short: *xalipa*, *şaripe*.

(e) In the Ärsa:rı dialect, the final *e* of some verbal stems, when followed by a suffix *-me*, *-di*, is turned into long *i:* as in the following example:

- **üşe-** > peži yaqaym! yene **üşi:mä:ŋ**. (Är. 11)  
I will fire the stove. You should not get cold.
- **döre-** > bolan i:ş uwal çekkä:me bir si:m dürtildi, soŋ şu yerden bir yara **döri:di**. (Är.47)  
What occurred is: First a nail hurt my temple, then a wound came into being there.

- **derge-** > men sizi öten heppedä:m **dergi:dim.** (Är. 10)  
Last week I looked for you.

(f) In single lexemes copied from Persian, [i:] occurs as a result of monophthongization of original [ey] or [ay]: *di:me* 'gourds' (Sa. 2) < pers. *dayma*. In the Ärsa:rı dialect this contraction regularly occurs in imperatives: *nä:deyin* 'what can I do?' > *nä:di:n*; *gideyinmi?* 'can I go?' > *gidi:nmi?*, *gi:reyinmi?* 'may I come in?' > *gi:ri:nmi?*

**E. /o/ and /o:/**

(a) In the Afghan Turkmen dialects, /o/ and /o:/ are back-middle rounded vowels.

(b) The phonemic character of /o/ and /o:/ is preserved in all Afghan Turkmen dialects. However, the dialects differ in details of the occurrence of short / long *o* in some single lexemes. Examples: *yo:lbars* (Är. Sa.) ~ *yolbars* (Te. Yo. Yem.) 'lion'; *ğo:n-* (Är. Sa.) ~ *ğon-* (Te. Yo. Yem.) 'to perch'; *ğo:ra-* (Är. Sa.) ~ *ğora-* (Te. Yo.) 'to ward off'.

(i) Secondary length of *o*: occurs in the far deictic demonstrative adjectives / pronouns *o* ~ *ol* 'that' in order to stress great distance:

- **o:l** a:dami goryo:rsıjmi? (Är. 18)  
Do you see thaaaat man (over there)?

The same lengthening can occur for stylistic reasons, in order to express specific markedness and/or hierarchical distinction.

- do:ğrı barıberıj! (Är.53)  
Walk on straaaaight!

(c) In nominal and verbal stems, /o/ or /o:/ mostly occur in first syllables only. There are only a few native lexemes in which non-first stem syllable /o/ is at variation with non-rounded vowels. Examples: *soğon* (Te.) ~ *soğan* (Yo.) 'onion'. As a rule, /o/ and /o:/ do not occur in derivational suffixes.

(i) Some grammatical suffixes have [o]. They are historically the result of contraction of verb + postverb, or noun + negative existential. The dialects differ in these matters.

In the Ärsa:rı and Sa:rıq dialects, the intraterminal markers are *yo:r* (Är.) and *o:r* (Sa.), while in the Teke and Yomut dialects these are realized as *yAr*.

- *ğışlağmızıj a:dına Ta:ğana:rıq* **di:yo:rlar.** (Är. 6)  
They call our village (lit. our village's name) Ta:ğana:rıq.
- *buğday* **eko:rlar** *ša:lı* **eko:rlar.** (Sa. 2)  
They grow wheat, they grow rice.
- *bermezi:dde su: bolma:n soj paxta* **ekmeyä:rlar.** (Te.4)  
Since in Bermezid there is no water, they don't plant cotton (there).
- *hıra:tda-da* *ğawı ha:lı* **doqaya:rlar.** (Yo. 2)  
In Herat they weave carpets, too.

In the Ärsa:rı and Sa:rıq dialects, the participle is *yo:n* (Är.) and *o:n* (Sa.), while in the Teke and Yomut dialects it is realized as *yA:n*.

- bi:rinnen alıp yene bi:rine **satyo:n** a:dama jella:p diyo:rlar. (Är. 12)  
A person who purchases from someone and retails to another is called *jella:p*.
- şu günlerde ha:lı:nı **alo:n** a:dam yo:q. (Sa. 3)  
No one buys rugs these days.
- qa:zı **bolya:n** gişi a:dıl bolmalı. (Te. 13)  
A person who wants to be a judge must be just.

In the Teke and Sa:rıq dialects, the negation of habitual past as a finite verb form is a composite of participle + *o:q* (contracted and shortened from the existential *yo:q*).

- ol i:şler **bolanno:q**-da başğa. (Te. 6)  
These things did no longer exist.

(ii) In copied lexemes, [o] can be realized in non-first stem syllables as well, but there is a tendency to raise the realization towards [u] (which also affects first-syllable [o] in many cases). Examples: *tilfo:n* ~ *tilfu:n* 'telephone', *komisyo:n* ~ *komisyu:n* ~ *kumisyu:n* 'comission'.

## F. /ö/ and /ö:/

(a) In the Afghan Turkmen dialects, /ö/ and /ö:/ are front-middle mid-open rounded vowels.

(b) The phonemic character of /ö/ and /ö:/ is preserved in all Afghan Turkmen dialects. However, there is some variation in details of occurrence. Examples: Är. *ö:rdek* ~ Te. *ördek*.

(c) In nominal and verbal stems, /ö/ or /ö:/ most frequently occur in first syllables. There are single lexemes in which [ö] in non-first stem syllables occurs in variation with /e/. Examples: *čörök* (Te.) ~ *čörek* (Är.) 'flat bread'. As a rule, /ö/ or /ö:/ do not occur in derivational or grammatical suffixes.

(d) Length of [ö:]

(i) Secondary length of *ö:* is a result of contraction of syllables or reduction of neighboring consonants. Contraction that results in the lengthening of [ö] often affects word clusters that include demonstrative adjectives / pronouns like *bu*, *şu*, *o*, or derivatives of these such as *şeyle* 'like this' etc. Examples: *bu yerde* > *bö:rde* 'here' (Är.); *şu yerde* > *şö:rde* 'here'; *eydip* > *ö:dip* 'that way (lit. doing like that)' (Är.); *şeydip* > *şö:dip* 'id.'; *beydip* > *bö:dip* 'like this'; *şeyle di:di* > *şö:di:di* 'he said so' (Är).

- mana şı za:dları ö:zimiz ğorşayo:rs **bö:rde**. (Är. 37)  
These things we construct here ourselves.
- **şö:rde** ya:şıyo:n nıpu:sıñ ya:rımınnan ğö:rra:ğı türkmenler bolyo:.. (Är. 18)  
More than half of the population that live here are Turkmen.
- ğoyan za:dım **bu yerde** yo:q. (Yo. 2)  
The thing which I put here is (now) gone.
- Siz şu yerde yatıñ! (Te. 18)  
Please you can sleep here.

(ii) In lexemes copied from Persian / Arabic, secondary length of [ö:] results from the reduction of the glottal voiceless fricative [h] which follows, in the original, mostly [u] or [ü]. The phenomenon occurs in all Afghan Turkmen dialects, although there is some variation in



detail of occurrence. Examples: *zö:re* ~ *zöhre* XD 'Zuhra (n.pr.f.)' < pers. *zuhra*; *tö:met* ~ *töhmet* XD 'slander' < pers. *tuhmat*. In these cases, non-reduction of [h] would be typical of an elevated style as used by educated people.

(e) In lexemes copied from Persian / Arabic, middle-front [ö] / [ö:] often renders original high-front [ü] (< [u]) following or preceding glottal or uvular consonants. Non-occurrence of this lowering is typical of elevated speech. Examples: *höku:met* (Sa. 2) 'government' < pers. *hukūmat*; *mö:teber* (Är. 38) 'prestigious' < pers. *mu'tabar*.

## G. /u/ and /u:/

(a) In the Afghan Turkmen dialects, /u/ and /u:/ are back-high rounded vowels.

(b) The phonemic character of /u/ and /u:/ is preserved in all dialects, although in detail there is some variation in occurrence.

(i) Secondary length of [u:] occurs in the Ärsa:rı dialect as a result of contraction of [uwu].

- **tuwuq** < a:q **tu:qlarıŋ** ya: ısla: bolan **tu:qlarıŋ** gö:štiniŋ maza:sı yo:q. (Är. 4)  
The meat of white chickens and meliorated chickens has no taste.
- **suwuq** < öten yıl köp **su:q** boldı. (Är.44)  
Last year was very cold.

(c) In the Ärsa:rı dialect [u] in singular copied lexemes can be the result of contraction of original [aw] : *qu:s* 'the month of Qaws' (Är. 12) < pers. *qaws*; *ġuwi* 'good' (but *ġawi* in Te.).

(d) Unrounding of [u], which results in secondary [ɪ], is a frequent phenomenon in copied lexemes; the non-unrounded variants co-exist with the unrounded ones. Examples: *supa* ~ *sipa*: 'sitting plateau' < pers. *suffa*~*supa*; *muna:sıp* ~ *mına:sıp* 'adequate' < pers. *munāsib*.

## H. /ü/ and /ü:/

(a) In the Afghan Turkmen dialects, /ü/ and /ü:/ are front-high rounded vowels.

(b) The phonemic character of /ü/ and /ü:/ is preserved in all dialects.

(i) The exact phonetic quality of /ü:/ in the Afghan Turkmen dialects cannot yet be determined here. There is reason to assume that in fact, phonetically long *ü* is (always? only under specific circumstances?) realized as a semi-long vowel followed by the approximant *y*. In absence of apparative analyses, transcription in this book will keep to the rendering as *ü:* rather than *üy*. Only in examples where the [y]-element is very obvious in the pronunciation of our respondents, it will be included in the transcription.

(ii) Secondary length of [ü:] does not occur in the Afghan Turkmen dialects.

#### 4.5 Phonetic realization, phonotactics, processes: Consonants

Table 4-8: Consonants: position

pho ne me	initial	intervocalic	in consonant clusters	final
/b/	<i>bal</i> 'honey', <i>ba:lɨq</i> 'fish', <i>ba:y</i> 'wealthy', <i>bedew</i> 'horse'; <i>bä:š</i> 'five', <i>bir</i> 'one', <i>bi:l</i> 'waist', <i>bıqın</i> 'flank', <i>bi:l</i> <i>Är.</i> 'this year', <i>bol</i> 'loose', <i>boğın</i> 'joint', <i>bo:ğır-</i> 'to rave', <i>bölek</i> 'share', <i>bö:lim</i> 'part', <i>bürenjek</i> 'shawl', <i>bü:rgün</i> <i>Är.</i> 'the day after tomorrow', <i>buqa</i> 'bull', <i>bula-</i> 'to stir', <i>bu:ğ</i> 'steam'	<i>aḫa</i> <i>Är.</i> 'father', <i>aḫay</i> 'favorable' <i>ğabı</i> 'coat', <i>kebelek</i> 'butterfly', <i>lä:bik</i> 'muddy', <i>ğıbirdı</i> 'movement', <i>çı:bıq</i> 'bundle of bud sticks', <i>sübse</i> <i>Te.</i> 'broom', <i>sü:bek</i> 'rump'	<i>ıqba:l</i> 'luck', <i>selbi</i> '(female name)', <i>gö:kbö:ri</i> <i>Sa.</i> <i>tepcil</i> '(element of the wedding ceremonies)', <i>telbe</i> 'lunatic', <i>ekber</i> <i>Är.</i> 'Ekber (n.pr.m.)', <i>başboğı</i> '(a special female headgear)', <i>ğarḫala-</i> 'to grasp', <i>çepbe</i> 'converse'	—
/p/	<i>palaw</i> 'pilaff', <i>pa:y</i> 'share', <i>perek</i> 'feather', <i>pä:l</i> 'intent', <i>pil</i> 'elephant', <i>pi:l</i> 'shovel', <i>pıntıq</i> 'bloom', <i>pi:qı</i> 'hawk', <i>poq</i> 'shit', <i>po:l</i> 'tin', <i>pökker-</i> 'to swell', <i>pul</i> 'money', <i>pu:daq</i> 'blossom', <i>pür</i> 'powder'	<i>ğapaq</i> 'cover', <i>kepek</i> 'bran', <i>yipek</i> 'silk', <i>köpik</i> 'blubber', <i>köpek</i> 'dog', <i>topır</i> 'soil', <i>tüpeñ</i> 'gun', <i>tü:pilik</i> 'spittle'	<i>kepder</i> 'pigeon', <i>köpri</i> 'birdge', <i>kirpi</i> 'hedgehog'	<i>sap</i> 'handle', <i>ğa:p</i> 'sack', <i>gep</i> 'word', <i>yip</i> 'thread', <i>ip</i> <i>Mu.</i> 'thread', <i>üp</i> <i>Qa.</i> 'web', <i>dü:p</i> 'basis, bottom'
/d/	<i>darı</i> 'millet', <i>da:ğ</i> 'mountain', <i>da:t-</i> 'to taste', <i>deri</i> 'skin', <i>dä:ri</i> 'medication', <i>dil</i> 'tongue', <i>di:ri</i> 'alive', <i>dim</i> 'silence', <i>dı:ğ</i> 'dominance', <i>doğrı</i> 'right', <i>dolaq</i> 'feet cloth', <i>do:h</i> 'full', <i>döl</i> 'progeny', <i>dö:nik</i> 'traitor', <i>dul</i> 'widow', <i>du:l</i> 'top home', <i>düşek</i> 'carpeting', <i>dü:š</i> 'dream'	<i>a:da</i> 'island', <i>a:dıl</i> 'just', <i>edep</i> 'decorum', <i>ä:dik</i> 'boot', <i>gödek</i> 'young child', <i>do:daq</i> 'lip', <i>o:dın</i> 'firewood', <i>ğuduz</i> 'mad (dog)'	<i>merda:na</i> 'male, gentlemanish', <i>kepder</i> 'pigeon', <i>ö:rdek</i> 'duck', <i>tüydik</i> 'pipe', <i>ökde</i> 'adept', <i>perde</i> 'curtain', <i>hemdem</i> 'friend'	<i>usda:d</i> <i>Är.</i> 'professor', <i>meded</i> 'help', <i>ö:d</i> 'bile', <i>derd</i> 'pain', <i>umi:d</i> 'hope'
/t/	<i>tay</i> 'foal', <i>ta:na</i> <i>Yo.</i> 'calf', <i>tegen</i> 'corral',	<i>çataq</i> 'intricate', <i>ğatıq</i> 'yogurt',	<i>ğartañ</i> 'old', <i>kertik</i> 'edge-notched', <i>erti:r</i>	<i>a:t</i> <i>Mu.</i> 'horse', <i>XD</i>

	<i>tä:kirim</i> 'delay', <i>tigir</i> Te. 'tire', <i>ti:z</i> 'early', <i>tilla:</i> 'gold', <i>ti:ğ</i> 'spear', <i>toğolaq</i> Är. 'round', <i>to:ğ</i> 'banner', <i>tulum</i> 'waterskin', <i>tu:q</i> Är. 'hen', <i>tüwi</i> Te. 'rice', <i>tüwerey</i> 'tornado', <i>tü:pilik</i> 'spit', <i>tü:dük</i> 'pipe'	<i>etek</i> 'skirt', <i>çitenek</i> 'claw', <i>ğotr</i> 'pockmarked', <i>ötinç</i> 'pardon', <i>otr-</i> 'to sit' <i>uta:q</i> 'room', <i>küti</i> 'thick'	'morning', <i>sirtlan</i> 'hyena', <i>ötgir</i> 'sharp', <i>ü:tgeşik</i> 'strange', <i>yırtuq</i> 'torn'	'name', <i>çet</i> 'corner', <i>löt</i> Är. 'sediment', <i>ot</i> 'herbage', <i>o:t</i> 'fire', <i>it</i> 'dog', <i>bulut</i> 'cloud', <i>bu:t</i> 'thigh', <i>görgüt</i> Är. 'torment', <i>süt</i> ND 'milk', <i>sü:t</i> XD 'milk'
/j/	<i>jar</i> 'announcemet', <i>jalbar</i> 'pants', <i>ja:m</i> 'cup', <i>jem</i> 'total', <i>jä:jek</i> Te. 'flower', <i>jiger</i> 'liver', <i>ji:l</i> 'dogged', <i>jiğa</i> 'crown', <i>jiqır</i> 'waterwheel', <i>ju:qla-</i> Te. 'to see', <i>jorra:p</i> 'sock', <i>jo:juq</i> 'piglet', <i>jöne-</i> 'to depart', <i>jö:gi</i> 'gipsy', <i>jul</i> 'saddle cloth', <i>ju:ran-</i> 'to worry', <i>jübi</i> Te. 'bag',	<i>bajı</i> Te. 'sister', <i>jä:jek</i> Te. 'flower', <i>jikjikke</i> Är. 'sparrow', <i>-beje</i> '...o'clock', <i>ğojır</i> 'honor', <i>gi:je</i> 'night', <i>jup</i> 'pair, double', <i>jü:je</i> 'chick'	<i>janjal</i> 'brawl', <i>enjir</i> 'figs', <i>xorjin</i> 'carpetbag', <i>sü:ji</i> 'sweet',	<i>ja:j</i> 'scot', <i>kej</i> 'crooked', <i>ğaşawj</i> Mu. 'a handful'
/g/	<i>geda:y</i> 'beggar', <i>gä:r</i> 'dirty', <i>gözel</i> 'beautiful', <i>gö:bek</i> 'navel', <i>gila:s</i> 'glass', <i>gi:le</i> 'groan', <i>güzera:n</i> 'subsistence', <i>gü:z</i> 'autumn'	<i>değer</i> 'legacy', <i>bä:gül</i> 'rosewater', <i>değirmen</i> 'mill', <i>i:ge</i> 'rasp', <i>ö:gi:-</i> 'to cause nausea'	<i>begenç</i> 'rejoicing', <i>yigde</i> '(a fruit)', <i>etgel</i> 'luck', <i>mergen</i> 'gunner'	<i>beğ</i> 'thane', <i>dileğ</i> 'wish', <i>dümeğ</i> 'cold'
/k/	<i>kelle</i> 'head', <i>kä:di</i> 'gourd', <i>kir</i> 'impure', <i>ki:ne</i> 'hatred', <i>köşk</i> 'palace', <i>kö:l</i> 'lake', <i>kün</i> Mu. 'day', <i>kündik</i> 'ewer', <i>küti</i> Te. 'thick', <i>kü:me-</i> 'to burn', <i>kü:ze</i> 'amphora'	<i>eke</i> Är. 'elder sister', ND. 'big brother', <i>ekiz</i> 'twins', <i>pä:ki</i> 'razor', <i>ö:ke</i> 'enmity', <i>iki</i> 'two', <i>kö:ne</i> 'obsolete', <i>tiken</i> 'thorn', <i>üke</i> Mu. 'younger brother', <i>ü:ke</i> Te. 'enmity'	<i>ekle-</i> 'to foster', <i>ökde</i> 'skilled', <i>yelken</i> 'sail', <i>tilki</i> 'fox'	<i>çä:k</i> 'crack', <i>gerçek</i> 'apt', <i>kiyik</i> 'deer', <i>kök</i> 'stem', <i>gö:k</i> XD 'blue, green, grey', <i>küçük</i> Är. 'dog', <i>köprük</i> Mu. 'bridge', <i>sünk</i> 'bone'
/ğ/	—	<i>bağana</i> 'lambskin', <i>yağı</i> 'enemy', <i>yığın</i> 'assembly', <i>soğan</i> Te. 'onions', <i>boğın</i>	<i>yağşı</i> Är. ND 'good', <i>yılğın</i> 'tamarisk', <i>doğrı</i> 'right', <i>doğduq</i> 'birthplace'	<i>ya:ğ</i> 'oil', <i>ğışlağ</i> 'village', <i>tariğ</i> Xa. 'millet', <i>dı:ğ</i>

		'joint', <i>siğır</i> 'cow', <i>suğun</i> 'fawn', <i>nu:ğa:nçı</i> 'harvester'		'dominance', <i>tawuğ</i> Mu. 'hen', <i>bu:ğ</i> 'steam'
/ğ/	<i>ğara</i> 'black', <i>ğalıñ</i> 'thick', <i>ğa:ş</i> 'eyebrows', <i>ğoniq</i> 'guest', <i>ğol</i> Ār. 'hand', <i>ğo:zğalañ</i> 'rebellion', <i>ğış</i> 'winter', <i>ğil</i> 'body hair', <i>ğı:n</i> 'difficult', <i>ğul</i> 'bondsman', <i>ğu:rı</i> 'dry', <i>ğu:zaq</i> 'cottonseed'	—	<i>saqğal</i> 'beard', <i>saqğız</i> 'limy', <i>toqğız</i> 'nine'	—
/q/	<i>qala</i> : 'fortress', <i>qars</i> 'kerchief', <i>qa:yida</i> 'principle', <i>qa:rı</i> : 'reader', <i>qırq</i> 'forty', <i>qı:r</i> 'asphalt', <i>qol</i> ND 'hand', <i>quda</i> Ba. 'in- laws', <i>quduq</i> Xa. 'pit', <i>qu:-</i> 'to run after...'	<i>yaqa</i> 'collar', <i>oqara</i> 'bowl', <i>aqıl</i> 'wit', <i>yaqı:n</i> 'near', <i>jiqır</i> ' waterwheel', <i>yıqılım</i> 'submission', <i>toqım</i> 'packsaddle', <i>oquw</i> 'studies', <i>yu:qa</i> 'thin', <i>u:qı</i> 'sleep'	<i>ıqjam</i> 'adroit', <i>ıqba:l</i> 'good luck', <i>yalqım</i> 'shine', <i>yılqı</i> 'mare', <i>qırq</i> 'forty', <i>suñqar</i> 'buzzard'	<i>a:q</i> 'white', <i>toqmaq</i> 'stick', <i>do:daq</i> 'lip', <i>ğoniq</i> 'guest', <i>yırtıq</i> 'torn', <i>ı:q</i> 'bulwark', <i>oq</i> 'bullet', <i>doq</i> 'fed', <i>suwıq</i> 'cold', <i>quruq</i> ND 'dry', <i>tu:q</i> Ār. 'hen'
/m/	<i>maral</i> 'deer', <i>ma:l</i> 'livestock', <i>mele</i> 'camel', <i>mä:reke</i> 'congregation', <i>min-</i> 'to ride', <i>mi:n</i> 'shame', <i>mi:lis</i> 'meet', <i>mulqı</i> 'flabby', <i>mi:qilda-</i> 'to walk softly', <i>mojiq</i> Ār. 'bad', <i>mo:rı</i> 'chimney', <i>möcber</i> Te. 'size', <i>mö:y</i> 'tarantula', <i>mö:jek</i> 'wolf', <i>murt</i> Te. 'moustache', <i>mün-</i> Te. 'to ride', <i>mücber</i> Ār. 'size', <i>mü:n</i> Te. 'shame'	<i>damar</i> 'vein', <i>ma:ma</i> 'grandmother', <i>temek</i> 'tobacco', <i>demir</i> 'iron', <i>gömelek</i> 'mushroom', <i>ömir</i> 'life', <i>duma:n</i> 'brume', <i>omaça</i> 'femur', <i>düme</i> Sa. 'kitchen garden'	<i>tağma</i> 'mark', <i>da:rmal</i> 'heavy rain', <i>damja</i> 'drop', <i>tamdır</i> 'oven'	<i>xa:m</i> 'raw', <i>ğam</i> 'sorrow', <i>nem</i> 'wet', <i>giyim</i> 'dress', <i>i:m</i> 'animal feed', <i>dım</i> 'muggy', <i>tulum</i> 'waterskin', <i>čüm</i> 'turf'
/n/	<i>nay</i> 'flageolet', <i>na:n</i> 'bread', <i>ner</i> 'male', <i>nä:kes</i> 'ignoble', <i>niče</i> ND 'how many', <i>ni:l</i> 'bluish', <i>ni:kje</i> 'thin', <i>niša:n</i> 'sign', <i>noğola</i> 'fodder', <i>nöker</i> 'handyman', <i>nu:rı</i>	<i>ana:yı</i> 'beautiful', <i>ča:naq</i> 'tray', <i>ena:r</i> 'pomegranade', <i>ene</i> 'mother', <i>inaq</i> 'reliable', <i>iner</i> Te. 'camel', <i>hünä:r</i> Te. 'art', <i>ğoniq</i>	<i>menje</i> 'bed', <i>mo:njiq</i> 'pearl'	<i>qotan</i> 'swan', <i>ğa:n</i> 'blood', <i>weten</i> 'fatherland', <i>sergin</i> 'snowslide', <i>čin</i> 'right', <i>ğı:n</i>

	'menure', <i>nüdre</i> 'dregs'	Är. 'guest', <i>u:niq</i> 'pony'		'difficult', <i>üci:n</i> 'for', <i>suğun</i> 'stag', <i>u:n</i> 'flour', <i>gün</i> 'day', <i>dü:n</i> 'yesterday'
/ŋ/	—	<i>dañatar</i> 'daybreak', <i>deñe</i> - 'to compare', <i>diñirgen-</i> 'to attend', <i>oñırğa</i> 'spine'	<i>añrı</i> 'yonder', <i>mañqa</i> 'flat nose', <i>öñki</i> 'previous', <i>tüñter-</i> 'to turn upside down'	<i>çañ</i> 'dust', <i>a:ñ</i> 'mind', <i>deñ</i> 'equal', <i>diñ</i> 'hill', <i>gi:ñ</i> 'wide', <i>doñ-</i> 'to freeze', <i>güñ</i> 'dumb', <i>yüñ</i> 'wool'
r	<i>ra:xat</i> 'at ease', <i>ra:s</i> 'right', <i>reje</i> 'plan', <i>rehim</i> 'merciful', <i>rıza:</i> 'contentment', <i>ri:l</i> 'railway', <i>ro:za</i> 'fast', <i>rup</i> 'sause', <i>ru:l</i> 'roll'	<i>arı</i> 'bee', <i>daraq</i> 'comb', <i>a:riq</i> 'canal', <i>deri</i> 'skin', <i>erik</i> 'apricots', <i>di:ri</i> 'living', <i>göreç</i> 'pupil', <i>bö:ri</i> 'wolf', <i>çıra</i> 'lamp', <i>boyuntırıq</i> 'yoke', <i>jo:ra</i> 'peer', <i>ço:ri</i> 'bondswoman', <i>duri</i> 'crystal clear', <i>çü:re-</i> 'to rot'	<i>hamraq</i> Yo. 'kind', <i>bardaq</i> 'cup', <i>hemra:</i> 'comrade', <i>xıdra</i> 'uncultivated land', <i>doğrı</i> 'right', <i>buğra:</i> 'male camel', <i>bükri</i> 'bent, crooked'	<i>damar</i> 'vein', <i>ğa:r</i> 'snow', <i>deger</i> 'leaky', <i>kir</i> 'dirt', <i>pi:r</i> 'preceptor', <i>ağır</i> 'heavy', <i>xamı:r</i> 'dough', <i>kö:r</i> 'blind', <i>ömür</i> 'life'
/l/	<i>laqqa</i> 'catfish', <i>la:y</i> 'mud', <i>legen</i> 'tray', <i>lä:bik</i> 'muddy', <i>lıqırdı</i> 'vibration', <i>londa</i> 'round', <i>lödre</i> 'silt', <i>luwırdı</i> 'sway', <i>lükke</i> 'major'	<i>da:laq</i> , <i>mele</i> 'camel', <i>dilik</i> 'slice', <i>ğılıq</i> 'temper', <i>dolaq</i> 'screw', <i>do:lı</i> 'full', <i>duluq</i> 'fase', <i>ğulan</i> 'mule'	<i>ğolça</i> 'jug', <i>tilki</i> 'fox', <i>ya:ğlıq</i> 'handkerchief', <i>mulqı</i> 'flabby'	<i>yal</i> 'mane', <i>yıl</i> 'year', <i>dil</i> XD 'tongue', <i>pi:l</i> 'shovel', <i>döl</i> 'progeny', <i>kö:l</i> 'lake', <i>po:l</i> 'tin', <i>dul</i> 'widow', <i>du:l</i> 'corner house', <i>kül</i> 'ash'
/w/	<i>watan</i> Te. 'homeland', <i>waxt</i> 'time', <i>weli:</i> 'guardian', <i>wä:de</i> 'promise', <i>wi:ran</i> 'dilapidated'	<i>tarawa</i> 'Tarawih prayer', <i>ha:wa:n</i> 'mortar', <i>jüwenek</i> 'hoarfrost', <i>çuwal</i> 'sack', <i>düwik</i> 'broken', <i>hewirtge</i> 'nest', <i>hi:were</i> Yo. 'many', <i>tüwerey</i> 'tornado', <i>tuwaq</i> 'membrane',	<i>haywa:n</i> 'animal', <i>kerwen</i> 'convoy'	<i>dayaw</i> 'strong', <i>tarnaw</i> 'hod', <i>mahaw</i> 'daemon', <i>ernew</i> 'lazy, inactive', <i>lelew</i> Är. 'racket', <i>giyew</i>

		<i>düwil-</i> 'to break', <i>duwa:m</i> 'continuation', <i>jüwen</i> 'white corn', <i>tüwi</i> Te. 'rice'		'bridegroom'
[f]		<i>ğalfaq</i> 'cap', <i>ğafat</i> 'neglect', <i>ğafı</i> 'door', <i>köfik</i> 'foam'	<i>yafraq</i> 'leaf', <i>arfa</i> 'barley', <i>telfek</i> 'hat', <i>köfri</i> 'bridge'	<i>qa:f</i> 'Caucasus', <i>la:f</i> 'vainglory'
/z/	<i>zağara</i> 'one', <i>zer</i> 'gold', <i>zo:r</i> 'force', <i>zikir</i> 'recitation', <i>zi:ğır</i> 'flak', <i>ziğla-</i> 'to throw', <i>zürya:d</i> 'offsprings'	<i>azı</i> 'tooth', <i>qa:zı</i> 'judge', <i>a:zıq</i> 'food', <i>nezir</i> 'vow', <i>hä:zir</i> 'now', <i>nä:zik</i> 'thin', <i>gözel</i> 'beautiful', <i>hözi:r</i> 'reward', <i>uzaq</i> 'far away', <i>uzır</i> 'excuse', <i>uzı:n</i> 'long', <i>kü:ze</i> 'amphora'	<i>ğaznek</i> 'deep', <i>ezber</i> 'skilled', <i>mezmu:n</i> 'contents'	<i>a:z</i> 'few', <i>biz</i> 'we', <i>ğı:z</i> 'girl', <i>göz</i> 'eye', <i>kö:z</i> 'embers', <i>gü:z</i> 'autumn', <i>du:z</i> 'salt'
/s/	<i>saqba:n</i> 'guard', <i>sa:rı</i> 'yellow', <i>sene</i> 'date', <i>sä:gin-</i> 'to delay', <i>soqı</i> 'pounder', <i>sığır</i> 'cattle', <i>so:rağ</i> 'question', <i>sök-</i> 'undo', <i>sullay-</i> 'to wither', <i>su:</i> 'water', <i>sök:k-</i> 'to beshrew', <i>süri</i> 'herd', <i>sü:ri</i> 'elliptical'	<i>qasam</i> 'oath', <i>kese</i> 'horizontal', <i>kä:se</i> 'bowl', <i>ğısır</i> 'barren', <i>kö:se</i> 'thin-bearded', <i>ösgün</i> 'grown', <i>ki:se</i> 'pocket', <i>kü:se-</i> 'to will'	<i>qast</i> 'oath', <i>ast</i> 'under', <i>qıst</i> 'installment', <i>üst</i> 'upside'	<i>na:s</i> 'snuff', <i>bars</i> 'tiger', <i>ters</i> 'stubborn', <i>mi:s</i> 'copper', <i>burs</i> 'stipend'
/š/	<i>šar</i> 'squint', <i>ša:d</i> 'happy', <i>šeker</i> 'sugar', <i>šä:nik</i> 'kernel', <i>šıbaq</i> '(a kind of desert bush)', <i>ši:r</i> 'lion', <i>šol</i> 'that', <i>šo:r</i> 'saline', <i>šöhle</i> 'flare', <i>šu</i> 'this', <i>šu:la-</i> 'to whistle (wind)', <i>šülle</i> '(a dish made of rice', <i>šü:le</i> 'such'	<i>ya:šıl</i> 'green', <i>deşik</i> 'hole', <i>kä:šır</i> 'carrot', <i>giši</i> Yo. 'person', <i>ğošun</i> 'division', <i>ğı:şıq</i> 'crooked', <i>düşek</i> 'carpeting'	<i>a:şıq</i> 'lover', <i>işda:n</i> 'breeches', <i>di:šleme</i> 'bonbon'	<i>aš</i> 'noodles', <i>ğa:š</i> 'eyebrows', <i>geješ</i> 'consultation', <i>yeyiš</i> 'victory', <i>i:š</i> 'work', <i>ğıš</i> 'winter', <i>di:š</i> 'tooth', <i>ğuş</i> 'bird', <i>dü:š</i> 'dream'
/ž/	—	<i>aždar</i> Te. 'dragon', <i>hažžıq</i> 'lizard', <i>ežderha:</i> Är. 'dragon', <i>mežnu:n</i> 'lunatic', <i>wižda:n</i> 'conscience', <i>mižıq</i> Te. 'wet'	—	<i>pež</i> 'heater', <i>gež</i> 'chalk'

/y/	<i>yarağ</i> 'weapon', <i>yabı</i> 'workhorse', <i>ya:n</i> 'side', <i>yegen</i> 'nephew', <i>yigit</i> 'young man', <i>yi:ti</i> Mu. 'sharp', <i>yıl</i> 'year', <i>yorğan</i> 'quilt', <i>yoğın</i> 'thick', <i>yo:l</i> 'way', <i>yöriş</i> 'march', <i>yö:rme</i> '(a kind of food)', <i>yu:luq</i> 'grandson', <i>yük</i> 'load'	<i>aya:l</i> 'woman', <i>ayı</i> 'bear', <i>iyer</i> Te. 'saddle'	<i>taylaq</i> 'camel foal', <i>ğaymaq</i> 'cream', <i>o:yluq</i> 'shepherd's robe', <i>uyluq</i> 'thigh'	<i>tay</i> 'colt', <i>torğay</i> 'lark', <i>a:y</i> 'month', <i>tey</i> Mu. 'basis, bottom', <i>toy</i> 'wedding party', <i>o:y</i> 'thought', <i>üy</i> 'home'
/x/	<i>xal</i> 'spot', <i>xa:n</i> 'khan', <i>xorjin</i> 'carpetbag', <i>xo:r</i> Är. 'debased' Te. 'thin', <i>xırš</i> 'itching', <i>xı:la</i> 'stick used for animals' <i>xum</i> 'jar', <i>xurma</i> 'date'	<i>paxal</i> 'straw', <i>saxı:</i> 'generous', <i>paxı:r</i> 'needy', <i>a:xır</i> 'stable', <i>a:xu:n</i> 'mullah', <i>u:xı</i> Är. 'sleep'	<i>axla:q</i> 'morality', <i>axmı:r</i> 'revenge', <i>axtıq</i> 'grandchild', <i>maxtan-</i> 'to boast', <i>axdar-</i> 'to search'	<i>čarx</i> 'wheel', <i>nırx</i> 'price', <i>sı:x</i> 'skewer', <i>ğo:x</i> Te. 'jungle'
/č/	<i>čaq</i> 'conjecture', <i>ča:l</i> 'senescent', <i>čalim</i> 'mean', <i>čerim</i> 'leather', <i>čä:k</i> 'rift', <i>čig-</i> 'to clench', <i>či:š</i> 'edema', <i>čızıq</i> Te. 'scrape', <i>či:ğ</i> 'moist', <i>čola</i> 'covered', <i>čoluq</i> 'helper of shepherd', <i>čo:rı</i> 'bondswoman', <i>čöl</i> 'wild land', <i>čö:r</i> 'sheep excrement', <i>čuwal</i> 'sack', <i>ču:luq</i> 'great-grandchild', <i>ču:ğla-</i> 'to bunch', <i>čüm-</i> 'to sink', <i>čü:rik</i> 'addle', <i>čü:re-</i> 'to rot'	<i>pačaq</i> 'melon skin', <i>ğaçır</i> 'mule', <i>beče</i> Mu. 'child', <i>miče</i> 'meat', <i>pičaq</i> 'knife', <i>geči</i> 'goat', <i>köče</i> 'alley', <i>ğočağ</i> Sa. 'big', <i>nu:ča</i> 'tall man'	<i>mečji:d</i> 'mosque', <i>müčber</i> 'size', <i>ni:čge</i> .Är 'thin', <i>zerče</i> 'sparrow', <i>ğurčıq</i> 'larva'	<i>ağaç</i> Är. 'wood' Te. 'tree', <i>artıqmaç</i> 'extra', <i>göç</i> 'migration', <i>ğoç</i> 'ram', <i>gi:č</i> 'late', <i>di:nč</i> 'assured', <i>pu:č</i> 'nil', <i>gü:č</i> 'power'
/h/	<i>haray</i> 'aid', <i>ha:l</i> 'carpet', <i>heley</i> 'woman', <i>hä:li</i> 'now', <i>hille</i> 'difficulty', <i>hi:le</i> 'ruse', <i>hi:č</i> 'nothing', <i>hur</i> 'slit', <i>hu:n</i> 'lair', <i>horaz</i> 'rooster', <i>ho:z</i> 'walnut', <i>hözi:r</i> 'reward', <i>hö:l</i> 'soggy', <i>hürri</i> 'stray', <i>hü:r</i> 'paradise virgin', <i>hü:t</i> 'Pisces'	<i>nahar</i> 'meal', <i>nehir</i> 'riverbed', <i>na:hıya</i> 'disrict', <i>leheğ</i> 'whale', <i>zehi:n</i> 'mind', <i>jöhü:d</i> 'jew', <i>ji:hu:n</i> 'mad', <i>muhu:t</i> 'environment'	<i>lehje</i> 'dialect', <i>mehrem</i> 'intimate', <i>mehnet</i> 'toil'	<i>beh!</i> (Te. Yo. Yem.) 'wow!'

The distributional features shown on Table 2-5 generally relate to all Afghan Turkmen dialects. In the phonetic realization and allophonic rules, however, there is some variation in detail. These features will be discussed in the respective subchapters following below.

#### 4.5.1 Stops / plosives

##### A. The voiced bilabial plosive /b/

(a) /b/ in initial position:

(i) The voiced bilabial /b/ most frequently occurs in the word-initial position, where it can precede all vowel phonemes (see Table 2-5). In some single lexemes, there is dialect difference in the occurrence of this initial /b/, against /m/ in the correlate: Te. *büdre-* vs. Är. *müd(i)re-* 'to stumble'; Är. *onjuq-bunjuq* vs. Te. *onjuq-munjuq* 'whim-wham'.

(ii) In the Teke dialect, initial [b] in some copied and native lexemes occurs as a result of the voicing of initial /p/, while the Ärsa:rı dialect preserves initial [p] in these lexemes:

- *siziñ ya:ğdan berhi:ziñiz barmı?* (Te. 16)  
Are you on a fat diet?
- *men elli ya:şdan geçennen soñ ya:ğlı nä:rseden perhi:z edip başladım.* (Är. 24)  
After I passed my fiftieth year I started keeping a diet from fat things.
- *Tilla: araq içse derrew barıp bi:nisine yetya:rda soñ dä:lerip başlaya:r.* (Te. 3)  
If Tilla drinks alcohol, (the drink) immediately goes into his brains and he starts making bullshit.
- *a:damıñ hemme paa:liyetleri pi:nisine bağı, pi:ni ğorjansa soñ o a:dam sağılmıyo:r.* (Är. 18)  
All activities of a person depend on his brains, if the brains are shaken then a man will not recover.

(b) /b/ in intervocalic position:

(i) In the Ärsa:rı, Sa:rıq, Teke and Yomut dialects the bilabial stop /b/ in intervocalic position may undergo affricativization > [b̥] This happens in single dissyllabic lexemes as well as in connected speech. [b̥] is a bilabial affricate with a tendency towards labio-dentalization, realized between [b] and [v]. The phenomenon, however, is to be regarded as spontaneous and occasional, depending on (quick) tempi of speech and (low) degree of formality, rather than being subject to general rule. There are many cases of non-affricativization in analogous positions.

- *öten yıl-am çölde ot bolmadı, qu:saça ö:dip-bö:dip çölde saqladıq, soñ ğoyunları o:b̥a: alıq geldik.* (Är. 12)  
Last year in the steppe there was no grass. Somehow we kept the sheep in the steppe until the Sagittarius month, then we took the sheep (home) to the village.
- *derya:nıñ su:wı añrı gidende bä:ri tarapda kö:l köp bolyo:r, soñ biz ba:lıqları ğarba:p tutubalyo:rs.* (Är. 39)  
When the river water retreats to over there, many puddles are on this side, then we catch the fish.



- o zama:nlarda mekteblerde jeza: köpdi, oğlanlar sapağı bilmese **çı:bıqla:p** urardılar. (Sa. 4)  
In those times in school there was a lot of punishment; if the boys didn't know the lesson, they would beat them with whipping rods.
- oson gö:kbö:ri **di:h-em** bir za:dı ba:r ekeni. (Sa. 3)  
And then they have a thing called *gö:kbö:ri*.
- **yabı** indi erkek yorğa ata aydılya:, asıla: bedew di:meli. (Te. 1)  
Now *yabı* is said to a male pacesetter horse; actually one should call it *bedew*.
- şükir xuda:ya: hä:zir şul göreş çıqıp **gidib** otı:r. (Te. 2)  
Thank God now this wrestling has come up and is going on.
- İndi gi:ç bollı, **gidiboturmaq!** (Yo. 3)  
It's become late now, don't leave!
- köp ğa:r **yağberse** ol ğoyunları i:qra:q yere eltmeli. (Är. 12)  
If it snows a lot (we) need to take these sheep to an awning place.
- **tapıaldım.** (Sa. 1)  
I have found (it).
- **alberiq!** palaw ğawı bolıpdır. (Yo. 1)  
Help yourself! The pilaff is delicious.

(ii) Affricativization can also occur with /b/ in a syllable onset position following the liquid /r/ or /l/ in the coda of the preceding syllable, both in dissyllabic lexemes and in connected speech.

- soñ biz ba:lıqları **ğarba:p** tutubalyo:rs. (Är. 39)  
Then we catch the fish.
- **ba:r bol!** (Är.)  
(Standard response to *ha:rma!* 'don't get weary', which is used as a greeting and wish to people at work.)
- köp aya:llar doqma:nıñ üstinde sı:l **kesel bollı.** (Yo. 2)  
Many women have become ill over the carpet.

(ii) In the Muqri dialect, intervocalic /b/ may undergo fricativization > [w]. This happens in dissyllabic lexemes as well as in connected speech. The phenomenon is to be regarded as spontaneous rather than as being subject to general rule.

- **a:ba:d** > hä:, **awad** bolmaqıñ üstine baryo:da, yu:sañ a:t awad bolmalı. (Mu. 2)  
Yes, (this) has to do with becoming well-bred, if you wash it the horse becomes well-bred.
- **zeba:n, ba:ba** > bolmasa payz qaryada:r bilen **zewa:nımız** bir, bizler a:ta-  
**ba:walarmız** bir yerde bola:n. (Mu. 1)  
Otherwise our language is the same as (lit. with) Payz Qaryada:r's, our forefathers had been together.
- ö:z tilinizde **aytweriq.** (Mu. 1)  
Say (it) in your own language!

(c) /b/ in final position:

(i) In the coda of native single lexemes voiced /b/ does not occur.

(ii) In the coda of copied lexemes /b/ may preserve its voicing but may also be devoiced > [p]. Preservation of voicing appears to be characteristic of "careful" or "educated" speech: *sa:hib* (Är. 2) ~ *sa:yıp* (Är. 17) 'Sir'; *ğari:b* (Är. 38) ~ *ğarı:p* 'poor'; *hara:p* (Te. Yo.) ~ *xara:b* (Är. Sa.) 'destroyed'; *hasa:p* (Är.) ~ *hasa:b* (Är.) 'account'.

(d) /b/ in consonant clusters:

(i) /b/ as first or subsequent element of a consonant cluster does not occur in word- or syllable-initial position.

(ii) As an element of consonant clusters in syllable or word boundaries, /b/ does not lose voice if following an unvoiced plosive (e.g. /q/, /k/, /p/).

- **bıl a:q balıqları** a:mıderya:nıñ ba:lığa: di:yo:rlar, yö:ne bılar pā:kista:nnan gelyo:r. (Är. 11)  
They call these white fish Amu Darya fish, but they come from Pakistan.
- yö:ne şipilleki hä:zir türkmençe kepleya:n **xalq ba:r** bolsa inha, bolar türkmenista:nnan göçip baran. (Te. 2)  
But if today there are (at all) people who speak Turkmen, these (pers.), these have migrated from Turkmenistan.
- **Ekber** A:ğa da şirketiniñ depterini kipa:yat markitde görşadı. (Är. 22)  
Ekber A:ğa constructed the office of his company in the Kipa:yat market.
- oson **gö:kbö:ri** di:hem bir za:dı ba:r ekeni. (Sa. 3)  
Then they have a thing called *gö:kbö:ri*.
- Bermezi:d de Tekeler bir **topbaq** otı:rlar, amma: şehirde bul ya:lı дә:l. (Te. 3)  
In Bermezi:d the Teke live (as) one compact group, but in town it is not like that.
- pa:l:za **kepbe** tıkdik. (Yo. 1)  
`We constructed a makeshift shelter in the gourd field.
- millet müttehiden berilen buğdayni hem ketdeler özleri taqsı:m qıldılar, bir **hepbesi**-hem merdimge birilmedi. (Mu.1)
- The powerful ones distributed all of the wheat which was aided by United Nations among themselves; not one grain of it was given to the commoners.

(e) Assimilation of /b/ :

In dissyllabic lexemes, clusters of nasals /m/, /n/ + /b/ are assimilated into [mm] : *qammar* 'Qanbar (n.pr.)' < pers. *qanbar*; *imisim boldı* 'he became quiet' > *imisimmoldı*; *ammar* 'storehouse' < pers. *anbar*. This assimilation does not occur in connected speech.

(f) Dissimilation of /b/ :

(i) Dissimilation of geminated /b/ occurs in some copied lexemes only; the first [b] is devoiced into [p]. The phenomenon can be observed in all dialects.

- šo waxtlar qomanda:nlar hayrata:nnan köp buğday daşadılar, yö:ne oniñ bir **hepbes-ä:m** esgere yetmedi. (Är. 14) < pers. *hebbe*  
In those times the commanders carried along much wheat from (the border station of) Hayrata:n, but not a single grain of it got available to the soldiers.

(ii) Dissimilation can follow a more complicated pattern. In some dissyllabic lexemes [b] occurs as result of "secondary" dissimilation of an original /p/+m/ cluster, which had first been assimilated into \*[pp]: *topmaq* > \**toppaq* > *topbaq* (Är.) 'bunch' (compare Clauson 1972:137 *tobik* < *tob*).

## B. The voiceless bilabial plosive /p/

### (a) Occurrence

(i) The voiceless bilabial plosive /p/ can occur in all positions: *palçiq* 'clay', *ğapı* 'door', *kepder* 'pigeon', *sap* 'handgrip'. However, it does not very frequently occur in the initial position of native lexemes.

(ii) /p/ often occurs in allophonic variation with [f], particularly in intervocalic position and in the vicinity of the liquid /r/. Examples: *ğapı* 'door' ~ *ğafi*, *topraq* 'soil' ~ *tofrağ*, *köpri* 'bridge' ~ *köfri*, *ğopar-* 'to break (sth.) loose' ~ *ğofar-*.

### (b) /p/ in intervocalic position

If a suffix with vowel in the onset follows the final /p/ of a monosyllabic long-vowel lexeme or a dissyllabic lexeme with long vowel in the second syllable, /p/ is regularly realized as [b] or [β]. Examples: *ğa:p* 'sack' + 3POSS > *ğa:βı* ~ *ğa:bı*; *ya:p* 'canal' > *ya:βı*; *yi:p* 'thread' > *yi:βı*; *dü:p* 'bottom' > *dü:βı* ~ *dü:bı*; *hasa:p* 'account' > *hasa:βı*.

### (c) /p/ in consonant clusters

(i) Geminated /pp/ often has its second [p] dissimilated into voiced [b] : *toppaq* 'round' ~ *topbaq*, *keppe* 'dust cover' ~ *kepbe*.

(ii) In the postverbal construction *-Ip gel-* the [pg] cluster at the word boundary is in the Är. dialect mostly dissimilated into [qg] :

- *ba:lıǵı hayrata:nnan alıq geldik.* (Är.25)  
We brought the fish from Hayratan.

(iii) In copied lexemes with original /f/, [p] can occur as part of consonant clusters in the coda position: *sinp* ~ *sımp* 'class, grade' < pers. *sinf*.

## C. The voiced alveolar plosive /d/

(a) In the Afghan Turkmen dialects, the voiced alveolar plosive /d/ occurs in all positions, but between the dialects there is quite some difference in the details of occurrence. In all dialects, final [d] occurs much less frequently than /d/ in initial or intervocalic position.

### (b) /d/ ~ /t/ difference among the dialects

(i) In some lexemes that have initial /d/ in the Teke and Yomut dialects, the Ärsa:rı dialect has voiceless /t/ instead: Te. *dö:rt* 'four', *doqız* 'nine', *doğsan* 'ninety', *dart-* 'to pull', *dartğınlı*

'disaster', *du:ča* 'sour', *dik-* 'to sow' etc. as opposed to Är. Sa. ND *tö:rt*, *toqğız*, *toğsan*, *tart-*, *tartğınlı*, *tu:ča*, *tik-*.

(ii) On the other hand, there are very few lexemes which in the Ärsa:rı dialect have word- or syllable-initial /d/ while having initial /t/ in the Teke dialect: Är. *digir* 'wheel' vs. Te. *tigir* 'id.'; Är. *pındıq* 'bloom' vs. Te. *pıntıq* 'id.'.

(iii) In the *nāxāliš* dialects voiced /d/ generally occurs much less frequently than in the *xāliš* dialects: Mu. *tep-* 'to kick' (vs. *dep-*), *tişle-* 'to bite' (*di:şle-*), *til* 'tongue' (*dil*), *tilet-* 'to summon' (*dilet-*), *teşik* 'hole; full of holes' (*deşik*); Ba. *ayt-* 'to say' (*ayd-*).

(iv) In consonant clusters in which /d/ precedes or follows the approximate /y/, the *nāxāliš* dialects frequently have [t], while [d] is dominant in the *xāliš* dialects.

Examples: *git-* 'to go' (*gid-*), *ğayt-* 'come back' (*ğayd-*)

- **aytiberiñ** hajı ba:ba, bu kişi biziñ lehjelerimizi u:renyo:r eken. (Ba. 4)  
Tell (us), Hajı Ba:ba, this person seems to be learning our dialect?
- Siz so:rañ! men **aydıbereyin**. (Är.48)  
You ask! I will answer.
- bizlerden pul almyo:r, kä:sisi şınya:nı **algityo:r**. (Xa. 2)  
(They) don't take money from us, some of them take (us) along just like that.
- başqa yerlere-de ha:lı:nı Aqçadan **aligidyo:rlar**. (Mu. 3)  
They also take the carpets from Aqça to other places.

(c) Assimilation of /d/

(i) In the Ärsa:rı and ND dialects, in consonant clusters of a voiceless obstruent + /d/, the latter is generally devoiced.

- men İstambu:l'da bir köfri ba:r-dır **diyiptim** (Är. 17)  
I had said, in Istanbul there is one bridge.
- iki künde ta:ğdan **aştı**. (Mu. 4)  
He crossed the mountain in two days.
- tonıma ya:ğ **tökti**. (Ba. 2)  
She poured oil on my cloak.
- **saçtan** tutma! (Är. 41)  
Do not pull (my) hair!

(ii) In the XD dialects, consonant clusters /md/ and /nd/ (mostly as a result of suffixation of ABL *-dAn*, but not of LOC *-dA*) are often assimilated into [mn] and [nn], respectively.

- men **bilenimnen** bā:rā: andxoyda küçük oruş bolyo:r. (Är. 10)  
Ever since I remember (lit. know) there have been dogfights in Andxoy.
- bıl **mennen** na:n dilemä:ne gelyo:r-eken (Är. 2)  
She is coming in order to demand bread from me.
- **mennen** ayb etmä:ñ! (Te. 10)  
Do not blame me!
- **mennen**, siz qaysı **qawmnan** bolyo:rsıñız diyip so:radı. (Är. 7)  
He/she asked me, "From which qawm are you?"

- šu qomanda:nlar **çiqannan** bā:ri ri:šsepi:dleriñ ıxtıya:rı yo:q. (Sa. 3)  
Since these commanders have appeared, the elders have no agency any more.
- sadaqa qabır **aza:binnan** ğotararmıš adamı. (Är. 38)  
Alms(-giving) is said to rescue man from the tortures of the grave.

(iii) In the Yomut and Teke dialects, clusters of /l/ + /d/ are often assimilated into [ll].

- köp aya:llar doqma:nıñ üstinde sı:l kesel **bolllı**. (Yo. 2)  
Many women have become sick (with) tuberculosis over the carpet.
- qa:qañ **gellimi?** (Te. 19)  
Has your father come?

(d) /d/ in consonant clusters

In consonant clusters, [d] which follows the voiceless bilabial obstruent [p] occurs as a result of dissimilation from [t] : *hepde* 'week' < \**hepte* < pers. *hafta*, *šepda:lı* Är. 'peach' > pers. *šaftālū*.

(e) /d/ in final position

(i) Final /d/ in native monosyllabic lexemes in isolated pronunciation is mostly, though not necessarily, devoiced into [t] : *a:t* 'name' (~ *a:d*), XD; but *ö:d* 'bile' (~ *ö:t* 'id. '); *a:rt-* 'to walk' (~ *a:rd* 'id.').

(ii) Final /d/ in copied lexemes is in all dialects often devoiced into [t]; the original voiced quality is preserved only in hypercorrect pronunciation. (In that, the Turkmen dialects actually conform to the rules governing the languages from which these lexemes are copied.) Examples: *mira:d* 'desire' (~ *mira:t*), *gerd* 'dust' (~ *gert*), *dert* 'pain' (~ *derd*), *mert* 'gentleman' (~ *merd*), Är. *jo:mart* 'chivalruos' ~ Te *joma:rt* < pers. *juwānmard*.

## D. The voiceless alveolar plosive /t/

(a) In the Afghan Turkmen dialects, /t/ occurs in all positions.

(b) /t/ in intervocalic position

(i) If a native monosyllabic long-vowel stem is supplemented by a suffix with a vowel in the onset, /t/ is regularly voiced into [d]. This phenomenon pertains to all dialects.

- **a:t** > **a:dı(m)** meniñ **a:dım** ahmedša: bolyä:, qa:qa:mıñ **a:dı** abdilleti:p. (Te. 14)  
My name is Ahmedša:, my father's name is Abdilleti:p.
- **yu:t-** > **yu:dar** säla:m haqımı bermedik bolsañ seni iki uzup bir ağızda **yu:dartım**. (Är. 42)  
If you had not given me the greetings I deserve, I would have torn you (into) two (pieces) and swallowed you in one mouthful.
- **ğu:rt** > «**ğu:rdı** ağızasañ – ğu:rt geler» diyip dirler. (Sa. 4)  
They say, "If you mention the wolf, the wolf will come".

This rule can also be extended to copied monosyllabic lexemes with long vowel and a /t/ in the coda:

- **za:t** (< pers. *zāt*) > **za:dıñızı** waxtında beriñ! (Är. 6)  
Hand in your belongings at the right time!

The phenomenon can also occur with dissyllabic native lexemes whose second vowel is long; the exact rules governing this phenomenon have not yet been established.

- **murut** > **muri:t** > saqğal-**mırı:dımızı** sı:rıp gitdi. (Är. 14)  
He shaved our beards and moustaches.

(ii) The /t/ in the coda of the short-vowel verbal stems *et-* 'to do' and *git-* 'to go' is also regularly voiced into [d] when a suffix with initial vowel is agglutinated.

- geda:yçılıq **edere** de xarjı gerek, onda-da şı zama:nda ġı:mıldasañ pul gerek. (Är. 10)  
Even in order to (live) as a beggar some expenses are necessary; if today you (only as much as) move, money is necessary.
- men gi:jä: ġa:lma:n **gideyin** di:se, du: bolyo:r gel diyipdir. (Är. 42)  
When (he) said, I won't stay (over) night but move on, the *du:*<sup>130</sup> said, all right, come on!

(iii) If a suffix with initial vowel or approximate /y/ is added to a dissyllabic verbal stem with /t/ in the coda, the consonant is voiced into [d] :

- **yarat-** > bizi **yaradan** alla:taa:la: rişğalmız-a:m be:r. (Yo. 1)  
God Almighty is (the one who) has created us; he will give us our daily bread, too.

(c) /t/ in consonant clusters

(i) If a suffix with initial vowel is added to a verbal stem with a coda consonant cluster of a liquid /l/ or /r/ + /t/, the latter /t/ is voiced into [d]: *sağalt-* 'to heal' + AOR > *sağaldar*; *olalt-* 'to make sth. big' + AOR > *olaldar*, *sa:rart-* 'to make sth. yellow' + AOR > *sa:rardar*.

- şu dā:rileri i:señiz sizi ti:z **sağaldar**. (Är.35)  
If you eat this medicine, it will quickly make you (feel) better.
- hawwa iki gün ıssı bolsa gülleri **sa:rardar**. (Är.)  
If the weather becomes hot, it will make the flowers wither in two days.

(ii) Voiceless /t/ in the coda of a dissyllabic stem is voiced into [d] if followed by a suffix with a liquid or the approximate /y/ in the onset: *ğo:rit-* 'to dry' + PART > *ğo:ridya:n*; *erbet* 'fine' + COMP > *erbedrā:k*.

(iii) Clusters of a sibilant + /t/ in word-final position, which occur in copied lexemes, often lose their [t] element in non-elevated speech. Examples: *gö:št* ~ *gö:ş* 'meat' < pers. *gōšt*; *dürüst* ~ *dürüs* 'correct' < pers. *durust*.

(d) Dissimilation of /t/

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<sup>130</sup> *du:* < pers. *de:w* is a harmful spirit in the shape of an oversize human being.

In clusters of a voiceless obstruent + /t/, the latter can (but need not necessarily) be voiced into [d]: *ketdelik* ~ *kettelik* '(big) size', *mektep* ~ *mekdep* 'school', *hepde* ~ *hepte* 'week'.

## E. The voiced velar plosive /g/

### (a) Occurrence of /g/

(i) In all Afghan Turkmen dialects, in native stems the voiced velar plosive /g/ occurs almost exclusively in the word-initial position of front-vowel lexemes: *gerek* 'necessary', *gä:r* 'dirty', *gila:s* 'glass', *gi:m* Är. 'clothing', *göreç* 'pupil', *gö:k* 'blue', *gül* 'flower', *gü:ç* 'power'.

(ii) As a result of dissimilation of geminated /kk/ of some single lexemes, the coda element of the geminated cluster is realized as [g]: *sekgiz* 'eight' (Är. Sa.) < *sekkiz* (which coexists in the ND dialects); *čekge* 'temple' (Är.) < *čekke* (which coexists in the ND dialects).

- saat **sekgiz** ya:rım bolanda siz üyden çiqıñ (Är. 3)  
Leave home when it is eight o'clock!
- ol **sekgiz** diyende u:xıdan oyandı. (Sa. 1)  
At eight o'clock he woke up from sleep.
- toy **sekkiz** bajede başlanadı. (Mu. 3)  
The wedding begins at eight o'clock.

(iii) In copied lexemes, /g/ can be preserved in all positions, especially in the speech of educated and/or urban speakers. There is, however, in all non-initial positions a tendency towards either devoicing or affricativization.

### (b) /g/ ~ /k/ variation among the dialects

(i) In some single lexemes the Afghan Turkmen dialects are at variation in the voiced ~ voiceless quality of the initial /k/g/ consonant. There is, however, no simple rule governing this distribution.

(ii) In the *nāxālis* dialects, in single lexemes this initial consonant is represented as /k/ while in the *xāliš* dialects it is /g/: *kel-* 'to come' ND vs. *gel-* XD.

(iii) In some lexemes the Ärsa:rı dialect has initial /g/ while all others have /k/: *giši* (Är.) vs. *kiši* (Te. and ND) 'person'.

(iv) In some lexemes the Teke dialect has initial /g/ while the Ärsa:rı and ND dialects have /k/: *gü:jük* (Te. Yo.) ~ *küçük* (Är. ND) 'dog'.

### (c) Affricativization of /g/

In the final position of native lexemes and in consonant clusters, /g/ is generally realized as [g̟]; this affricativization can also occur in post-long-vowel position of /g/ : *beğ* 'lord', *bergi* 'debt', *eğlen-* 'to linger'.

### (d) Devoicing of /g/

In isolated lexemes of the Teke dialect, the devoicing of initial /g/ has been observed. The phenomenon might occur on an idiolectal basis only; further investigation is necessary.

- türkmençe **kepleya:n** xalq ba:r bolsa (Te. 2) < pers. *gep* 'word' if there are people who speak Turkmen

## F. The voiceless velar plosive /k/

The voiceless velar plosive /k/ can in native lexemes occur in all positions of front-vowel words.

### (a) /k/ in initial position

In some native lexemes, the ND dialects have initial voiceless /k/ whereas the XD dialects have voiced /g/. Examples: ND dialects: *kel-* 'to come' ~ XD *gel-* 'id.'; ND: *kiiyin-* 'to don' ~ *giyin-* XD; *kir-* 'to enter' ~ XD *gi:r-*.

### (b) /k/ in intervocalic position

(i) /k/ in intervocalic position of nominal and verbal stems occurs in all Afghan Turkmen dialects.

(ii) In secondary intervocalic position, caused by the agglutination of a derivational or morphological syllable with a vowel in the onset, stem-final /k/ of a long-vowel stem is replaced by [g]; with short-vowel stems, no changes occur. Examples: *sö:k-* 'to undo' > *sö:gil-* 'to be undone'; but *dök-* 'to spill' > *dökij;* *dökil-* 'to be spilled' > *dökildi*.

### (c) /k/ in final position

(i) /k/ in the final position of long-vowel monosyllabic native nominal stems and in long-vowel monosyllabic copied lexemes is generally voiced into [g] when a suffix with initial vowel is added. Examples: *gö:k* 'sky' + DIR > *gö:ge;* *i:k* 'spindle' + 1PPOSS > *i:gim;* *čä:k* 'riff' (< pers. *čäk*) + 1PPOSS > *čä:gi*.

(ii) In the *xälis* dialects, final /k/ of polysyllabic words (native or copied, long- or short-vowel) is regularly voiced into [g] when a suffix with initial vowel is added. Examples: Är. Te. Yo. Sa. *tü:dik* 'flute' + 1PPOSS > *tü:digim;* Är. Te. Yo. Sa. *bi:rik-* 'to gather' + PART + LOC > *bi:riğende* 'when (they) gather', *gö:bek* 'navel' + 3PPOSS > *göbeği;* *perek* 'feather' (< pers. *per*) + 3PPOSS > *pereği*. In the ND dialects in all these cases [k] doesn't change.

### (d) /k/ in consonant clusters

(i) In clusters of /k/ + the comparative suffix *-rä:k*, the Teke, Yomut and Yemreli dialects have voicing into [g], while in the Ärsa:rı and Sa:rıq dialects [k] is preserved under these circumstances. Examples: *gö:k* 'blue' + COMP *-rA:Q* > Te. *gö:grä:k* vs. Är. *gö:krä:k* 'somehow bluish'; *biyik* 'tall' > Te. *biyigrä:k* vs. Är. *biyikrä:k* 'fairly tall'.

(ii) Voicing and affricativization /k/ > [g] in the onset of secondary clusters is in the Teke dialect generally a more frequent phenomenon. It has, along with what has been described



above in (i), been observed in the case of polysyllabic stems supplemented with the suffixes *-yä:n* (participle) and *-yä:r* (intraterminal), both of which have the approximant /y/ in the onset; with the future participle *-jek* and diminutive *-jik*, which both have the voiced affricate /j/ in the onset; and also with *-di* (simple past). The rules determining this change need as yet to be fully determined. The phenomenon does not occur in the other dialects. Examples: *gi:jik-* 'to be delayed' > Te. *gi:jiğyä:r* 'he is delayed' vs. Är. *gi:jikyo:r* 'id.'; *bi:rik-* 'to unite' > Te. *bi:riğyä:n* 'those who unite' vs. Är. *bi:rikyo:n*; *bi:rik-* 'id.' > Te. *bi:riğjek* vs. Är. *bi:rikjek*; *berčik-* 'to harden (intrans.)' > Te. *berčigdi* 'it stiffened' vs. Är. *berčikdi*.

(iii) In single lexemes which include geminated /kk/ clusters, the second [k] is dissimilated into [g] in the XD dialects: *sekkiz* 'eight' > *sekgiz* (while the ND dialects preserve [kk]).

- *sa:at sekgiz ya:rim bolanda* (Är. 3)  
when it was half past eight

(iv) Clusters of /k/ + /j/ are regularly avoided: When a suffix with /j/ in the onset follows a stem with /k/ in the coda, the /k/ is regularly reduced: *küčijik* 'little puppy' < *küčik* 'puppy' + DIM *-jIQ*.

## G. The voiced uvular plosive [ḡ]

(a) In the Afghan Turkmen dialects, the voiced uvular plosive [ḡ] is an allophone of /ḡ/, whose phonetic realization is very similar to the latter. While [ḡ] occurs in initial and intervocalic positions of back-vowel lexemes only, [ḡ] occurs primarily in final position and in consonant clusters as specified below in the subchapter on ḡ. This distribution is not evenly observed in all dialects, with Är., Te., Yo., Sa. and Yem. observing it more regularly while the ND dialects depict a marked preference for [ḡ] in all positions. The specifics of this distribution demand for closer investigation

(i) In the word-initial position of native back-vowel lexemes, [ḡ] is the preferred realization of /ḡ/. Examples: *ḡa:wun* 'melon', *ḡarḡa* 'crow', *ḡi:z* 'girl', *ḡiz-* 'to warm up, to rage', *ḡo:riḡma:l* 'keeper', *ḡorḡan* 'fortress', *ḡuḡaq* 'belt', *ḡuraq* 'quilt'.

(ii) [ḡ] does not regularly occur in intervocalic or final position.

(b) As a result of dissimilation of geminate /qq/ in dissyllabic native and copied lexemes, [ḡ] occurs in the coda position of the cluster: *saqḡal* 'beard', *doqḡız* 'nine', *dıqḡat* 'attention'. In the ND dialects /qq/ doesn't change: ND *saqqal*, *toqqız*, *dıqqat*.

H. The voiceless uvular plosive /q/

(a) Occurrence of /q/

(i) The voiceless uvular plosive /q/ occurs in all Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan; however, there is some variation in details of occurrence. Generally speaking, /q/ in initial position occurs much less frequently than in all other positions.

(b) /q/ in initial position

(i) In the *xāliş* dialects, initial /q/ occurs only in singular native lexemes such as *qaş* 'eyebrow', *qaq* 'dry', *qıl-* 'to make', *qorči* 'guardian', *qu:-* 'to drive away', *qorq-* Är. 'to be afraid'.

(ii) In the *nāxāliš* dialects native initial /q/ occurs much more frequently.

(iii) Initial /q/ of copied lexemes is preserved in most Afghan Turkmen dialects. In the Teke dialect, however, initial /q/ of copied lexemes is almost always voiced into [ḡ]: *qand* > Te. *ḡand* 'candis sugar'; *qadi:m* > Te. *ḡadi:m* 'antique'; *qala:* ~ Te. *ḡala:* 'fortress'. The Teke and Yomut speakers of the Herat province – obviously under the influence of the local Persian dialects – realize initial /q/ as [ḡ]; the Teke of the Balx province and of Dara-i Šāx (Fāryāb province) do not share this phenomenon.

- Türkmenleriň za:dınna **ḡadi:mkiler**, bizleňkiler üç gün toy tutılya:dı. (Te. 2)  
At the core of the Turkmens, (in) ancient (times), our (people) would celebrate feasts for three days.
- **qadi:mqı** a:damlar bizden dayaw ekeni. (Är.30)  
People of past time were stronger than us.
- bu bizniň **qadimki** üyimiz. (Mu. 3)  
This is our house of olden times.

(c) /q/ in intervocalic position

(i) Voiceless /q/ from the final position of long-vowel monosyllabic lexemes (native and copied) is regularly voiced and realized as intervocalic [ḡ] if a suffix with vowel in the onset is agglutinated: *a:q* 'white' + 3PPoss > *a:ḡı*; *ı:q* 'haven' > *ı:ḡı*; *tu:q* 'hen' + DIR > *tu:ḡa*; *hu:q* 'fool' > *hu:ḡa*.

(ii) Final voiceless /q/ of dissyllabic lexemes (again, native and copied) is regularly voiced and realized as intervocalic [ḡ] if a suffix with vowel in the onset is agglutinated: *daraq* 'comb' + 3PPOSS > *daraḡı*; *u:niq* 'grandchild' > *u:niḡı*; *a:jiq-* 'to get hungry' + PART > *a:jiḡan* 'hungry'; *da:riq-* 'to be angry' + CONV > *da:riḡıp*.

(iii) In connected speech, if vowel + /q/ in the coda of the antecedent meets an initial vowel in the following word, /q/ is voiced into [ḡ] or [g] just as described in (ii). In the ND dialects such voicing does not take place.

- **yo:q + eken** > bir ba:r eken bir **yo:ḡ eken**, qadi:m zama:nlarda bir a:damiň yetdi sa:nı oḡlı ba:r eken. (Är. 42)  
Once upon a time there was a man who had seven sons.
- **yo:q + ol** ~ **yo:q + o** > her ḡı:zımı bir oḡlıma nika: edip berdim. siziň şeri:atıñızda **yo:ḡ ol** di:di. čunki **yo:ḡ o** bizde. (Är. 2)  
She said, I gave each one of my daughters to one of my sons in marriage. This does not exist in your sharia, she said. Because that does not exist at ours.
- **dara:q + al-** > yaňı elime **dara:ḡ alıp** saçımı dara:yın diyenimde tilpu:n geldi. (Är.27)  
Just when I had taken a comb and was about to brush my hair, the phone rang.
- öten yıl a:xı:rda sawıq bolıp ba:demleri **su:ḡ urıpdı**. (Te. 1)  
Last year it was utterly cold and all almond trees were frozen and damaged.
- reyis sa:yip depteride **yoq eken**. (Xa. 4)  
The boss was not in his office.
- qawunları derrewden **sawuq urıpdı**. (Mu. 2)  
The melons were immediately frozen.

## 4.5.2 Nasals

### A. The voiced bilabial nasal /m/

#### (a) Occurrence of /m/

In the Afghan Turkmen dialects, the voiced bilabial nasal /m/ occurs in all positions. However, in native lexemes it does not often occur in the initial position.

#### (b) /m/ in consonant clusters

(i) Geminated [mm] is mostly the result of assimilation of a cluster consisting of /m/ + /b/ : *qammar* 'Qanbar (n.pr.)' < pers. *qanbar*; *ammar* 'storehouse' < *ambar*; *nimmira* (Te. 15) 'number' < pers. *nambar*.

(ii) Regressive assimilation before m exists only in ND dialects. Example: Mu. *bilip+men* > *bilimmen* 'I understood'; Ba. *körip+miz* > *körimmiz* 'we saw'; Mu. Ba *kelip+ mi?* > *kelimmi?* 'Has he come?'

(iv) Progressive assimilation of m is widespread in the ND dialects. Example: Är. *a:lımdan* ~ ND *a:lımnan* 'from the scholar'; *elimden* ~ *elimnen* 'from my hand'; *gözimden* ~ *gözimnen* 'from my eye'.

### B. The voiced palatal nasal /n/

#### (a) Occurrence of /n/

In the Afghan Turkmen dialects, the voiced palatal nasal /n/ occurs in all positions. However, aside from interrogative adjectives and pronouns derived from *nä:* , in native lexemes initial /n/ does not frequently occur.

#### (b) /n/ in consonant clusters

(i) Assimilation of n in lexemes that contain clusters has been reported from many dialects: *sandıq* 'chest' ~ *sannıĝ* (Te. 5).

(ii) If a word with /n/ in the coda position is followed by the ablative suffix *-dAn*, assimilation can lead to the realization of the [nd] cluster as [nn]. This assimilation phenomenon, which is fostered by quick speech tempi, can be observed in the XD dialects.

- bolar **türkmenista:nnan** göçip baran. (Te. 2)  
They have migrated from Turkmenistan.
- šo waxtlar qomanda:nlar **hayrata:nnan** köp buğday daşı:dılar. (Är. 14)  
In those times the commanders carried much wheat (along) from Hayratan.

With the locative suffix *-dA*, assimilation into [nn] has mostly been observed in the Teke and Yomut dialects.

- **üstinde** < bir da:ğın **üstinne** (Te. 7)  
on top of a mountain

- **içinde** < šehr **içinne** ya:šaya:lar (Te. 6)  
They live in town.
- **mende** < aytya:n za:dıñız **menne** yo:q. (Yo. 1)  
The thing that you have mentioned I do not have.

### C. The voiced velar nasal /ŋ/

(a) The voiced velar nasal /ŋ/ occurs in all positions except initial.

(i) In lexemes copied from Persian, [ŋ] is often the realization of an original /ng/- or /nğ/- cluster. Examples: *reŋ* 'color' < pers. *rang*, *čeŋel* 'claw' < pers. *čangal*.

(b) ŋ + dAn > ŋnAn :

- **daŋnan** turıq gitdik. (Är. 40)  
We got up at dawn and left.

### 4.5.3 Liquids

#### A. The palatal trill /r/

(a) Occurrence of /r/

The palatal trill /r/ does in native lexemes not occur in the initial position, while in copied lexemes, initial /l/ does occur.

(b) /r/ in initial position

In the Teke and Yomut dialects, initial /r/ of copied lexemes often causes vowel prothesis; the prothetic vowel may conform to the first syllable vowel of the lexeme, but does not necessarily do so. Examples: pers. *rādio* > Te. Yo. *iradiya*: 'radio', pers. *rōza* 'fast' > Te. Yo. *oro:za*. Another possibility to avoid initial [r] would be metathesis: pers. *rajab* '(the month of) Rajab' > Te. Yo. *erjeb*.

(c) /r/ in final position

Final /r/ can be reduced, which leads to secondary lengthening of the preceding vowel. This reduction is most typical of the Yomut dialect, where the reduction of [r] concerns for example the plural suffix, which is *-lA:* < *-lAr*, the intraterminal *-yA:* (or even *-yA*) < *-yAr*, and many others.

- **ba:r** < yašolı üyde **ba:mı**? (Är. 23)  
Is any olderman at home?
- **diyo:r** < size gelsin **diyo:lar**. (Är. 46)  
somebody ask you.
- **bolya:r** < **bolya** men šolya:lı ederin. (Yo. 1)  
Okay, I will do like that.
- **gelya:r** < dä:dem günde sađat bā:šde **gelya**. (Yo. 2)  
My father comes at five o'clock every day.

## B. The palatal liquid /l/

### (a) Occurrence of /l/

The palatal liquid /l/ in the Afghan Turkmen dialects does not occur in the initial position of native lexemes, while in copied lexemes initial /l/ occurs quite frequently. In all other positions /l/ occurs in native as well as copied lexemes.

### (b) Phoneme /l/ or allophones /l ~ ɭ/

(i) The palatal liquid /l/ is in the Turkmen dialects generally said to occur in two allophones: the lateral alveolar [l] and alveolar [ɭ]. This allophonic variation – in accordance with the rules of synharmony as described above – does in the Afghan Turkmen dialects not seem to be consistent. In the XD dialects the [ɭ] allophone appears more regularly than in the ND dialects; however, the realization of [ɭ] might even be interpreted as occurring on a more individual basis, with some individuals following it more regularly than others. Copied lexemes seem generally exempt from the allophonic variation rule. The exact rules governing allophonic alternation of [l ~ ɭ] have as yet to be determined. In this study the liquid is always transcribed as <l>.

(ii) In the Teke dialect, in clusters with the approximant /y/, the liquid is generally realized as lateral [l], regardless of back or front quality of the vowels. The other dialects do not share this phenomenon. Examples: Te. [alyä:r] 'he takes' vs. all others [aɭya:r] ~ [aɭyo:r].

(iii) In copied lexemes the allophone [ɭ] is generally not realized, but in native lexemes the allophone can be realized. Examples: *taqba* 'fool', *bat* 'honey', *tal* 'white poplar'.

### (c) /l/ in consonant clusters

(i) In clusters of /l/ + obstruent /d/, progressive assimilation leads to the realization of [ll] in the Yomut and Teke dialects.

- **boldi** > köp aya:llar doqma:nıñ üstinde sı:l kesel **bołlı**. (Yo. 2)  
Many women have become sick (with) tuberculosis over the carpet.
- **geldi** > qa:qam ağşam **gelli**. (Te.17)  
My father came at night.

(ii) In clusters of nasal /n/ + /l/, regressive assimilation can lead to the realization of [ll] in the Ärsa:rı dialect: *toqqiza čelli* (Är. 6) 'until nine' <čenli.

### (d) /l/ in initial position

Initial /l/ of copied lexemes is in educated and careful speech realized without any adaption; in less careful speech, however, the prothesis of [ɭ] can often be observed: *la:y* ~ *ɭla:y* 'clay'.

### (d) /l/ in final position

In the coda position of syllables, /l/ can be deleted. While this phenomenon occurs almost regularly in some grammatical forms of the verb *bol-* 'to be(come)' and (in the Teke dialect) in the negation particle *dä:l*, in other cases it seems to be rather situational or idiolectal.

- **bolsa** > bizler tarapda **bosa** imkä:nat yo:q. (Är. 1)  
In our region (on the other hand) there are no facilities.
- **dä:l** > elbetde pul alan **dä:** dir (Te. 3)  
He has obviously not got (any) money.

#### 4.5.4 Fricatives

##### A. The voiced bilabial fricative /w/

###### (a) Occurrence of /w/

(i) In the Afghan Turkmen dialects the voiced bilabial fricative /w/ occurs in all positions. Examples: *weten* 'homeland', *wa:li:* 'governor', *uwadan* 'beautiful', *uwir-* 'to change', *ya:ğlaw* 'rolling pin', *ya:daw* 'tired'.

(ii) In native lexemes, initial /w/ occurs only in onomatopoeic words: *wağırda-* 'to yelp', *waqırda-* 'to guffaw', *wajırda-* 'to yell', *wızırdı* '(a gentle noise)'.  
(b) Rounding of vowels in juxtaposition with /w/

(i) In the Ärsa:rı dialect, in clusters of /a+/w/, which occur primarily in copied lexemes, the vowel preceding /w/ is rounded into [u]. The original [aw] cluster is preserved only in careful educated speech. Examples: *duwa:m* ~ *dawa:m* 'continuation', *duwa:* ~ *dawa:* 'medicine', *muwla:na:* ~ *mawla:na:* '(religious title of honor)'.  
(ii) In native lexemes the /a+/w/ cluster can be rounded into [u:] and reduced into [u] : *su:-* ~ *saw-* 'to expel'; *qu:-* ~ *qaw-* 'to fend off', Te. *ğawı* 'good, well' ~ Är. *ğuwı*.

###### (c) Unrounding of vowels

In the Yomut dialect, in native lexemes which have rounded vowels in a /w/ environment these vowels can undergo unrounding. Examples: Är. *uwren-* vs. Te. Yo. *ewren-* 'to learn'; Är. *du:w-* ~ Te. Yo. *dew-* 'to break'; Är. *uwüt* ~ Yo. *ewit* 'advice'.

##### B. The voiceless labio-dental fricative [f]

(a) In the Afghan Turkmen dialects, the voiceless labio-dental fricative [f] does not have phonemic character, but is an allophone of the bilabial voiceless plosive /p/. In native lexemes it occurs only in intervocalic position. In initial or final position its occurrence is limited to lexemes copied from Persian or Arabic which are realized in consciously "correct" pronunciation (which is limited to speakers of a markedly educated background): *ğaflat* 'ignorance, carelessness' ~ *ğaplat*; *sap* 'pure(ly)' ~ *saf*; *parz* 'obligation' ~ *farz*; *hepde* 'week' ~ *hefte*; *tekli:p* 'trouble' ~ *tekli:f*; *pil* 'elephant' ~ *fi:l*; *nıpu:s* ~ *nıfu:s* 'inhabitants'; *piša:r* ~ *fiša:r* 'blood pressure'.

(b) In the Ärsa:rı dialect, intervocalic [f], or [f] preceding the sonorant /r/ in consonant clusters, correlates to /p/ of the other dialects in these positions (which also occurs in the Ärsa:rı dialect): *ğafi* 'door' ~ *ğapı*; *ğofar* 'it breaks loose' ~ *ğopar*; *tofrağ* 'soil' ~ *topraq*.

- **tapıb** ~ şarta bir a:zajıq ılay **tafi**ğ**** külcä:niñ čä:k yerine yapışdırıp dir. (Är. 42)  
He quickly found a small amount of clay and stuck it into the crack of the breadloaf.
- **köpri** ~ men istambu:lda bir **köfri** ba:rdrır diyiptim, ola:r üç **köfri** ba:r eken. (Är. 17)  
I had believed (lit. said) in Istanbul there is one bridge, (but) they are three bridges

(c) In consonant clusters, [f] of copied lexemes – which is more often than not realized as [p] – can undergo assimilation and reduction; it is not easy to tell if these processes occur in the Turkmen realm, or the copies are taken over from already reduced or assimilated forms in local Persian dialects. Examples: Te. *šetta:lı* ~ Är. *şapta:lı* 'peach' < pers. *şaftālū*; Är. *jüp* 'pair' < pers. *juft*.

### C. The voiced alveolar fricative /z/

(a) In the Afghan Turkmen dialects the voiced alveolar fricative /z/ occurs in all positions. In the initial position of native lexemes, however, it seems to occur only infrequently: *zi:ren-* 'to bewail', *ziğ-* 'to throw'.

(b) In the XD dialects /z/ can sometimes be realized as voiced interdental spirant [ð]. This spirantization occurs primarily in initial and intervowel position. Examples: *za:lim* ~ *ða:lim* 'cruel', *maza* ~ *maða* 'taste', *a:z* ~ *a:ð* 'little', *gi:z* ~ *gi:ð* 'girl'.

### D. The voiceless alveolar fricative /s/

(a) In the Afghan Turkmen dialects the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ occurs in all positions, although /s/ is generally infrequent in native lexemes.

(b) In the XD dialects /s/ can sometimes be realized as voiceless interdental spirant [θ], while the ND do not have this allophone.

### E. The voiced postalveolar fricative /ž/

(a) In the Afghan Turkmen dialects the voiced postalveolar fricative /ž/ occurs only in a few single native lexemes: *hažžıq* 'crocodile', *mižžıq* 'wettish', *ažder* 'dragon' For the time being, its phonemic character must remain uncertain.

(b) In copied lexemes [ž] is generally preserved, but can on an idiolectal basis be realized as /j/ or /z/. Examples: *müžde* 'good news' ~ *müjde*; *žanda* 'rag, flag' ~ *janda*.

### F. The voiceless postalveolar fricative /š/

(a) In the Afghan Turkmen dialects the voiceless postalveolar fricative /š/ occurs in all positions. In native lexemes, however, it rarely occurs in the initial position. The main body

of native lexemes with initial /š/ is formed by onomatopoeic words like *šaqırda-* 'to talk a lot', *šağla-* 'to rustle'.

(b) In the Ärsari dialect, syllable-final /č/ can be converted into [š] ; the exact rules governing this phenomenon cannot yet be defined. Examples: *gečsin* ~ *gešsin* 'is needs to pass'; *ğaçdim* ~ *ğaşdim* 'I ran away'; *ačdı* ~ *ašdı* 'he opened'.

### G. The voiced palatal approximant /y/

(a) In the Afghan Turkmen dialects the voiced palatal approximant /y/ occurs in all positions.

(b) Complex reduction phenomena with /y/

In the Ärsa:rı dialect complex processes of contraction occur in colloquial speech; in many of these cases the phoneme /y/ is involved. As a result of these processes vowel quality is changed, vowels undergo lengthening or shortening, and consonants are reduced or removed.

- **bü:l** yağmır köp yağdı (Är. 12) < bu yıl  
This year much rain has fallen.
- menem siz bile **gidi:nmi?** (Är. 24) < gideyinmi  
Should I also go with you?
- **nä:di:n** aydanım bolmasa! (Är. 6) < nä: edäyin?  
What shall I do if (things) don't happen (as) I said!

### H. The voiced uvular fricative /ğ/

(a) In the Afghan Turkmen dialects, the voiced uvular fricative /ğ/ occurs in allophonic variation with [g̃], whose phonetic realization is very similar to [ğ]. Some dialects (Ärsa:rı, Teke, Yomut, and Sa:rıq) appear to observe this variation more systematically than the others.

(i) In native lexemes of the Afghan Turkmen dialects /ğ/ occurs in the final and intervocalic position in back-vowel words: *da:ğ* 'mountain', *sağ* 'healthy' *čoğ-* 'ebullition' *çi:ğ* 'moist', *bu:ğ* 'steam', *tu:ğ* 'flag', *ağa* 'elder brother', *boğ-* 'to choke'.

(ii) In native lexemes /ğ/ occurs in consonant clusters together with liquids (/r/ + /ğ/ *ğarğa* 'crow'; /l/ + /ğ/, *duralğa* 'station'; /ğ/ + /r/ *doğrama* '(a kind of dish)'; /ğ/ + /l/ *dağlama* 'roast') and nasals (/ğ/ + /m/ *ğo:rığma:l* 'keeper'; /m/ + /ğ/ *tamğa* 'brand'; /n/ + /ğ/ *manğıt* '(a tribe name)', /ğ/ + /n/ *dağmıq* 'scattered', /ŋ/ + /ğ/ *aňğal* 'sickle ').

(iii) In all Afghan Turkmen dialects /ğ/ occurs in the onset of back-vowel words and syllables: *ğarğa* 'crow', *ğič* 'bottom', *ğoy-* 'to leave', *ğuzı* 'lamb'. Some Teke and Yomut speakers from Herat – most probably under influence of the local Persian dialect – do not (or not generally) realize initial /ğ/ but devoiced /q/ instead:

- **ğo:rya:n** < wılswa:lı: **qo:rya:nda** bir o:ba ba:r qalayıba:ba diyilya:., o yerde türkmenleriň köpisi ya:şaya: . (Te. 2)  
In the district of Ğo:rya:n there is a settlement called Qalayıba:ba, most of the Turkmens live there.
- **ğa:zı** < jaha:d da uršan a:dama **qa:zı** diyya:lar. (Te.18)  
Those men who fight in holy war are called *ğa:zı*.



This phenomenon does not occur with the Teke of Barmazid (Balx province), but seems to be confined to the Herat region.

(iv) In lexemes copied from Persian / Arabic, /ğ/ can occur in all positions in educated and careful speech. Example: *ğalmağal* 'noise', *ba:ğ* 'fruit garden', *nağma* 'melody', *tu:ğ* 'spear'.

(v) In the Teke and Yomut dialects, original *ʾayn* of Arabic lexemes – which is realized as a glottal stop or results in the lengthening of surrounding vowels in Persian – is in some cases realized as [ğ]. There is reason to assume that this development dates back to the pre-*muhājir* era and has taken place back in early Soviet Turkestan under the influence of Tatar intellectuals. Examples: Te. *sa:ğat* 'hour' < tat. *sağat* << arab. *sāʾat*; Te. *tağlı:m* 'teaching' < arab. *taʾlīm*; *ta:ğat* 'observance' > arab. *ṭāʾat*; *sunğat* 'art' < arab. *ṣanʾat*.

## I. The voiceless glottal fricative /h/

### (a) /h/ in initial position

In the initial position of native lexemes the voiceless glottal fricative /h/ is unevenly distributed in the dialects, with a higher frequency in the Teke dialect than in all others.

(i) The interrogative adjectives / pronouns derived from Old Turkic *qa-* have *h-* in the onset, where the Ärsa:rı and ND dialects have *q-* : Te. *haysı* 'which one?' (Clauson 1972:592 *kačan*), *hačan* 'when?' (DTS 400 *qačan*) etc. vs. Är. and ND *qaysı*, *qačan* etc.

(ii) In some single native lexemes which have initial *q* in Old Turkic, the Afghan Turkmen dialects have either *h-* or *x-* ; the Teke dialect mostly has *h-* while the Ärsa:rı and ND dialects have *x-* : OT *qan* 'lord' (DTS 417) ~ Te. *han*, Är. *xan*. (compare Clauson 1972:611 *xa:ğan*).

(iii) In some single native lexemes which have initial vowel, the Ärsarı dialect has initial *h-* , while Teke doesn't. These are for example Är. *hö:l* vs. Te. Yo. *ö:l* 'moist' (compare Khalaj *höl* in Doerfer&Tezcan 1980; OT *öl* DTS 383, Clauson 1972:124 *ö:l*); Te. *hamraq* 'dear' vs. Är. *amraq* (compare OT *amraq* DTS 42; Clauson 1972:163 *amraq*).

(iv) In copied lexemes initial [h] often results from the weakening of /x/ > [h]. This phenomenon occurs particularly frequently in the *xāliš* dialects: *halı:l* 'Halı:l (n.pr.)' < arab. *xalīl*; *hara:p* 'destroyed' < pers. *xarāb*; *ha:lıs* 'genuine' < pers. *xāliš*. However, the original /x/ may also be realized as [x], probably depending on the degree of the speaker's familiarity with the Persian original: *ha:s* ~ *xa:s* 'specific' < pers. *xāşş*; *nä:hi:li düye* 'what kind of a camel' ~ *şu xi:li tapmadıq* 'we didn't find this kind' < pers. *xīl*.

(v) [h] in copied lexemes can also be the result of the weakening of a secondary [x], which in its turn is the rendering of an original /q/ : *hatar bolip duran düyeler* 'the camels standing in row' (Är.) < pers. *qatār*. This phenomenon /q/ > [x] >> [h] occurs more frequently in the Teke dialect than in all others: Te. *dayha:nçılıq* and *dayxa:nçılıq* vs. all others *dayxa:nçılıq* 'farming' < pers. *dehqān* 'farmer'.<sup>131</sup>

### (b) /h/ in consonant clusters

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<sup>35</sup>Dihkhuda 1385:1390.

(i) *h* in the coda of a syllable which is followed by a syllable with a liquid or nasal in the onset is often reduced; this results in a lengthening of the first syllable vowel. Examples: *zöhre* > *zö:re* 'Zö:re (n.pr.f.)', *šöhlät* > *šö:lät* '(a kind of Turkmen sausage)', *töhmet* > *tö:met* 'slander'.

In singular cases, *h* in syllable-final position followed by a derivative suffix with a consonant in the onset has been observed as being either assimilated, or deleted altogether: Är. *xalla-* ~ Te. *xala-* 'to wish' < *xahla-* << pers. \**xwāh-*; *pä:lwa:n* 'wrestler, strong man' < *pehlewa:n* << pers. *pahlawān*; *sä:w* 'mistake' << pers. *sahw*.

(c) /h/ in final position

Final /h/ in copied lexemes is frequently reduced. Examples: *ısla: bolan* 'repaired' < pers. *islāh*, *sala: 'weapons'* < pers. *salāh*; *barga: 'residence'* < pers. *bārgāh*.

#### 4.5.5 Affricates

##### A. The palatal / postalveolar affricate /j/

The postalveolar affricate /j/ in the Afghan Turkmen dialects occurs in all positions.

(a) /j/ in initial position

Initial /j/ occurs in many copied lexemes (*jeza:* 'punishment', *jeyjel* 'shrubs', *jema:at* 'prayer community', *jennet* 'paradise', *ja:y* 'spot', *ja:di* 'witch', *jin* 'djin' etc.). In native lexemes, on the other hand, initial /j/ is very rare – my materials contain only a few lexemes (*jeren* 'gazelle', *jirri* 'body of a new-born karakul lamb', *jir-* Te. 'to flee').

(b) /j/ in intervocalic position

(i) In derivals of long-vowel nominal stems with /č/ in the coda, and if morphological suffixes with initial vowel are agglutinated to these, /č/ is regularly voiced and rendered as [j]; this does not happen with short-vowel stems. Examples: *a:č* 'hungry' > *a:ji-* 'grow hungry'; *u:č* 'tip' + 3PPOSS > *u:ji*, *gü:č* 'power'+ 3PPOSS > *gü:ji*.

(c) /j/ in consonant clusters

(i) In consonant clusters /j/ occurs only as second element following a nasal or liquid; most often these clusters are at syllable boundaries of dissyllabic nominal or verbal stems. Examples: *bürünj* (Är.) 'rice'; *künji* (Är.) 'sesame', *damja* XD 'drop', *ğarjı:-* (Är.) 'to mix', *aljıra-* (Te.) 'to rush up', *ğorjan-* XD 'to vary'.

(ii) In the *xālis* dialects, the ordinal suffix is regularly realized as *-InjI* (*bä:šinji* 'fifth', *yigriminji* 'twentieth' etc.). In the *nāxālis* dialects, voiceless *-InčI* can occur in variation with *-InjI*. Example: *bešinči* ~ *bešinji* 'fifth', *ikinči* 'second', *yigriminči* 'twentieth' etc.).

(iii) In copied lexemes /j/ can occur in consonant clusters of many kinds. However, in word-final position and when clustered with voiceless consonants there is a tendency towards

devoicing into [č]. Examples: *xarj* ~ *xärč* 'expenses' < pers. *xarj*; *xärčlä-* 'to spend' < pers. *xarj*; *falj* ~ *falač* 'paralytic' < arab. *falj*; *künj* ~ *künč* 'corner' < pers. *kunj*.

(d) /j/ in final position

In native lexemes /j/ occurs only unfrequently in the final position. In the XD there are only singular lexemes with a *j* in the coda: *ğaşawj* 'a handful', *ja:j* 'scot'.

Copied lexemes actually often have devoiced [č] rather than [j] in the final position even in the original; these two variants are copied into the Turkmen dialects: *kej* ~ *keč* 'slant' < pers. *kaj* ~ [kač]; *ta:j* ~ *ta:č* 'crown' < pers. *tāj* ~ [tāč].

## B. The voiceless palatal affricate /č/

The palatal voiceless affricate /č/ in the Afghan Turkmen dialects occurs in all positions.

(a) /č/ in intervocalic position:

(i) Intervocalic /č/ which is the result of agglutination of a vocalic suffix to a monosyllabic nominal stem with *č* in the coda, is preserved if the stem vowel is short: *sač* + 1.PSGPOSS > *sačim* 'my hair'; *göč* > *göčim* 'my household'; *burč* + 3.PPOSS > *burči* 'his corner', *üč* > *üči* 'three of them'.

(ii) If on the conditions of (i), however, the stem vowel is long, /č/ becomes voiced [j] : *a:č* + 3.PPOSS > *a:ji* 'the hungry one of them'; *u:č* > *u:ji* 'its apex'; *ö:č* + 1.PSGPOSS > *ö:jim* 'my revenge'; *gü:č* > *gü:jim* 'my strength'; *gi:č* 'late' > *gi:jik-* 'to come late'.

(iii) Voicing also occurs if the agglutinated suffix following a long-vocalic stem has a liquid /r/ or /l/ in the onset: *a:č* + COMP > *a:jra:q* 'somehow hungry'; *gi:č* > *gi:jrä:k* 'later'; *a:č* + PL > *a:jlar* 'the hungry ones'.

(b) /č/ in consonant clusters

Final /č/ of native stems can undergo dissimilation into [š] if followed by a suffix with a plosive /d/ or /t/ in the onset. This reduction phenomenon occurs mainly in the Ärsa:rı dialect.

- *yañı ča:rbölekden gešdik.* (Är. 3)  
We have just passed (the town of) Ča:rbölek.
- *bu tilpu:n elimnen ğašdı.* (Är. 16)  
This telephon had fallen from my hand.

(c) Secondary [č] can in the Teke dialect occur as a result of dissimilation in syllables that originally have a /š/ in the onset and in the coda position:

- *šaš-* > *čašıp* *añırqı köçeden gelip dirim.* (Te. 14)  
I have erroneously come here via the next street.

### C. The voiced velar affricate [g̊]

(a) In the Teke and Ärsa:rı dialects, voiced velar affricate [g̊] is an allophone of /g/ which occurs in the following positions:

(i) In many native lexemes with an original /g/ in the coda position, this final consonant is occasionally realized as [g̊]. Examples: XD *beğ* 'lord', XD *bezeğ* 'embellishment', XD *iğle-* 'to atrophy', Är. *ögi:-* 'to puke'.

(ii) In consonant clusters of sonorant (mostly liquid /r/ and /l/, or alveolar fricative /z/) + /g/ or vice versa, /g/ is generally realized as [g̊]. Examples: *bergi* 'debt', *i:ldirgiç* 'peg', *eğlen-* 'to tarry', *süzgiç* 'strainer'.

### E. The voiceless glottal fricative /x/

(a) Occurrence of /x/

(i) In the Afghan Turkmen dialects the voiceless glottal fricative /x/ occurs in all positions. However, it occurs in only a few native stems and can there be in allophonic variation with /q/ or /ğ/ at that. In the case of variation, it is the Ärsa:rı dialect which mostly realizes [x], while the Teke dialect prefers [ğ̊] or [q].

- gi:je **u:xlama:n** erti:reçe motar haydadı. (Är. 16)  
Without sleeping (last) night, he drove the car until the early morning.
- ağşam yağşı **u:qladığınızmi?** (Te. 19)  
Did you sleep well last night?
- hajú xalmuxammediñ yigrim bā:š **axtığı** ba:rımıš. (Är. 5)  
Hajú Xalmuxammed is said to have twenty-five grandchildren.
- xuda:ya šükür iki **ağdığım** ba:r meniñ. (Te. 10)  
Thank God, I have two grandchildren.

(ii) In some copied lexemes secondary [x] can in the XD replace original /h/ or /q/; both of these, however, are in careful and educated speech preserved in their original pronunciation. Examples: *rahma:n* ~ *raxma:n* 'merciful'; n.pr.m. < pers. *rahmān*; *ahmed* ~ *axmed* '(n.pr.m.)' < pers. *ahmad*; *farq* ~ *parx* 'difference' < pers. *farq*; *dı:xa:n* 'farmer' (Är. 3) < pers. *dehqān*.

(iii) In the Teke dialect, /x/ – whether original or secondary – is often realized as a voiced uvular fricative [ğ̊]. In monosyllabic copied lexemes which in the coda have a consonant cluster containing [ğ̊], the cluster can be opened through insertion of [ɪ]. Examples: pers. *daraxt* > Te. *darağt* 'tree'; pers. *taxt* > Te. *tağıt* 'throne'; pers. *waqt* >> *waxt* > Te. *wağıt* ~ *wağıt* 'time'; pers. *paxta* > Te. *pağta* 'cotton'.

- ġadı:m **wağıtlarda** da:ğıñ depesinde bir qala: ba:r eken. (Te. 3)  
In ancient times there was a fortress on top of the mountain.
- ġadı:m **wağıtlardan** bā:ri (Te. 13)  
since ancient times

(iv) In copied lexemes there is generally no clear differentiation between [x] and [h], which can both be the rendering of either original /x/ or /h/. The weakening of initial /x/ into [h] appears to be a regular phenomenon in the XD dialects: *ha:s* 'specific' < pers. *xāšš*; *hal:l* 'n.pr.m.' < pers. *xalīl*; *hara:p* 'destroyed' < pers. *xarāb*; *ha:lis* 'genuine' < pers. *xāliš*. In other positions both realizations are possible: [x] ~ [h]. Examples: *maslaxat etyä:rler* (Te. 6) 'they give advice' ~ *maslahat* (Är.) < pers. *mašlahat*.

#### 4.6. Phonological difference among the dialects

The Afghan Turkmen dialects do not depict difference of the phonemic inventory, but some phonemes significantly differ in occurrence. There is also difference – in some cases plain, in others ambiguous or blurred – in the effects of phonological processes. Many details are rendered in the discussion of the respective phonemes and also in the morphology chapter; here I will only discuss a few features of general relevance which are crucial for delineating the basic characteristics of the respective dialects.

##### (a) Initial \*y and \*h in native stems

The Afghan Turkmen dialects depict significant difference in the existence/non-existence and concretization of initial \*y and \*h in native stems. Due to the practicalities of my field research, I have not been able to collect full paradigms for all dialects. For the sake of documentation I have made up my mind to put down the following deficient observations all the same.

(i) The initial \*y, whose existence is today accepted by most Turkologists<sup>132</sup>, is in some Afghan Turkmen dialects preserved while in others it is deleted. The *nāxālis* dialects depict a marked tendency towards deletion, although the picture is not totally regular.

Clauson	Är.	Te.	Sa.	Yo.	Mu.	Xat.	Qar.	Gloss
yigde <sup>133</sup>	yigde				jide	jide	yigde	oleaster
yigit <sup>134</sup>	yigit	yigit	yigit	yigit	igit	igit	yigit	young man
yinčkä <sup>135</sup>	ni:čge	i:nče	i:nče	i:nče	inčge	inčge	ni:čge	delicate, thin
yip <sup>136</sup>	yip	yüp	yüp	yüp	ip	ip	üp <sup>137</sup>	string
yipek	yipek	yipek	yipek	yipek	ipek	ipek	üpek	silk
yiplik <sup>138</sup>	yiplik	yiplik	yiplik	yiplik	iplik	iplik	üplik	thread
yıla:n <sup>139</sup>	yıla:n	yıla:n	yıla:n	yıla:n	ıla:n	ıla:n	yıla:n	snake
yıldam	yıldam	yıldam	yıldam	yıldam	ıldam	ıldam	yıldam	fast
yit- <sup>140</sup>	yit-	yit-	yit-	yit-	it-	it-	yit-	to get lost

<sup>132</sup> For a detailed discussion of the debate, cf. Johanson 1998: 96ff.

<sup>133</sup> DTS 260 *yigdä*.

<sup>134</sup> Clauson 1972: 911.

<sup>135</sup> DTS 261 *yinčkä*, Clauson 1972:945 *yinčge*.

<sup>136</sup> DTS 267 *yip* 'thread'; Clauson 1972:870 *yip*'thread'.

<sup>137</sup> While *yip* is the general variant in the Ärsa:rı dialect, the people of the Qarqın subtribe have *üp*.

<sup>138</sup> Clauson 1972:870.

<sup>139</sup> Clauson 1972:830.

<sup>140</sup> Clauson 1972:885.

ye-	i:-	i:-	i:-	i:-	ye-	ye-	i:-	to eat
yem <sup>141</sup>	i:mit	i:m	i:m	i:m	yim	yim	i:m	fodder
yemiš <sup>142</sup>	i:miš	i:miš	i:miš	i:miš	yimiš	yimiš	i:miš	dry fruit
i:k <sup>143</sup>	i:g				ik	ik	i:k	spindle
yilig ~ ilik <sup>144</sup>	yilik	yilik	yilik	yilik	ilik	ilik	yilik	marrow
erin <sup>145</sup>	erin	erin	erin	erin	yerin	yerin	erin	Corner of the lips
iriñ <sup>146</sup>	iriñ	iriñ	iriñ	iriñ	yiriñ	yiriñ	iriñ	purulence

(ii) Initial /h/ : My material does not contribute significantly to the ongoing debate about the initial \*h in Turkic. The Afghan Turkmen dialects depict a complex situation: In some cases, all dialects have initial /h/; is is the case of *hi:n* 'den', where initial [h] is not confirmed by Clauson (1972:166 *i:n*) or DTS (209 *in*); however, TRS 698 has *xi:n* and Sevortyan (1974:352) refers to *hi:n*.

- *sıčan hu:nına gi:ren ya:ni* (Är. 14)  
as if a mouse went into its hole
- *sıçanıñ hini ya:l görinyä:r* (Te. 16)  
it looks like the hole of a mouse

In other cases the dialects disagree: Te. and Yo. have *hamraq* 'dear' vs. Är. *amraq* (compare OT *amraq* DTS 42; but TRS *xamrak*, Clauson 1972:163 *amraq*); Te. and Yo. have *ö:l* vs. Är. *hö:l* 'moist' (compare Khalaj *höl* in Doerfer&Tezcan 1980, OT *öl* DTS 383, Clauson 1972:124 *ö:l*).

(b) Voiced versus voiceless plosives in the onset of native stems

(i) Initial /b/- that relates to OT *b-* is in some lexemes represented in the Teke dialect while in the Ärsa:rı dialect it is represented as /p/- : Te. *biçaq* ~ Är. *piçaq*, ND *biça:ğ* 'knife' (compare DTS 98 *biçaq*); Te. *bi:ni* ~ Är. *pi:ni*, ND *pini* 'brain'. For some more details of the /b/-/p/ opposition cf. the paragraph on the phoneme /b/.

(ii) With regard to initial /d/- versus /t/-, the Afghan Turkmen dialects render an ambiguous picture: There are lexemes in whose realization of the initial consonant as voiceless there is no difference among the dialects: *tozan* (Te. Yo. Yem.) ~ *tozañ* (Är. Sa.), *tuza:n* (ND). There are lexemes where all dialects have initial /d/-. In again other cases, the dialects fall into groups that have voiced /d/-, and others that have voiceless /t/. As a general rule, the *nāxāliş* dialects are mostly with the /t/- group while Teke is mostly with the /d/-group; there are, however, singular examples to the contrary effect as well. The Ärsa:rı dialect is most ambiguous of all.

Initial /d/- in native stems is a feature more typical of the Teke and Yomut dialects, while the Ärsa:rı, Sa:rıq, Muqrı, Xatap, Bayat, Surxı and Xojambāz dialects mostly have voiceless /t/-

<sup>141</sup> DTS 255 *yem*.

<sup>142</sup> DTS 255f. *yemiš* 'fruit'.

<sup>143</sup> Clauson 1972:99; DTS 203 *ig* ~ 260 *yig* ~ 261 *yik*.

<sup>144</sup> DTS 208 *ilik* ~ 261 *yilig*.

<sup>145</sup> Clauson 1972:232; DTS 258 *yerin* ~ 178 *erin*.

<sup>146</sup> Clauson 1972:233; DTS 263 *yiriñ* ~ 212 *iriñ*.

in the respective stems. The *nāxālis* dialects mostly have /t/- even in such lexemes which have /d/- in the Ärsa:rı and Sa:rıq dialects: ND *tarıq* 'millet', *teşik* 'hole', *tiş* 'tooth', *tüş* 'dream', *tep-* 'to kick' versus Ärsa:rı and all other *xāliš* dialects *darı*, *deşik*, *diş*, *dü:ş*, *dep-*.

Ärsa:rı	Teke	Yomut	Sa:rıq	ND	Gloss
tö:rt	dö:rt	dö:rt	tö:rt	turt	four
toqqız	doquz	doquz	toquz	tuqqız	nine
toğsan	doğsan	doğsan	toğsan	tuqsan	ninety
di:ş	di:ş	di:ş	di:ş	tiş	tooth
dü:ş	dü:ş	dü:ş	dü:ş	tüş	dream
deşik	deşik	deşik	deşik	tişik	hole
darı	darı	darı	darı	tarıq	millet
da:r	da:r	da:r	da:r	ta:r	dark
dep-	dep-	dep-	dep-	tep-	to kick
dil	dil	til	dil	til	language
da:ğ	da:ğ	da:ğ	da:ğ	ta:ğ	mountain
tart-	dart-	dart-	dart-	tart-	to pull
tik-	dik-	dik-	dik-	tik-	to sew

(iii) The /k/- vs. /g/- opposition also shows an ambiguous picture: While the dialects agree in most of the cases – with initial voiced /g/ occurring much more frequently than voiceless /k/ – , there are singular cases of variation, like Är. voiced *gişi* vs. Te. and Mu. voiceless *kişi* 'person'; but variation to the opposite effect as well: Är. voiceless *küçük* vs. Te. voiced *güyük* 'puppy'.

(c) Voiced versus voiceless plosives in the onset of suffixes

My material contains only one example of this type of dialectal divergence, so that it is impossible to deduce general observations. However, for the sake of documentation I quote the example here:

- o pille men oyn**jaq** oyna:p yören oğlantım. (Är. 5)  
At that time I was a child who played (with) toys.
- şo:ra: diyip enjimen diyip bı za:tlara:m oyn**çaq** etdiler kâ: bir a:damlar. (Te. 4)  
Some people said council, union – (but) they made these things (into) toys.

(d) /q/ versus /h/ in the onset of interrogatives

The *nāxāliš* dialects seem to have *q*-variants of the interrogative adjectives and pronouns: *qanı* 'where' (Ba. 3, Xa. 1, Mu. 4). The Teke dialect, according to my materials, has only *h*-variants: *haysı* 'which' (Te. 13); *haçanda* 'whenever' (Te. 6) etc. The Ärsa:rı dialect has *hani* 'where' (Är.), but at the same time *qaysı* 'which' (Är. 7), *qaçan* 'when' (Är. 9).

Ärsa:rı	Teke	Sa:rıq	ND dialects	Gloss
hanı	hanı	hanı	qanı	where
qaçan ~ haçan	haçan	haçan	qaça:n	when
qaysı ~ haysı	haysı	haysı	qaysı	which

(e) Geminate versus non-geminate, gemination versus geminate reduction

The Afghan Turkmen dialects have lexicalized geminates which may be considered the product of historical gemination, and they know the phonological process of actual gemination. The dialects differ in both of them.

(i) The Ärsa:rı dialect is rich in lexicalized geminates in lexemes whose correlates in the Teke dialect (in accordance with OT) has non-geminate consonant instead. Some of these correlate pairs differ in more than one significant marker, which points quite clearly to the fact that the Ärsa:rı dialect shares more Qarluq features where the Teke dialect has Oğuz ones.

Ärsa:rı	Teke	Yomut	Sa:rıq	Muqrı	OT	Gloss
yassı	yası	yası	yası	yassı	yası (DTS 245)	flat
aşşıq	aşıq	aşıq	aşıq	aşşıq	aşuq (DTS 64)	knuckle bone
ğıışsa	ğıısa	ğıısa	ğıışsa	qıışsa	--	reed
sekkiz ~ sekgiz	sekiz	sekiz	sekgiz	sekkiz	sekiz (DTS 494)	eight
ğurbaqqa	ğurbaqa ~ ğurbağa	ğurbaqa ~ ğurbağa	ğurbaqa	qurbaqqa	baqa (DTS 82)	toad
yetti ~ yetdi	yedi	yedi	yedi	yetti	yeti (DTS 295)	seven
toqquz ~ toqğuz	doquz	doquz	doquz	toqquz	toquz (DTS 578)	nine

In a few lexemes with a more complex phonological history, regardless of the complex background, the Ärsa:rı dialect's preference of geminates as opposed to preference of non-geminate on the part of the Teke dialect is discernible:

Ärsa:rı	Teke	OT	Gloss
iyye	iye	idi ~ iđi (DTS 203)	owner
iyyer	iyer	edär ~ eđär (DTS 162, 164)	saddle
düyye	düye	devä ~ tevä ~ tevi (DTS 160)	camel

Yet another analogous example might be the geminate in singular Ärsa:rı comparatives, as opposed to non-geminate correlates in the Teke dialect; possibly, from a shared precedent of lexeme + *\*ıra:q* 'further, more...' the two dialects have taken different paths of development, with Är. preferring vowel preservation + consonant gemination, but Te., vowel reduction and non-gemination: Är. *köpirrä:k* ~ Te. *köprä:k* 'more'.

- *ulkä:miziñ köpirrä:k nupu:sini dı:xanlar we čarwaçılar ğurşayo:r.* (Är. 3)  
Farmers and cattlebreeders make up most (lit. more) population of our country.
- *bağışla:ñ men köprä:k kepleyä:m.* (Te. 18)  
Excuse (me), I talk more (than would be polite).

(ii) Gemination as a spontaneous process is, as opposed to the occurrence of ready geminates, rather infrequent in native lexemes; where it occurs, it reflects again the Ärsa:rı (and to a



certain extent, Sa:rıq also) preference of geminates versus Teke, of non-geminates: Är. *čizziq* ~ Te. *čiziq* 'stripe, crack; striped'.

Some examples from my material – native as well as copied lexemes – suggest that this type of gemination comes with semantic emphasis and stress (comparable to gemination in prefixes of emphasis like *appaq* 'lily white').<sup>147</sup>

- ağşam **huwwa:** su:q eken. (Är. 22)  
Last night the weather was cold.
- bu gün **huwa** sawuq dā:l. (Te. 3)  
The weather is not cold today.
- Ačilba:ıñ atası-babasa:m **uđđı:n** a:dam eken. (Är. 12)  
Ačilba:y's father and grandfather were also *tall* men.
- meniñ ata:m **uđı:n** boylı a:dam-dı. (Te. 19)  
My father was a tall man.
- ol saqarlar **ollağan** o:ba ä:rsa:ri o:ba-da. (Sa. 1)  
This Saqarlar is a *huge* village, (and) an Ärsa:rı village (at that).
- şu **olağan** ha:li:n-a:m gellejeñiz gi:je gündi:z gi:zi bile yatma:n doqadı. (Yo. 1)  
Your sister-in-law has woven this big carpet together with her daughter, not sleeping night or day.
- ba:lıǵı tä:ze ya:ǵa ğu:rsañ **mađđa:lija** bolyo:r (Är. 23)  
if you grill the fish in oil it become tasty.
- yo:lda **mađa:lija** nahar tapmaya:sıñıđ. (Te. 11)  
You can not find better food along the way.

(iii) Interestingly, the Teke dialect's "aversion" of geminates manifests itself in (etymologically speaking) hypercorrect de-gemination, which can be observed in native as well as copied lexemes. The Ärsa:rı dialect in these examples preserves the original geminates: Är. *sallančaq* ~ Te. *salančaq* 'swing', Är. *šülle* 'rice' Te. *šüle*. For examples of de-geminated copied lexemes, see table below.

(iv) The preference of geminates/gemination and non-geminates/reduction manifests itself also in copied lexemes. The underlying phonological processes which lead, in result, to the occurrence of geminate or singular consonants, may be different as the table below demonstrates, but the overall picture remains the same: The Ärsa:rı dialect prefers geminates (sometimes combined with lengthening of the adjacent vowel) while Teke favors non-geminates. Examples:

Ärsa:rı	Teke		Gloss
melle	mele	< pers. malla	golden yellow
owwal	owal	< pers. awwal	first
kürre	küre	< kurra	donkey foal
baqqa:l	baqa:l	< pers. baqqāl	grocer
jorra:p	jorap	< pers. jūrāb <<	stocking

<sup>147</sup> Some of the examples Yakup renders in 2.3.5(a), especially [tazza] 'really' and [yuğğan] 'big' (Yakup 2005:79) also suggest this interpretation, although the author does not say so but keeps to a strictly phonological description of the phenomenon.

		arab. jawrab	
mekkä:m	mä:käm	< pers. mahkam	tight
xalla-	xala-	< pers. xwäh-	to wish
tešše	teše	< pers. tīša (?)	hatchet

(e) Final consonant versus Ø

The Afghan Turkmen dialects share many phonological features, but they also differ quite significantly in some. What today by the speakers is understood as phonological difference, in fact often relates back to difference in the historical morphology of the dialects. Since my study is a synchronic rather than diachronic one, I treat truly phonologic and allophonic phenomena as well as – etymologically speaking – morphological ones together here in this paragraph with only occasional reference to historical developments.

(i) In some lexemes the dialects differ in the representation of final OT -ğ/-g. While the ND dialects depict an inclination towards representation as /q/, the XD dialects favor the deletion of the final consonant: ND *yamaq* ~ XD *yama* 'patch' (DTS 231 *yamağ*); ND *ıssıq* ~ XD *ıssı* 'hot' (DTS 213/220 *ısig~ısiğ*); ND *tariq* ~ XD *darı* 'millet' (compare DTS 537 *tariğ* 'grain, bread'), ND *tirik* ~ XD *di:ri* 'alive' (Clauson 1972:848 *tiriğ*), ND *sariq* ~ XD *sa:ri* 'yellow' (Clauson 1972:848 *sarı /sariğ*).

(ii) In lexemes that have the lexicalized directive suffix *-rI*, in the Teke, Yomut and Sa:riq dialects the suffix can be repleted with an additional *-Q* and the lengthening of the final vowel, which is missing in the other dialects (and according to my materials can be missing in the speech of Teke and others, too): *daşarı* ~ Te. Yo. Sa. *daşarı:q* 'outside, in the open'; *bä:ri* ~ Te.Yo.Sa. *bä:ri:k* 'here, closer to ego; POSTPOS since';<sup>148</sup> *añrı* ~ Te. Yo. Sa. *añrı:q* 'beyond'<sup>149</sup>; *yoqarı* (Te. Sa.) ~ *yoqarı:q* (Te.).<sup>150</sup>

- men bir hepdeden **añrı:q** aşğaba:d barıp gelişim gerek. (Te. 5)  
After one week I have to go to Aşğaba:d.
- derya:dan **añrıda**-da yerimiz bar. (Är.7)  
On the other side of the river, we also have lands.
- men bilenimnen **bä:ri** andxoyda küçük oruş bolyo:r. (Är. 10)  
Ever since I know, in Andxoy there are dogfights.
- **bä:ri:k** geleno:qdilar. (Sa. 4)  
They have not come here.
- iki yıldan **bä:ri** su: yetişen yo:q. (Är. 12)  
Since two years no water has reached (our place).
- gädı:m wağıtlardan **bä:ri:k** türkmenler göçip-ğonıp yören soñ. (Te. 13)  
Since olden times the Turkmens have been leading a mobile life, after all.
- mektebi gıtarannan soñ **yoqarı** oqu:lara **bä:ri:k** ornaşasi geleno:q-dilar. (Sa. 4)  
After having completed primary school, they did not settle here for higher education.
- **yoqarı:** geliñ, **yoqarı:q** geçiñ! (Te. 4)  
Come up, come upstairs!

<sup>148</sup> TRS 124 differentiates by interpreting *bä:ri:k* as the essential nomen loci and *bä:ri* primarily as postposition and only in a secondary meaning, as nomen loci; in the Afghan context this differentiation does not exist.

<sup>149</sup> TRS 46 renders *añrı:q* as a secondary variant of *añrı* without indicating dialect specificities.

<sup>150</sup> TRS 313 renders *yoqarı:q* as a secondary variant without indication of dialectal or other difference.

(iii) Final /q/ in singular lexemes like *ya:naq*<sup>151</sup> 'like' and *šo ta:q*<sup>152</sup> 'there' (in variation with *ya:na* and *šo tayı*) also appears in the Ärsa:rı and Teke dialects, while it is missing in ND.

- hilmende bir segsen üyli **ya:naq** türkmen bir waxtda maha:jir bolip baran. (Är. 1)  
Some 80 households of Turkmens have once upon an time moved to Hilmand.
- ata-ba:balammız birinjiden du:leda:ba:d gelip, birki yıl otrıp, soň **šo ta:q**dan şaxa göçip barıpdırlar. (Te.1)  
Our grandfathers, first settled in Dawlatābād, they lived there for 2-3 years and then migrated to Šāx.
- owwal çöle barars, soň **šo tayı** barıp tesmi:m alars. (Är.12)  
First, we have to go the countryside, then, we will decide (what to do next).

(iv) Final *-(I)t* versus  $\emptyset$

Final *-(I)t* is in the Ärsa:rı dialect realized in singular lexemes which do not have this element in the other dialects: Är. *görgit* ~ Te. *görgi* 'nuisance, trouble' (Clauson 1972:742 *görgi*; TRS 201 *görgi*); Är. *i:mit* ~ Te. *i:m* 'fodder' (Clauson ; TRS 348 *i:m*, *i:mit*<sup>153</sup>).

- bı nä: **görgit** boldı! hi:ç waxt mınya:nı ğı:nanıp görmä:ntim. (Är. 6)  
What a nuisance! I have never been troubling so hard.
- bu gün ça:ğa bilen **görgi:mi** gördim. (Te. 12)  
Today I have had full trouble with the baby.
- ineklermize günde iki -üç gezek **i:m** berya:rs. (Te. 4)  
We feed our cows 2-3 times a day.
- oğlaqçı atlarıň **i:mitini** yağşı bermeli. (Är.26)  
We have to give our buzkashi horses their fodder in a perfect manner.

(v) Final *-(I)n* versus  $\emptyset$

Some adverbs which denote a point in time have in the Ärsa:rı and ND dialects final *(I)n*, which is not realized in the other dialects; however, the n-less variants coexist in the Ärsa:rı dialect as well.

- erte **ši pillen** men inša:alla kā:bilde bolarin. (Är. 10)  
Tomorrow the same time as now I will hopefully be in Kabul.
- şu **pille** elim boş dā:l. (Är. 5)  
Right now I am not free.
- ba:zara **üylä:n** giders. (Är. 12)  
In the afternoon we'll go to the bazaar.
- şirkete **üyle** bararsmi? (Te. 6)  
Are we going to the office in the afternoon?
- mā:lim sa:yipni **erter** kuremiz. (Mu. 3)  
We'll see the teacher tomorrow.
- çöle **erte** gitseg-em bolar. (Te. 8)  
We can go to the countryside tomorrow.

<sup>151</sup> Missing in TRS.

<sup>152</sup> TRS 612 renders *ta:y* 'side' but has no *ta:q*.

<sup>153</sup> TRS interprets *i:m* as 'fodder', but *i:mit* as 'food, dish'; this differentiation in meaning does not exist in the Afghan Turkmen dialects.

(f) The representation of *-oğ* and *\*-ög*

(i) In the lexemes 'child, youngster' and 'kid', the Afghan Turkmen dialects differ in the representation of syllable-final *-oğ*. The Ärsa:rı dialect keeps to [oğ] while the Teke dialect has unrounding of the vowel and fronting-cum-labialization of the consonant, the process resulting in the realization of [aw].<sup>154</sup>

- **oğlanlar-am** her qaysısı bir i:ş bilen mesru:p (Är. 28)  
The children (i.e., my adolescent sons) are each one busy with a (different kind of) work.
- o:bada **awlanlar** köprä:k bi:kä:r, i:ş tapıano:q (Te. 10)  
In the village, the youngsters are mostly (lit. more) unemployed, there is not work to be found.
- bı oğlıñ geçi:niñ **oğlağ**ı ya:nı ça:r tarapa bökyo:r (Är. 4)  
This son of yours bounces into all (lit. four) directions like a goat's kid.
- bir semiz geçi:ni iki **awlağ**ı bilen mubaylıñ deregne berdi (Te. 20)  
He gave a fat goat along with her two kids in exchange for a mobile phone.

Interestingly, there exists a hypercorrect realization of the copied lexeme *sawa:p* < pers. *sawāb* in line with this phenomenon, namely, [soğa:p] (Är. 19) 'religious merit'.

(ii) In the lexeme 'surroundings; whirlwind'<sup>155</sup>, the dialects differ in the representation of *\*-ög*, which is in the Teke dialect represented with an unrounded vowel and a fronted-cum-labialized consonant as [ew], and in the Ärsa:rı dialect with a raised vowel and fronted-cum-labialized consonant as [üw]. (According to my materials, the latter realization occurs with Teke speakers as well.)

- **tüwerey** gelip xırmanıñ sa:manlarna:m ça:şırıp gitdi (Är. 34)  
A whirlwind came and scattered the straw of the stack.
- ma:rı **tewereginde** (Te. 3)  
in the surroundings of Marw
- ol emri:kä:niñ **tüweleyi** qanča erbet eken xuda: saqlasın onnan. (Te. 3)  
How bad these whirlwinds of America are! May God save (everyone) from these.

(g) /ŋ/ versus /n/

(i) Opposition of /ŋ/ and /n/ appears in the suffix IMPEREMPH2PERS, which is realized as *-sAnA* ~ *-sAnA*: in Är., but as *-sAnA* ~ *-sAnA*: in Te.

- eliñdä:ki xalta:nı maña **berseñä**! (Är. 32)  
Could you give me the bag in your hand!
- ça:ğa:nı maña **bersene**! (Te. 5)  
Give me the baby!

The preference of Är. /ŋ/ against Te. /n/ is also represented in a few single lexemes such as Är. *tozaŋ* ~ Te. *tozan* 'dust, duststorm'.

<sup>154</sup> TRS has *oğlan* 'son' and *owlaq* 'kid', but neither *\*oğlaq* nor *\*awlan* or *\*awlaq*.

<sup>155</sup> Compare OT *tegärä* 'around (postpos.)', DTS 565.

(h) /ŋ/ versus /g/ǧ/, /k/q/ and /n/

(i) The opposition of /ŋ/ and other phonemes renders an ambiguous picture. Whereas in some examples the Ärsa:rı dialect has /ŋ/ while the Teke dialect has /g/ǧ/, in others the opposite distribution prevails. My materials do not contain enough examples to establish a consistent rule.

- **derŋe-** misteri:niŋ aydan purzesını **derŋä:p** tapmadıq. (Te. 14)  
We searched for the spare parts which the mechanic told us (to bring along), but we didn't find them.
- **derge-** sizi bi:ri **dergä:p** gelipdir. (Är. 11)  
Someone has come and searched for you.
- **zıŋ-** bı a:dam su:çi gido:r suwa **zıŋo:r** ö:zini, tapıp şol oğlanı tapo:r. (Sa.7)  
A man – a swimmer – was passing by, he threw himself in the water and found-, he brought that child to the surface (again).
- **ziǧ-** duwiŋ ustine **ziǧıp** başını da:ǧ ya:nı jesedinnen yolup alıpdırlar. (Är. 42)  
They jumped on the *dēw* and snapped his head off his mountainlike body.
- **yıŋna-** toy etjek diyip köp pul **yıŋnamalı** boldıq. (Te. 16)  
Saying we want to make a wedding, we had to assemble a lot of money.
- **yıǧna-** mınça a:damı iki **güniŋ** içinde **yıǧnamaq** aŋsa:t i:ş dā:l-ti. (Är. 7)  
It was not an easy task to assemble so many people within two days.
- **egil-** ozal gi:rjek yeriŋde bir deşik bar onnan **egilip** gi:rmeli. (Te. 7)  
In the place where you first enter there is a hole, (you) must bend down and go through (that).
- **eŋil-** kelinler ya:nı **eŋilip** sala:m berdi. (Är. 8)  
He gave his greetings, bending like brides (do).

(ii) The opposition of /ŋ/ and /n/ is also a rare phenomenon in my materials: Te. *iŋŋe* ~ Är. *inne* 'sewing needle'.

(j) Consonant assimilation

The Afghan Turkmen dialects significantly differ in matters of consonant assimilation. Generally speaking, the Teke dialect depicts the most obvious inclination towards progressive assimilation, while regressive assimilation is most typical of the Ärsa:rı dialect. (Exceptions to this general rule, however, exist in both directions.) Details and examples are given above in 4.3.2.c.

## 5. Morphology

Morphological elements of the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan are mostly suffixes; prefixes form only a very small part of the morphological inventory. Divergence between the dialects may not be as considerable in morphology as it is in phonology and lexicon, but the collected materials show that there is some divergence in morphology, too, which concerns the phonetic realization as well as the function of the affixes.

### 5.1 Nominal morphology

#### 5.1.1 Nouns

##### A. Plural

Compared with other Turkic idioms, for example the neighboring Uzbek dialects of Afghanistan, in the Turkmen dialects plural markers are used rather liberally.

(a) Pluralisation with the suffix *-lar*

(i) All Turkmen dialects have the plural suffix *-lar*.

(ii) The suffix *-lar* immediately follows the nominal basis and precedes all possessive and case suffixes. The only exception to this rule is the metaphorical pluralisation which actually denotes "a person and their household" (e.g. *ha:jikeri:m* 'the family of Ha:jikeri:m'); in that case a potential possessive precedes the plural suffix:

- *ši gelišime hä:zir enemlerden gelyo:n.* (Är. 27)  
I am just coming from my mother's.

(iii) The plural suffix in the Turkmen dialects, along with the actual pluralisation, has several more semantic functions. It underlines quantity:

- *mönlerče a:dam muza:hira etibdirler* (Är. 43)  
thousand+PL of people demonstrated
- *nä:če yıllardan bä:ri* (Är. 36)  
since how many year+PL

It denotes internal differentiation:

- *šolar ya:nı ğı:n yağdayda* (Är. 7)  
in a difficult situation like this+PL
- *etleri süňji bilen ğoymalı eken* (Te. 19)  
The meat+PL had to be served together with its bones.
- *başğa burinjler* (Är. 11)  
other (types of) rice+PL

It indicates the vague or approximate character of a denotate:

- *darğanata:q taraplara barıpdırlar* (Te. 19)  
They went into the direction+PL of Darğanata:q.

- sa:at ikilerde ba:zardan ğaytdim. (Är. 19)  
I returned from the bazaar around two o'clock.

In the *nāxāliş* dialects it is often used as an indicator of respect and politeness:

- her qaysıdan bir neti:je alar eken de bu kişiler. (Mu. 1)  
This person+PL draws a conclusion from each one of (the informations).

(iv) Temporal locatives which refer to bygone times are almost regularly pluralized:

- a:mıderya:ŋ boyı qadı:m zama:nlarda-da hi:ç waxt ı:la:tsiz bolma:n dır. (Yo. 1)  
The banks of the Amūdaryā were in ancient times never without population.
- qadı:m waxtlarda ğudalara öñinde ğoyulyo:n etler-em belli eken. (Te. 19)  
In ancient times the meat+PL which was to be placed in front of the in-laws was (well) defined.

Phrases denoting habitual temporal locatives can generally be marked with either PL + LOC or with a simple plural suffix only:

- şo waxtlarda dewleta:ba:dda gi:jeler köp göreş bolartı. (Är. 6)  
In those times in Dewleta:ba:d at night+PL there used to be much wrestling.
- qadı:mmlar ğış ğatı-tı, köpı a:damlar messı giyyo:-tılar. (Är. 31)  
(In) ancient+PL (times) winter was severe, most people would wear gaiters.
- ğant-şeker diyen za:tlar öñler hä:zirki ya:lı onça köp-em dā:l eken. (Te. 3)  
The thing+PL called diabetes was before+PL not as much (widespread) as now.
- öñler ğa:wunlar-am qand ya:nı şirin-ti. (Är. 34)  
Before+PL, melon+PL was as sweet as candy.

(v) The plural suffix *-lar* functions as a substitute for substantive heads of the participle construction; there is not obligatory connotation of plural in these examples:

- (\*aydan sözi > ) aydanları bilen ki:giñ gö:şti onça şirin bolan yo:ğ-eken. (Är. 33)  
According to what (people) say, stag meat is not so tasty.

(b) Pluralisation with the collective particle *daŋı ~ dađı*

(i) The particle *daŋı* (Är.) ~ *dađı* (Te.) can function like the suffix *-lar* as described in a.ii above: When postposed to an anthroponym, a kinship nomer or the like, it denotes "person X and their household/family/kin":

- hajı resu:l dađı ho:l köçede yaşaya:rlar. (Te. 3)  
The Hajı Resu:ls live in that street over there.
- enwer daŋı ađşam geldiler (Är. 10)  
Enwer and his family came (last) night.
- ata:m dađı şügün medi:nede-miş (Te. 14)  
My father and his company are probably in Medina today.

(ii) The particle *daŋı ~ dađı* can also be used to form a generic term, which the plural suffix *-lar* can also achieve in the Turkmen dialects, as the following example clearly shows:

- *gı:z ođlan dađı* ulannan sođ erkek ođlanlar bile oynamaz. (Är. 53)  
Girls do not play with boys after having grown up.

### (c) Copied plural forms

The lexicon of the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan contains a few lexicalized plural forms which are copied from Arabic and Persian, like *ulama*: 'the learned men', *ta:liba:n* 'Taliban' etc.:

- *ma:mu:ri:n sa:t tö:rdeče i:šliyo:r*. (Är. 22)  
State employees work until four o'clock.

Individuals who habitually use the Persian language (too), or who wish to display erudition and elevated style, may intersperse their speech with ad-hoc Persian plural suffixes. However, this is a rare phenomenon and remains limited to intellectuals, religious personnel and the like.

- *men motarlara yukleşeđ köp tunha: munnan, muđha tuni ba:r biziđ wetenmizde, şüyle di:dim*. (Är. 6)  
I said if you load many tons (of this product) on cars -, there are thousands of tons of that in our homeland, thus I said.

## B. Possessive suffixes

Possessive suffixes immediately follow the nominal stem and derivative suffixes.

**Table 5-1:** Possessive suffixes

possessor person	noun stem -C	noun stem -V
1.SG	-Im (~ -im, -ım) (~ -Xm)	-m
2.SG	-Iŋ	-ŋ
POLSG	-IŋIz	-ŋIz
3.SG	-I (~ -i, -ı) (~ -X)	-sI
1.PL	-ImIz (~ -mIz)	-mIz
2.PL / POLPL	-IŋIz	-ŋIz
3.PL	-I	-sI

### (a) Morphological effects

(i) The vowel of possessive suffixes 1.SG in general appears to be {I}, although deviation from the principle of twofold back/front harmony also occurs quite frequently, with {i} as well as {ı} being applied in disharmonic position: *ođlum* ~ *ođlim* (Är.Ba.Mu.Xa.). On the other hand there is also a certain tendency towards {X}, whose labial rounding after rounded vowel stems is supported by the [m] element of the possessive suffix; rounded and unrounded suffix vowel variants coexist in my materials: *gözüm* 'my eye' ~ *gözim*; *ö:zim* 'myself' ~ *ö:züim*; *ođlum* ~ *ođlim* ~ *ođlim* 'my son' (all Är.); *gülüm* 'my rose'; *do:num* ~ *do:num* 'my cloak'; *du:zim* ~ *du:zum* 'my salt'; *gu:sım* 'my chest' (< *gu:s*, compare Tü. *gögüs*). – An



analogous phenomenon affects, although rather unfrequently, the vowel of the possessive suffix 3.SG, which generally is {I} but shows a tendency towards {X} in cases where the possessive suffix is followed by the 'pronominal *n*', which also seems to support labial rounding: *üyünde* ~ *üyinde* 'in his house'.

(ii) The vowel(s) of possessive suffixes 2.SG and 2.PL is/are {I}: *oğlın* 'your son', *oğlanların* 'your children', *üyiñiz* 'your house'. Deviation from the front/back harmony principle occurs quite frequently, although not on a systematic basis: *ya:dıñız* ~ *ya:diñiz* 'your memory'. If the suffix follows a noun with [I] in the coda position, however, the suffix vowel(s) can become {X} as well: *dul* 'widow' > *duluñ* / *duluñuz* 'your widow'; *ğul* 'slave' > *ğuluñ* / *ğuluñuz* ~ *ğulın* / *ğuluñız* 'your slave'. Nouns with a long vowel in the final syllable seem to be excluded from this labial harmony option.

(iii) The vowel of the possessive suffix 3.SGPL is generally {I}: *ha:lısı* 'her carpet' (Yo. Sa. Te.), *li:sesi* 'its lyceum', *sü:di* 'her milk', *ğapağı* 'its lid', *toyı* 'his feast'. Deviation from the back/front harmony principle has often been reported, with a marked tendency in favor of front vocalization of the suffix regardless of the quality of the preceding syllable: *doqmalari* 'their carpets' (Te.), *saçağı* 'his tablecloth' (Är.).

(iv) In the *xāliš* dialects the initial suffix vowel is almost regularly reduced or altogether deleted if the possessive suffix of 1.PL and 2.PL follows a noun with plural suffix *-lar*; assimilation of the final [r] of the plural suffix is almost regular in the Teke dialect and does occur in the others, too: *atalar(ı)mız* (Är. 53) ~ *atalarmız* 'our fathers' (Är. 12) ~ *atalammız* 'our forefathers' (Te. 7); *üylerimiz* 'our houses' (Te. 4); *ğarındaşlammız* (< *ğarındaşlarmız*) 'our relatives' (Te. 14); *köçeleñiz* (< *köçelerniz*) 'your streets' (Är. 1).

The same reduction/deletion of the possessive suffix vowel can also occur if the noun is non-monosyllabic with a [r], [ğ], [g], [w], [m], or [n] in the coda position: *kepterimiz* 'our pigeon', *motarñız* 'your car', *ğışlağımız* 'our village', *küçüğümüz* 'our dog' (Är. 30), *oqlawñız* 'your rolling pin', *ğalammız* 'our pen', *wetenimiz* 'our homeland', *jerenñız* 'your antelope' (Är. 53), *gelenimiz ğawı bolı* 'good that we have come' (Te. 7), *görenimiz yo:q* 'we'd not seen' (Är. 38).

Deletion of the suffix vowel – which in that case is tantamount to dropping the suffix altogether – can occur if the possessive suffix of 3.SG follows a plural suffix and is in its turn followed by a (pronominal *n* plus) case suffix, the latter one preferably having a low vowel. Cases of deletion without a plural suffix preceding the possessive suffix have also been observed.

- *elleriniñ* > *çiten doqmalari ellerniñ* *ustinne ğallı*. (Te. 6)  
The carpet they had woven remained in their hands.
- *atlarınıñ* > *türkmenista:nıñ atlarınıñ* *soñ boynı dik bi:li ni:çge bolyo:r*. (Är. 25)  
The necks of the horses of Turkmenistan then are straight and their waist is slim.
- *a:ğalarına* > *öte barıp a:ğalarna* *baqıšar*. (Är. 39)  
He'd go there and help his brothers out.
- *olar dünyä:nıñ köp yerlerne* *yayra:pdırlar*. (Te. 13)  
They are scattered over many places of the world.
- *derwezelerini* > *kä:rmeliñ waxtında hökü:met zında:nlarıñ derwezelerni* *ašsa da xalqın ğaharını ğaçırıp bilmedi*. (Är. 16)  
Although in Kärmal's time the government opened the doors of the jails, it was unable to remove the anger of the people.

- ağşamına > ağşamna palaw keba:b beryo:tlar. (Xo. 1)  
For supper they'd offer pilaff and kebab.
- ya:nına > ba:bam ġışlağda bolyo:r, her hepde ya:nna barıp ġaytyo:s. (Är. 22)  
My grandfather lives in the village. We go to (see) him every week.
- ġolajıġını > bä:beġiñ ġolajıġni yap üşemesin! (Är. 28)  
Cover the baby's little ears, she shall not feel cold!
- yüregini > pişa:r kä:bi:riniñ yüreġni urya:r-eken. (Te. 10)  
Blood pressure is said to affect many a person's heart.
- gi:rdijisini > gi:rdijisni ya:rım iki bölip paylaşyo:rs. (Är. 12)  
We split the revenues into two parts.
- toyına > ha:jı kerimlerin toyna bardıñızımı? (Är. 53)  
Have you gone to the wedding of Ha:jı Kerim's (family)?

(iv) The possessive suffix *-sI* of 3.SG is, against the rule displayed in the table above, sometimes seemingly taken on by nouns with a consonant in the coda position. In fact, this "juxtaposition of *-C+sI*" is due to the deletion of a stem-final vowel in a mid-syllable position caused by suffixation (perhaps phonologically comparable to the phenomenon described in 4.2.7.b).

- yoqarısı > derrä:niñ yoqarsınnan aylanıp su: gelyä:r-eken. (Te. 3)  
Water comes running from further upstream.

(v) In the *xāliš* dialects, a final stem vowel is generally lengthened if followed by a suffix with initial *-m* or *-ŋ* (compare 4.4.A.d.ii, 4.4.C.c.i) – a rule that also applies in the case of the possessive suffixes.

- kellä, u:qı > öten ağşam kellä:m ağrı:p u:qı:m gelmedi. (Är. 4)  
Last night I had a headache and couldn't sleep (lit., my sleep didn't come).
- ini > meniñ-em bir ini:m pu:hantu:nda oqıyo:r. (Är. 9)  
A younger brother of mine studies at university.
- qaysı > sıçan hı:nına gi:ren ya:ni biz-em her qaysı:m mawza: gi:rdik. (Är. 14)  
Like mice withdraw in their hole, each one of us also withdrew into our place.

Only a few single lexemes from the field of close kin terminology are exempt from this rule, such as *a:ğa* 'elder brother (Är.)', *aqqa* 'elder brother (Te.)', *da:yu* 'mother-brother', *dayza* 'mother-sister', *eje* 'mother (Te.Yo.)', *eke* 'elder sister (Är.)', *ene* 'mother (Är.)', grandmother (Te.Yo.)', *ma:ma* 'grandmother (Är.)', *qa:qa* 'father (Te.)'.

My materials contain several Ä:rsa:rı dialect examples of lengthening which does not affect a final stem vowel (since these lexemes finalize in a consonant), but the possessive 1.SG and 2.SG suffix vowel:

- Bıl meni pul beren ġüni:m yaġşı ġoryo:r, pul bermedik ġüni:m ya:nıma-da gelen yo:q. (Är. 7)  
He likes me on days when I give (him) money, (but) on days when I don't give money he does not even come to me.
- ġu:rra:q boljaq yeri:m da:yımlaŋqı. (Är. 32)  
The place where I am more (often) is my uncle's.

- qaysı yeri:ň a:ğrýyo:r? (Är. 53)  
Where do you have pain?
- kiçi oğlým yağşı oqýyo:r, onı:mız bir gün-em mekdepden ġa:lan yo:q. (Är. 33)  
My little son studies hard, this one of ours has not skipped school a single day.
- siz hemi:şe gi:ç turyo:sıňız, şoni:ňız bolan yo:q. (Är. 10)  
You always get up late, this (habit) of yours won't do.

In the *xāliš* dialects any possessive suffix which follows a numeral will have its first vowel lengthened: *iki:miz* 'the two of us', *üçi:miz* 'the three of us', *o:ni:ňız* 'the ten of you'. If the numeral is 'one', not only the suffix vowel is lengthened but also the stem vowel: *bir* > *bi:ri:miz* 'one of us'; the indefinite pronoun *qaysı* 'which one; any one' has its final vowel lengthened when followed by a possessive suffix: *qaysı:ňız* 'any one of you guys'. (If followed by the possessive suffix of 3.SG, the numeral 'one' has its vowel lengthened: *bi:ri* 'one of them'; as far as other numerals are concerned, neither their stem vowel nor the possessive suffix is lengthened when a POSS3.SG follows.)

In the *nāxāliš* dialects, the possessive suffix does not cause vowel lengthening at all:

- ini > bu beçe hem meniň **inim** boladi. (Ba. 3)  
And this young man is my brother.
- mädē > murç ya: turşi i:sem **mädem** ağraydı. (Xa. 4)  
If I eat chilies or pickles my stomach aches.

#### (b) Possessor-possessed clauses

In the possessor-possessed relation the satellite (i.e., the possessor) comes in the genitive while the head (the possessed) is in its turn marked with the possessive suffix. If the possessor is a 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person, the pronoun – which then has the genitive suffix – needs to be employed as topic marker if there is thema change, or particular stress on the pronoun for some other reason:

- **meniň** a:dım jama:liddi:n bolyä:, **qa:qamıň** a:dı bayram. (Te. 15)  
My name is Jama:liddi:n, my father's name is Bayram.

However, even if there is no particular topic marking involved in 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person possessor-possessed-clauses, all Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan display a marked tendency to employ the pronoun with genitive all the same:

- **biziň ba:balarmız** aslında türkmenista:n dewletiniň leba:b wela:yatınıň Xojamba:z wılswa:llıgınıň beşi:r ġışlağınnan O:ğa:nısta:na hijret edip dirler. (Är. 7)  
Our forefathers have actually migrated to Afghanistan from the village of Beşi:r, district of Xojamba:z, Leba:b province of Turkmenistan.

In colloquial language the genitive-bearing satellite often, without obvious change of meaning, follows after its head noun rather than preceding it. These postposed satellites are enclitic.

- soň **ata:m meniň** şo waxtlarında qaryada:r edip dir ġışlağıň a:damı. (Är. 6)  
Then my father-, the villagers made (him) headman of the village at that time.

- *indi ozaq weli: ozaq-ğam bolsa şu sı:lxana:mız biziñ oña barya: .* (Te. 3)  
Our flooded area is now far away, but although it is far, (at least) it reaches out there (at all).
- *šo pille iki müñ ğoyumı ba:rtı ata:mızıñ.* (Är. 5)  
At that time our father had two thousand sheep.

#### (c) Unmarkedness of the possessive

In the Ärsa:rı, Teke, Yomut and Sa:rıq dialects the possessive suffix may be missing from the head noun in possessor-possessed clauses with 1.PL or 2.PL possessors while the satellite is marked with the genitive suffix. There seems to be no noticeable difference of meaning between marked and unmarked clauses. The tendency to drop the possessive suffix is strongest if the possessor-possessive clause is followed by *dA* or *hem* 'also'.

- *(biziñ) o:ba:mıza barjaq dä:lmi? ~ biziñ o:ba: barjaq dä:lmi?* (Är. 53)
- Aren't you going to our village?
- *biziñ nazar de dü:n gitti.* (Är. 12)
- Our (son) Nazar has also left yesterday.

The *nāxāliš* dialects do not share this phenomenon.

#### (d) Reduplication of the possessive

Reduplication of the POSS3SG has been observed in lexemes like *kä:sisi* < *kä:s+i+si* 'some(one) of them' (Xa.), *köpisi* < *köp+i+si* 'many/most of them'<sup>156</sup> (Te., Är.), *bi:risi* < *bi:r+i+si* ~ *bi:ri* 'one of them' (both variants in all dialects). Reduplicated variants coexist with non-reduplicated ones: *kä:bi:risi* ~ *kä:bi:ri* 'quite a few / many of them' (Te.).

- *biziñkileriñ her qaysına bir a:zajıq yer berip dir.* (Te. 1)  
He gave each one of us a little bit of land.
- *lehjeleriñ her haysısınıñ tapa:wıtları köp.* (Te. 13)  
Each one of the dialects has many divergences (from the others).

#### (e) Composite nouns

The possessive suffix marks composite nouns in which qualifyer and qualified are both substantive nouns; the possessive suffix is taken on by the head while the satellite is unmarked. The default option is the 3.SG suffix: *türkmen milliyeti* 'the Turkmen nation' (Är. 21), *sewda: merkezi* 'commercial center' (Yo. 1), *oro:za haydı* 'the *Id al-Fitr*' (Te. 3), *dert yamanı* 'the worst of illnesses' (Te. 7).

If the qualified noun takes on a grammatical possessive suffix, this suffix serves the morphological and the grammatical functions in one: *i:š a:damlarmiz* (< *i:š a:damlarımız*, for the vowel reduction cf. 3.1.1.A.b above) 'our workers (lit. workmen)' (Är. 25).

<sup>156</sup> In the case of *köp*, the "first possessive suffix" might otherwise be understood as a lexicalized part of the lexeme, since the word is used with or without a final *i* when attributed to a noun. Example: *köpı a:damlar messi giyyo:-tılar* 'many/most people used to wear gaiters' (Är. 31). The phenomenon may be interpreted as an imitation of *bä:zi: a:damlar* 'some people' < pers. *ba'zi*.

### C. Case suffixes

The case suffixes in the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan take on the forms and variations depicted in Table 5-2.

**Table 5-2:** Case suffixes

case	nominal stem -C	nominal stem -V
NOM/VOC	Ø	Ø
GEN	-Xŋ ~ -Iŋ ~ -iŋ  -IŋQI ~ Iŋki	-nIŋ -ŋ (Te. Yo.) -ni (Ba.Mu.Xa.) -ŋQI ~ -ŋkI
ACC	-Ø -I / -X	-Ø -nI
DAT	-A (XD) -A ~ -ge (ND.)	
EQT	-čA -dek (Ba.) / -dağ (Ba.) -dey (Mu.Xa.Ba.) / -deyin (Mu.Xa.Ba.)	
LIM	-AčA	
LOC	-dA ~ -tA	
ABL	-dAn ~ -tAn	

Case suffixes immediately follow the (derivate) nominal stem or, if applicable, the possessive suffix. The only exception to that rule is the so-called pronominal *n*. Case suffixes following a POSS3SG require the insertion of a pronominal *n* :

- teke lehjes**innen** görä: ä:rsa:rı:ŋ lehjesi turk dil**ine** meŋzeşrä:k mikä: diyä:n. (Te. 13)  
I'd assume that the Ä:rsa:rı dialect is closer to the Turkish language than the Teke dialect.
- oğlanjıq teyya:ra:nıŋ oçuş**ma** hayra:n ġa:ldı. (Är. 40)  
The little boy admired the aeroplane's way of flying.
- erti:**rine** tawıq čo:rba beryo:tılar. (Xo. 1)  
They would offer chicken soup for breakfast (lit. for its morning).
- iki gūniŋ i**çinde** (Är. 7)  
within two days

In the Muqrı and Xatap dialects the pronominal *n* does not necessarily occur under the conditions explained above:

- xataplar bilen muqrılar derya:nıŋ o ya**qıda**-hem bir ja:yda ya:şıyo:r-ekenler. (Mu. 1)  
The Xatap and Muqrı lived together on that (other) side of the river, too.

#### (a) Nominative / Vocative

(i) The nominative / vocative is in all dialects marked with the zero suffix.

(ii) The nominative combines with postpositions such as *üçi:n* (Är.Te.Yo.Sa.Yem.) / *učin* (Mu.Xa.Ba.) 'for ...' ; *bilen ~ bile* (Är.) 'with, and' ; *ya:ni ~ ya:ni ~ ya:naq* (Är.) ~ *ya:ni:q*

(Är.) / *ya:li* (Te.Yo.Sa.Yem) 'like ...; such as ...' ; *kemi:n* (Är. Te.) 'like' ; *sayın* 'by the ...'. In NOM+POSTPOS clauses the syllable immediately preceding the postposition bears a distinct positional pitch. – In the case of pronouns, these postpositions can also take the genitive (see chapter pronouns).

(b) Genitive

In the Afghan Turkmen dialects the following basic types of the genitive suffix have been identified: (i) *-Iḡ / -nIḡ* ; (ii) *-ḡ* ; (iii) *-ni* ; (iv) *-IḡQI / -ḡQI* ; (v) *-QI*.

**Table 5-3:** Genitive suffixes

	nominal basis -C	nominal basis -V / V:
GEN	-Iḡ ~ -iḡ	-nIḡ ~ -niḡ ~ nI:ḡ (Te.)
		-ḡ (Te.Yo.Sa.Yem.)
		-ni (Sa.Mu.Xa.)
	-IḡQI ~ Iḡki	-ḡQI / -ḡki
	-QI (Är.)	-QI (ND.)

(i) In all Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan the genitive suffix which follows a nominal stem with final consonant is in general {Iḡ}: *čöliḡ* < *čöl* 'steppe', *eşegiḡ* < *eşek* 'donkey', *sanniḡiḡ* (Te.) < *sandıq* 'chest', *nıpu:sıḡ* < *nıpu:s* 'population', *toyıḡ* < *toy* 'wedding'. My materials also abund (in native and even more so in copied lexemes) with examples of suffixation where the back/front harmony is not observed, which mostly results in the realization of the suffix as front-vowel {iḡ}; disharmonic realization as back-vowel {ḡ}, on the other hand, occurs only unfrequently. Examples: *da:ḡiḡ* ~ *da:ḡiḡ* (Te.) < *da:ḡ* 'mountain', *ya:ziḡ* ~ *ya:ziḡ* (Är.) < *ya:z* 'summer'; *tu:qlariḡ* ~ *tu:qlariḡ* (Är.) < *tu:q* 'hen', *inqıla:biḡ* (Te. Är.) < *inqıla:b* 'revolution'; *meniḡ* (Te.) ~ *meniḡ* < *men* 'I'.

Nominal stems with final short vowel take on the genitive suffix {nIḡ} or, regardless of front or back quality of the preceding syllable, simply {niḡ}. In the *xālīs* dialects the suffixation of the genitive with initial [n] causes lengthening of the stem-final vowel: *ḡuzı:nıḡ* *gö:şti* < *ḡuzı* 'the meat of the lamb' (Är.), *derrä:nıḡ* < *derrä* 'valley' (Te.), *doqma:nıḡ* *üstinde* < *doqma* 'over the carpet' (Yo.), *maḡtımḡulı:nıḡ* *kita:bi* < *maḡtımḡulı* 'Maḡtımḡulı's book' (Te.), *jıma:ḡulı:nıḡ* *enesi* < *jıma:ḡulı* 'Jıma:ḡulı's mother' (Är.).

- *yeke* > *yekä:nıḡ* *çaḡı* *çıqmaz* *diyip* *dırlar* *qadı:mnan*. (Är. 1)  
Since olden times they say, dust won't be raised by a single (horseman).

The short vowel of the 3.Sg *-I / -sI* is not subject to this lengthening phenomenon: *yumurtasıniḡ* *sa:rısı* ~ *yumurtasıniḡ* *sa:rısı* 'the yolk of her egg'.

In the *nāxālīs* dialects there is no lengthening of the noun-final vowel at all: *teriniḡ* *baza:rı* 'market of the karakul hides' (Mu.).

- *marçaq* *xalqınıḡ* *yaḡday-a:m* *ḡawı* *dä:l*. (Sa. 2)  
The situation of the people of Marçaq is not good either.

Nominal stems with final long vowel also take on the genitive suffix {nIŋ} ~ {niŋ}: *derya:niŋ su:wı* (Är.) 'the river's water', *huwwa:niŋ suwıqlıǵı* (Är.) 'the air's coldness', *molla:niŋ oǵlı* (Sa.) 'the mullah's son'.

(ii) In the Teke and perhaps also the Yomut dialect, nominal stems / bases with a final short or long vowel can also take on the simple genitive suffix *-ŋ*:<sup>157</sup>

- Ča:rı: > bü gün Ča:rı:ŋ oǵlanları-da gelipdi. (Te. 5)  
Today Ča:rı:'s children have also come.
- aǵşam hemsaya:ŋ iti u:la:p yatara ğoymadı. (Te. 3)  
(Last) night the neighbor's dog was howling and didn't let (us) sleep.
- Teke lehjesinnen görä: Ä:rsa:rı:ŋ lehjesi türk diline meñzeşrä:kmi-kä: diyä:n. (Te. 13)  
I'd say the Ä:rsa:rı dialect is more similar to the Turkish language than the Teke dialect, isn't it?
- a:mıderya:ŋ boyı qadı:m zama:nlarda-da hi:č waxt ı:la:tsiz bolma:n dir. (Yo. 1)  
The riverbanks of the Amudarya have in ancient times never been unpopulated.

The genitive of composite nouns, whose second element (the qualified) normally has a POSS3SG suffix, has in the Teke and Ä:rsa:rı dialects been reported as a simple *-Iŋ* (rather than *-I-nIŋ*):

- sereta:n keseli+niŋ > sereta:n keseliŋ heni:zeče ala:ji yoq diyä:ler. (Te. 16)  
There is as yet no medicine for the cancer disease, they say.
- soǵa:b i:şleri+niŋ > olı:nı sı:lamaq we oña ihtira:m etmek soǵa:b i:şleriŋ bi:ri. (Är. 19)  
It is one of the meritorious works to honor the elder.

Here, as in the examples quoted above, we actually observe the dropping of a syllable {ni}. We may thus assume that there is a general tendency to drop this syllable when it precedes – for whatever reason – a {ŋ}.

(iii) The genitive suffix *-ni* has been observed in the Muqri, Sa:rıq and Xatap dialects only, where it exists alongside with (i)-type *-niŋ*. My materials do not support a safe guess about the frequency of occurrence of the respective types.<sup>158</sup>

- šuni učın bizlerni wılıswa:l sa:yib tiletipdi. (Mu. 1)  
For that the head of district has summoned us.
- jima:nazar**ni** a:ti-yem oǵlaqqa boladı. (Mu. 2)  
Jima:nazar's horse will also do for buzkashi.
- bu kişi da:wud eken**ni** oǵlı. (Xa. 5)  
This person is Mr. Dawud's son.

<sup>157</sup> In the phonology part of this book (4.3.8.a) I am describing the complex reduction of consonant-vowel clusters, which affects among others clusters of [n]+[I]. This reduction seems at work in forms like *meŋ* (< *meniŋ*) 'my' (Te.Är.), *şoŋ* (< *şoniŋ*) 'that one's' (Är.), *seŋki* (< *seniŋki*) 'yours' (Te.Är.) and *sarata:n keseliŋ ala:ji* (< *keseliniŋ*) 'medicine for the cancer disease'. Although this reduction might be at work here as well, if we understand the *-ŋ* suffix as a product of [ni]-reduction affecting the regular genitive suffix *-nIŋ*, with regard to its regularity of occurrence I prefer to interpret *-ŋ* as a type of genitive suffix in its own right.

<sup>158</sup> Yakup 2005 also mentions the coexistence of *-nXŋ* and *-nX* for the Turfan dialect of Uyghur; in his case the *-nX* variant is by far the most frequent one (96; 99ff.).

(iv) The genitive produced by the suffix *-IŋQI / -ŋQI*<sup>159</sup> is different from the other genitive types in that it can take on a non-attributive / non-adverbial function which is then marked by the respective case suffixes. There is no pronominal *n* in these cases.

- *iŋ yağşı çaqqı čeyrekä:ŋki bolyo:r.* (Är. 37)  
The best knives are Čeyrekä:'s (i.e., Čārikār's).
- *murtını pišigiŋki ya:lı edip* (Te. 16)  
making his whiskers like a cat's
- *berdileriŋkä: hem bardıŋizmi?* (Är. 53)  
Did you also go to the Berdis?
- *oŋqa: buwin barmali dā:l* (Är. 35)  
We shouldn't go to his (place) today.
- *g̃unduzda türkmenleriŋ gi:m-ä:m bā:ri maza:rišeri:pde ya:šayo:n türkmeniŋkiden parx etyo:r.* (Är. 1)  
In Qunduz even the garments of the Turkmens are different from those of the Turkmens living in Māzāri Sharif.
- *Ĝundalıŋ zāhāri yıla:nıŋqıdan-am beter-mišin diyo:rlar.* (Är. 41)  
They say the poison of a tarantula is worse than a snake's.

If the genitive suffix follows a plural suffix, the cluster [lArIŋQI] is regularly reduced to [lAŋQI]:

- *kā:bir ĝandha:rlılarıŋam yüzi haza:ralaŋqı ya:nı yassı bolyo:r.* (Är. 1)  
Many a Kandahari's face is flat like that of the Hazaras.
- *ğū:rra:q boljaq yeri:m da:yımlaŋqı, mıra:dlaŋqa:-da:m kā:pille bararın.* (Är. 32)  
The place where I most often am is my uncle's; sometimes I also go to the Mira:ds'.
- *yo:lđa ča:rı hajılaŋqa:-da da:rı:dıq.* (Är. 5)  
On (our) way we also dropped by at Ča:rı Haji's.
- *biziŋ ĝoynimiz olaŋqı bilen deŋešdirende köp semiz bolyo:r.* (Är. 12)  
Our sheep, when compared with theirs, are very fat.

Reduction of [nI], which is a familiar phenomenon and has been described in 4.3.8.a, results in abbreviated forms like *meŋki* (< *meniŋki*), *seŋki* (< *seniŋki*), *šoŋ* (< *šoŋı*).

- *sa:nap görsek xuda:ybereniŋ goynı sekkiz yüz ya:nı, meŋki bosa iki yüz elli eken.* (Är. 16)  
As we counted, Xuda:yberen's sheep were some eight hundred; mine were two hundred fifty.
- *meniŋ etya:n i:šim na:doğrı bolsa yüzimi görmä:n seŋki bolano:q diyıŋ!* (Te. 5)  
If what I am doing is not right, tell me «Yours isn't (right)» without regard of my face!

(v) The genitive suffix type *-QI* occurs only very unfrequently in my materials, so that its existence as an independent type (rather than a result of some contraction or reduction) cannot yet be taken for granted. The examples are all from the Ä:rsa:rı dialect.

- *šıl ĝoyunlaram a:ğamqı* (Är. 12)  
These sheep are also my elder brother's.

<sup>159</sup> Schönig 1999:65 mentions the Salar genitive in *-niği* as an unusual form; compare also *-nłki* in the Turfan dialect of modern Uyghur (Yakup 2005:96f.).



- bul oğlanlar kimki? (Är. 15)  
Whose are these kids?
- yoqarda duran ha:lılarıñ hemmesi ol a:damqı. (Är. 38)  
The carpets which are upstairs are all that man's.

(c) Accusative

**Table 5-4:** Accusative suffixes

	nominal stem -C	nominal stem -V / -V:
ACC	Ø	
	-I ~ -i -ni (Mu.Xa.)	-nI ~ -ni

(i) The accusative marker of indefinite nouns is the zero suffix, which is necessarily combined with the positioning of the zero-marked noun next to the verb that takes it as indefinite direct object.

- qomanda:nlar hayrata:nnan köp **buğday daşadılar**. (Är. 14)  
The commanders hauled much wheat across (the) Hayrata.n (checkpoint).
- **ılan gürgendey** qorqdı. (Mu. 1)  
He was frightened as if (he) had seen a snake.

In case of impending misunderstanding, indefinite nouns which serve as direct objects can take the suffix *-I / -nI*, which otherwise marks the accusative of definite nouns only:

- yağşı > yağşı:**ni** görmeqem soğa:p diyipdirler. (Är. 10)  
They say, even to (only) see a good (man) is (already a) merit(uous deed).

(ii) Definite nouns, all pronouns, and words and clauses which ad hoc or by definition count as definite, take on an accusative suffix as shown in table 5-4.

The accusative suffixes mostly follow the twofold high vowel harmony. Disharmonic variants of the suffixes occur unfrequently, maybe on an occasional or idiolectal basis only. The suffix variant *-ni* following nouns with final consonant, which is also mostly disharmonic, is used only in the ND dialects.

- oğlanlar sapağı bilmese çı:bıqla:p urardılar. (Sa. 4)  
If the kids didn't know the lesson, (the teachers) would cane (them).
- o:dı tutaşdırıp bilmä:n dir. (Är. 42)  
He was unable to light the fire.
- bu kişi biziñ lehjelerimizi u:renyo:r-eken. (Ba. 4)  
This man investigates our dialects.
- soñ xalqı aytma:n diñe bir giyyewiñ ö:zini çağiriq-ğoybero:r. (Sa. 3)  
Then without inviting the people they invite (only) the groom himself.

- men ömrimde ġula:mdey yaman a:damni kürmedim. (Mu. 2)  
I have never in my life seen such a bad man as Ĝula:m.

(iii) In the *xāliš* dialects, agglutination of the accusative suffix leads to the lengthening of a short final vowel; in the *nāxāliš* dialects this lengthening does not occur.

- ayrı > asil arwana: šul ayrı:ni ġoysaŋ iner doġyä:. (Te. 1)  
If you allow that two-humped camel to mate with an *arwana*-camel, an *iner*-camel will come into being.
- öli > öli:ni depin etmä:ne-de köp xarji gerek. (Är. 1)  
In order to bury a dead person great expenses are necessary.
- öli > bizde xu ölini liba:si bilen kömmeydiler. (Ba. 5)  
At our (place) they don't bury the dead body with his clothes.
- orta > taşqulıŋ eline oq tegip kiçik ustaxanı mana şu ortanı alıp kiten. (Mu. 1)  
A bullet hit Taşqul's hand and removed the little bone, this part (I am pointing at).

The final vowel of the POSS3SG suffix (-*I* or -*sI*) is in all dialects mostly excluded from lengthening; my materials contain only rare examples with lengthening of a possessive suffix vowel preceding the accusative suffix.

- depter+i+ni > ekber a:ġa-da şirketiniŋ depterini kipa:yat markitde ġorşadı. (Är. 22)  
And Ekber A:ġa established the office of his company in the Kifa:yat Market.
- dil+i+ni > hizbiŋ mara:mna:masında her bir milletin haqı ba:r-eken ö:z ene dilini olanma:ġa. (Te. 5)  
According to the Party's statute every nation has the right to use their own language.
- til+i+ni > her kim ö:z tilini keplemeli. (Te. 7)  
Everybody must speak his own language.
- yer+i+ni > bi yeri:ni issi görseŋiz mı:ma:ndi:wa:la baralı, šo yerde ça:y içi:p yatars. (Är. 6)  
If you consider this place (of all places) too hot, let's go to the guestroom and drink tea over there!

(iv) The dropping of the accusative suffix vowel after POSS3SG, -*InI* > -*In*, which is a familiar phenomenon in the pre-modern Turkmen Turki of Afghanistan, has been observed in the contemporary Ä:rsa:rı dialect as well:

- ja:nını > bä:š yilla:p ja:nın ayama:n i:ra:nda i:şledi. (Är. 41)  
He worked five years in Iran without sparing himself (lit. his body).
- xuda:ybereniŋ tä:ze hu:lısın gördiŋizmi? (Är. 12)  
Have you seen Xuda:yberen's new house?
- ba:dı pä:lwa:nıŋam a:xır šul oġlaq başın iyer. (Är. 10)  
In the end this buzkashi will exhaust (lit. eat the head of) Ba:dı Pä:lwa:n!

(v) The accusative of the PRON1SG has in the Muqrı dialect been reported as *mini* 'me':

- mini kürip qorqdı (Mu. 1)  
He was frightened when he saw me.

My materials do not contain enough examples to decide whether this is a regular form in that dialect, or just an occasional or idiolectal variant.

(d) Dative

**Table 5-5:** Dative suffixes

	nominal stem -C	nominal stem -V
DAT	-A	-V+DAT > -A:
	-ĜA (Är.Mu.)	
	-I:Q (Te.)	-V+DAT > -A:Q / -I:Q (Te. Yo.)

(i) The dative suffix in all Afghan Turkmen dialects is *-A*. Examples: *bi:rini dä:ktere görkez-* 'to show somebody to the doctor'; *suwa git-* 'to go to (fetch) water'; *türk diline meýzeş* (XD) 'similar to the Turkish language', *deýze gölay* 'close to the sea'; *üç o:ğa:na: bir ğa:wın* 'one watermelon for three Afghani', *sarayı bä:ş yıla kirey al-* 'to rent the businessplace for five years'.

- *itimiz örä:n paxi:r, hi:čkime degen yo:q!* (Är. 5)  
Our dog is utterly gentle, he attacks nobody at all.
- *düyyä:niň dö:rt ya:şa:rına buwırçı di:yä: .* (Te. 1)  
They say *buwırçı* to the four-year-old (foal) of a camel.

(ii) If the dative suffix follows a stem with a final vowel, that vowel coalesces with the dative suffix vowel into *-A:*. Examples: *alma* > *alma:* 'to the apple', *arı* > *ara:* 'to the bee'; *gişi* > *gişä:* 'to the person', *ülke* > *ülkä:* 'to the country', *ha:lı* > *ha:la:* 'to the carpet'.

In the Ä:rsa:rı, Yomut and Teke dialects, the dative of the lexeme *yer* 'place' (and its plural form) is *yerä:* (*yerlerä:*) with a long suffix vowel; as for the other dialects, examples are hitherto missing. My materials do not contain any other such exceptional forms.

- *siz ra:s aytya:ňız, bir yerä: gitmeg-em aňsa:t dä:l.* (Te. 10)  
You are saying right, it is not easy to go somewhere.
- *ara:za a:yinda bir yerä: gidiş-em ği:n bolya:r.* (Yo. 1)  
In the month of Ramadan it is difficult to go some place.
- *nesi:be tartmasa o yerlerä: gidip bolmaz.* (Är. 5)  
If it is not (one's) lot, one cannot go to these places.

(iii) In the Ä:rsa:rı, Xatap, Olam, and Muqrı dialects the dative suffix *-ĜA* also occurs, although unfrequently. In the Ä:rsa:rı dialect it might most probably occur under the influence of the pre-modern literary language – its occurrence seems to be confined to the speech of mullahs and literati. In the Muqrı dialect, on the other hand, it may be due to the close relation with neighboring Uzbek dialects.

- *birinjiden kö:ne qala:ĝa barıp soň aňrı xa:nča:rba:ğ barars.* (Är. 9)  
First we go to the ancient fortress and after that we go to Xa:nča:rba:ğ over there.
- *men mesjidi nebewi:ge haja barıptım.* (Är. 2)  
I had gone to the Prophet's Mosque for hajj.

- biltir a:ta bererge a:rpem qalmegen idi. (Mu. 2)  
Last year not even rye had remained (for us) to give to the horse.

(iv) In the Teke dialect, placenames and relational nouns can take  $-(I:)Q / -V:Q$  as dative suffix. My materials contain only a limited number of examples so that the conditions under which this suffix is preferred to the  $-A$ -suffix cannot be determined. Examples:  $bä:ri > bä:ri:k$  'hither' (Te.Yo.Sa.),  $añrı > añrı:q$  'beyond', (Te.Yo.Sa)  $o tayı > o tayı:q$  'to that side',  $ileri > ileri:k$  'forward',  $ğayra > ğayra:q$  'backward / south',  $içeri > içeri:k$  'into' (Te. Yo.Yem.Sa.).

- biziñ ata-ba:balarmız inqıla:p yıllarında birinjiden darğanata:q taraplara barıpdırlar, soñ o yerde durma:n **bä:ri:k** gelipdirler. (Te. 19)  
Our forefathers first went to Darğanata:q (and) those environs; then they didn't stay there (but) came here.
- biz hemme türk doğanlarmızı **bi yeri:k** ça:ğırıya:s ki gelip görsinler we hemkä:rlik etsinler. (Te. 11)  
We invite all our Turkic brethren here so that they may come and see and cooperate.

(v) In the Ä:rsa:rı and Sa:rıq dialects the dative of a placename need not take any of these suffixes if it immediately precedes a verb bearing the meaning of 'to go to...':

- öten hepde **dewlada:ba:d barıp andxoy barıp** şu xı:lı ha:lı tapmadıq. (Är. 38)  
Last week we went to Dawlatābād, we went to Andkhoy, (but) we didn't find this type of carpet.
- ye:tim sa:yibi ça:rjewde görmedim, so:rasam **marı gidipdir** di:iler. (Är. 10)  
I didn't see Ye:tim Sa:yib in Charjou. When I asked, they said he had gone to Marw.
- qawmlar **marçaq gelende...** (Sa. 3)  
When the tribes came to Marçaq...

(vi) The dative forms of the personal pronouns of 1.SG and 2.SG are in XD dialects *maña* and *saña*; the dative forms of the demonstrative pronouns are *oña*, *šoña* etc.

(vii) The dative case combines with postpositions like *ğarap* 'according to ...' ; *çelli ~ çenli ~ çenli:k* 'until ..., as far as ...' ; *deñ ~ deñi:ç* 'until ...' ; *meñzeş* 'similar to...'; *göra:* 'according to ...' ; *ğara:nda* 'compared with ...' ; *ğolay* 'close to ..., approximately ...'; *tarap* 'in the direction of ...' ; *ğarşı* 'against ...' (for more details see the chapter on postpositions).

In postposition clauses of this type the dative suffix can be missing:

- iki:mizem **andxoy ğara:p** yo:la düşdik. (Är. 53)  
We both started our way towards Andkhoy.

(e) Equative / Limitative

**Table 5-6:** Equative / limitative suffixes

	nominal stem -C	nominal stem -V
	-čA (~ -šA)	

EQT/LIM	-dey / -deyin (Mu.Xa.Ba.)	
	-dek / -dağ (Mu. Xa.Ba.)	
LIM	- AčA	-V+LIM > -A:čA
	-Adeŋ (Xa.Mu.)	deŋi:č

(i) All Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan have the equative/limitative suffix *-čA*. In the Ä:rsa:rı dialect the suffix is occasionally realized as {šA}.

- ora:z, alla:beren**če** yağşı nimmira almadı. (Te. 15)  
Ora:z did not get as good marks as Alla:beren.
- bir daraxt-za:d-ama: yo:ğ-ekeni aydišlari**ča** (Sa. 3)  
As they say (lit. according to their sayings), there is no tree (or any)thing (there).

The EQT/LIM of 1. and 2.PERSSG may be derived from the nominative as well as the genitive form of the respective pronoun<sup>160</sup>: *menče ~ meniŋče* 'like me, to the same degree as I, according to me', *senče ~ seniŋče* 'like you, to the same degree as you, according to you'.

EQT/LIM forms of the interrogative and demonstrative pronouns have been recorded in different variants: *nä:če* (Är., Te.) ~ *näče* (Är.) ~ *nä:še* (Är.) ~ *niče* (Mo.) 'how many'; *qanča* (all) ~ *qanša ~ hanča* (Är.) 'how much; how many'; *onča* (all) 'like that'; *munča ~ munča* (all) 'like this'; *šonča* (all) 'like this'.

- **onča** yağmır bolmadı. (Är. 38)  
There was not much rain (lit. rain like that).
- bul xatarlı i:šlere **onča** goşülma:mız am gerek dä:l. (Är. 3)  
We had better not so much mingle with these dangerous matters.

The EQT/LIM often occurs in a lexicalized form in adverbs: *başğača* 'special, particular(ly good)', *tä:zeče* 'recently', *oğri:nča* 'secretly'. Some lexicalized forms are derived from a functional or non-functional plural form: *mönlerče a:dam* 'thousands (of) men', *qahrana:nlarča* 'in a heroic manner'. The equative forms derived from tribal names have come to denote the linguistic "quality": *türkmenče geple-* 'to speak Turkmen-like = in the Turkmen language' (also *fa:rsča* 'Persian', *özbekče* 'Uzbek' etc.). – In lexicalized forms the pronominal *n* may be missing, most probably under the influence of the premodern literary language or the neighboring Uzbek idioms: *qa:nu:n boyunča ~ boyıča* (Är.) 'in accordance with the law'.

(ii) The limitative suffixes *-dey / -deyin*, which do not follow vowel harmony, have been recorded from Muqrı speakers only.

<sup>160</sup> Erdal (2000:42) states that an element (in his particular case, the clitic *(y)la* 'with') which governs the genitive of (nouns and) pronouns is "unlike case suffixes". In this sense the Turkmen *-čA* is like and unlike case suffixes.

- men ömrimde **gulamdey** yaman a:damni kürmedim. (Mu. 2)  
I have never in my life seen as bad a man as Ğulam.
- biz-xo a:dem**deyin** birine söz bersek şo sözimizde dormalı. (Mu. 1)  
If we give our word to somebody, we have to stand by that word of ours like a man.

(iii) The equative suffix *-dek / -dağ* has been reported from the Bayat dialect only: *bizlerde* 'like us', *şundağ* 'like that'.

(iii) The combination of the dative in *-A* with the EQT/LIM suffix *-čA* is a limitative form which exists in all dialects: *erti:reče* (Är.Te.Yo.Sa.) 'till next morning', *heni:zeče* 'until now' (Te.).

- Maza:ri şeri:pden sıya:girde**če** şa:yad o:nbä:ş ki:lu:mitir yo:l ba:r dir. (Xa. 2)  
From Mazāri Sharif as far as Siyāgird it's probably fifteen kilometers.
- ma:mu:rı:n sa:at tö:rde**če** i:şliyo:r. (Är. 22)  
The clerks work until four o'clock.
- gi:je na:waxta**ča** yatasım gelmedi. (Är. 23)  
I didn't want to go to bed until late at night.
- men altıncı sınıpa**ča** tağana:rıqda oqı:dım. (Är. 6)  
Until sixth grade I attended school in Tağana:rıq.

A long final vowel of the dative, which in its turn is caused by the suffixation of *-A* to a nominal basis with final vowel, is preserved in the combination:

- ni:rä 'where' + DAT > ni:rä: + LIM > şunnan serek ni:rä:**če** qi:r bolan? (Är. 13)  
As far as what place from here is the road paved?
- meymene '(the city of) Maymana' + DAT > meymenä: + LIM > qadi:m munnan  
Meymenä:**če**-dä:m biz düye tartip bariqqördik. (Är. 39)  
(In) olden times we even traveled from here as far as Maymana by camel.

(iv) In the Xatap dialect the combination of DAT in *-A* with the EQT/LIM suffix *-deŋ*, which then does not follow vowel harmony, is a limitative form. My materials do not contain examples from the other dialects.

- ta: mı:za:nade**ŋ** şı raqam edip atı baqyo:s. (Xa. 4)  
We keep the horse like this until the Libra month.

(v) Clauses containing combinations of verbal nouns and the EQT/LIM suffix *-čA*, like *aydarča ba:r* 'it is (important) enough to tell', *gördikče* 'the more one sees', *geli:nčä* 'until ... comes' are not discussed here any further.

(f) Locative

	nominal stem -C	nominal stem -V
LOC	-dA	

(i) The locative suffix is in all Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan *-dA*. Back-front vowel harmony is not thoroughly observed, especially in the *nāxāliš* dialects. Assimilation of the

suffix-initial consonant happens frequently and follows the principles described in the phonology chapter.

Examples for the spatial and temporal meanings of the locative are: *ni:redē* (Te.) ~ *ni:ride* (Är.) 'where?', *aşırda* (Är.) ~ *aşırda* (Mu.) 'on the other side', *şehr içinne* 'in town' (Te.), *da:ğın üstinne* (Te.) 'on top of the mountain'; *sa:at üçde* 'at 3 o'clock', *i:r zama:nlarda* 'in former times' (Yo.), *ama:nillah xa:nın waxtında* 'in the era of Amānullāh Khān' (Är.); *toy bolanda* 'when a feast happens'; *günde* 'on (every) day', *aslında* 'basically'.

- *bı di:riçilikde dı:nç yeri yo:ğ eken!* (Är. 1)  
In this life there seems to be no tranquil place.
- *ya:zda hawa: ıssı bolsa gışda sawıq bolya: diyä:ler.* (Te. 16)  
If the weather is hot in summer, it will be cold in winter, they say.
- *mende o:n möş da:lar ba:r.* (Är. 53)  
I have 10.000 Dollars on me.
- *ğoyunın etinne hatta: sü:dinne de ya:ğ köp bolmalı.* (Te. 5)  
In the sheep's meat and even in its milk the fat is plenty.

(ii) Simple locatives can be used as attributes:

- *o:ğanısta:nda başşılar qaysı yo:lı ı:zarlıyo:rlar?* (Är. 9)  
Which style do singers in Afghanistan follow?

More often, however, locative forms take the additional suffix *-QI* in order to be used as attributive nouns; on that occasion the vowel of the locative suffix is lengthened:

- *hıra:tdä:ki ti:releri sa:na:p geşjek bolsaq yomutlar tekeler sa:riqlar ya:şaya: .* (Te. 2)  
If we want to enumerate the tribes in Herāt – Yomut, Teke and Sa:riq live (there).
- *buwın asma:nda:qı dilegime yerde duwışdım.* (Är. 17)  
Today I have encountered on earth my desire in heaven.

(g) Ablative

	nominal stem -C	nominal stem -V
ABL	-dAn	

(i) The ablative suffix is in all Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan *-dAn*. Back-front vowel harmony is mostly observed. Assimilation of the suffix-initial consonant occurs under the conditions defined in the phonology chapter. Examples: *uzaqdan* 'from afar', *kä:bilden ğayt-* 'to come (back) from Kabul', *a:lamnan öt-* 'to pass away (lit. from the world)'; *demirden a:dam* 'a man (made) of iron'; *suwıqdan öl-* 'to die from cold'; *erti:r waxtdan tur-* 'to get up early'; *birden* (Är.) 'all of a sudden'.

The following sample sentences demonstrate different functions of the ablative.

- *o:balardan çıqıp gelip şehr içinne ya:şaya:lar* (Te. 6)  
They originated from the villages and have come (to) live down-town.

- šo waxt bir a:damıñ aydanni edip seregi šehriñ içinnen ötirmediler. (Är. 19)  
At that time they did what one (particular) man said and did not let the road pass through the town.
- motarba:n yo:lda yüzyigramiden sürdi. (Är. 11)  
The driver drove 120 km/h on the way (here).
- bul ġoyunları bä:š müñ o:ġa:nıdan aldıq. (Är. 12)  
We purchased these sheep for five thousand Afghani each.
- her bir künden iki künden bir xorji götermeli (Mu. 2)  
Every day (or) every other day one must take a bundle (of hay) (to the horse).
- bu yıl emniyet bolan soñ šä:girdleriñ yüzden altmışı geldi. (Är. 24)  
Since this year security is (good), 60% of the students have come (to school).
- kellä:m, ha:pıza:m šukir allah tarapdan šunya:naq ġü:jli we i:ti meniñ. (Är. 1)  
My head and that memory of mine, thank (God), are by (the help of) Allah sooo strong and sharp!
- čöl ma:lı üydä:kiden dayaw bolmalı. (Är. 12)  
Animals (kept in the) steppes are tougher than those (bred) at home.
- ö:z sü:tdeš doganna-hem ö:zinnen kette bolsa a:ġa diyediler. (Xa. 3)  
To their own brother (from the same mother), if he is elder than themselves, they say a:ġa.

(ii) Some postpositions take the ablative: *di:meden başġa* 'aside from gourds and squashes', *elli ya:šdan soñ* 'after age 50', *onnan soñ* 'after this'; *köpden bä:ri* 'since long ago (lit. much)'; *teke lehjesinnen görü:* 'compared with the Teke dialect'; *bir hepdeden añırı:q* 'after one week' (Te.).

In clauses of comparative ablative+*soñ* the ablative suffix can be dropped. This happens particularly often with the participial construction *-AndAn soñ* : *alandan soñ* > *alan soñ* 'after (sb.) had taken', *gidenden soñ* > *giden soñ* 'after (sb.) had left'; but also with singular lexemes such as *onsoñ* < *onnan soñ* 'after that'.

## D. Derivative nouns

The line between semantic and grammatical derivation is blurred in the Turkic languages and so it is in the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan; a case in point would be the aorist form *-Ar* which can be meaningfully interpreted as both. In this chapter only more or less positive cases of semantic derivation are discussed, while grammatical derivation is discussed in the respective subchapters on morphology. Most examples quoted below are to a certain degree lexicalized. Fully productive derivational suffixes have been marked with an X (e.g. *X-dA:QI*).

### (a) Denominal nouns

**-čII** generates adjectives which render the basic meaning 'well provided with X', 'rich in X', 'particularly interested in X'. Examples: *ġayġı* 'sorrow' > *ġayġıçil ene* 'a caring mother', *edeb* 'manners' > *edebçil šä:girt* 'a disciple with good manners', *gep* 'word, conversation' > *gepçil ġarri* 'a chatty old man', *et* 'meat' > *etçil* 'carnivore', *etçil a:dam* 'a man who is keen on eating meat'.

**X-dA:QI** which is actually a composite of LOC+*QI*, turns locatives into attributives. Examples: *öy* 'house' > *öydä:ki yaxça:l* 'the refrigerator at home', *o:ba* 'village' > *o:bada:qı hu:l:mız* 'our house in the village'.



**X-jA** generates diminutives of adjective nouns, often connoting intensity of the semantic property, and/or affection on the part of the speaker. Examples: *kiči* 'small' > *kičije* 'very small, fairly small', *oli* 'big' > *olija oğlım* 'my (dear) big boy'.

**-jAQ** like *-jA*; occurs only in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect. Examples: *ümsüm* 'silent, non-budging' > *ümsümjek oğlan* 'a silent boy', *yılı* 'lukewarm' > *yılıjaq su*: 'nice and warm water'.

**-jAŋ** generates adjectives which denote characteristics positively related to the meaning of the nominal basis. Examples: *i:ş* 'labor, work' > *i:şjeŋ i:şji* 'a hard-working toiler', *huwes* 'enthusiasm' > *huwesjeŋ a:dam* 'an enthusiastic person'.

**-IAQ** 'provided with X', 'rich in X' etc. Examples: *pul* 'money' > *pullaq a:dam* 'a wealthy man', *i:n* 'width' > *i:nlek yo:l* 'a broad road', *et* 'flesh' > *etlek gişi* 'a stout person'.

**X-II** 'provided with X', 'rich in X', 'full of X' etc. Examples: *du:z* 'salt' > *du:zlı* 'salty', *edeb* 'manners' > *edebli* 'well-behaved', *aqıl* 'intelligence' > *aqıllı* 'intelligent', *ba:yısgı:l* 'bicycle' > *ba:yısgı:lli geldim* 'I have come by bicycle'. In the Ä:rsa:rı dialect the suffix can be reduced in lexicalized derivatives such as *sü:tbürünj* 'ricepudding' (< *sü:tli bürünj*), *diltü:dik* 'reed flute' (< *dilli tü:dik*). The variant *yarati* of *yaralı* 'injured' (< *yara* 'wound') has been recorded in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect only.

**X-II** generates the meaning 'originating from X', which is generally attributable to human beings only. Examples: *kä:billi mıxma:nlar* 'the guests from Kabul', *maza:rlı* 'from Mazāri Şarīf', *o:balı ğı:z* 'a village girl', *çölli xalq* 'desert people'.

**X-IIQ** generates abstract nouns. Examples: *mehessil* 'student' > *mehessilik dewresi* 'the period of students life', *mısa:pır* 'stranger; foreign' > *mısa:pırlıq ğı:nçılığı* 'the troubles of being away from home'.

**-IIQ** 'rich in X' (applicable only to locations): *ağaç* 'tree' > *ağaçlıq mantaqa* 'a woody region'.

**X-IIQ** (following a noun that denotes a timespan) generates the meaning 'of/for such-and-such time'. Examples: *gün* 'day' > *bä:ş günlük ömir* 'life (which lasts only) for five days', *yıl* 'year' > *iki yıllıq zehmet* 'the hard work of two years'.

**-QI** makes locatives of space and time attributable which are not marked with the locative suffix *-dA*; a final vowel of the lexeme may be reduced. Examples: *bügün* 'today' > *bügünki siya:sat* 'the politics of today', *dü:n* 'yesterday' > *dü:nki i:mit* 'the food of yesterday'; *daşarı* 'outdoors, outside' > *daşarqı derweze* 'the exterior gate', *ileri* 'suoth' > *ilerki hemsaya:mız* 'our southern neighbor'.

**X-sIz** 'lacking X', 'X-free' etc. Examples: *du:zsız* 'saltless, salt-free', *su:sız çöl* 'a waterless desert', *atasız oğlan* 'a fatherless child'.

The lexicon of the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan contains many products of derivatoin with suffixes or prefixes that originate from the Persian language. Most of these lexemes are fully lexicalized copies and their affixes are not productive in the Turkmen dialects, although they may be phonologically adapted: *-a:na* 'X-like, typical of X' (*şa:yıra:na xiya:l* 'poetic imagination' < *şa:yir* 'poet', *zena:na kesel* 'women's disorders' (< \**zen* 'woman', not used in Turkmen), etc.) ; *-ba:z* 'X-player' (*quma:rba:z* 'gambler', *beçeba:z* 'boylover') ; *-paraz* < pers. *-parast* 'mad with X, addicted to X' (*quwmparaz* 'ethnicist', *mi:xma:nparaz* 'utterly hospitable') and a few others.

Some copied suffixes are at least partly productive in the Turkmen dialects:

**X-čA** : generates diminutives of substantive nouns. Examples: *ha:lı* 'carpet' > *ha:lıça* 'small carpet', *ğı:z* 'girl' > *ğı:zča*, *ĝa:zan* 'caldorn' > *ĝa:zanča*, *ča:naq* 'pot' > *ča:naqça*, *topıq* 'knuckle' > *topıqça*, *körpe* 'big quilt' > *körpeçe* 'small mattress'.

**-da:r** : 'having X, equipped with X'. Examples: *ilim* 'knowledge, literacy' > *ilimda:r* 'literate' (which does not exist in the Afghan Persian lexicon), *otırım* 'settlement' > *otırımda:r* 'settled, equipped with settlements'.

Some copied affixes are productively used in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect, while the Teke dialect employs other means to generate the respective meaning:

**bed-** : 'provided with a bad X'. Examples: *axla:q* 'morals' > *bedaxla:q gişi* (Är.) ~ *axla:qsız gişi* (Te.) 'an immoral person', *ğılıq* 'character' > *bedğılıq* (Är.) ~ *ğılıqsız* (Te.) 'vicious'.

**bi:-** : 'X-less'. Examples: *na:mus* 'honor' > *bi:na:mus* (Är.) ~ *na:missız* (Te.) 'dishonourous, dishonored', *gerek* 'necessary' > *bi:gerek* (Är.) ~ *gereg dä:l* (Te.) 'unnecessary'.

**na:-** : 'un-X'. Examples: *beled* 'knowing the place' > *na:beled* (Är.) ~ *belet dä:l* (Te.) 'a stranger to the place', *doğrı* 'right' > *na:doğrı* (Är.) ~ *doğrı dä:l* (Te.) 'wrong'.

#### (b) Deverbal nouns

**-AĞAn** : generates adjectives which bear the meaning 'doing X frequently, intensely, habitually'.<sup>161</sup> Examples: *gül-* 'to laugh' > *gülegen oğlan* 'a child that laughs a lot, a well-tempered child', *i:-* 'to eat' > *i:yegen gōyun* 'a sheep that eats a lot', *ur-* 'to hit' > *urağan a:dam* 'a man who uses to beat'.

**-(A)Q** : 'habitually doing X, inclined towards doing X'. Examples: *u:xla-* 'to sleep' > *u:xlaq ça:ğa* 'a child that sleeps more than usual', *oriš-* 'to hassle' > *oršağ aya:l* 'a quarrelsome woman', *qorq-* 'to fear' > *qorqağ oğlan* 'a fearful child', *ya:r-* 'to tear to pieces' > *ya:raq küjök* 'a rapacious dog'.

**-ArmAn** : 'inclined to do X, ready to do X'. Examples: *ğa:l-* 'to remain' > *ğa:larman mi:xma:n* 'a guest who is going to stay overnight', *et-* 'to do' > *edermen šä:girt* 'a capable disciple', *git-* 'to leave' > *gidermen musa:pir* 'a traveller who is about to leave'.

**-ĞAQ** : '-ing, -y'. Examples: *yapış-* 'to stick (to)' > *yapışğaq ıla:y* 'sticky clay', *bez-* 'to shy away' > *bezgek gōyun* 'a shy sheep'.

**X-(I)ĞII ~ X-(I)İGI** : generates adjectives that convey the meanings 'which can X', 'which ought to be X' or 'which has already been X'; mind the inherently passive/reflexive character of the derivative. Examples: *et-* 'to do' > *ediğli* (Är.) ~ *edilgi* (Te.) *iš* 'work that needs to be done', *min-* 'to ride' > *miniğli* (Är.) ~ *minilgi* (Te.) *at* 'a broken horse', *yu:-* 'to wash' > *yuwiğli* (Är.) ~ *yuwilği* (Te.) *ğa:zan* 'a cauldron that has been washed', *pa:yıla-* 'to distribute' > *pa:ylangı*<sup>162</sup> (Är.) ~ *pa:ylağlı* (Te.) *yer* 'lands that have been / need to be distributed'. (For details on metathesis and dialectal difference, cf. 4.3.4.a.ii.)

**-ĞIn ~ -ĞUn** : generates adjectives whose meaning is the 'result of action X'. Examples: *yaz-* 'to spread' > *yazğın yer* 'broad areas', *ös-* 'to grow (intr.)' > *ösgün saç* 'long hair', *i:r-* 'to tire' > *i:rgin a:dam* 'a tired man'.

**-ĞIr ~ -ĞUr** : *al-* 'to seize' > *alğır ğuš* 'a rapacious bird', *öt-* 'to pass' > *ötgir pā:ki* 'a sharp razor'.

**-IQ ~ -UQ** : generates adjectives that denote the 'result of action X'. Examples: *yıq-* 'to pull down' > *yıqıq di:wa:l* 'a demolished wall', *yol-* 'to dishevel' > *yoluq yip* 'a broken rope'.

<sup>161</sup> Johanson 2005:154f. mentions a "deverbal adjective –EGEn" denoting "intensity, duration, iteration and habituality" for, among others, the Turkmen language. My materials would not support the element of duration, but does support all others.

<sup>162</sup> The [n] is a result of haplology prevention.

**-jAŋ** : 'inclined to do X'. Examples: *uyal-* 'to be bashful' > *uyaljaŋ ođlan* 'a bashful child', *bařar-* 'to succeed' > *bařarjaŋ mä:lim* 'a successful teacher', *yalin-* 'to flatter' > *yalinjaŋ giři* 'a flatterer person'.

**-msAQ** (rare) : 'incessantly doing X'. Examples: *geple-* 'to talk' > *geplemsek a:dam* 'a talkative man', *čöple-* 'to pick' > *čöplemsek a:dam* 'a picky man'.

### 5.1.2 Pronouns

(a) Personal pronouns: First person

**Table 5-7** : Personal pronouns (1.PERS)

CASE			
NOM	men	biz	bizler (Är. Sa.Mu.Ba. Xat. ) ~ biller (Är.Sa.)
GEN	meniŋ ~ meniŋ (XD. ) meŋ (Te.Yo.Yem.). meŋki (Är.)	biziŋ	bizleriŋ (Är.Sa.) ~ billeriŋ (Är.) billeŋ Är.
AKK	meni	bizi	bizlerni (Mu.Xa.Ba.Xo.)
DAT	maŋa ~ mence (Mu.Xa.Ba.)	bize	bizlere (Är.Sa.) ~ billere (Är.)
EQT	menče ~ meniŋče (Te.Yo.Yem.)	bizče ~ biziŋče (Te. Yo.Yem.)	bizlerde Ba.
LOC	mende ~ menne (Te.Yo. Yem.)	bizde (all) ~ bize (Te.Yo.Yem)	bizlerde (all) ~ billerde (Är.Sa.)
ABL	menden ~ mennen (Är.Te.Sa.)	bizden (all) ~ bizen (Te. Yo.Yem)	bizlerden ~ bizerden (Te.)

Unless otherwise specified, the forms quoted in the table exist in all dialects. The dative, like in many Turkic languages, has the special back-vowel form *maŋa*. The EQT/LIM form may or may not take the genitive suffix, without obvious difference of meaning or function. The assimilated and reduced variants (*menne*, *meŋ* etc.) follow the principles discussed in the phonology chapter.

(i) The personal pronouns for first persons are *men*, *biz* and *bizler*. The usage of the 1.PERS personal pronouns is in the Turkmen dialects less restricted than in many other Turkic idioms, with the Teke and Yomut dialects applying the pronouns most liberally. Regardless of personal markers like possessive suffixes, personal suffixes or finite verbs which co-exist in a phrase/sentence, the pronouns are mostly used in unstressed as well as stressed (thema or

rhema) position. Kinship-related phrases appear to generally necessitate the mentioning of the personal pronoun to denote the possessor.

- oroz čopanda:z ya:nı gü:çli čopanda:z heni:zeče **biz** görenmiz yo:q. (Är. 38)  
We have to date not seen a(nother) buzkashi player as powerful as Oroz čopanda:z.
- **men** hemme za:dı i:yä:n, hi:č danna:mo:q! (Te. 18)  
I eat everything, I am not picky!
- yo:q, marıdan dä:l, **biziñ** ata-ba:balarmız ta:šhawızdan gelen. (Yo. 1)  
No, not from Marı – our forefathers came from Ta:šhawız.
- **meniñ** ata:m uzı:n boylı a:dam-dı. (Te. 19)  
My father was a tall man.
- **biziñ** ba:balarmız (...) beši:r ğıšlağınnan o:ğa:nısta:na hijret edip dirler. (Är. 7)  
Our forefathers have migrated from the village of Beši:r to Afghanistan.
- **meniñ** oğlım her ha:lđa tib oqı:şı gerek. (Är. 15)  
My son must in any case go for medical studies.
- Kelderde-hem **meniñ** bir dayzam ba:r. (Är. 3)  
I have an aunt in Kelder.

(ii) The pronoun *men* denotes a single first person.

- **men** sekiz yıldan bä:ri berhi:z etyä:n. (Te. 8)  
I have been keeping to a diet since eight years.
- **men** yetti ya:şımđaqam enem ölipti. (Är. 40)  
When I was seven years old my mother died.
- **meniñ** pikrimä görä: watannan ayrıлмақ iñ yaman za:tlarıñ bi:ri. (Te. 6)  
According to my opinion, being separated from one's homeland is one of the worst things.
- ağşam **meni** čıya:n čoqđı. (Är. 26)  
(Last) night a scorpion stung me.

(iii) Things are not as simple as that in the cases of *biz* and *bizler*. A group of (single) first persons is mostly denoted by *biz* (often with the extension (*hem*)).

- **biz-em** yığnağa dö:rt bolıp bardıq. (Te. 5)  
We went to the meeting as (a group of) four.
- **biz-em** çağbada ğa:lıp suwa düşen sıčan ya:nı boldıq. (Är. 40)  
We got caught in the rain and were (drained) like mice fallen into the water.
- **biz** ol yerä: sa:ğat sekize barmalı. (Te. 6)  
We need to go there at 8 o'clock.
- **biz-em** ba:zar orta: ešek minnik. (Yo. 1)  
We rode on horseback as far as the bazaar.

A plurality of first persons understood as a collective is generally denoted by *biz* (*hem*). In the ND the usage of *biz* seems to be less liberal than in the XD.

- **biz-em** ča:ğalıqda kä:n aşıq oyna:rdıq. (Te. 3)  
In (our) childhood we [= the kids of our neighborhood] used to extensively play with knucklebones.
- **biz** mekteb oqasaq-da pa:rsını ğawı bilemmizo:q. (Te. 20)

Even if we [= the Teke people] study (in) school we don't know Persian well.

- **bizde** mele čä:kmeni köprä:k ya:şolılar giyä: . (Te. 19)  
At ours it is mostly the elders who put on gold-colored cloaks.
- **biz** tekelerde şu xı:l jorap doqaya:lar. (Te. 12)  
At us, the Teke's, they knit this type of stockings.
- **bizde-xu** ölini liba:si bilen kömmeydiler, hetmen kefen qıladılar. (Ba. 5)  
At ours they don't bury the dead body with garments; they definitely wrap him in a shroud.
- **bize** bir juma: günnen başğa rusğatı yo:q. (Te. 14)  
For us there are no days off aside from Friday.

In the Ä:rsa:rı, Muqri, Xatap and Bayat dialects a plurality of first persons understood as a collective can also be denoted by the pronoun *bizler*:

- **biller** nā:mi:ş edibilers. (Är. 4)  
What can we do... .
- köprä:g onda:m şil **billeŋ** türkmenlemmize kömek edilse. (Är. 36)  
And if then more (than anyone else) our Turkmens were supported!
- **bizler** a:ta-ba:walarmız bir yerde bola:n. (Mu. 1)  
Our forefathers have been (living) at the same place.
- özbek-em bolsa **bizlerde**k gepuređi ši-yem. (Ba. 3)  
Although he is an Uzbek, he speaks like us.
- diri:werleriŋ ö:zi bā:zi:si oqı:çılarmıza kömek etyo:, yā:ni: **bizlerden** pul almiyo:r. (Xa. 2)  
The drivers themselves, some of them, support our students, that is, they don't take money from us.

Explicit singularity of individuals within a group of first persons has in rare cases also been reported as expressed by *bizler*:

- soŋ šo gi:je birbeje gelip **billeriŋ** saqğal-mırı:dımızı sı:rıp gitdi. (Är. 14)  
Then that night at one o'clock (they) came and shaved everybody's beard and moustaches.

In all dialects the pronoun *biz* is in modest speech used for a single first person:

- **biz** ni:redede bolsağ-am sizden xabar aljaq bolars. (Te. 6)  
Wherever I am [= 1SGMODEST] I [= I] try to keep track of you [= 2SGRESP].

In the Är.Sa.Mu.Ba.Xa. dialects the pronoun *bizler* (*hem*) expresses modesty:

- **biller**-em altınjı sınıpača marčaqda mekdep oqadıq. (Sa. 3)  
I attended school in Marčağ up to sixth grade.
- šuni učiŋ **bizlerni** wılswa:l sa:yib tiletipdi. (Mu. 1)  
Therefore the district chief summoned me.

(b) Personal pronouns: Second person

**Table 5-8:** Pronouns second person

CASE			
NOM	sen	siz	sizler (Är.Sa.) ~ siller (Är.)
GEN	seniñ señ (Te.Yo.Yem)	siziñ	sizleriñ (Är.Sa.) silleriñ (Är.)
ACC	seni	sizi (XD) ~ sizni (ND)	sizleri (XD) ~ sizlerni (ND)
DAT	saña (XD) ~ siñe (ND)	size	sizlere ~ sillere (Är.)
EQT/LIM	senče ~ seniñče	sizče	sizlerče ~ sillerče (Är.)
LOC	sende ~ senne (Te.Yo. Yem.)	sizde	sizlerde (Är.Sa.ND) ~ sillerde (Är.)
ABL	senden ~ sennen (Te.Yo.Yem.Är.)	sizden	sizlerden (Är.Sa. ND) ~ sillerden (Är.)

Unless otherwise indicated, all forms are used in all dialects. The dative is the back-vowel word *saña*; the parallel form *siñe* has been reported in the Är.Mu.Ba.Xa. dialects. The EQT/LIM may or may not take the genitive suffix (*senče ~ seniñče*, *sizče ~ siziñče*), without obvious difference in meaning or function. The assimilated forms (*senne* etc.) follow the principles described in the phonology chapter.

The postposed particle *-hem* or derivatives of it (*-Am*), or (in rare cases) its equivalent *-dA*, can be added without any obvious change in meaning.

(i) The personal pronoun *sen* denotes single second persons who are addressed without particular respect, such as children and minors, subalterns, subordinates; irreverence or disrespect is not generally involved, but the social position of the addressed person equals that of the speaker at best. Unfamiliarity would in the Är. and ND dialects exclude a person from being addressed as *sen*.

When a third person's address to ego is quoted, the respective personal pronoun directed on ego is also often quoted as *sen* irrespective of the actual form that had been used in the address:

- bu yerdä:ki šä:girdlerimin hi:č haysi **sennen** ökde dä:l di:di. (Te.)  
He said (to me), none of my students here is more intelligent than you.
- tuja:rat etjek bolsañ **senne** šunča pul barmi di:di. (Te. 7)  
He said (to me), if you want to go in for trade – do you have so much money (available)?!

In the Ä:rsa:rı dialect the pronoun *sen* has been reported as functioning as an impersonal pronoun:

- **sen** bir gitseñ iki yılača gelesiñ yo:q. (Är. 45)  
If you go (to Iran for work), you won't come back for as much as two years.

(ii) The pronoun *siz* is directed on a plurality of persons without particular regard to their individual social positions towards the speaker:

- **siziŋ** hemmä:ŋiz mehessilmi? (Te. 15)  
Are you all students?
- **siz** hemmelerŋiz aša:qı ta:mda yatıŋ. (Är. 1)  
All of you (guests), (please) retire to rest in the room downstairs!

The pronoun *siz* is also applied when addressing a single person with respect or deference, for example because of his superior social position. In the Teke dialect, the usage of *siz* (as opposed to *sen*) appears to be more restricted than, for example, in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect.

- **sizi** bi:ri dergä:p gelipdir. (Är. 11)  
Somebody has come in quest of you.
- **siziŋ** tö:rt sa:nı oğlıŋız ba:r, şüyle dä:lmi? (Är. 19)  
You have four sons, isn't it?
- **siz** ikra:ma nesı:hat berib otırma:ŋ, yaqımı yo:q şoŋ. (Är. 1)  
Don't waste your time on giving advice to Ikra:m, he is no good.
- **siz** bıl i:şiŋ hötdesinnen gelip bilmejek bolsaŋız öŋnen aydıŋ. (Te. 3)  
If you can't see this piece of work through, tell (me) from the beginning.

In the Ä:rsa:rı dialect, quotations containing an address to oneself can be rendered as *siz* (rather than *sen*) if that was the original address:

- mennen, **siz** qaysı qawmnan bolyo:rsıŋız diyip so:radı. (Är. 7)  
He asked me, which tribe are you from.

If an impersonal pronoun is necessary, in my materials it is mostly *siz*. It is difficult to decide, however, if this is due to my own presence (as a guest or otherwise honored person) in the recording situations, or should rather be considered an independent feature.

- xayya:t awal **siziŋ** mejberıŋizi alar soŋ şoŋa ġarap tiker. (Te. 5)  
First the tailor takes your [= one's] measurements and then he sews according to that.
- **siz** piša:riŋiz bolsa yımırta hem köp i:mä:ŋ. (Är. 17)  
If you have [= one has] (high) blood pressure, don't eat (too) many eggs.
- bir sapar xalqı aldasaŋız soŋ hemi:şe **size** inanmaya:lar. (Te. 16)  
If you deceive the people once, then they will never (again) trust you.
- **siz** bir rewšen bir gişi bosaŋız mawla:n qomanda:n **siz** bilen ġatı gelişyo:r-tı derrew. (Är. 6)  
If you were [= one was] an educated person Mawla:n Qomanda:n would quickly come to terms with you.

(iii) The pronoun *sizler*, which is more commonly used in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect than in the others, is directed on a plurality of second persons whose social position is perceived as (slightly or distinctly) inferior of the speaker's position. Even a connotation of disrespect can be contained in this form of address.

- **sizler** nä:çe gişi bolıp bir hu:lida ya:şaya:sıŋız? (Te. 14)  
How many persons are you living in this compound?

- **sizler** qačan marčaq barjaq? (Sa. 2)  
When are you guys going to Marčaq?
- hä:zir men **sizlere** ayıq-ayıq edip aydıp bereyin. (Är. 42)  
Now I am going to tell you (everything) in detail.
- **silleriň** hemme ma:liňiz (...) bir motara degmiyo:r di:di. (Är. 12)  
All of your possessions, he said, does not equal one car.
- men šo pille-dä:m aytdim, **sizleriň** bul i:šňiz yalňış di:dim. (Är. 19)  
I told (them immediately) at that time, what you are doing is wrong, I said.

(c) Personal pronouns: Inclusive

(i) In the Turkmen dialects there are two variants of a personal pronoun that includes first and second persons of which apparently at least one is imagined as an actual plurality: *siz-bizler* and *biz-sizler*.

- ya: bolmasa **siz-bizler** yip diyo:rs, olar bosa üp diyo:r. (Är. 1)  
Or other than that, you and us, we say *yip* ('thread'), while they say *üp*.
- hä: **biz-sizler** bıl diyo:rs ya: šol diyo:rs. (Är. 12)  
Well, we say *bıl* or *šol*.

(ii) An inclusive personal pronoun composed of *sen* and *men*, such as exists in some neighboring non-Turkmen dialects, has not been recorded in the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan.

(d) Demonstrative pronouns / adjectives

In the Turkmen dialects there are three basic types of demonstrative pronouns with their respective phonetic variants and extended basic forms: *\*bu*, *o* and *šu*. The demonstrative pronouns also substitute the personal pronoun of the third person. The unmarked forms of the demonstrative pronouns, and the equative-limitative form of it, function as demonstrative adjectives.

The table shows only variants which are represented in my materials; most probably there exist even more variants than these, but they have not been recorded in actual speech. Unless otherwise indicated, the indicated forms exist in all dialects.

**Table 5-9:** Demonstrative pronouns

	*bu	o	šu
PRONSG NOM	bul ~ bıl (Te.Är.Yo.) ~ bil (ND)	ol ~ o:l (Är.) ~ ho:l (Te.Yo.)	šul ~ šol (Te.Är.Sa.) ~ šıl (Är.)
	bı (Är.)	o	şı (Är.Te.) ~ šo (Är.) ~ šu (Te.Sa.)
	bul-am (Är.) / bul- da (Är.Te.Yo.)	ol-am (Te.Yo.Är.)	ši-yem (Ba.Mu.Xa.)



	bitgi (Qa.)	-	šotǵı (Qa.)
PRONPL NOM	bular (Te.) ~ bılar (Är.Yo.)	olar	šolar (Är.) ~ šılar (Yo.)

(i) The demonstrative pronoun 'this', which refers to an object which is locally or mentally close to the speaker, has been reported in its simple NOMSG form *\*bu* only in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect (as *bi*) and is very rare there, too:

- **bi** nā: görgit boldı. (Är. 6)  
What a nuisance is this!

The extended variant *bul* (all dialects) ~ *bıl* (Te.Är.Yo.) ~ *bil* (Är.) is the standard demonstrative pronoun for near deixis in all dialects.

When used as a PRONPERS3, in the *nāxāliš* dialects the simple demonstrative pronoun *\*bu* is in polite speech replaced by *bu kiši* or *bu kišiler*:

- türkmen tilden (...) bir neti:je alar eken-de **bu kišiler**. (Mu. 1)  
He is drawing conclusions from the Turkmen language.

(ii) The pronoun *o* 'that', which refers to more distant objects and to objects previously mentioned, and its extended variant *ol*, are in universal usage in the dialects.

- siziñ šeri:atıñızda yo:ğ **ol**, di:di, čunki yo:ğ **o** bizde. (Är. 2)  
This does not exist in your sharia law, he said, because it does not exist at ours.

The Ä:rsa:rı dialect has yet another variant with lengthened vowel (*o:l*), which bears a stronger stress; in the Teke dialect a similarly stressed variant is *ho:l* with h-prothesis.

(iii) The pronoun *šu* 'that' and its extended variant *šul* (all dialects) ~ *šol* (Te.) ~ *šıl* (Är.), which refers to absent objects on one hand, and to objects that are immediately being pointed to, on the other, are used in all dialects.

- **šul** zi:ğir ya:ğıñ palawı! (Är. 6)  
This (one here) is sesame oil pilaff!

(iv) The forms *bitgi* and *šotǵı* have by informants from the town of Qarqın (which belongs to the Ä:rsa:rı complex) and by other Ä:rsa:rı dialect speakers been postulated as replacing *bil* and *šıl* respectively, in the (Ä:rsa:r) regiolect of Qarqın. However, I have not been able to record examples from natural speech which contain these variants.

- **šotǵı:nı** alıqgel diseñ šonı alıqgel diyenmiz bolyo:r. (Qa. 1)  
If we say *šotǵı:nı alıqgel* ('bring that one!'), (that is) our way of saying *šonı alıqgel*.
- **bitgi** diyo:rs bil dijegne. ana šol ya:naq ortasında lehjeler parx etyo:r. (Qa. 1)  
We say *bitgi* instead of saying *bil*. Like that the dialects differ among themselves.

- hä: biz-sizler bıl diyo:rs, ya: šol diyo:rs, olar **bıttı** diyo:r bıl di:jegine. šol di:jegne **šottı** **šottı** diyo:, šu tertı:p ortasında. (Är. 1)  
Yeah, we-and-you say *bıl* or *šol*, they say *bıttı* instead of saying *bıl*. Instead of saying *šol* they say *šottı-šottı*. (That's) the way (how things are) among them.

(v) In all dialects, supplying the demonstrative pronoun with the enclitic particle *da* and/or its Persian-origin equivalent *hem* (which can follow vowel harmony and often loses its initial [h]), both of which are in these cases devoid of their original meaning ('also'), is a common phenomenon: *bul-am*, *šolar-da*, *ši-yem* etc. Actually, the variants containing the particle are in natural speech more frequently used than those without, so that one may consider these forms as "pronouns in statu nascendi".

(vi) The demonstrative/personal pronoun plural forms are *bolar*, *olar* and *šolar* in all dialects, with first syllable high vowel variants (*bılar* etc.) occurring in some of the dialects (see table above).

(vii) The declension of the demonstrative pronouns shows some differences between the dialects. The table below may be incomplete; it does not render an ideal full paradigm, but only those forms which have been recorded in my materials and can therefore be safely postulated.

The bases for declined demonstrative pronouns are mostly the simple variants *\*bu*, *o* and *šu*; only the Teke form *bulya:lı* 'like this' is based on the extended variant *bul*. – The possessive and case suffixes follow the simple variants of the pronouns only after the pronominal n: *onı:mız* 'that one of ours', *onča* 'that much', *šonı:ıız* 'that one of yours'.

**Table 5-10:** Declension of the demonstrative pronouns

	*bu	o	šu
GEN	muniŋ  PL bılarıŋ (Är.)	oniŋ ~ oniŋ (Är.ND.)  oŋqı (Är.)  PL olaŋ (Te.Yo.) PL olaŋqı (Är.)	šuniŋ ~ šoniŋ ~ šüniŋ (Sa.) ~ šoŋ (Te.Yo.)  šuni (Mu.)
AKK	mını (Är.)  PL bıları (Är.)	onı  PL oları ~ oları (Sa.)	šonı (Är.) ~ šuni (Är.) ~ šuni (Är.) šotğı:mı (Qa.)
DAT	mıŋa ~ moŋa (Är.)	oŋa (Te.Är.Yo.)	šuŋa (Te.)
EQT/LIM	monča (Är.) ~ munča (Är.Te.) ~ mınča (Te.) mınya:mı ~ munya:mı (Är.) bulya:lı (Te.) büyle (Är.)	onča (Är.)	šunča (Te.) ~ šonča (Är.)  šonya:lı (Te.)  šundağ (Ba.Mu.Xa.)

LOC	munna (Te.)	onda (Är.Te.) ~ onna (Te.)	šunda ~ šonda (Sa.) ~ šonna (Te.Yo.)
ABL	munnan (Är.)	onnan (Är.)	šonnan (Te. Är.) ~ šunnan (Är.) ~ šinnan (Är.)

(viii) Almost all declined forms of the pronoun \**bu* have initial [m] : EQT/LIM *monča* ~ *munča* ~ *minča* (Är.) 'so much, so many', LOC *munda* ~ *munna* 'here, at this point', ABL *mundan* ~ *munnan* ~ *minnan* (Är.).

(ix) The postpositions which follow the nominative of nouns can in all dialects follow either the nominative or the genitive of pronouns: *o bilen* ~ *onuñ-bilen* 'with that, with him', *šo bilen* ~ *šonuñ-bilen* 'with that one over there'; *onya:ni* ~ *onuñ-ya:ni* 'like that, like him'; *šonya:ni* / *šunya:ni* ~ *šonuñ-ya:ni*.

(x) The phrase *onnan soñ* (Är.) 'after that' is often used as a filler in the sentence-initial position. It exists in various contracted variants: *onsoñ* (Är.Sa.), *osoñ* (Yo.Sa.).

(xi) The EQT/LIM forms bear, along with their primary meaning 'this much etc.', also the meaning 'very much': *onča rawa:j dä:l* 'It is not very usual.'

(xii) Demonstrative pronouns are in sentence-final position used as emphaziers which underline the correctness, relevance etc. of the statement in total (rather than bearing an actual anaphoric function):<sup>163</sup>

- *yağşı atadan dörä:n oğlan xo:y-xıslatınnan bildiryo:r ol.* (Är. 1)  
The child procreated from a good father will be identified by his character and qualities!
- *xalqı aldamaq onıñ gözine topır ormaq hi:ç bir mezhebde dürüs dä:l ol.* (Är. 2)  
It is not okay according to any sect to deceive the people and throw dust in their eyes!
- *pıša:r yaramaz za:d eken bil.* (Te. 10)  
(High) blood pressure is a nasty thing!

(xiii) A demonstrative pronoun separating thema and rhema exposes the thema; syntactically, it should resume the function of the thema element:

- *ğurbaqqa sayrasa šol ya:ziñ niša:nası bolyo:r.* (Är. 12)  
When the frogs croak, that's the indicator of spring.
- *ya:š šı:rba:zı ğuzı:nıñ gö:šti onıñ başğa maza:sı ba:r.* (Är. 14)  
The meat of a young *şı:rba:zı* lamb – that has a different taste!

(xiv) When used as demonstrative adjectives, all extended variant types (*bul*, *ol* and *šol*) are represented in the dialects; out of the simple forms, the *bu* and *šu* types are as adjectives universally used in the dialects.

<sup>163</sup> Erdal (2004:414) suggests that in some Old Turkic cases a pronoun *ol* in the end of both nominal and verbal predicates "seems to function like a copula" while in some cases its source may be a "topicalizing structure". The latter explanation is most plausible for our (Te. 10) example. Erdal's information (2004:234) that "in 3rd persons we often find the [postposed, I assume] pronoun *ol*, even when there is an explicit subject" is interesting for comparison with the phenomenon described here.

**Table 5-11:** Demonstrative adjectives

DEM	bul (Är.ND). ~ bıl (Är.Te.)	ol (XD) ~ o:l (Är.) ~ ho:l (Te.)	şol (Är.Te.Sa.) ~ şul (Är.Te.) ~ şıl (Är.)	şol-şu (Är.)
ADJ	bu ~ bı (Är.Te.Yo.) ~ bi( Är.)	o (Te.)	şu (Är.Te.Sa.Xat.) ~ šo (Är.Te.Sa.) ~ şı (Är.Te.) ~ ši (Te.Yo.)	-

(xv) A demonstrative adjective type *o* has in its simple form been reported only in the Teke and Yomut dialects. The extended variant *ol*, on the other hand, is present in all dialects and appears also as a lengthened variant *o:l* in the Ä:rsa:rı , and *ho:l* with vowel lengthening and h-prothesis, in the Teke dialect; the latter forms bear special stress:

- ba:la:po:şınızı **ho:l** yerde ğoyandırn. (Te. 14)  
I have stored your overcoat away over theeere.
- **o:l** a:dami gördiñmi? (Är. 24)  
Can you see that man over there?

(xvi) Contraction leads to spontaneous forms like *b-a:dam* 'this man' (Te.), *ş-oğlan* 'this boy' (Te.) and, primarily in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect, to quasi-lexicalized forms like *bü:l* < *bu yıl* 'this year', *şü:l* < *şu yıl* 'this year', *bö:rä:* < *\*bu yere* 'here (DAT)', *şö:rde* < *\*şu yerde* 'here' (LOC), *şüwin* 'today' < *\*şu gün*, etc.

(xvii) All demonstrative adjectives can have their deictic function stressed by a preposed presentative interjection *mana* or *ana*:

- Taşqulıñ eline oq tegip kiçik ustaxanı **mana şu** ortanı alıp kiten. (Mu. 1)  
A bullet has hit Taşqul's hand and has taken away the little bone, this place (which I am pointing at).
- **mana ši** za:dları ö:zimiz ğorşayo:rs bö:rde, **ana bı** za:dlar bosa sa:xtegi: bılar pä:kista:nnan gelyo:r. (Är. 37)  
These things here, we construct here ourselves; those over there on the other hand, they are fake, (they) come from Pakistan.

(xviii) As opposed to the demonstrative pronoun type *şu*, which operates for distant deixis, the demonstrative adjective *şu* and its variants refer to objects that are close to speaker and addressee, and can literally be pointed at:

- **şi** dayza:n-a:m motarıñızda alıp gitjekmi? (Är. 7)  
Are you taking this elderly woman (to which I am pointing) along, too?
- **ş-oğlanı** ğoryo:miñ? meniñ yegenim bolya:r. (Te. 3)  
Do you see that boy over there? (He) is my nephew.

The demonstrative adjective type *şu* often serves as a simple affirmative, without bearing an actually demonstrative function (not unlike the word "that" in English):

- bizleñ i:şimiz **şi mı:za:n**nan soñ köp bolyo:.. (Är. 41)  
Our work is much after that Libra (month)!

- **ba:dı pä:lwa:nıñ am a:xır şul oğlaq** başın iyer. (Är. 10)  
That buzkashi is finally going to ruin Ba:dı Pä:lwa:n!

(xix) The reduplicated demonstrative adjective *şol-şu* 'this very ...' has been reported in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect only.

- **şol-şu** waxtda ayağna bir iñçe gi:ren eken. (Är.1)  
At that very moment a needle got stuck in his foot.

(xx) Sequence of demonstrative pronouns / adjectives

If a sentence or a connected set of sentences contains more than one demonstrative elements – pronoun(s) or adjective(s) – a particular sequence appears to be observed. My material is not very rich in examples; the given examples contain the sequence types *o >> şu* and *şu >> bu*.

- **o:l** a:dami görđiñmi? uzi:n a:dami, **şol** yağşi çöpanda:z. (Är. 24)  
Have you seen that man? The tall man. *He* is the good buzkashi player.
- **onı** gözi gö:k hä:ki:m di:yo:tılar, şo waxtda a:zajiq **şonı** bilyo:r ekeni:m. (Är. 6)  
They call him "the blue-eyed officer". At that time I used to know that one a bit.
- **oniñ oğlı şul** o:bada ya:şiyor, yö:ne ö:zi **bö:rde** yo:q. (Är. 34)  
His son lives in this village, but he himself is not here.

(e) Reflexive pronouns / adjectives

(i) The reflexive pronoun is in all Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan *ö:z-* '-self'.

(ii) The reflexive pronoun is supplied with the possessive suffixes to indicate the person and number. In the Ä:rsa:rı dialect POSS1PERSPL and POSS2PERSPL of the reflexive pronoun occur with and without plural suffix: *ö:zimiz ~ ö:zlerimiz* 'ourselves', *ö:ziñiz ~ ö:zlerñiz* 'yourselves'. Although as a rule the vowel of the possessive suffix is high and unrounded, occasional cases of rounding have been found in the *xaliş* dialects:

- **ö:zi** ölennen soñ ikita:plara:m asta-asta tozıpdır. (Är. 1)  
After he himself has died, his books are also bit by bit scattered.
- ö:rde **ö:zlerñiz**-em paxta ekyo:rsıñızımı? (Är. 39)  
Do you also grow cotton there yourselves?
- suwa zıño:r **ö:zini**, tapıp şol oğlanı tapo:r. (Te. 13)  
He throws himself into the water and finds that boy.
- qırq künde a:t **ö:zini** yetiryo:r. (Mu. 2)  
In forty days the horse recovers (lit., itself).
- **ö:züm** doqadim ši ha:li:ni. (Yo. 2)  
I myself have woven this carpet.

(iii) The declension of the reflexive pronoun regularly includes the pronominal *n*; assimilation phenomena (*ö:zinnen* etc.) occur as described in the phonology chapter.

(iv) In the nominative case the reflexive pronoun is often supplied with the respective personal pronoun without an obvious change in meaning:

- meji:de yaz di:sem erinip etmedi, a:xir xati **men ö:zim** yazdım. (Är. 13)  
I said to Meji:d, "write!", but he was lazy and didn't do (it); in the end I wrote the letter myself.
- **biz ö:zimiz** şu i:şi tejirbe edip gördük. (Är. 37)  
We have ourselves tried that work out.
- **siz ö:ziñiz** aytmasaňız hi:çkim ğamıňızda bolmaz. (Te. 2)  
If you don't tell, nobody will care for you.
- **ol** nemedä:m aslan **ö:zi** qawmlığna arab, yö:ne özbeki gepliyo:r. (Är. 1)  
He is himself (for) whatever (reason) actually an Arab by ethnicity, but he speaks Uzbek all the same.

(v) In order to draw special stress to a phrase, the respective simple clause can be extended into a possessor-possessed construction in which the reflexive pronoun is the head and bears the case marker of the respective satellite:

- \*men > **meniñ ö:zim** ğaytadan yene bazara barmali boldim. (Är. 29)  
I myself (then) had to go to the bazaar once over.
- \*marçaqdan > ha:lı şu Marçağıñ **ö:zinnen** çıqo:r. (Sa. 2)  
The (best) carpets emerge from that very Marçaq.
- \*rozgeldi > intejik sabır etseniz rozgeldi:**niñ ö:zä:m** bı meselä:ni çözer. (Är. 2)  
If you are a little bit patient, Rozgeldi himself will solve this problem.

(vi) The reflexive adjective *ö:z* exists in all dialects but is only restrictively used.

- ğoyunlarıñ ğolağna tamğa basyo:rlar soň herkim **ö:z** ğoyunı<sup>164</sup> tamğasınnan taniyo:r. (Är. 12)  
They print a mark on the ears of the sheep and then everyone identifies his own sheep by their earmarks.
- **ö:z** tiliñizde aytıweriñ. (Mu. 1)  
Talk in your own language!

(f) Interrogative pronouns / adjectives

In the interrogatives there is quite a bit of lexical and/or phonological variation among the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan; for details on this, see the respective subchapters.

(i) Some interrogatives are in the Turkmen dialects used as pronouns as well as adjectives. However, the dialects may differ in usage to the effect that some interrogatives are preferably used as a pronoun in one, and as an adjective in other dialects: *nä:* (Är.) 'What, which' and its extended variant *nä:me* (Är.Te.); *qaysı* (Är.Mu.Xa.Ba.) ~ *haysı* (Te.Yo.Sa.Yem.) 'Which'; *nä:çe* (Är.Te.Yo.Sa.Yem) ~ *ni:çe* (Mu.Xa.Ba.) 'how many, how much'; *qanča* (Är.Te.Yo.Sa.) ~ *qanša* (Är.); *nä:hi:l* (Är.)<sup>165</sup> ~ *nä:hi:li* (Te.Yo.Sa.) 'how, of what kind'. In the declined forms, phonotactic phenomena such as lengthening of vowels, contraction, and assimilation occur as described in the phonology chapter. The interrogatives are often used in rhetorical

<sup>164</sup> In the Ä:rsa:rı dialect the lexeme *ğoyun* 'sheep', when a suffix with initial vowel is added, can indeed have its middle syllable vowel deleted (e.g. *ğoyunına* ~ *ğoyınına* 'to his sheep'); this reduction does not occur in the other dialects.

<sup>165</sup> For the Ä:rsa:rı dialect my materials establish the usage as an adjective only.

questions and, combined with *her* 'each', as generalizing indefinite pronoun/adjective. Examples:

- **nä:di:n** aydanım bolmasa! (Är. 6) (< nä: edeyin)  
What shall I do if what I say is not (taken into account)?!
- **nä: xızmat?** (Är. 1)  
What service (can I do for you)?
- bu ça:ğa: **nä:me** bolli, munča a:ğlaya:r. (Te. 16)  
What has happened to this child, (so that) she weeps so much?
- saja **nä:m-moldı?** (Är. 3) (< nä:me boldı)  
What has happened to you?
- **nä:me sebeb**dendir onı maxtımgola: bermä:ndirler. (Te. 2)  
For some (lit. what) reason they did not give her to Maxtımgılı.
- sičan hı:nına gi:ren ya:ni bizem her **qaysı:m** mawza: gi:rdik. (Är. 14)  
Like mice withdraw in their hole, each one of us also withdrew into our place.
- her **qaysıdan** bir neti:je alar eken de bu kişiler (Mu. 1)  
This person takes a result from each one of (the materials he collects).
- o:ğanısta:nda bağşılar **qaysı yo:lı** ı:zarlıyo:rlar? (Är. 9)  
Which style do singers in Afghanistan follow?
- her **haysı**sınıñ tapa:wıtları köp. (Te. 13)  
Each one of them has many distinctions.
- **haysı** gün geldiniz? (Te. 5)  
which day did you come?
- a:qpa:mıq her **nä:çe** etse o:dı tutaşdırıp bilmä:ndir. (Är. 42)  
However much A:qpa:mıq did (struggle), he was unable to light the fire.
- **nä:çe deli:llere** görä: bu xi:l inek oğanısta:nıñ yağdayna bara:bar gelyo:r. (Är. 4)  
According to quite a few pieces of evidence (lit. how many arguments), this sort of cattle suits the conditions of Afghanistan.
- sizler **nä:çe gişi** bolıp bir hu:lıda ya:şaya:sıñız? (Te. 14)  
As how many people are you living in this compound?
- Haji ba:ba **niçe qoyıñız** ba:r? (Mu. 1)  
Grandfather, how many sheep do you have?
- müjberi **qanča?** (Är. 22)  
How much is his dress size?
- **qanča** erbet. (Te. 3)  
How bad!
- uwalam men **qanča mertebe** aytdım, hi:çkim ğolağ asmadı. (Är. 6)  
How many times I said (so) before, (but) nobody listened.
- andxoya su:w gelmiyo:nı **qanşa yıl** boldı. (Är. 40)  
It's been so many years that the water (of the Färyāb river) is not coming as far as Andxoy.
- iner **nä:hi:li düye?** (Te. 13)  
What kind of a camel is an *iner*?
- ašğaba:t uzaqdan **nä:hi:li** görünya:r? (Te. 8)  
What does Ašğaba:t look like from afar?
- indi **nä:hil** boldı, gu:niñize yaqdımı? (Är. 10)  
How is it now, do you like it (lit. does it please your mind)?

(ii) Other interrogatives function as pronouns only: *kim* 'who', *ni:re* ~ *ni:ri* (Är.) 'where' (whose final vowel is in the suffixation process mostly reduced, e.g. *ni:rde* 'where LOC', *ni:rden* 'from where'), *hani* (XD) ~ *qanı* (ND) 'where', *qalay* 'how' (Är.), *haçan* ~ *qaçan* (Är.Sa.) 'when'.

- bu alma **ni:ri:niñ** alması? (Är. 23)  
Where is this apple from? (lit. this apple is an apple of where)
- kita:bi tä:kçede ğoyıptım, **kim** aldı-qa:? (Är. 23)  
I have put the book on the shelf, (I wonder) who has taken it away?
- sizler **qaçan** marçaq barjaq? (Sa. 2)  
When are you guys going to Marçaq?

(g) Indefinite pronouns / adjectives

(i) The preposed generalizing adjective *her* (lit. 'each') turns some of the above named interrogative pronouns into indefinite pronouns: *herkim* 'whoever, everyone', *hernä:me* ~ *hernimurse* (Mu. 2) 'whatsoever', *herhaysı* 'which one ever', *hernä:çe* 'however much'.

- **hernimurse** di:señ (Mu. 1)  
whatever you say
- siçan hı:nına gi:ren ya:ni bizem **her qaysı:m** mawza: gi:rdik. (Är. 14)  
Like mice take refuge in their holes, we also took refuge to (our) positions, each one of us.
- a:qpa:mıq **hernä:çe** etse o:dı tutaşdırıp bilmä:ndir. (Är. 42)  
However much A:qpa:mıq did (try), he was unable to light the fire.

The composites *herhaysı* ~ *herqaysı* (Är.) and *hernä:çe* are used as adjectives as well. The preposed element *hi:ç* ~ *hi:ş* (Är.) replaces *her* in negative clauses:

- büwin mektebe **hi:şkim** gelmedi. (Är. 36)  
Today nobody has come to school.
- biz şu mehpilde **hi:çqaysı:mız** geplemedik. (Är. 22)  
At that meeting none of us said a word.

(ii) Other indefinite pronouns are *bi:ri* ~ *birte* (Mu.Xa. Ba) '(some)one' (which can be extended with *her-/hiç-*), *bä:zi* 'several, some', *köpi* 'many; most'<sup>166</sup>. *Hemme*, *bä:zi* and *köpi* are used as indefinite pronouns and as adjectives as well; *başğa* ~ *başqa* (Mu.Ba.Xa.Är.) 'another ...', *büyleki* (Är.) 'the other ...' and *kä:* (Te.) 'many a ...' are used as adjectives only. Examples: *bä:zi xa:nlarmız* (Är.) 'some (of) our governors', *köpi ja:ylarda* 'in many/most places', *kä: wağıtlar* (Te.) 'at times'.

- sizi **bi:ri** dergä:p gelipdir. (Är. 11)  
Somebody has come in quest of you.
- men bö:rde bolmasam **hi:çbi:ri** hi:çhaçan dođrı nahar bişirmiyo:rlar. (Är. 1)  
If I am not here nobody will ever cook a real meal.
- bu setil teşik eken, **başqa** birtesini a:l. (Mu. 5)

<sup>166</sup> The adnominal form *köpi*, which might be perceived as coined along the Arabo-Persian copies *bä:zi* and *küllü*, on the other hand resembles *üküş+i* in Erdal 2004:163, an adnominally used partitive POSS3PERS. However, this fails to explain the reduplication of the possessive suffix in *köpisi* 'many of them'.



- This bucket has a hole, take another one!
- o yerde türkmenleriň **köpisi** ya:şaya:. (Te. 2)  
Most of the Turkmens live there.
- **büyleki** mı:xma:nlar qačan geljek? (Är. 13)  
When are the other guests coming?

(iii) The copied lexemes *külli* (Är.Sa.) and *ehli* (Te.) function as indefinite adjectives 'all ..., the total of ...'; while *kä:bir* (+ PL.) 'many a ...' is present in all dialects, *bira:n* 'a ... of some sort' has been reported only from the ND dialects.

- bu sapar **külli** çaqır bir bolıp bir a:dama ra:y berdik. (Är. 5)  
This time all Çaqr (people), we allied and voted for one man.
- **ehli** o:ba bolıp a:rıq ğazma:ğa ğatnaşdıq. (Te.18)  
We joined the digging of the canal as the total of the village.
- ata-ba:balarmızıň **kä:bir** resim-rawa:jlary aji:b. (Är. 9)  
Many a custom of our forefathers is wonderful.
- her kişini loyejirgege çaqirmeydiler **bira:n** ya:şolıg molla qumandan ya: qaryada:r bolmese. (Xa. 3)  
They don't invite (just) everybody to the Loya Jirga – unless he is an elder, a mullah, commander or village chief of some sort.

#### (h) Collective pronouns / adjectives

(i) Collective pronouns can be generated by postposing *hem* 'each' to the partitive pronoun/numeral, which in its turn is generated from the cardinal number by suffixation of the possessive: *ikisä:m* (< *ikisi+hem*) 'both of them', *bä:şi:mizä:m* 'all five of us' etc.

(ii) The collective pronoun *ba:ri* 'all' has been recorded from the Teke dialect only: *bulaň ba:ri* 'all of them'.

(iii) The copied lexeme *hemme* 'all' exists in all dialects and is used as a pronoun and as an adjective. In pronominal usage it can be doubled up by a postposed *hem*.

- i:sa i:şa:nı-da marı tewereginde **hemme** tanıya:r eken. (Te. 5)  
In the environs of Marı all (people) used to know I:sa I:şa:n.
- saxı:ja:nıň kepderleri nä:dip **hemmesi** a:q bolyorqa? (Är. 40)  
How come the pigeons of Saxıja:n<sup>167</sup> are all white?
- **hemmesä:m** mara: degişli. (Yo. 1)  
They are all affiliated to Marı.
- biz **hemme** türk doňanlarmızı bi yeri:k ça:ğırıya:s ki gelip görsinler we hemkä:rlik etsinler. (Te. 11)  
We invite all our Turkic brethren here so that they may come and see and cooperate.
- marçaqda **hemme** za:tları ekip bo:r. (Sa. 2)  
In Marçaq all plants (lit. things) can be grown.
- a:damıň **hemme** paa:liyetleri pi:nisine bađlı. (Är. 18)  
All activities of man depend on his brain.

<sup>167</sup> Term of endearment for (the mausoleum of) Hazrat Ali in Mazäri Şaríf, where myriads of white pigeons live.

### 5.1.3 Adjectives

#### (a) Simple adjectives

(i) There is no morphological distinction between adjective and substantive nouns; both categories are distinguished by function only.

(ii) In the Turkmen dialects the adjective qualifies the noun to which it is attributed; the qualifier immediately precedes the qualified: *yağşı sığırlar* 'good cows' (Är. 4), *bir oňat nama:yiş* 'a good spectacle' (Sa. 3). Attributables can be grammatically derived from verbal stems (*aqar su:* 'running water' < *aq-* 'to flow'; *i:riğen göz* 'purulent eye' < *i:rik-* 'to tire' etc.). For details on derivational adjectives in general, see the subchapter on derivation.

(iii) There is no pluralisation, indication of possessive relation, or declension, of the adjective. If an adjective noun takes on plural, possessive or declension suffixes it loses its adjective character and functions as a substantive noun:

- **yağşıları** görmek hem soğa:p dır. (Är. 15)  
To see good ones (*yağşı-PL-ACC*) is already a meritorious deed.
- **ikki oğlımız bar, ulı:mız mekteb oqıyo:r kiçi:miz** bosa heni:z ya:ş. (Är. 34)  
We have two sons, our big one (*ulı-POSS1PL*) studies (at) school, our small one (*kiçi-POSS1PL*) is still young.

#### (b) Intensification, comparative/superlative, downgrading

(i) Reduplication is one way to highlight the meaning of an adverb; is not very frequently used though and it appears to "go" only with a small selection of adjectives: *sü:ji-sü:ji mi:weler* 'very sweet fruits', *ozı:n-ozın saçlar* 'very long hair'.

(ii) Intensification by means of preposed qualifiers, on the other hand, is a very frequent phenomenon and there is a great choice of qualifiers available: *yaman* (lit. 'bad'), *çattı* (Är.Mu. Xa. Ba.) (lit. 'dirty' ~ 'very'), *ğati* (Te.) (lit. 'hard'), *ökde* (Är.), *örä:n* (XD), *jıda:* (Yo.Te.Sa.Är), *mojiq* (Är.Mu.Xa.Ba.) (lit. 'bad'), *köp* (Är.Mu.Ba.Xa.Qa.) (lit. 'much'). Examples: *yaman yağşı yigit* 'a very good young man', *çattı ısı ay* (Är. 12) 'a very hot month', *ğati şirin su:* (Te.Yo.) 'very sweet water', *şehre ökde beled a:dam* (Är. 33) 'a man who knows the city very well', *örä:n yaman aşlıq* (Är. 7) 'a very bad famine', *mojiq şiri:n ğa:win* (Är. 11) 'a very sweet honey-melon', *köp semiz ğoyun* (Är. 12) 'a very fat sheep', *köp bir yaxtı çıra* (Te. 5) 'a very bright candle'.

(iii) The comparative suffix is *-rA:Q*, and it can occur with some phonotactic adjustments which are in more detail described in the subchapter on phonological processes. There is one major difference between the Ä:rsa:rı and Teke dialects: In the Teke dialect suffixation of the comparative leads to the voicing of a final voiceless plosive of the lexeme, while in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect such a voicing does not occur.

- **biyik** > (...) soň o:ba: ser etjek bolip **biyigrä:ge** çıqdıq. (Te. 3)  
Then we climbed the higher (hill) in order to look at the village.
- **biyik** > o:ğa:nısta:nda sa:leñden **biyikrä:k** da:ğlar-am bar. (Är. 44)  
In Afghanistan there are higher mountains than the Salang.

In the Ä:rsa:rı dialect the variant *-I(r)raQ* with a suffix-initial high vowel has also occasionally been observed:

- **ulkä:miziñ köpirrä:k** nupu:sini dı:xanlar we čarwaçılar ğurşayo:r. (Är. 3)  
Farmers and cattlebreeders make up most (lit. more) population of our country.

(iv) The comparative form is also used to denote the meaning "somehow ...", which can actually be understood as a downgrader pointing to deminuation rather than augmentation of a particular quality: *gö:krä:k* (Är.) ~ *gö:ğrä:k* (Te.) 'bluish, sort of blue', *biyikrä:k* (Är.) ~ *biyiğrä:k* (Te.) 'rather tall'.

(v) The superlative of an adjective is determined by the preposed particle *iñ* : *iñ kiçi ini:m* 'my youngest brother', *iñ gözel ğı:z* 'the most beautiful girl'.

- **watannan ayrılmaq iñ yaman** za:tlarıñ bi:ri. (Te. 6)  
Being separated from (one's) homeland is one of the worst things.

(vi) Adjectives can also be intensified through the prefixation of a syllable that echoes the initial consonant + vowel of the lexeme and terminates in *-p*, *-m*, *-s* or a lengthened *-ppA* or *-ssA*. Examples: *ğara:ηqı* 'dark' > *ğapğara:ηqı* ; *gö:k* 'blue' > *gömgö:k* ; *ğu:rı* 'dry' > *ğusğu:rı*; *sağ* 'healthy' > *sappasağ*; *doğrı* 'correct' > *doppadoğrı*; *mä:lim* 'well-known' > *messemä:lim*. These forms, no matter how systematic and transparent their morphological qualities are, cannot be varied at will.

Along with the morphological intensifiers, in the dialects there occur a few completely lexicalized intensifying prefixes on an individual and unpredictable basis, e.g. *ğara* 'black' > *dimğara* (Te.Yo.) ~ *dü:tğara* ~ *zıntğara* (Är.); *ğızıl* 'red' > *čimğızıl* (Är.Sa.); *a:q* 'white' > *čuwwa:q* (Är.Sa.). In the Teke dialect the preposed particle *la:p* intensifies the meaning of an adjective: *la:p ulı* 'very very large'.<sup>168</sup>

(vii) The downtoning of adjectives results from the suffixation of elements such as *-İş*, *-ğilt*, *-çiq*, *-(I)mtıl*, *-(I)mtıq* and others; it occurs mostly with denominations of colors, which may undergo phonotactic changes as described in the phonology chapter. Examples: *a:q* 'white' > *a:ğış* 'whitish' (XD), *gö:k* 'blue' > *gö:ğış* (XD), *a:qçiq* (Är.), *a:ğimtil* (XD) 'whitish' ; *ğara* 'black' > *ğaramtıq*; *sa:rı* 'yellow' > *sa:rımtıl* (Te.Yo.), *sa:rımtıq* (Är.Sa.); *ğızıl* 'red' > *ğızğilt* (XD) etc.

#### 5.1.4 Numerals

In the Turkmen dialects numerals can function the same way as substantive and adjective nouns. Pluralisation, declension etc. occur through suffixation of the respective suffixes.

##### (a) Cardinal numerals

<sup>168</sup> For a discussion of similar individual standard Turkmen intensifiers "obscure in origin", cf. Clark 1998:510-511; on irregular intensive adjectives more generally, see Kim 2013.

The cardinal numbers display some difference between the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan and some intradialectal variation, too. In the following table, Muqri can be regarded as representative of all *nāxāliş* dialects.

**Table 5-12:** Cardinal numbers

	Ä:rsa:rı	Teke	Sa:riq	Muqri
0	sıfır	sıfır	sıfır	sıfır
1/2	ya:rım ~ ya:rı ~ ya:rı	yarım ~ ya:rı	ya:rım	yarım ~ ya:rı
1	bir	bir	bir	bir
2	iki ~ ikki	iki	iki	ikki
3	üç	üç	üç ~ uç	üç ~ uç
4	tö:rt <sup>169</sup>	dö:rt ~ dört	dö:rt	tört
5	bä:ş	bä:ş	bä:ş	biş
6	altı	altı	altı	a:ltı ~ alti
7	yetdi ~ yetti	yedi	yedi	yetti
8	sekgiz ~ sekkiz	sekiz	sekiz	sekkiz
9	toqgız ~ toqqız ~ toqquz	doqız ~ doquz	doqız	toqqız
10	o:n	o:n	o:n	on
11	onbi:r	onbi:r	onbi:r	onbir
12	oniki ~ onki	oniki	oniki	onikki
20 <sup>170</sup>	yigrimi ~ yigrime	yigrimi	yigrimi	yigrime
30	otız	otız	otız	ottiz
40	qırq	qırq	qırq	qırğ ~ qır
50	elli	elli	elli	elli: ~ ellik
60	altmış	altmış	altmış	almış
70	yetmiş	yetmiş	yetmiş	yetmiş
80	seğsen	seğsen	seğsen	seksen
90	toğsan	toğsan	toğsan	toqsan
100	yüz ~ yuz	yüz	yüz	yüz
101	bir yüz bir ~ bir yüz u bir	bir yüz bir	bir yüz bir	bir yüz u bir
150	bir yüz elli ~ yüz u elli	bir yüz elli	bir yüz elli	bir yüz ellik
1,000	muñ ~ münj	münj	münj	miñ
1,250	bir münj iki yüz elli	bir münj iki yüz elli	bir münj iki yüz elli	bir miñ iki yüz ellik
10,000	o:n münj ~ o:n möñ	o:n münj	o:n münj	on miñ
100,000	lek ~ yüz münj	lek ~ yüz münj	lek ~ yüz münj	lek ~ leg ~ ley ~ yüz miñ

<sup>169</sup> The initial voiceless plosives of *tö:rt*, *toqgız~toqqız~toqquz* and *toğsan*, which among the *xāliş* dialects are typical only of the Ä:rsa:rı dialect, have been suggested as resulting either from extensive contact with neighboring Uzbek dialects or from a certain influence of the premodern literary Turki, cf. Annanurov 1972:120; Malov 1951:54.

<sup>170</sup> According to Schönig's classification model (1999:74f.) the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan and the Ä:rsa:rı dialect in particular are located at the interface of Eastern and Western Turkic; Schönig defines the word-final high-vowel variants of 'twenty' as typically Western, and the low-vowel variants as typically Eastern. For Turkmen he cites only *yigrimi*, which is, however, due to the strong influence of the Teke dialect on the modern Turkmenistani literary language.

(i) The numeral 'half' depicts some interesting variation in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect. When used like a substantive noun, it occurs in the short form *ya:rı* as well as the long form *ya:rım*:

- *nıpu:sıñ ya:rımınnan ğo:rra:ğı* (Är. 34)  
more than half of the population
- *şu müjelleriñ ya:rısı* (Är. 16)  
half of these journals
- *gi:rdijisni ya:rım iki bölıp paylaşyo:rs.*<sup>171</sup> (Är. 12)  
We split the revenues in halves – in two.

An interesting variant comes from the Qarqın regiolect of the Ä:rsa:rı dialect:

- *üç qarya:nıñ-hem ya:rınnan ğurrağını hä:zir-de derya: alıp du:r* (Qar. 1)  
The river has now again taken away more than half of all the three villages.

In clauses which denote the time, only the variant *ya:rım* has been recorded: *sa:at sekgiz ya:rımbeje* 'at half past eight'.

(ii) The numeral *bir* has in the *xāliš* dialects its vowel lengthened whenever a suffix with initial vowel is added: *bi:ri:miz* NUM+POSS1PL 'one of us', 'someone'; *bi:rejik* NUM+DIM 'a single, only one'; *bi:rik-* 'to unite, to gather'. The same lengthening occurs when *bir* follows a decadic numeral: *yigrimebi:r* '21', *yetmişbi:r* '71'. In the *nāxāliš* dialects the short vowel is always preserved.

(iii) The vowel of the numeral *o:n* is shortened when within the teens decade another numeral is added, e.g. *onbi:r* '11', *oniki ~ onki* '12', *onbä:ş* '15' etc.; this shortening does, however, not occur if *o:n* is followed by another numeral as part of a five-digit number: *o:n müñ* '10,000'.

(iv) The final vowel of the numeral *yigrimi~yigrime* can be deleted when a one-digit numeral follows:

- *yigrimbä:ş axtığı ba:rmış* (Är. 5)  
He is said to have 25 grandchildren.
- *jima:ğuli yigrimiki ya:şında esgerlige gidipti* (Är. 26)  
Jima:ğuli went to military service at age 22.

(v) In standard phrases final or initial vowels of numerals in word boundaries are often deleted: *birki* < *bir-iki* (Är.) 'one (or) two', *onki* < *oniki* 'twelve'; *alta:y* < *altı a:y* (Xat.) 'six months'; *altatar tüpeñ* < *altı atar* 'six shooter gun'.

(vi) There is a certain tendency of possessive suffixes to be doubled up when added to numerals:

- *yitdi axtığım ba:r tö:rdisi oğıl üçisi ğı:z* (Är. 28)  
I have seven grandchildren, four of them (four-Poss3Poss3) are boys, three of them (three-POSS3POSS3) are girls.

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<sup>171</sup> The sentence has been recorded like this. It is unclear whether *ya:rım iki böl-* is a specific phrase, or the speaker has just by error doubled the numeral instead of saying *ya:rım böl-* or *ike: böl-*, both of which would render the intended meaning.

(vii) While in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect numerals always combine with the possessive suffix plural, in the Teke dialect these can combine with the possessive singular as well:

- ulaq tapmadıq-da haji resu:llarıñ toyına **bir iki:m** bardıq. (Te. 7)  
We didn't find a means of transportation, so (only) one-two of us went to Haji Resu:l's wedding feast.

(vii) Two-digit numbers which are one or two below the next higher decadic position are in colloquial speech, and especially in phrases indicating people's age, phrased as "one/two-less-than-": *bir kem otız* '29' (lit. one less than 30) etc.

- men hä:zir ikkem qırq ya:şadım. (Är. 53)  
I am now 38 years old.

#### (b) Classifiers

The Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan use classifiers that are inserted between the numeral and its noun of reference. Some of these classifiers are semantically neutral and can be applied to any noun: *dä:ne* (lit. 'piece'); others are semantically related to classes of nouns and can only be applied to categories of nouns which are semantically adequate (or are deemed suitable by convention): *dü:p* lit. 'root' = applicable to plants and similars only. The classifier *sa:nı ~ sa:naq* (Är.), although lit. 'piece', in my materials occurs almost exclusively as a classifier of human beings and animals, with the single exception of one phrase *elli sa:nı si:rim* '50 (bottles of) serum' (Är. 1). Examples:

- sipa:nıñ aşağında **iki sa:nı at**-am dañılğı du:r-eken. (Te. 13)  
Down at the sitting platform two horses are tied.
- siziñ **tö:rt sa:nı oğlunız** ba:r, şüyle dälmi? (Är. 19)  
You have four sons, isn't it?
- jela:la:ba:t wela:yatında şipillen köp bir, **bir lek iki lek sa:naq tuwıq** saqlamaq pa:bri:keler (...) ğorşalıp başlanıp dır. (Är. 4)  
In the Jalālābād province nowadays many a factory is being started to construct, which houses 100,000 (or) 200,000 chicken.

#### (c) Ordinal numerals

(i) In all Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan ordinal numerals can be construed with the suffix *-(I)njI ~ -(X)njI*: *birinji* 'first'; *ikinji* 'second'; *üçünji ~ üçinji ~ uçinji* 'third' etc.

- xalı:pa sa:yıb ğızılayaq **qırqınji** yillarda a:lamnan ötdiler. (Är. 17)  
Xalı:pa Sa:yıb Ğızılayaq<sup>172</sup> passed away in the forties.

(ii) In the Ä:rsa:rı and Sa:rıq dialects the ordinal numerals can also be construed with the suffix *-lanjI*: *üçlenji* 'third', *o:nanjI* 'tenth'.

(iii) In the Ä:rsa:rı dialect there exist also the ordinal suffixes *-(I)mjI* and *-lanjI*:

<sup>172</sup> The most revered spiritual leader of the Turkmen *muhājirs* who fled the early Soviet Union and were after a lengthy migration resettled in the Jowzjān province.

- ođım **toqđızımjı:nı** bö:rde ğotardı. (Är. 32)  
My son has completed the ninth (grade) here.
- o waxtlar qalayıza:lđa **toqđızlamjı** sınpdan sođ mekdep yo:q-tı. (Är. 39)  
In those times in Qalayıza:l there was no school after ninth grade.

(iv) In the Teke dialect the ordinal numeral 'first' (as opposed to "all others") exists in the variants *ilki* and *ilkinji* :

- **ilki** hira:t turkmenleri seğsen bä:ř yil öjirrä:k turkmenista:nnan tejen we mari wela:yatinnan göçip o:ğa:nista:na barıp yerleşenler. (Te. 2)  
The first Turkmen of Herat eighty-five years ago emigrated from the Tejen and Mari provinces of Turkmenistan, went to Afghanistan, and settled down (there).
- derreyişaxa **ilkinji** gelenler biz dä:l, bizden öđ-em ol yerde turkmen ba:r-eken. (Te. 1)  
The first (Turkmen) to come to Derreyişax were not us; prior to us there have been Turkmen there, too.

(d) Distributive / partitive numerals

(i) In all Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan distributive numerals are generated with the ablative suffix *-dAn* ; the distributive numbers also occur in variants like *bä:řden ~ bä:ř-bä:řden* 'five (...) each', *altıdan ~ altıdan-altıdan* 'six (...) each'.

- *bä:řden-bä:řden sa:na:berıđ!* (Är. 53)  
count them in (entities of) five each
- *bä:ř müđ o:ğa:nıdan aldıq.* (Är. 12)  
We purchased (them for) five thousand Afghani each.

(ii) The distributive numerals in *-dAn* are also used in fraction numbers to designate the full number out of which the fraction is taken. The fraction numeral is included in a possessor-possessed construction:

- *bu yıl emniyet bolan sođ řä:girdleriđ yüzden altmıřı geldi.* (Är. 24)  
Since this year security is (good), 60% of the students have come (to school).

(iii) In the Ä:rsa:rı dialect there exists the partitive numeral *bi:reği* 'one out of (...)'. While in the premodern Turki literary language the suffix *-egü* would generate distributives from all numerals,<sup>173</sup> today it appears to be preserved only in the single form *bi:reği* but is not derived from any other numeral.

- *bu yıl üç sa:mı ena:r ekdik, bi:reği mana řul, yene bi:reği ol, yene bi:reğ-ä:m ta:min arqasında.* (Är. 17)  
This year we planted three pomegranade (trees), one of them is this one here, another one is that one, and yet another one is behind the house.

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<sup>173</sup> Clauson 1959:28 defines the suffix *-AĞU* as collective marker (see also Erdal 2004:224, who for Old Turkic interprets *biregü* as 'a set of one' . The collective marker function is until today preserved in Uzbek dialects neighboring the Afghan Turkmen dialects. However, in my materials it has only been found to function as indefinite marker.

In all other dialects – and in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect as well – partitive numerals are generated with the possessive suffix, which can occur in doubled form (e.g. *bir* > *bi:ri* ~ *bi:risi*).

- uç toqrtğa:niň **bi:ri** inha: şu yerde, **bi:risi**-de ol depä:niň yanında, yene **bi:ri**-de iki ki:lo:mitir aňrıda. (Te. 8)  
One of the three mud water pipes is at this place here, again one is beside that hill over there and again one of them is two kilometers away.
- kita:pların **bi:risini** aldım, **ikisini** yerinde ğoydım. (Te. 15)  
One of the books I have taken, two of them I have put (back) in their place.

### 5.1.5 Adverbs

In the Turkmen dialects, adverbs come in different forms – simple, derived, and combined. They modify the action denoted by verbs, or the manner or degree of a quality denoted by adjectives or adverbs, all of which they immediately precede in regular speech. Their position before verbs / verbal phrases, adjectives and adverbs makes them easily discernible from, for example, homonymous adjectives, which in their turn appear immediately before the substantives they modify:

- bul ğalam **yağşı** yazyo:r. (Är. 53)  
This pen writes *well*.

as opposed to

- ol **yağşı** şä:girt. (Är. 53)  
He is a *good* pupil.'

#### (a) Morphological features of adverbs

##### (i) Simple adverbs

Simple adverbs can be lexemes which are only applied as adverbs, for example *çalt* (Är.) 'quickly', *derrew* 'immediately', *hemi:şe* 'always'. Many others are lexemes which can be employed as either adverbs or something else (adjectives, substantives) and become recognizable as adverbs only through their function and position within a specific phrase are for example: *ġimmat* 'expensive' (*ġimmat al-* 'to purchase at an expensive price' vs. *ġimmat mōtar* 'an expensive car'), *arza:n* 'at a cheap price', *ilki* 'firstly', *gi:ç* 'late, too late', *ti:z* 'fast', *ağşam* 'at night', *erti:r* 'in the morning', *yasyaňı* 'very recently', *yalğu:z* 'only, simply'.

Most adverbs are used in all Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan. However, there are some which are more typical of one dialect than of another – among them a few very frequently used ones, like *basım* (Te.) vs. *ti:z* ~ *çalt* (Är.) 'fast'; *doğrı* (Är.) vs. *ġöni* (Te.Yo.) 'right'.

- siziň üyiňizde köpek saqlansa, ol **basım** ta:zı bolar. (Te. 5)  
If in your home a dog<sup>174</sup> were raised, it would quickly become a racing dog.

<sup>174</sup> *Köpek* bears the connotations of coarse and untrained animal, mongrel – all opposites of the characteristics of a *tazi*.



- inege ya:da ğoyuna kunja:ra berseñiz **ti:z** semiryo:r. (Är. 4)  
If you give the cow or sheep oilcakes it will quickly gain weight.

## (ii) Derived adverbs

Many derived adverbs are fully lexicalized, that is, they exist only in their current form and are by the average speakers of Turkmen dialects not recognized as derivals any more, although etymologically they can be traced back to a nominal/verbal stem supplied with derivative suffixes or – in fewer cases – prefixes. As has been stated above with regard to simple adverbs, some of these derived lexemes are used as adverbs only, while others can also be used as adjectives. Among the affixes which have derived currently lexicalized adverbs there are a few which are copied from Persian, like *bi:-* 'without ...' and *na:-* 'un-...'; combinations with these are more frequent in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect and in the *nāxālış* dialects than in Teke and Yomut. - Examples for lexicalized combinations are the following:

- AQI** : *yüzeki* 'superficially, on the surface', *dileki* 'orally, verbally'
- ArI** : in deictic directives like *daşarı* 'out', *içeri* 'in', *ileri* 'forward'
- (A)rI:Q** : *bä:ri:k* 'closer, my way', *ileri:k* 'forward', *añri:q* 'that way, into that direction'
- bi:-/be:-** : *bi:waste* 'immediately', *bi:guma:n* 'without suspicion', *bi:waqt* 'prematurely', *be:dalil* 'for no reason, out of the blue'
- dAn** : *birden* 'all of a sudden', *i:rden* 'very early', *dü:pden* 'thoroughly, from scratch', *tötä:nden* 'suddenly', *ti:zden* 'very fast, immediately, on the spot', *zo:rdan* 'by force; with great difficulty, hardly'
- (y)I:n** : *yani:n* 'at the side, sideways', *yüzzi:n* 'head-on, frontally', *arqayın* 'at rest, at ease, easy in one's mind'
- IAy** : *büti:nley* 'totally', *düpley* 'profoundly', *yüzley* 'superficially, on the surface only'
- IAyI(:)n** : *bilgeşleyi:n* 'consciously, intentionally'<sup>175</sup>, *yüzleyin* 'superficial'
- II** : *ġıstaġlı* 'urgently', *yaraġlı* 'armed', *gerekli* 'necessary'
- IIQ** : *yaşırı:nlıq* 'secretly', *ġündi:zlik* 'at daytime'
- IIĠnA** : *di:riline* 'while (sb./sth.) is alive, at lifetime, alive', *uzi:nliga* 'lengthwise; at full length', *yassılıġna* 'flat (adv.)'
- na:-** : *na:ga:h* 'all of a sudden, unexpectedly', *na:ča:r* 'willy-nilly, involuntarily, of necessity'

Adverbs derived by means of productive suffixes, whose scope is explicitly or implicitly known to the average speaker, also exist in the Turkmen dialects. Not all of them will be enumerated here, but a few examples are the following:

- beje(de)** : *gi:je birbeje* 'at 1 o'clock a.m.', *üçbejede* 'at 3 o'clock'
- dA** : *sa:at ikide* 'at 2 o'clock', *başda* 'initially', *her zama:nda* 'at any time'
- dAn** : *tä:zeden* 'anew', *birden* 'all of a sudden', *a:q yürekden* 'faithfully'
- I:n** : (restricted to lexemes that denote points in time) *ġışi:n* 'in winter', *yassi:n* 'in the afternoon, at night'
- IAr** : (restricted to lexemes that denote points in time) *ol waġtlar* 'at that time, then', *gi:jeler* '(always/regularly) at nighttime', *öñler* 'in former times'
- IAy** : (restricted to numerals) *yüzley* 'a hundred times', *münley* 'a thousand times, by the thousand'

<sup>175</sup> Also shorter as *bilgeşli:n* 'id.'.

**-IA:p** : (restricted to time units) *ayla:p* 'for months', *bä:š heptelä:p* 'for five weeks', *yilla:p* 'for many years'

**-(s)InA** : (restricted to lexemes that denote points in time, particularly daytimes; connotes repetitiveness) *ağşamına* (Är.Te.) ~ *ağşamna* (Xa.) 'in the evening, (always/usually) at night', *erti:rine* 'in the morning, (regularly) at morning time', *gi:jesine* '(regularly) at night'

**-sIz** : *i:zsız* 'without a trace', *gi:šarnıqsız* 'without distortion; faithfully', *yalnızsız* 'undoubtedly'

### (iii) Combined adverbs

Combined adverbs can come into being by different operations. The most simple one is the reduplication of an adjective or numeral: *bir-bir* 'one by one', *ti:z-ti:z* 'quickly, swiftly', *yuwaš-yuwaš* 'slowly', *čalt-čalt* (Te.,Yo.) 'quickly', *šappa-šappa* 'in the blink of an eye'. Reduplication with an additional insertion of *-A-* results in only a few adverbs, such as *bašabaš* 'head-to-head', *badaba:t* 'immediate', while reduplication with insertion of *-mA-* can derive many adverbs from lexical items that denote time spans, but also other things: *günmegün* 'day by day', *heptemehepte* 'week by week', *a:ymaa:y* 'month by month', *sa:atmasa:at* 'by the hour'; *sözmesöz* 'word-by-word; exactly', *birmebir* 'one by one'.

Adverbials also reduplicate into adverbs: *bara-bara* 'more and more..., increasingly', *bile-bile* 'knowingly, on purpose'.

Yet another type of reduplicated adverbs comes into being by two onomatopoeic descriptives joined together; they may be phonetically identical, or differ in vocalism: *šap-šup* (swiftly, producing low noises), *pasır-pusır* (movements etc.: without delay, hastily and swiftly), *şıpır-şıpır* (making a noise on slobbery material).

Along with these single-lexeme combinations adverbs can be a combination of two or more different lexemes of many different categories with or without declension markers, which may or may not be joined together by a conjunction:

substantive+substantive	: <i>gi:je gündiz</i> 'at day and night; at all times', <i>ya:z-u-ğış</i> 'in summer and winter; all year round', <i>bašdan ayaq</i> 'all over, completely'
adjective+substantive	: <i>ğara guwin</i> 'maliciously', <i>yaqın günlerde</i> 'soon'
pronoun/numeral+substantive	: <i>bir guni</i> 'one day; once upon a time', <i>her yılı</i> 'every year', <i>ö:z başına</i> 'alone', <i>kä: pillar ~ kä: waxtlar</i> 'time and again'
substantive+postposition	: <i>dañ bilen</i> 'at daybreak', <i>guni bi:ri:n</i> 'in one day', <i>gün sayın</i> 'by the day, day by day'
substantive+adverb/verbal	: <i>baš büti:n</i> 'completely, fully', <i>baš a:ša</i> 'intermittently, every other...'
adjective+adjective	: <i>üzil kesil</i> 'tersely', <i>ğızıl ğıstağ</i> 'in a hurry', <i>bälli külli</i> 'totally, completely'
verb+verbal	: <i>barıb yatan</i> 'finally, at last'
verb+particle	: <i>ğınansaq-da</i> 'unfortunately, alas'

A special case of combined adverbs are phrases of the type '....times', which consist of a numeral or other lexeme denoting quantity, plus an adverbial multiplicative: *bir yo:la:* 'once', *yedi yo:la:* 'seven times', *qanča gezek ~ qanča mertebe* 'how many times'.

## (b) Some remarks on the semantics of adverbs

Adverbs respond to questions like 'where?', 'when?', 'how?', 'to what degree?' – they specify and modify the action of verbs and the properties of adjectives with regard to place, time, manner, quantity and so on. The morphological features enumerated above occur in all of these functions. It may thus suffice to treat one example in some more detail, namely, adverbs of time. Adverbs of time respond to interrogatives such as *hačan ~ qačan* 'when?', *nä:waxt* 'at what time?'.

Some adverbs of time are the same in all Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan from which we were able to record them: *dü:n* 'yesterday', *öylä:n* 'in the afternoon', *hemi:še* 'always'. Others depict some phonetic variation: 'today' has been recorded as *šügün ~ šugun ~ bugün ~ bügün* from the Teke dialect; as *šüwin ~ šugün ~ buwin ~ buwin ~ büwin ~ bügün* from Ä:rsa:rı; and *bükün* from the Muqrı dialect; 'just now' is *indi* in the Ärsarı and Sa:rıq dialects, but assimilated into *inni* in the Teke dialect. Again others depict lexical variation: 'sometimes' is *kä:waxtlar* in Te., but *kä:pille* in Är. – In the Ä:rsa:rı dialect, *ağşam* stands for 'in the evening' and 'last night' (the latter one of which can also be *öten ağşam*); in the Teke dialect, *ağşam* is 'last night', 'at nighttime', and 'over night'; in Xo., 'in the evening' is either *ağsama* or *ağšamna* (the latter most probably connoting habituality or reiteration); in Är. and Yo., 'last night' can also be *gi:je*, which otherwise in Är. means 'by night' (the latter in Är., if habitual, also *gi:jeler*).

Again other adverbs of time depict lexical as well as phonetic variation, which then amounts to a rather complex picture: 'tomorrow' is *erte* in Är., but *erte* as well as *erti:r* in Te.; in Är., on the other hand, *erti:r* means '(early) in the morning', which has been recorded as *günerta:n* from Sa., and *erti:rine*, from the Xojamba:z dialect. – The word for 'now, nowadays' is *hä:zir* in Te., Sa. and Är., and *ha:zir*, in Mo.; Te. has *šipilleki hä:zir* along with it, while Är. has *šipillen ~ šipillenen*; in addition, *ši zama:nda* has been found in Är., and *šu waxt*, in Sa.

### 5.1.6 Postpositions

Postpositions govern noun phrases in a way comparable to, for example, what prepositions do in the Persian language. The nouns, pronouns, numerals and participles or phrases – which are then the scope of the respective postposition – which precede the postpositions, bear additional stress while the postpositions themselves are enclitic and unstressed. Postpositions do typically not change according to the principles of vowel harmony, nor are their initial consonants assimilated to consonants in the final position of the nouns etc. to which they belong. The etymology of postpositions can be obvious, but the semantic relation to the etymological basis need not necessarily be so; postpositions can, however, be derived from nouns/nominals which are also used in the Turkmen dialects independently.

The postpositions require their antecedents to come in a specific case – nominative, dative, or ablative. Therefore they will be introduced here according to the case with which they combine.

#### (a) Postpositions with the nominative case

Some of the postpositions which in principle require the nominative case, although by far not all, can take either the nominative or the genitive when combined with personal pronouns (see

also ix. in the personal pronouns chapter). Whether or not the genitive applies seems to be somehow undecided, in many cases both the variant with, and that without, can be applied. Unless otherwise stated below, the respective postposition takes the nominative only.

(i) **arqalı**

This postposition can be translated as 'through, by means of, via'; it is used in all Turkmen dialects.

- pã:kista:nıñ yağşı yeri şında, biz o yerde **terjima:n arqalı** gepleşmeli dã:l, dilini ö:zimiz bilyo:rs. (Är. 35)  
The good thing about Pakistan is that there we need not communicate through a translator, (because) we know their language ourselves.

(ii) **ba:rada**

This postposition, which is copied from Persian *dar bâra-yi çizi* means 'related to ..., connected to ...' and is rather frequently used in all dialects. If combined with a personal pronoun, this postposition is supplied with the respective possessive suffix.

- xalqımız asta-asta dünya:ğarayışları, xusu:san **oqu: ba:rada**, tä:li:m-terbiye **ba:rada:qı** pikirleri ü:tgeşip gelyo: . (Är. 3)  
The worldview of our people, their thoughts, particularly about learning and education, are slowly changing.
- men size **şi matlap ba:rada** hezreti mu:sa: alayhissala:mnan bir qıssa aydıp berreyin. (Är. 2)  
Related to this topic, I will tell you a story about Moses.
- dü:n jelsede meniñ **ba:ramda** nä:me tesmi:m alındı?  
What was decided about me in the meeting, yesterday?

(iii) **bilen ~ bile ~ minen**

While in all *xālış* dialects the postposition *bilen* occurs in the same form, and a shorter variant *bile* has been reported from the Teke dialect in addition to that, in the Bayat dialect the postposition has been recorded in an assimilated form comparable to the one in which it occurs in the neighboring Uzbek dialects: *minen*. – This postposition almost regularly takes the genitive case of personal and demonstrative pronouns: *meniñ bilen* 'with me', *şunıñ bilen* 'with that'; however, *men bilen*, *biz bilen* 'with us' etc. also exist.

- aslında biz **ha:h almaq niyyeti bilen** çıqıptıq, toy barlıgını bö:rã: gelip eştik. (Är. 31)  
Actually we had set out with the intention to purchase carpets. (Only) when we came here we heard that there is a wedding (going on).
- qaysi **a:dam minen? omar minen** qawm dã:lbiz. (Ba. 1)  
With what man? We are not relatives of (lit.: with) Omar!
- oğlım **men bilen** geldi. (Är. 53)  
My son has come along with me.

An important feature in all dialects is the combination of *bile(n)* with the *-An* participle, in causal as well as adversative construction:

- aydanları **bilen** ki:giñ gö:şti onça şirin bolan yo:ğ eken. (Är. 33)  
According to (lit. with) what they say, the meat of deer is not so very tasty.
- axtaran **bile** tapamo:q. (Te. 5)  
Regardless of (my) searching I didn't find (it).

The combination (-nIn) *üsti bilen* translates as 'via' in direct and transferred sense:

- biz şibirğana ğaytsaq hemi:şe **a:qja:nıñ üsti bilen** ğaytyo:rs. (Är. 20)  
If we travel to Shibirghān, we always travel via Aqcha.
- men bıl i:şi **parılma:nıñ üsti bilen** çözerin. (Är. 16)  
I will solve this matter via the Parliament.

#### (iv) *boyı*

The postposition is used in all dialects; it denotes 'all along...' and can be applied to spatial as well as temporal notions.

- **yo:l boyı** şu ba:rada pikir edip geldim. (Är. 42)  
All along (my) way I was pondering about this.

#### (v) *boyıça ~ boyunča*

The postposition comes with and without the pronominal *n* and with rounded or unrounded mid-syllable vowel. It is used in all dialects, its meaning being 'according to...', in accordance with...'

- **qa:nun boyıça** aslan ha:lı şı:rden o:ğa:nista:nnan sa:dır bolmalı. (Är. 35)  
According to the law, the carpet needs to originate from here, (that is, from) Afghanistan.

#### (vi) *čemeli*

This postposition is typical of the Teke and Yomut dialects, while in the Ärsa:rı dialect the same meaning – 'as much as, approximately...' – is rendered by the postposition *ğolay* + DAT.

- oniñ oğlı **onaltı-onyedı ya:şlar čemeli** bola:masa. (Te. 16)  
Seems as if his son is something like sixteen or seventeen years old... .

#### (vii) *haqda*

The postposition, which translates as 'about ...', related to ...' is used in all dialects. If combined with personal pronouns, the respective possessive suffixes are inserted: *meniñ haqımda* 'about me' etc.

- men size bugün **hezreti alı haqda** bir hika:yat aydıp bereyin. (Är. 2)  
Today I will tell you a story about Hezreti Ali.

(viii) *hökminde*

This postposition is used in all dialects; it translates as 'as ..., in lieu of ...' and combines with substantive nouns only.

- men bu gepiņizi **bir nesi:hat hökminde** qabu:l etyo:rin. (Är. 22)  
I accept this word of yours as a (piece of) advice.

(ix) *kemi:n*

This postposition, which translates as 'like ...', occurs in all dialects, but is not very frequently employed. The regular postposition in its place would be *ya:ni ~ ya:li*.

- ağşam di:šim yaman ğatı ağradı, çıda:bilmä:n **it kemi:n** erti:reče u:la:p çıqdım. (Är. 34)  
(Yesterday) night my tooth hurt very badly; unable to bear up (against the pain), I howled like a dog until the morning.

(x) *mına:sıbetli*

The postposition, which is copied after the Persian *ba-munāsabat-i* and means 'on the occasion of ...', occurs in all dialects.

- bıl mehpili **maxtımqulı:nıñ doğılan ğüni mına:sıbetli** geçirers. (Är. 3)  
We celebrate this party on the occasion of Maxtımqulı's birthday.

(xi) *müčberi ~ möjberi*

While *müčberi* has been reported from the Ärsa:rı dialect, the Teke variant is *möjberi* 'around ..., approximately ...'.

- siddi:q ağşam gi:ç gelli, **sa:at iki möjberi** gelen dir. (Te. 4)  
Siddi:q arrived late at night, he came around two o'clock.

(xii) *sayın ~ sayı*

This postposition exists in two variants, which are, however, not typical of one dialect or another, but can occur in all. The postposition is combined with notions of time and with participles.

- ata:m heni:zem šapaxa:nada, amma **ğün sayın** yağşı bolyo:r. (Är. 20)  
My father is still in hospital, but he is getting better by the day.
- a:dam bir tä:ze yere **baran sayı** içi ğısyo:r. (Är. 32)  
When a man moves to a new place, he feels homesick.

(xiii) *sebä:bli*

This postposition, which exists in all dialects but is not very frequently used, seems to combine only with the nominative of verbals.

- **waxtımız bolmadığı sebä:bli** biz sizleñkä: barbilmedik. (Är. 23)  
Since we had no time we were unable to come to your place.

(xiv) *tarapdan ~ tarapınnan*

This postposition, which may or may not contain a possessive suffix to refer to its satellite, is used in all dialects – mostly to mark the actor of a passive verb:

- şıl töhpe size **enjimen tarapından** berıldı. (Är. 3)  
This prize has been given to you by the Organisation.
- **kellä:m, ha:pıza:m şukir allah tarapdan** şunya:naq gü:jli we i:ti meniñ. (Är. 1)  
My head, that memory of mine, thank (God), are by (the help of) Allah sooo strong and sharp!

(xv) *tüweregi*

This postposition is used in all dialects, denoting approximate numbers ('around..., approximatively ...').

- **dü:nki yıǵnaqda a:dam köp dä:l-ti, köp bolsa altmış-yetmiş tüweregi** a:dam ba:r-ti. (Är. 23)  
At yesterday's meeting there were not many people; if it was many, there (may) have been around sixty or seventy people.

(xvi) *üçi:n*

The postposition 'for..., on behalf of...' is frequently used in all dialects. In combination with personal and demonstrative pronouns it mostly requires the genitive case.

- yaşlıǵna ğaramazdan **ikra:m ya:wer ö:z xalqı üçi:n** köp i:şler bejerdi. (Är. 8)  
Irrespective of his (young) age Ikra:m Ya:wer achieved many things for his people.
- **bıl köp aña:t i:ş, munıñ üçi:n** da:rıǵıp durmalı dä:l. (Ol. 1)  
This is a very easy matter, one should not worry about it.
- **hä:zirki günde yüz u:ğa:n-a:m meniñ üçi:n** köp arzısı ba:r. (Är. 53)  
At the present time hundred Afghani also has a lot of value for me.

In final and causal clauses, which respond to the question *nä:müçin* 'what for' and 'why', it combines with the *-maQ* infinitive and with the *-An* and *-dlQ* participles, respectively:

- **jilgeler ma:l baqmaq üçi:n** mına:sıp bolyo:r. (Är. 12)  
The shrubs are suitable for livestock herding.
- bu xabarı **ja:lıp bolanı üçi:n** aytmazça dä:l. (Är. 43)  
One cannot but relate that news, because it is (so) interesting.
- **molla:niñ oǵlı bolanñız üçi:n** şerei: geplere yaǵşı düşünyo:rsıñız. (Sa. 1)  
Since you are the son of a mullah, you understand sharia matters well.
- **xıya:nat etmediğim üçi:n** meniñ hi:çkimnen ğorqı:m yo:q. (Är. 16)  
Since I have not betrayed (anyone), I am not afraid of anybody.

(xvii) *ya:ni ~ ya:li*

This postposition, which translates as 'like ...', comes as *ya:ni ~ ya:ni ~ ya:ni:q ~ ya:naq ~ ya:laq* in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect and as *ya:li* in the Teke, Sa:rıq and Yomut dialects. In combination with personal pronouns it mostly requires the genitive case.

- ata:mıñ **şular ya:ni** gurriñleri aydanımı bilyo:rım. (Är. 6)  
I know that my father used to tell stories (lit. conversations) like these.
- olar hemi:şe **iki doğan ya:ni** bolıp yaşadılar. (Är. 5)  
They always lived like two brothers.
- **a:dam ya:ni:q** edeblije otır! (Är. 28)  
Sit well-mannered like a human being!
- şo:rdepeliler bile gepleşseniz a:z-da köp-de parq etyo: amma **ol ğarqımın dili ya:naq** dā:l. (Är. 1)  
If you talk with people from Şo:rdepe, (their dialect) makes some difference, but not as (much as) the language of that Ğarqın.
- şu ğa:wın-am **sirke ya:li** za:t, mi:dā: yaqano:q, zerdā:ni çoğdıro:r. (Sa. 5)  
These melons are a thing like vinegar, they don't please the stomach, they raise the bail.
- **seniñ-ya:li** bir olı haywa:n ölenen ğoy men öleyin, diyip dir. (Te. 13)  
He said, "Rather than (allowing) a big animal like you (to) die, come on, I will die myself."

When used with numerals or other words/phrases denoting measures, the postposition *ya:ni~ya:li* indicates an approximate number/amount:

- sa:nap görsek xuda:ybereniñ goynı **sekkiz yüz ya:ni**, meñki bosa iki yüz elli-eken. (Är. 16)  
When we counted (we saw that) Xuda:yberen's sheep were about eight hundred while mine were two hundred fifty.
- yılda **bir a:y ya:ni** ruxsat beryo:r, başğa çaqı i:şlemeli. (Är. 40)  
He gives (the workers) around one month (of) leave per year, the other time they need to work.

The postposition is also employed with the *-İş* infinitive or *-An* participle to form comparative verbal clauses:

- o:ba:mızda şükir resm-rawa:jımız **öñki bolış ya:h**, čenna:n ü:tgä:nnoq. (Te. 4)  
Thank God in our village our customs are (still the same) as they were before, (they) have not changed much.
- ona bul i:ş **eşekden palan alan ya:li**-eken. (Te. 16)  
For him this (lit. this work) is said to be (as easy) as taking the saddlecloth off an ass.
- inne bilen **ğüyyi ğazan ya:ni** i:ş bıl. (Är. 17)  
This is a (piece of) work as (hopeless) as digging a well with a needle.

Together with positive or negative aorist forms the postposition produces final clauses:

- do:nıñ čä:gini yama:p **bildirmez ya:ni** etdim. (Är. 5)  
I patched the tear of the cloak and made it invisible.



- men **otrar ya:lı** yer-em berjek di:p bizleri äñri:k alıp giden. (Sa. 3)  
He took us over there promising, "I will also give you land plots (good enough) for settling down".
- atı **yağşı baqbilmez ya:nı** bolsañ alma! (Är. 18)  
If you are like unable to keep the horse decently, don't buy (any)!
- yenedä:m biz köp işler etdik ö:z **dilimizi yitirmer ya:lı**. (Te. 20)  
And still we have done a lot so as not to lose our own language.
- huwwa futbo:l wiju:diñi **sa:lim saqla:r ya:lı**, ja:nsağliq uči:n ğuwı. (Te. 18)  
Yes, football is good for keeping your body fit (and) for (one's) health.

When combined with simple nouns, or even more so with pronouns, the postposition *ya:nı~ya:lı* is so closely connected that it seems to be morphologized: *şınya:nı*, *munya:nı* 'like that'. This is why it has been mentioned in the chapter of nominal morphology as a quasi-case suffix along with the equative *-dek*.

#### (b) Postpositions with the dative case

Unless otherwise specified, all postpositions enumerated below are used in all Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan.

##### (i) *baqa: ~ baqa:n*

This postposition, which translates as 'in the direction of ..., facing ...' and the like, is used in the *xālīş* dialects only.

- xuda:yberen **dewleda:ba:da baqa:** baryo:r-eken. (Är. 11)  
Xuda:yberen set out into the direction of Dewleda:ba:d.
- siz awwal toya barıñ, ondan soñ **bize baqa:n** geliberiñ! (Är. 44)  
First go to the wedding and then come to us (lit. in our direction).

##### (ii) *baqma:n ~ baqmazdan*

This postposition is used only in the Teke dialect, where it occurs interchangeably with *seretmezden* (see below). It translates as 'irrespective of ...' and often combines with a phrase containing the nominalizer *-llQ* (then to be translated as 'although...'). In the Ä:rsa:rı dialect, *ġarama:n ~ ġaramazdan* (see below) is used instead.

- yo:l-da hi:ç yere **baqma:n** dođrı mektebe barıñ! (Är. 5)  
Don't look anywhere on the way, (just) go straight straight ahead to school.
- **huwwa:nıñ yağınlılığına baqmazdan** yo:la düşdik. (Te. 14)  
We set out although the weather was rainy.

##### (ii) *čenli ~ čenli:k*

In the Ä:rsa:rı dialect this postposition, which translates as 'as far as ...', 'until ...', comes as *čenli ~ čelli*, while in the Teke and Yomut dialects it has been recorded as *čenli:k*.

- şu yerden **pulxumra: čenli** qanča ki:lu:mitir bar-qa:? (Är. 41)  
How many kilometers is it from here to Pulixumri?

- hira:tdan **tu:rğonda čenli:k** iki-üç sa:atlıq yo:l ba:rdir. (Te. 8)  
It's presumably a two or three hours' drive from Herat to Tu:rğondı.

In the Ä:rsa:rı dialect the postposition can be used interchangeably with the limitative suffixes *-čAn* or *-čA*; in the *nāxāliš* dialects only the suffix *-čA* is being used, while the postposition is missing altogether.

(iii) *deŋ ~ deŋi:č*

This postposition translates as 'until ...', 'as far as ...'. Double-coding in combination with the preposition *tā* occurs, although not very frequently.

- **qawsa deŋ** ğoyunlar meyda:nda oŋyo:r, soŋ ğışda sa:man bermese bolmıyo:r. (Är. 12)  
Until (the month of) Sagittarius the sheep graze in the open steppe, afterwards in winter one cannot do but give them straw.
- du:šemme ğün **ağšama: deŋi:č** i:šledik. (Är. 40)  
On Monday we worked till night.
- **ta: mı:za:na deŋ** ši raqam edip ati baqyo:s. (Xa. 4)  
We keep the horse like this until the Libra (month).

(iv) *ğarşı*

The postposition *ğarşı* 'opposite ..., against ..., contrary to ...' occurs in all dialects.

- men **moŋa ğarşı** dimege-de jüret gerek. (Är. 19)  
It takes courage to say, "I am against this".
- jelsede bir heki:m a:ğa **maŋa ğarşı** çıqdı, başğalar mawa:pıqdı. (Te. 2)  
At the meeting only Heki:m A:ğa stood against me, the others were in favour.

(v) *ğara:nda ~ ğara:nıŋda*

This postposition translates as 'compared with ...'. It occurs in all dialects; in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect, it is used instead of *baqanda* (see above). The postposition can be "personalized" by its respective possessive suffix.

- pä:kista:ni: bürünjij bişirmesi **başğa burinjlere ğara:nda** aŋsa:t. (Är. 11)  
Pakistani rice is easier to prepare than other (sorts of) rice.
- **peštuwe ğara:nda** turkmen-ä:m aŋsa:tra:q bolsa gerek. (Är. 17)  
Compared to Pashto, even Turkmen is obviously easier.
- **qa:dırlarıŋ hemsaya:sına ğara:nıŋda** yenedä:m biziŋ hemsaya:larmiz köp yağşı. (Är. 32)  
Compared (lit. if you compare) to the neighbors of the Qa:dır (family), our own neighbors are still very nice.

(vi) *ğolay*

The postposition *ğolay* 'near ...', 'approximately, up to a limit of ...' is used in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect; in the Teke dialect, the latter meaning is rendered by the postposition *čemeli* (with nominative, see above) instead.

- ista:nbul šeheri **denze ğolay**. (Är. 32)  
The city of Istanbul is (located) near the sea.
- her gün ertir **ya:rim sa:ata ğolay** piya:da yöriyo:n. (Är. 7)  
Every morning I take a walk for approximately half an hour.

(vii) **görä:**

This postposition is used in all dialects; it translates as 'compared with ...', which may express affirmative comparisons ('according to ...') as well as adversative ones ('different from ...', 'as opposed to ...'). In its adversative meaning, the postposition can also require the ablative case (see below).

- **meniñ pikrimä görä:** watannan ayrılmaq iñ yaman za:tların bi:ri. (Te. 6)  
According to my opinion, being separated from one's homeland is one of the worst things.
- **nä:če deli:llere görä:** bu xi:l inek oğanista:nıñ yağdayna bara:bar gelyo:r. (Är. 4)  
According to quite a few pieces of evidence, this sort of cattle suits the conditions of Afghanistan.
- **şuñña görä:-de** mejlise gelip aytma:ğa otanya:lar. (Te. 10)  
And because of this / in accordance with that, they are ashamed of coming to a meeting and speaking up.
- yö:ne **çigit ya:ğa ya:da naba:tı ya:ğa görä:** kunji ya:ğı ğummatraq. (Är. 6)  
But compared with cotton oil or (other) vegetable oil, sesame oil is more expensive.

(viii) **seredende ~ seredeñde**

This postposition has been recorded from the Teke and Yomut dialects only; its meaning 'compared with ...' would in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect be rendered by the postposition *ğara:nda* (see above). The postposition *seredende* can be personalized by inserting the possessive suffix that relates to its (virtual) satellite; *seredeniñde*, lit. 'if you consider...' (which is also used for impersonal satellites like "one"), is then often contracted into *seredeñde*.

- **geçen zama:nlara seredeñde** hä:zir yağın hemme yerde-de a:z. (Te. 10)  
Compared with former times, precipitation is less in all places today.
- **zehmetine seredeñde** ha:lı:nıñ bahası hi:ç nä:rse dä:l. (Yo. 2)  
Compared with the hard work (it takes), the price of carpets is nothing at all.

(ix) **seretmezden**

This postposition has been recorded from the Teke and Yomut dialects. Its meaning 'regardless of ...' is also rendered by *baqmazdan* and (also in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect) by *ğaramazdan*.

- olar **hawwa:nıñ ıssılığına seretmezden** yo:la düşdiler. (Te. 16)  
They set out without regarding the hot weather.

(x) **tarap**

The postposition translates as 'in the direction of ...', 'turned towards ...'.

- i:rden turıp **çöle tarap** u:radım, ortaşaxdan ötenimde hozarlar qı:ğıryo:r-tı. (Är. 41)  
I got up early and went to the countryside. When I passed by Ortaşax, the roosters were crowing.

(xi) *yaqı:n ~ yaqın*

Together with a numeral, this postposition denotes an approximative number. The postposition is used in all dialects. The short-vowel variant is typical of the *nāxāliš* dialects.

- mawlewi: sa:yıbıñ **üç yüze yaqı:n** şä:girdi bar dır. (Är. 17)  
Mawlewi: Sa:yıb has close to three hundred students.
- hu:telde **bir miñge yaqın** a:dam ba:r edi. (Mu. 3)  
In the hotel there were almost one thousand people.

(c) Postpositions with the ablative case

(i) *añrı ~ añrı:q*

This postposition, which is *añrı* in the Ä:rsa:rı , and *añrı:q* in the Teke dialect, forms spatial, temporal and quantifying clauses denoting 'on the far side of ...', 'beyond ...', 'after ...', 'more than ...'.

- şil görinyo:n **da:ğdan añrı** ma:rmul bolyo:r. (Är. 53)  
On the far side of that mountain which can be seen (here), there is (the area called) Ma:rmul.
- ata:mıñ ya:şı **yüzden añrı:q** geçipdi. (Te. 10)  
My father's age has transgressed hundred years.
- men **bir hepdeden añrı:q** aşğaba:d barıp gelişim gerek. (Te. 5)  
After one week I have to go to Aşğaba:d.

(ii) *artıq*

The postposition *artıq* 'more than...' can be considered a synonym of the (more frequently used) *ziya:d ~ ziya:da* (see below).

- siz bizi **mınnan artıq** ğı:namañ di:di. (Är. 5)  
He said, "Don't you torture us any more (lit. more than this)!"

(iii) *başğa*

The postposition *başğa* 'except..., besides..., other than ...' exists in all dialects.

- bize bir **juma: günnen başğa** rusğatı yo:q. (Te. 14)  
For us there are no days off other than Friday.
- şo:ra:ni açmaq üci:n **pä:kista:nnan başğa** yu:rterdä:ki ya:şolılar bilen-em maslaxat etdik. (Är. 10)  
In order to found (lit. open) the Council we also consulted with the elders in other countries than Pakistan.
- ol yerde menä: **bir qanča esger bilen i:şçiden başğa** hi:čkimi görmedim. (Är. 18)  
There I saw nobody but a few soldiers and workers.

- marçaqda **sa:rıqlardan başğa**, ä:rsa:rılar özbekler we arablar ya:şı: du:r. (Sa. 1)  
In Marçaq other than Sa:rıq there also live Ärsa:rı, Uzbeks and Arabs.

(iv) *bä:ri*

The postposition *bä:ri* 'since...' has been reported from all dialects. In the Ä:rsa:rı dialect, the rare variant *bä:rä:* has also been reported: *men bilenimnen bä:rä:* (Är. 10) 'since I am in my right mind'.

- ona:m aytma:m gerek, mana **birki yıldan bä:ri** mana xušk sa:llıq gelip dä:ni: ğoyunlarığ ğarna:m otdan doymadı. (Är. 12)  
I also need to say that since one or two years this draught has come and the stomachs of the sheep have not been satiated with grass.
- mı:xma:nlar **erti:rden bä:ri** gelib oti:rlar. (Är. 10)  
The guests keep coming since the early morning.  
*men bilenimnen bä:rä:* (Är. 10) 'since I am in my right mind'
- **ğadı:m wağıtlardan bä:ri** türkmenler göçip-ğo:nıp yören soğ olar dünyä:niğ köp yerlerne yayra:pdırlar. (Te. 13)  
Because the Turkmens have been migrating here and there since ancient times, they have spread out to many places of the world.
- **demir-pala:stik za:tlar çıqannan bä:ri** indi öñkiler ya:li ağaşı ussalaram yo:q. (Sa. 2)  
Since iron and plastic things have appeared, now there are no (more) woodworking masters like (in) former (times).

(v) *beylä:k*

The postposition *beylä:k* 'on the far side of..., beyond..., after...' has been reported from the Teke dialect only, and only in the crystallized phrase *mundan beylä:k* 'from now on'; another variant, namely *beyle*, was by informants said to exist, but has not been reported from actual speech.

- **mundan beylä:k** maña pul ber di:mä:ñ! qaqañızdan alıñ. (Te. 5)  
From now (lit. this) on don't say "Give me money!", take it from your father.

(v) *buya:n ~ bıya:n*

This postposition, which renders the same meanings and is used the same way as *beylä:k* above, appears to be the Ä:rsa:rı correlate of the latter; it also seems to be confined to the phrase 'from now on':

- **munnan buya:n** pä:kültä: günde erti:r sekgizde barmalı boldıq. (Är. 27)  
From now on we'll have to go to the faculty at eight o'clock in the morning.

(vi) *daşarı*

The postposition *daşarı* 'outside ..., other than ...' exists in all dialects.

- kö:şı:ş ediñ hi:çkim **pro:gira:mnan daşarı** geplemesin. (Är. 7)  
Please make an effort so that nobody should talk outside the schedule(d presentations).

(vii) **ğayrı**

The postposition *ğayrı* 'other than...', which exists in all dialects but is only infrequently used, is at semantic variation with the above-mentioned postposition *başğa*.

- **ğarı:p düşseñ ö:ziñnen ğayrı** hi:çkim saña ğamxo:r tapılmaz. (Är. 5)  
If you become poor, nobody but yourself will be found to care about you!

(viii) **görä:**

The postposition *görä:* 'compared with...', which has already been mentioned as requiring the dative, can also be used with the ablative case. There seems to be no evident semantic difference between the two options.

- **yo:lbarsıñ gu:resi ši:rden görä:** sıplañ bolyo:r. (Är. 17)  
The body of a tiger is longer than (the body of) a lion.
- **teke lehjesinnen görä:** ä:rsa:rı:ñ lehjesi türk diline meñzeşrä:k mikä: diyä:n. (Te. 13)  
I'd assume that the Ä:rsa:rı dialect is closer to the Turkish language than the Teke dialect.

(ix) **owwal ~ ozal ~ awwal**

The postposition which translates as 'before ...' comes in two variants, namely, *owwal* and *ozal*. In verbal phrases the postposition combines with the negative aorist. In the *nāxālış* dialects the variant *awwal* also exists.

- **siz ortala:p gitseniz mennen owwal** bararsıñız. (Är. 11)  
If you take the way through the middle, you will arrive before me.
- **yo:lıñ onça u:rı yo:q, ğarañqı düşmezden ozal** yo:ldan ötmeli bolars. (Är. 23)  
The road is not in a good condition, we need to have passed that (piece of) road before dusk moves in.
- **a:tı oğlaqdan awwal** üç tört a:y baqmalı. (Mu. 2)  
Before the buzkashi race one needs to build the horse up for three or four months.

(x) **öñ**

The postposition *öñ* 'before...' is used in all dialects. In verbal phrases it requires the negative aorist.

- **banke barjaq bolsañız sa:at sekgizden öñ** barıñ. (Är. 25)  
If you are planning to go to the bank, go (there) before eight o'clock!
- **toqayda maha:jır gelmezden öñ** türkmen yo:g ekeni. (Är. 35)  
Before the migrants arrived, there were no Turkmens in the lowland forest area.

(xi) **öñi:nčä:**

This postposition, which has been recorded from the Teke dialect only, translates as 'before...!'

- **qa:dır sizden öñi:nčä:** gelip gitdi. (Te. 16)  
Qa:dır had come and left (again) before you (did).

(xii) *ötri*

This postposition, which translates as 'due to...!', has been recorded only from the Teke dialect.

- *siz hemi:še bize kömek edip gelyo:rsınız, šonnan ötri biz sizi yağşı görya:s.* (Te. 3)  
You always help us, therefore we like you.

(xiii) *ö:zge*

This postposition can be considered a synonym of *başğa* and *ğayrı* 'other than ...' (both see above), but is less frequently used than these.

- *sennen ö:zge bıl i:ši hiçkim başarmaz.* (Te. 10)  
Nobody else but you (can) accomplish this work.

(xiv) *soñ*

The postposition's original meaning is 'after ...', and verbal clauses formed with it can be understood as either purely temporal or as temporal-and-causal.

- *dö:rt yarım a:ydan soñ bizler pes i:zimiza geçip geldik.* (Sa. 5)  
After four and a half months we again returned back (lit. on our footprints).
- *bizler aslan a:qjadan bolannan soñ bu yere gelen soñ şu lebze giden.* (Mo. 3)  
After actually being from Aqča, we have shifted to this dialect after coming here.
- *seksenbi:rinji yılı ma:llar ölendenden soñ men-em ma:lda:rlıǵı ğoydım.* (Är. 12)  
After/because the animals had died away in the year (13)81, I also gave up livestock breeding.

Interestingly, the ablative suffix can be missing in combinations of a participle and the postposition *soñ*: *gelen soñ* (Te. 7) 'after having come', *qazıq qağan soñ* (Mo. 2) 'after driving in the peg'.

(xv) *yaña:*

The postposition *yaña:* translates as 'because of...!'; it bears much the same meaning as *ötri* (see above), which, however, is used only in the Teke dialect while *yaña:* is known in all dialects.

- *hanıpa:nıñ bosa ša:dıqdan yaña: yüregi ya:rıljaq boldı.* (Är. 5)  
And Hanıpa:'s heart was about to burst with happiness.

### 5.1.7 Relational nouns<sup>176</sup>

Relational nouns are part of a possessive construction, in which they are the head that is marked with the possessive suffix; their satellite generally has the genitive suffix if the

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<sup>176</sup> This terminology follows Erdal 2004:332 and chapter 4.22. Erdal credits Clark 1998 with the term "relational nouns" (2004:332 fn. 533); however, Clark lists these nouns as "auxiliary nouns" (1998:427ff.), a term that appears less appropriate than Erdal's own.

relation is to be understood in a literal, spatial sense, but remains unmarked if the relation is understood in a transferred sense.

There is some overlapping between relational nouns and adverbs on one, and relational nouns and postpositions on the other side. These cases will be specified below.

Relational noun constructions can occur in the nominative, accusative, and all adverbial cases, with the case suffix marking the head of the construction, that is, the relational noun.

My materials do not contain all relational nouns which have elsewhere been identified as occurring in the Turkmen language (Clark 1998:427ff.). While some of those which have been reported here are frequently used, others occur only rarely. There is only little dialectal variation, which will be specified below.

(i) *aňri*

*Aňri* is etymologically related with *aňri* (Te.) or *aňir* (Mo.) 'the other side, the opposite shore':

- xataplar bile muqrlar **aňirda-da** türkmenistanda-da bir yerrä:kde ya:şyoy: r ekenler. (Mu. 1)  
The Xatap and Muqri are said to live more (or less) together on the other side (of the border), in Turkmenistan, too.

The deictic directive<sup>177</sup> *aňri* operates as a spatial adverb in sentences like the following:

- derya:nıñ su:wı **aňri** gidende bäre:ri tarapda kö:l köp bolyoy:r. (Är. 39)  
Whenever the water of the river retreats over there, on this (near) side many puddles come into being.
- birinjiden kö:ne qala:ğa barıp soň **aňri** xa:nça:rba:ğ barars. (Är. 9)  
First we go to the ancient fortress and after that we cross over to Xa:nça:rba:ğ.

From the Teke dialect, *aňirda* 'further away', which bears the locative suffix, has also been reported.

- uç toqırtğa:nıñ bi:ri inha: şu yerde, bi:risi-de ol depä:nıñ yanında, yene bi:ri-de iki ki:lo:mitir **aňrida**. (Te. 8)  
One of the three mud water pipes is at this place here, again one is beside that hill over there and again (another) one of them is two kilometers away.

Mostly, however, *aňri* is used in relational noun constructions; in this function it occurs in all dialects.

- şu **depä:nıñ aňrisınna** iki sa:nı o:lajığ-am otla:p yö:r. (Te. 13)  
Across that hilltop two calves are grazing.
- üyi **derya:nıñ aňrisında**-tı. (Är. 53)  
His house was across the river.

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<sup>177</sup> Cf. Erdal 2004:178.



(ii) *arqa*

*Arqa* 'back, reverse side' and the adverb *arqada* 'back, behind' are used in all dialects, and so is the relational noun:

- bu yıl üç sa:nı ena:r ekdik, bi:regi mana şul, yene bi:regi ol, yene bi:regä:m **ta:miñ arqasında**. (Är. 17)  
This year we planted three pomegranade (trees), one of them is this one here, another one is that one, and yet another one is behind the house.

(iii) *büyle*

*Büyle*, as a synonym of *başğa*, means 'otherwise' and can by means of the suffix *-ki* be turned into an attributable adjective 'the other...':

- **büyleki** mı:xma:nlar qačan geljek? (Är. 13)  
When are the other guests coming?

As a relational noun, *büyle* denotes the 'ulterior', 'what is beyond...':

- şol či:lden **büylesi** meniñ pi:ka:lım (Är. 18)  
(The piece that) is beyond this path is my field.

(iv) *boy*

The substantive *boy* denotes 'body length, full length'. As a relational noun *boy* is part of phrases that mean 'all along...', 'along...':

- **a:mıderya:ñ boyı** qadı:m zama:nlarda-da hi:ç waxt ı:la:tsiz bolma:ndır. (Yo. 1)  
(The area) along the Amüdayā was in ancient times never devoid of population.

(v) *iç*

The relational noun *iç* translates as 'in ...', 'inside ...', 'within ...' in a spatial, temporal, or transferred understanding of the word.

- sekgiz utağı ba:rıtı, **şüniñ daşını-içini** suwaşdirip berdiler. (Sa. 2)  
(The house) had eight chambers; they whitewashed their exterior and interior.
- gelya:nıñ saçağı alınıp **şoñ içine** başğa za:d salınıp pes berilya:r-eken. (Te. 2)  
The kerchiefs of the new-arrivals are taken, something else is put into them, (and) then they are handed back.
- yö:ne şu **marçağñ içinde** tö:rt üyli owğa:n ba:r. (Sa. 2)  
And in this very Marçaq there exist four households (of) Pashtuns.
- birden xalı:lıñ durmadığmı gördim-de, men-em **çä:gä:niñ içinnen** sürdim. (Är. 1)  
All of a sudden I saw that Xalı:l had not stopped and (therefore) I also drove (my car) through inside the dune area.
- iki günüñ **içinde** (Är. 7)  
within two days

- türkmenler tä:zeden šehirniši:ni:ye u:renšdiler, o:balardan čıqıp gelip **šehr içinne** ya:šaya:lar. (Te. 6)  
The Turkmens have (only) recently got used to urban life; they have left the villages and are (now) living in town.

(vi) *tewereg*

This relational noun translates as 'around ...' and can be considered a synonym of *etra:f* 'the environs of ...'.

- i:sa i:ša:nı-da **marı tewereginde** hemme tanıya:r-eken. (Te. 5)  
(At that time) everyone around Mary knew I:sa I:ša:n.

(vii) *üst*

The relational noun *üst* means 'top'; it can also be used in various transferred meanings.

- bı bala:rlar egreyšip du:r, **ta:mıñ üstine** bomaz bılar. (Är. 13)  
These beams are curved, they won't do for on top of the roof.
- yö:ne šunya:nı **bir da:ğıñ üstinne** qadı:m bir sılta:n sanjar diyip bir pa:šša: otırip giden diyyä: . (Te. 7)  
And (they) say on top of such a hill (in) ancient (times) a certain king named Sultan Sanjar was residing.
- hökü:metimiz aňsa:tçılıq döretse biz-em ha:lı:nı **pä:kistan üstinnen** uzatma:na xoš dä: . (Är. 35)  
If our government created easy conditions, we would not insist on (lit. be fond of) exporting the carpet(s) via Pakistan.
- **šunıñ üstinne** derrä:niñ yoqarsınnan aylanıp su: gelyä:r-eken. (Te. 3)  
On top of this, water was (over and over again) coming from the upstream region.

(viii) *ya:n*

With its primary meaning 'side', the relational noun *ya:n* can also be used to denote 'near...', 'to...' and the like.

- Bıl meni pul beren günü:m yağşı görýo:r, pul bermedik günü:m **ya:nıma**-da gelen yo:q. (Är. 7)  
He likes me on day(s) when I give him money, (while) on days when I don't give (him) money he doesn't even come to me.
- ba:bam ğıšlağda bolyo:r, her hepde **ya:nna** barıp ğaytyo:s. (Är. 22)  
My grandfather is in the village. Every week we go to him.
- **ya:nıñda**:qı piya:la:nı apber (Te. 16)  
Bring (me) the teacup next to you!
- sen-em **qa:dırıñ ya:nına** bara:ğay! (Är. 6)  
(Now come on,) go to Qa:dır!

(ix) *yoqarı*

The deictic directive *yoqarı* 'upward' can be used as an attribute: *yoqarı oqu:lar* 'higher education'. The relational noun derived from *yoqarı* translates as 'upper region of...', 'higher up the ...' and the like.

- **ğoyun derrä:niň yoqarsınnan** aylanıp gelyä:r-ti. (Te. 3)  
The sheep were approaching from further up the valley.

### 5.1.8 Conjunctions

Conjunctions connect words, phrases or sentences. Some of the conjunctions coordinate two or more such elements. Other conjunctions subordinate one element to another; only sentences can be subordinated to other sentences by means of conjunctions.

#### (a) Coordinating conjunctions

Coordinating conjunctions can signal connection, contradiction, correlation<sup>178</sup> and specification.

#### (i) *bilen* ~ *bile*

The conjunction *bilen* and its rare variant *bile* (which has been reported only from the Muqri dialect) can coordinate only pairs (or in rare cases, triples) of substantives or short noun phrases of analogous syntactic function. It translates as a simple 'and'.

- **xataplar bile muqrılar** aňirda da türkmenistanda da bir yerrä:kde ya:şıyo:r-ekenler. (Mu. 1)  
The Xatap and Muqri lived more (or less) in the same place over there in Turkmenistan.
- **enem bilen uyya:mı** pä:kista:n äkidip dä:ktere görkezdim. (Är. 11)  
I took my mother and my sister to Pakistan and showed them to the doctor.
- **o:ğa:nlaňqi bilen türkmenleňki** ikisi bir. (Är. 1)  
The [language] of the Afghans and that of the Turkmens, both are equal.

Some relational noun constructions (*orta* 'middle, center', *ara* 'in-between' and derivals of these) require a pair of nouns / noun phrases joined by the conjunction *bilen* in their satellite:

- **bizde-dä:m oro:za haydı bilen ğorba:n haydınıň aralığı**nda toy eden yo:qlar. (Te. 3)  
At ours, they don't celebrate weddings between the *'id al-fitr* and the *'id al-qurbān*.
- **ba:zar bilen biziň üyimizdiň ortası** dört ä:dim yer. (Te. 6)  
The distance between the bazaar and our home is a space (of) four steps.

Note an interesting case of contamination of constructions – the speaker sets out with a construction of the type just mentioned above, but continues with one that would have required an ablative at the first element (*biziň üyimizden şehreče*).<sup>179</sup>

- **biziň üyimiz bilen şehreče birki** a:rdım yo:l. (Är. 11)  
From our home to town it's (only) one or two steps' way.

<sup>178</sup> This threefold classification follows Clark (1998:434); Clark does not list "specification", however.

<sup>179</sup> I document this example here although I consider it to be a trivial slip of the tongue rather than a "mistake" in the understanding of Henri Frei's *La grammaire des fautes*.

While generally the conjunction *bilen* can join only analogous elements, this rule can be neglected for the sake of conciseness in the case of genitive-possessive constructions where one element of the analogous pair is a personal or reflexive pronoun; the "suppressed" subject is still reflected in its referent at the head:

- bolmasa **payz qaryada:r bilen zewa:nımız**<sup>180</sup> bir, bizler a:ta-ba:walarmız bir yerde bola:n. (Mo. 1)  
On the other hand Payz Qaryada:r's language and ours is the same, our forefathers had been together.
- **a:ğam bilen ğoyunlarmız** ayra dā:l yö:ne onıñ gi:rdijisni ya:rım iki bölüp paylaşyo:rs. (Är. 12)  
Our sheep and my brother's are not separate, but the income from it we divide (by) half.

The same idea appears to be at the bottom of the coordination-like construction contained in the following example (where *bilen* is not used as a postposition!), in which the "suppressed pronoun" re-appears in the verbal predicate:

- **ahmed bilen** ba:zar günü **barars**<sup>181</sup> diyip qara:r ğoydıq. (Är. 34)  
Ahmed and (myself/ourselves) decided to go (there) on market day.

#### (ii) *dIr*

The conjunction *dIr* 'and', which connects substantives of analogous syntactic function, has been reported only from the Teke dialect.

- Qa:dır ba:yıñ doğanı-**dır** oğlanları hi:ç qaysısı üyde yo:ğ-eken. (Te. 16)  
None of Qa:dır Ba:y's brothers or sons seems to be at home...

#### (iii) *u*

The conjunction *u* 'and' is not very widely used, although it is known in all dialects. It connects substantives or concise nominal phrases; some of these are lexicalized (e.g. *i:r u gi:ç* 'in the morning and at night' = 'at all times').

- çopanlar ya:z **u** ğış di:mā:n zehmet tartyo:rlar, şonıñ üçi:n aylıñnı köprä:g bermeli. (Är. 33)  
The shepherds work without minding summer or winter, therefore one needs to give (them) more salary.
- asta:n a:ğā di:yo:n a:damnan bir meniñ ata:m **u** uç ği:z doğani ba:r eken. (Är. 6)  
Except a man named Asta:n A:ğā, there were only my father and his three sisters.

#### (iv) *we*

The conjunction *we* connects pairs or chains of simple substantives or verbs, and it can also connect phrases to sentences, or whole sentences to one another. Generally, however, the conjunction is not frequently used.

<sup>180</sup> Short for \* *payz qaryada:r bilen biziñ/ö:zimiziñ zewa:nımız*.

<sup>181</sup> Short for \* *ahmed bilen ö:zim(iz) ba:zar günü barars*.

- silta:n sanjar šu yere gelende wezi:rleri **we** qomanda:nları bilen maslaxatlašib otırıpdır. (Sa. 4)  
When Sultan Sanjar came to this place, he used to have consultations with his ministers and field commanders.
- marčaqda sa:rıqlardan başğa, ä:rsa:rılar özbekler **we** arablar ya:şı: du:r amma: olar hemmesi sa:rıq dilinde gepli: du:r. (Sa. 1)  
In Marčaq other than Sa:rıq there also live Ä:rsa:rı, Uzbeks and Arabs, but they are all speaking in the Sa:rıq language.
- at mö:jegiñ yaqı:n gelenni gözi görmese-de bilbilyo:r-mış **we** kiñšiyo:r-mış. (Är. 12)  
Although the horse – its eyes – cannot see the wolf coming closer, it is said to recognize it and to neigh.
- mınnan üye barars **we** ça:y içers. (Är. 24)  
After this we'll go home and drink tea.

#### (v) *da*

The conjunction *da* 'and' connects sentences with verbal predicates. It exists in all dialects, but is used even less frequently than the conjunctions just mentioned; the regular means to join sentences with verbal predicates would be gerund constructions.

- xatı tı:z-tı:z yazdı-**da** maña berdi. (Är. 6)  
He hastily wrote the letter and gave it to me.

#### (vi) *hem - hem*

The conjunction *hem – hem* '... as well as ...', 'both ... and ...' can connect nominal as well as verbal phrases.<sup>182</sup> It is used in all dialects, but it occurs only unfrequently. It can precede or follow the elements which it connects and it can undergo various shortening and assimilation.

- a:t yaramas bolsa **hem** tepyo: **hem** tišliyo:.. (Mu. 2)  
If a horse is bad, it both kicks and bites.
- resim-rava:j-**a:m** ġawı, edä:b-**ä:m** ġuwı, dessu:r-**a:m** ġawı bir topar za:tlar. (Te. 4)  
(These people) are a bunch of guys whose customs are good as well as their manners and their morals.
- šipille-ki yo:q, oğri-**yem** yo:q başğa-**yem** yo:q, šipille pi:len-xo hi:č gep yo:q. (Mo. 1)  
These days there is nothing – no thieves, no others. These days there is simply no nothing (lit. no word).

#### (vii) *ya:*

The conjunction *ya:* 'or' signals an alternative correlation between the words, phrases, or sentences which it connects. It can also connote an explanatory specification like the conjunction *yä:ni:* 'that is, ...'.

<sup>182</sup> Clark's examples (1998:436) are with one exception (last example, and the example with *hem-de*) all misplaced, since in them *hem* is being used as a postposed assertive particle rather than as a conjunction.

- ba:zar barsanjiz gö:št **ya:** ba:miya aliq-geliñ! (Är. 30)  
If you go to the bazaar bring along some meat or ladyfingers!
- burč **ya:** turši i:sem mädem ağraydı. (Xa. 4)  
If I eat chilies or pickles my stomach aches.
- hä:zir ekin-tikinmiz **ya:** zira:atimiz öñe giden dä:l. (Är. 8)  
For the time being our grain farming, that is, our agriculture, has not taken any progress.

(viii) **ya: ... ya: ...**

This conjunction precedes both of the words or phrases which it connects, signalling the alternative correlation 'either ... or ...'.

- ğawın bişende bir görışeli, **ya:** siz geliñ **ya:** biz baralı. (Är. 35)  
Let us meet when the melons are ripe – either you come, or we will go.

(ix) **ya-da**

The conjunction *ya-da* 'and also ..., or even ...' connects non-first elements of a series of syntactically analogous substantives or verbal predicates to the respective next element in the row.

- mana ba:zarlara ğara:b görsek hemi:şe aq tuwiğ-am pa:kista:n bilen i:ra:n **ya-da** hindusta:nnan gelyo:r. (Är. 4)  
If we look at the markets, the white chickens always come from Pakistan or Iran or even from India.
- ağşam geliñ otıralı, ça:y içers, gürrinleşers, **ya:-da** qarta oyna:rs. (Är. 1)  
Come tonight, let us sit (together), drink tea, chat, or even play cards.

(x) **ne ... ne ...**

This conjunction, which precedes both of the words or clauses which it connects, translates as 'neither ... nor ...'.

- **ne** men seni gören bolayın **ne** sen meni gören bol. (Är. 34)  
Neither shall I (admit) having seen you, nor should you (admit) having seen me!

(xi) **hatta:**

The conjunction *hatta:* connects two words, phrases or sentences to the effect that the first is specified by the second in a way which can best be translated by 'and even...':

- ğoyunıñ etinne **hatta:** sü:dinne de ya:ğ köp bolmalı. (Te. 5)  
In the sheep's meat and even in its milk the fat is plenty.
- qanča köp bilsek şonča ğawı, xusu:san pa:rsı **hatta:** peštu:na:m u:rensek ğawı, ol-am resmi: dewlet dili. (Te. 14)  
The more (languages) we know the better; especially if we learn Persian and even Pashto it's good, they are the official state languages after all.

(xii) **yä:ni:**

The conjunction *yä:ni:* 'that is to say, that means' connects two sentences, the first one of which is in an explanatory way specified by the second. The first one of the connected elements may even be missing, or have been communicated outside an immediate sequence; the explanatory specification would still remain in place.

- *diri:werleriŋ ö:zi bä:zi:si oqı:çılarmıza kömek etyo: yä:ni: bizlerden pul almiyo:r.* (Xa. 2)  
The very drivers, some of them, support us students, that is, they don't take money from us.
- **yä:ni:** oğlanlar bilen boğışdıñız? (Är. 39)  
That is to say, you have wrestled with the (other) kids?!

(xiii) **di:mek**

The conjunction *di:mek* is a synonym of *yä:ni:* and is being used the same way.

- **di:mek** siz onda iki gün-em ğa:lıp biljek gä:mi? bir-ki gün bolsañız ğawı bolardı. (Te. 11)  
That is to say, you won't be able to stay on for two days? Would have been good if you'd been (around) for one or two days...

(xiv) **weli:n ~ weli:**

The conjunction *weli:n ~ weli:n* 'but' signals contradiction between the two sentences which it connects. It is used in all dialects. The conjunction mostly precedes the sentence or phrase which contains the contradictory message, but it can also be postposed to it: *inni göryä:s weli:n* (Te. 6) 'but now we see'.

- *onbä:ş gün boldi weli:n yambaşdan gelyä:mişin diyip merdim bir ğorqya:r yö:ne merdim titrä:b du:r.* (Te. 1)  
It's (already) been fifteen days (since the attack) but people are so afraid (the raiders) might come back – the people are still trembling.
- *biz mehpile bardıq weli: sen yo:q-tiŋ.* (Är. 22)  
We went to the party but you weren't (there).
- *sa:ra:nıñ enes-ä:m tu:q basdırdı, jü:je köp çıqdı weli:n yağşı ketegi bolma:n soñ pı:qa:i:mit boldı jü:jeler.* (Är. 5)  
Sa:ra:'s mother hatched chickens; the chickens were plenty, but since she had no good henhouse they were all eaten up by the rooster.
- *doqma satılmadı weli:n čiten doqmalari ellerniŋ ustinne ğallı.* (Te. 6)  
The carpet was not sold, but (instead) the carpets they had woven remained on their hands.
- *maza:rşeri:pde hemme kepperiler a:ğ-eken, hira:tda we kă:bilde weli:n kepperiler her xi:l bolya:r.* (Te. 13)  
In Mazāri Šarīf all pigeons are white, but in Herat and Kabul the pigeons are (of) all sorts.

(xv) **amma:**

The conjunction *amma:*, which signals contradiction like *weli:n*, is only unfrequently used.

- marçaqda sa:rıqlardan başğa, ä:rsa:rılar özbekler we arablar ya:şı: du:r **amma:** olar hemmesi sa:rıq dilinde gepli: du:r. (Sa. 1)  
In Marçaq other than Sa:rıq there also live Ärsa:rı, Uzbeks and Arabs, but they are all speaking the Sa:rıq language.
- biz boynımıza alan wezi:pä:mizi bejerdik **amma:** olariñ heni:zeçe eden i:şi yo:q. (Är. 8)  
We have fulfilled the duties which we had accepted, but (by) them, no work has been done as yet.

(xvi) **bolmasa**

As a conjunction, *bolmasa* (lit. 'if it is not') indicates that the second one of two sentences which it connects suggests an alternative to what is expressed in the first one. It can be translated as 'or ...', 'otherwise ...', 'however, ...', 'actually, ...' and the like.

- zehmet çekiş gerek, bira:z sarpajoyı ediş gerek, **bolmasa** pulıñ yığılması ğı:n. (Är. 25)  
It is necessary to toil, it is necessary to economize a bit, or otherwise the accumulation of money will be difficult.
- qadı:m buxara: sewda: merkezi bolannan soñ oña buxara:yı diyelar, **bolmasa** türkmen ha:lısı bıl. (Yo. 1)  
Since in ancient times Bukhara was center of trade, they call this (type of carpet) Bukharan; however, it is a Turkmen carpet.
- siziñ deli:liñizi eşdip abdıraxma:n imsim boldı, **bolmasa** hi:čkimiñ gepini qabu:l etmä:n otı:r-tı. (Är. 10)  
Now that Abdıraxma:n has heard your arguments, he has shut up. Otherwise he never accepted anybody's words.

As can be seen from the following example, the conjunction *bolmasa* can even be applied if the phrase/sentence which it "contradicts" is not explicitly said.

- siz bir yo:la: arı:za:ñızı weza:rata berik-göriñ, **bolmasa** soñ men bıl i:şi parılma:nıñ üsti bilen çözerin. (Är. 16)  
Give it one try to hand in your petition at the ministry. [Maybe you are successful.] If not, I will then solve the matter via the parliament.

(xvii) **onda-da**

The conjunction *onda-da* connects two sentences, the second one of which signals contradiction to the first; it can be translated as '...all the same', 'nevertheless ...' and the like.

- buyerde xuda:ya: şükür biziñ hemme nä:rsä:miz ba:r, **onda-da** turkmenista:n ata watanımız bolanı üci:n göresimiz gelä:r. (Te. 19)  
Here, thank God, we have everything. Nevertheless, since Turkmenistan is our forefathers' homeland we desire to see (it).



(xviii) *yo:ğsa ~ yo:ğsam*

The conjunction *yo:ğsa(m)* (lit. 'if it is not') connects two sentences in similar ways as *bolmasa* (see above), in that the second element is at semantic contradiction to the first.

- di:şinjiz çü:ri:n bolsa soğırdıñ **yo:ğsa** sizi helä:k eder. (Är. 20)  
If your tooth is rotten, have it extracted – otherwise it will kill you.
- yañqı yigitleriñ köpisiniñ sewa:dı yo:q **yo:ğsam** olar mekdeb-em oqa:dılar. (Är. 11)  
Most of these youngsters are analphabets – although they go to school.

(xix) *ğayta:m ~ ğaytada:m*

The conjunction *ğayta:m ~ ğaytada:m* sets the subsequent sentence in immediate contradiction to the precedent one; it can be translated as 'just the contrary, ...'. The preceding sentence may include the adverb *bir* ('for one thing'), which "cross-references" with the conjunction.

- behmen sa:yıp ğari:ma:n dir **ğaytada:m** öñkiden ya:şarıp dır. (Är. 21)  
Behmen Sa:yıp has not aged – just the contrary, he's gotten younger than before!
- bize wi:zä: bir bermedi **ğayta:m** bir heptelä:p sergerda:n-am etdi. (Te. 16)  
He, for one thing, didn't give us a visa – just the contrary, he drove us nuts for a whole week.

(xx) *tersine*

The conjunction *tersine* is a synonym of *ğayta:m* and functions in exactly the same way.

- a:qmıra:d bize pul-a: bir bermedi, **tersine** aldad-a:m. (Är. 29)  
A:qmıra:d for one thing did not give us money – just the contrary, he betrayed us at that.

(b) Subordinating conjunctions

Subordination is in Turkmen grammar confined to conditional clauses. Consequently, most of the subordinating conjunctions occur at the initial position of a conditional clause and many of them also signal some kind of conditional connection between the clauses and sentences joined together by the conjunction. Other types signal causation, contingency and quotation.<sup>183</sup>

(i) *eger ~ eger-de*

The conjunction *eger ~ eger-de* 'if...', which takes the initial position of a conditional clause (or in rare cases, the position immediately following the verb marked by the conditional suffix), can be understood as a product of double-coding in imitation of the Persian conditional construction (in which, other than Turkmen, the conjunction is an indispensable supplement to the subjunctive).

- **eger** dä:dem meña kömek etmedik bolsa, men-hem bul i:şleriñ hemmesini yeke ö:zim bejerip bilmeya:dim. (Te. 5)

<sup>183</sup> For these categories, see also Clark (1998:434).

If my father hadn't helped me, I wouldn't have been able to accomplish all this work.

- ol waxtlarda o:t hemi:še öçmä:n kö:z bolip durar-miš, **eger** öçirse soñ o:di yaqmaq ği:nmiš. (Är. 44)

In those times the fire always kept glowing without going out; if it went out, it was difficult to light (another) fire.

- **egerde** siz gi:jä: ğalar ya:naq bolsañız motarda gidiñ. (Är. 10)

If it looks as if you were late, go (there) by car!

## (ii) *soñ*

While the protasis of a conditional construction can take the conjunction *eger* as an (additional) marker of its connectedness with the apodosis, the apodosis in its turn can be marked with the – equally superfluous, in a syntactic understanding – "consecutive" conjunction *soñ* 'then ...' in its initial position.

- bir sapar xalqı aldasañız **soñ** hemi:še size inanmaya:lar. (Te. 16)  
If you deceive the people once, then they will never (again) trust you.
- a:damiñ hemme paa:liyetleri pi:nisine bağlı, pi:ni ğorjansa **soñ** ol a:dam sağalmıyo:r. (Är. 18)  
All of man's action depends on his brains; if the brain (suffers) concussion, then that man won't recover.
- tilla: araq içse (...) **soñ** dā:lerip başlaya:r. (Te. 3)  
If Tilla: drinks alcohol, then he starts fooling round.

## (iii) *mI*

The element *mI*, which is primarily known as interrogative particle, can also function as a conjunction that signals that two phrases are connected by condition. While mostly conditional clauses form the protasis of a conditional construction, the combination of a verb with preterite suffix and the conjunction *mI* can do the same. The preterite suffix is in these cases to be understood as a non-tense element only signalling the perfective aspect; together with the conjunction it connotes repetitiveness or even "general fact". The supplementary conjunction *soñ* can, as it does with regular conditional clauses, take the initial position of the apodosis.

- quma:rba:z bir yola: oğırlıq etdimi **onsoñ** ol başğa za:dılar am edesi geler. (Är. 2)  
Once a gambler has committed theft, then he will feel like doing other (bad) things as well.
- hemsaya:ñqa: ötdimi mıñqıdan bır za:dı oğırlamaqçı bolar bıl. (Te. 5)  
Any time he walks over to the neighbor's, he tries to steal something from there.

## (iv) *bardı-geldi*

This conjunction can be best compared to the Dari conjunction *ihyānan* 'if...' which implies an undesirable case ('under the unwelcome condition that ...').

- awala: oğlıñız kâ:miya:b bolar, **bardı-geldi** bolmasa soñ bir čä:re eders. (Är. 3)  
First your son will be successful in school. If – unwantedly – he is not, then we'll do something about it.

- **bardı-geldi** biz ö:zimiz toya gelip bilmeseg-em, oğlanları i:berers. (Är. 35)  
If – as we hope won't happen – we cannot come to (your) feast ourselves, we'll send the kids.

(v) *čunki*

The conjunction *čunki* 'because...' connects two finite clauses the second of which, whose initial position the conjunction holds, gives an explanation for the proposition put forward in the first clause. The construction with *čunki* is clearly understood as copied from Persian; it is not frequently used.

- šo:ra:nıñ orta: geleninnen biz bi:xabar ğaldıq **čunki** biz o waxt daşarda-tıq. (Är. 10)  
We remained unaware of the Council's coming into being, because at that time we were abroad.
- siziñ šeri:atıñızda yo:ğ ol, di:di, **čunki** yo:ğ o bizde. (Är. 2)  
This does not exist in your sharia law, he said, because it does not exist at ours.

(vi) *diyip*

The conjunction *diyip*, which is in the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan the gerund of the verb *di-* 'to say', marks a piece of direct speech (to which it is postposed) and connects or inserts it to the main clause.<sup>184</sup>

- **men ya:ş haywa:nlari i:merin diyip** šert edipdim. (Te. 13)  
I had made a bet, "I won't eat young animals".
- šo pille **sa:yb diyip** bir ğı:ğırdım. (Är. 14)  
At that time I burst out shouting, "Sir!".
- qa:zı **i:da:m ediñ diyip** höküm beripdir. (Är. 17)  
The judge passed sentence saying, "Put him to death!".

This type of construction is often interpreted as signalling a causal or final relation:

- maña:ha: ša:yat **bi:sawa:d diyip** kita:p bermedik bolsalar, size nä:müči:n bermä:nkä:ler? (Är. 11)  
Probably they didn't give me a book because (I am) illiterate; (but) why haven't they given (any) to you?!
- šo wağıtlar **čelpek guni diyip** gelya:nlara saçaq za:d oñarılıya:r-eken. (Te. 2)  
In those times a kerchief (or) stuff would be prepared for those (visitors) who came because of the "day of the flat loaves"<sup>185</sup>.
- **toy etjek diyip** köp pul yıñnamalı boldıq. (Te. 16)  
We had to save up much money because we were planning to make a wedding.
- **nä:me diyip** siz oğlanlar bilen boğışdıñız? (Är. 39)  
What for did you fight with the boys?

<sup>184</sup> From the Teke dialect *diyip* has been recorded in two more functions: (1) as a synonyme of the participle *diyip*, which occurs in attributive phrases of the 'the ... called ...' type (*a:dam diyip haywa:n* 'the animal called human', also *sultan sanjar diyip bir pa:şsa:* 'a king named Sultan Sanjar'), (2) as marking a non-resultative predicative adjunct (Hentschel 2008) (*şun-a:m bir ä:dim öñe diyip hasa:plamaq gerek* 'this has to be judged as one step forward').

<sup>185</sup> Rituals of the so-called *čelpek gumı* include gift exchange among relatives and friends.

(vi) *hačan* ~ *qačan* ~ *qačan-da*

This conjunction, which is *hačan* in all dialects and *qačan(-da)* in the Ärsa:ri and *nāxāliš* dialects, signals contingency: It comes at the initial position of a conditional clause, which expresses the precondition for the proposition contained in the main clause. It can be translated as 'in case ....', 'given the condition ....'; *qačan-da* also translates as 'whenever ...', 'as soon as ...'.

- **hačan** di:sej barars. (Är. 54)  
We'll go whenever you want (lit. say).
- **qačan-da** biz i:šimizi ğotarsaq size xabar berers. (Är. 13)  
We'll let you know when we finish our work.

### 5.1.9 Modal words

Modal words express the attitude of the speaker towards what he/she is saying. They range from plain affirmation / negation to the expression of nuances like confirmation, supposition, doubt, hesitation, topicalization, demonstration and others. Some modal words are lexical and functional copies from Persian.

Modal words expressing affirmation are in the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan *huwwa* ~ *hawwa* and *hä*: ; there seems to be no significant dialectal or regional difference in the use of the variants.

- **huwwa**, men-em šu xabarı öň ešdiptim. (Är. 22)  
Yes, I had also heard this news before.
- **hä**:, awad bolmaqiň üstine baryo:da, yu:saň a:t awad bolmali. (Mo. 2)  
Yes, (this) has to do with becoming well-bred, if you wash the horse it becomes well-bred.
- **hä**:, onda gitmeli bolsa biz-em teyya:r bolalı. (Är. 10)  
Okay, if then (we all) need to leave let us get ready, too.

Affirmation by means of *haqi:qatdan* or *doğrıdan*, the literal meaning of both of which is 'in fact', 'truly', is even stronger.

- **haqi:qatdan** siz erte gelibiljek dä:mi? (Är. 24)  
Really – you won't be able to come tomorrow?

Affirmation with special emphasis is expressed by *hetmen* 'absolutely', 'no doubt' (which is interestingly generally followed by an aorist or another non-tense dispositive verb form, as if to refrain from an all-too-certain proposition anyway):

- ođlıñız ders oqa:n bolsa **hetmen** kä:nku:rde kä:miya:b bolyo:r. (Är. 3)  
If your son has learned (his) lesson he will no doubt be successful in the entrance competition.

Negation is expressed by *yo:q* – which is actually the negative existential – , *yo:* or *yaa:* :

- **yo:q!** marçaqda teke we yomut qawmlar ya:ša:n yo:q. (Sa. 2)  
No! In Marçaq there live no Teke or Yomut tribes.

- **yaa:!** ol mekdebe baran yo:q. (Är. 28)  
No way! He has never gone to school.

Certainty – whether factual or pretended, hopeful etc. – is in the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan expressed with *elbetde* (which then comes with predicates that indicate indirectivity or evidentiality, as if to abstain from too much certainty of prediction):

- **elbetde!** sawa:dlı a:dam sawa:dsız a:damnan tapa:wıtlı, siziñ aydaniñiz dođrı. (Är. 12)  
Absolutely! Literate people are different from illiterates, your remark is correct.
- **elbetde** pul alan dā:l dir, alan bolsa bizede be:r. (Te. 3)  
He has certainly not received money; if he had received (any) he would give us (some).

Supposition, which may be inclined towards either affirmation or doubt, is expressed by *belki* :

- **belki** siziñ aydaññız dođrı dir, meniñki yalñış bolmađı mümkin. (Är. 33)  
Maybe what you say is right, mine might be wrong.

Supposition or inference is expressed by *şekilli ~ şekilli:m* (Te.), lit. 'in the shape of ...', 'looking like ...', which is attached to the end of the clause or sentence which is its scope. It has been recorded also in double coding together with phraseologisms which render the same meaning.

- bugün-em i:şimiz boljaq dā:l **şekilli**. (Är. 8)  
Looks like our problem is not going to be (settled) today...
- paha:!  
axdığñız ketde bola:n **şekilli**? (Är. 17)  
Oh! Looks like your grandson has grown up?!
- men bugün bi:kā:r boljaq dā:l **şekilli:m**, sizi bugün ça:rya:r gezzi:r. (Te. 13)  
Looks like I won't be free from work today..., (so) today Ça:rya:r will show you round.
- ey yene i:şimiz bitmedi, **güma:nıma** soñqı hepdä: ğaljaq **şekilli**. (Är. 22)  
Alas, our work is not done once over – I guess it looks like it will remain (to be done) next week.

Much the same meaning can also be expressed by means of the modal word *ya:naq*, which is otherwise known as a postposition ('like ...'). Our materials do not contain many examples of this application of the word, though, and there is reason to assume that it is typical of female speech – as a downgrader for modesty and "non-insistence on one's own opinion in the face of others".

- halıma:nıñ üç ođlı bir ğı:zı **ba:r ya:naq**. (Är. 5)  
Halima has three sons and one daughter, it seems.

Inference<sup>186</sup> can be expressed by *di:mek*, lit. 'that is to say':

- **di:mek** siz onda iki gün-em ğa:lıp biljek gā:mi? bir-ki gün bolsañız ğawı bolardı. (Te. 11)

<sup>186</sup> Clark (1998:378) names *di:mek* together with other modal words which imply "generalization", but actually his example (p. 398) points to inference rather than generalization.

So you won't be able to stay for two days then? Would have been good if you'd been about for one or two days...

A modal word designed to motivate the addressee is *hanı*, which otherwise also means 'where?':

- **hanı** ti:z bolıñ, gi:jä: ğaldıñız! (Te. 4)  
Come on, speed up, you are being late!

The modal word *bosa* (Te.Yo.Är.Sa.) ~ *bosa:n* (Mu.) ~ *bosa:ni:nim* (Är.) ~ *bosa:ni:gim* (Är.) immediately follows the word/phrase which is its scope. The general meaning of this element is to highlight or topicalize its referent, often as opposed to other parts of the phrase.

- **men bosa** bi yerde otız yıldan bä:ri deyhä:nçılıq etyo:n. (Är. 10)  
As for me, I have been farming here for thirty years.
- **soñ bosa** gelik-görse bir ya:şoli a:dam bir na:ni suwa aqdiriq-gido:r ekeni. (Sa. 7)  
And *after that* as he went and looked, (he saw that) an old man was throwing a loaf of bread into the water.
- a:tıñ a:datları yaramas bolsa hem tepyo: hem tişliyo:.. **yağşı çıqsa bosa:n**, ni: tepyo: ni: ti:şliyo:.. (Mo. 2)  
If the horse's habits are bad it will kick and bite. If it comes out well, however, it will neither kick nor bite.
- **erti:r edilen xami:rlar bişiberende bosa** ol ya:ğ duşer. (Är. 5)  
And as soon as the dough which has been prepared in the morning is ripe, that grease will fall out.
- **ol ğızıl esgili bosa:ni:nim** maha:jirlar umu:man ğızıl esgili, **uwwaldan otirimda:rlar bosa:ni:nim** sa:ri esgili. (Är. 1)  
As for these (women) wearing red headscarfs – the immigrants generally have red headscarfs (while) those who had been living here before have yellow headscarfs.

### 5.1.10 Existentials<sup>187</sup>

All Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan have the positive and negative existentials *ba:r* and *yo:q*. The occurrence of the short-vowel variant *bar* appears to be only occasional; voiced *yo:ğ* almost regularly occurs in word boundaries when followed by a vowel-initial word or clitic (e.g. *yo:ğ-ekeni* Är. 'there wasn't').

The negative existential also functions as a substitute for the non-existent lexeme 'no':

- **yo:q**, marıdan dä:l, biziñ ata-ba:balarmız ta:şhawızdan gelen. (Yo. 1)  
No, not from Marı – our forefathers have come from Ta:şhawız.
- **yo:q**, bend dä:l-de açılan inni. (Te. 3)  
No, it is not closed (but) open now.

Clauses with bare existentials occur rather unfrequently, with the sheer negation of something's existence even more scarcely occurring than its affirmation.

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<sup>187</sup> Clark (1998:378) lists the existentials *ba:r* and *yo:q* as modal words of affirmation and negation, respectively. Since this interpretation does not conform to our (and his) definition of modal words, we list them as a separate category of adjuncts here.

- yö:ne şu marçağın içinde tö:rt üyli owğa:n **ba:r**. (Sa. 2)  
An in the center of Marçaq there exist four households (of) Pashtuns.
- wılswa:lı: qo:rya:nda bir o:ba **ba:r** qalayıba:ba diyilya:, o yerde türkmenleriň köpisi ya:şaya: (Te. 2)  
In the district of Qo:rya:n there is a village, (it) is called Qalayıba:ba, most of the Turkmens live there.
- bize bir juma: günnen başğa rusğatı **yo:q**. (Te. 14)  
For us there exists no holiday except the one (and only) Friday.
- demir-pala:stik za:tlar çiqannan bäre:ri indi öňkiler ya:li ağaşşı ussalamam **yo:q**. (Sa. 2)  
Since iron and plastic things have appeared, now there exist no (more) woodworking masters like in former times.

The assertiveness of existential clauses can be downgraded (for politeness, reluctance to take high risk, etc.) by means of an adequate modal word (e.g., *ya:ni* 'as if ...'), suffix (e.g. the intensive-and-downgrader *-rA:Q* like in *yo:ğra:q*) or clitic (*dIr*).

- Halıma:nıñ üç oğlı bir ğı:zı **ba:r ya:naq**. (Är. 5)  
It seems that Halıma has three sons and one daughter.

Existentials combined with possessives render the meaning of 'to have'.

- saña üş şertim **ba:r** şoları bejersen seni ğoyberjek diyipdir. (Är. 39)  
He said, "I have three tasks for you. If you fulfill them, I will let you free."
- werzişden kä:ra:ta: gidyä:nammız-am **ba:r** ya:şlardan. (Te. 18)  
Among the young (men) we also have (some) who out of the (various) sport(s) are going for karate.
- sizij tö:rt sa:nı oğluj **ba:r**, şüyle dä:lmi? (Är. 19)  
You have four sons, isn't it so?
- sekiz otağı **ba:r-ti**, şüniñ daşini-içini suwaşdirip berdiler. (Sa. 2)  
(The house) had eight rooms. They painted their exterior and interior.
- xalq behriñ dü:bi **yo:q** diyyo:lar amma: onıñ-am dü:bi bolmalı. (Är. 17)  
Folks say the ocean has no bottom, but it also does have a bottom.
- sereta:n keseliñ heni:zeçe ala:jı **yo:q** diyä:ler. (Te. 16)  
The cancer illness as yet does not have medication, they say.

The existentials can combine with clitics for all the tense, evidentiality and modality marking of which the existentials themselves are not capable. These issues are not explicated here.

### 5.1.11 Particles

Particles are elements which cannot stand alone; they gain meaning only in combination with words or phrases, to which they are postposed. Particles are enclitic – while they do not receive stress themselves, more stress falls on their immediate antecedent. Particles may or may not be harmonized with the antecedent they are attached to (vowel and/or consonant harmony).

(a) Epistemical particles

Epistemical particles relate to the veracity of the proposition put forward in the word, phrase or sentence to which they are attached, and they do so in the interrogative or in some attitudinal<sup>188</sup> mode.

(i) *mI*

The particle *mI* is in regular sentences mutually exclusive with interrogative adjectives and adverbs.

The interrogative particle per se, *mI*, has in unfrequent cases been reported as [mu] or [mü] as well, but generally it follows the twofold harmony model in all dialects.

In regular speech, the interrogative particle *mI* is attached to the comment rather than to the topic, even if the topic is what the particle is semantically bound to.

- gōyunlarňızı **ö:zlerňiz** baqyo:rsıňız**mı**<sup>189</sup>? (Är. 40)  
Do you herd your sheep *yourself*?

As a rule, the particle *mI* follows only independent parts of speech; attributes, satellites of possessive constructions and other dependent elements, including converbs, may be the actual scope of the interrogative particle, but the particle is nevertheless attached to the respective heads and postverbs, or to the comment (whether it is a nominal or a verbal predicate) altogether.

- haja:ğa **kö:ne** pul-am alyo:n-dır**mı**? (Är. 11)  
I wonder if Haji A:ğa also accepts *old* bills?
- size-hem pul **birmey** bolarm**ı**? (Mo. 1)  
Would it be okay *not* to give you money?
- ya:şolı **o:xla:p** yatı:r**mı**? (Är. 53)  
Is the old man lying *asleep*?

The positioning of the particle *mI* in relation to person markers is not discussed here in detail. It may suffice to mention that there is some dialectal variation in this (e.g. *sağmııñ* Är. as opposed to *sağmıñ* Te. 'Are you well?'; *bilyo:rsıñmI* Är. as opposed to *bilyä:mIñ* Te. 'Do you know?'), and there may even be situational variation within one dialect.

(ii) *dA*

The particle *dA* can be used as an interrogative particle; questions containing this particle (rather than *mI*) bear a connotation supporting the veracity of the proposition that is expressed in the sentence, which makes the "question" appear to be a rhetorical one. Examples:

- görişim ya:ni saña kömek beryo:n-am yo:q-**da**? (Är. 5)  
As far as I (can) see, nobody is helping you, isn't it?
- aliq-ğaçar o:ğa:nlardan-eken-**de** ol? (Mo. 1)

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<sup>188</sup> Clark 1998:458 includes in this category particles that are about speculation, confirmation, assertion and emphasis; the latter, to our understanding, is not well placed here, but according to Clark's table should come in the category he calls "emotional".

<sup>189</sup> In this book I follow the Turkmenistani orthographical convention of not separating the interrogative particle by space or hyphen. All other particles are hyphenated.



- Isn't he one of these thievish Pashtuns?
- bil i:ši men etmeli-**de**? (Är. 34)  
Am I the one who has to do this work, then?!

(iii) *A ~ A*:

The interrogative particle *A ~ A*: always takes the final position of the sentence, which as a whole appears to be its scope. Compared with *dA*, and certainly with *mI*, *A~A*: is only unfrequently used. Again, similar to *dA*, this particle supports the veracity of the proposition, which gives the question a markedly rhetorical character.

- erte ba:zar bararsıñ-**a**? (Är. 53)  
Aren't you going to the bazaar tomorrow?
- šonča palaw mi:dä:sini a:ğirtjağnı öñ-hem bilyä:rdi-**ä**:? (Te. 18)  
Wouldn't he have known from the start that this much pilaff would give him stomach pain?

(iv) *QA*:

The clitic *QA*: , which fulfills several different functions, can among others be used as an epistemical particle which expresses speculation.<sup>190</sup> It is then hosted by the predicate of an interrogative sentence. While there seem to be no restrictions concerning the host – nominal or verbal predicate, affirmative or negative, etc. – , the propositions do seem to be restricted to the 3<sup>rd</sup> person.

- ol görinyo:n kim-**kä**:? (Är. 5)  
Who could this (person) be that can be seen (over there)?
- injinyer pru:žadan pul alıp bilse bize-de be:rmi-**kä**: di:yä:n. (Te. 17)  
I'd say, if the engineer can find money for the project, I wonder if he's going to give us (some), too.
- saxii:ja:nıñ kepdeleri nä:dip hemmesi a:q bolyor-**qa**:? (Är. 40) 71  
How come (lit. doing what) the pigeons of (the mausoleum of) Hazrat Ali are all white?!

(v) *dIr*

The clitic *dIr*, which otherwise adds evidentiality to many different verb forms, is also used as an epistemical particle which expresses supposition and confirmation. Although there seems to be no restriction on 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person propositions for *dIr* to be attached, the particle occurs by far most frequently together with 3<sup>rd</sup> person propositions, obviously for semantic reasons.

- sizıñ xabarız ba:r-**dir**. (Te. 2)  
No doubt you are informed.
- xuda:y ta:la:nıñ ö:zi dā:nā:-**dir**, biziñ da:r aqlımız bul i:şlere yetişmez. (Te. 10)  
God himself is all-wise, our narrow mind does not suffice for (the understanding of) these things.

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<sup>190</sup> Compare Clark 1998:458.

- xuda:yberen a:ğa issi-suwıǵı gören qırq yıllıq çopan-**dir**. (Är. 13)  
Xuda:yberen A:ğa is a forty-years(-active) shepherd who has seen the hot and the cold (i.e., who is experienced in all difficult matters)!
- nesi:besi tartan dâ:l-**dir**, o yerlerâ: nesi:be tartmasa gidip bolmaz. (Är. 5)  
It has obviously not been his lot [to go for the Hajj]; if it is not one's lot, one cannot go those places.
- bil bir tejribe, ya:zi issi gelen yili ğiša:m suwiq bolyo:n-**dir**. (Är. 17)  
This is an (insight from) experience: In years whose summer was (lit. came) hot the (lit. its) winter will also be cold.
- onda bul i:şi men etyo:n-**dırn** (Är. 10)  
Then it's obviously me who is going to do this work

## (b) Emphatic particles

### (i) *A ~ A*:

The particle *A ~ A*, which has above been mentioned as bearing interrogative function, is also used for adding emphasis to a sentence, in which it always holds the final position.

- peyğamber ya:şa bardıǵ-**a**! (Är. 1)  
I have reached the Prophet age!<sup>191</sup>
- yoqarı gityo:mı çin ekeni-**ä**! (Är. 11)  
It is true that he has gone up (there)!
- qawma:-m keliñ di:di hawlı biremen-**ä**: diyedi leki:n (...). (Mo. 1)  
He tells the people, "Come, I give (you) a home!", he says, but (...).

### (ii) *a:w*

The particle *a:w*, which is typical of male speech, adds emphasis to a sentence or phrase and can connote (positive) surprise.

- örâ:n yaǵşı palaw ekeni-**a:w**! (Är. 53)  
What a good pilaff this is!
- baybay, sala:m ba:y sen zor-**a:w**! (Är. 11)  
Wow, Sala:m Ba:y, you are awesome!

### (iii) *Ay*

The particle *Ay* adds emphasis to the whole sentence to which it is attached. It can connote surprise, astonishment, and also joy and delight.

- ol gelyä:n kim-kä:-**ey**?! (Är. 5)  
Who is thiiiiis (lit. the one who is arriving)?!
- waxtında gela:dıñ-**ey**! (Är. 34)  
You have come exactly on time!

<sup>191</sup> *Peyğamber ya:ş(i)* is the age of 62.

(iv) **A:ha:**

This particle adds emphasis to the word or phrase which is its scope, and it connotes nuances like "anyway", "in the first place". If the antecedent has a vowel in the coda position, that vowel is integrated into the long vowel in the onset of the particle: *maŋa + a:ha: > maŋa:ha:*

- *ši pillede hem yigitler mejlise gelmä:ne utanya:lar, şuŋa görä:-de ġi:z-a:hä: hemi:še-de weki:l tutılıp nikä: edilya: . (Te. 10)*  
Even today the young men are shy of coming to the (engagement) ceremony. Taking this into account, girls are anyway always being given in engagement by taking a custodian.
- *maŋa:ha: ša:yat bi:sawa:d diyip kita:p bermedik bolsalar, size nä:müci:n bermä:n-kä:ler? (Är. 11)*  
While they may have given me no book, saying, I am anyway illiterate, why might they not have given you one?!

(v) **hem ~ Am ~ A:m**

The by far most frequently used emphatic particle is in all dialects *hem* and several variants of it, whose initial [h] can be dropped and whose vowel can be harmonized and/or lengthened. The particle is often combined with its synonymic particle *dA* 'also' (which in its simple form, however, occurs only unfrequently in the Turkmen dialects). In these cases *dA* is always immediately attached to the word/phrase which is its scope and *hem* is attached to *dA*; the reverse sequence has not been recorded. The combination is then often contracted into [dä:m] or [da:m].

The emphatic quality of *hem* and its variants ranges from very strong to hardly noticeable; in many cases it appears more like a filler word altogether. Its original meaning 'also', which is copied from Persian and exists independently in the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan, does not seem to be relevant here any more. Many speakers use the particle abundantly, even when a specific intention to emphasize one part of their speech or another is hardly discernable.

On the strong end of the application scale, the particle functions as an outright topicalizer<sup>192</sup>:

- *šu depä:niŋ aŋrısınna iki sa:nı o:lajıġ-am otla:p yö:r. (Te. 13)*  
It's *two calves* that are grazing over there across that hilltop!
- *ö:z sü:tdeš doganna hem ö:zinnen kette bolsa a:ga diyediler. (Xa. 3)*  
To their *maternal* siblings – if they are older than themselves – they say *a:ga*.
- *bizde-dä:m oro:za haydı bilen ġorba:n haydınıŋ aralıġında toy eden yo:qlar. (Te. 3)*  
At *ours* they don't make weddings between the *'ıd al-fıtr* and the *'ıd al-qurbān*.

Next down the scale would be a pure and simple emphasizing effect that comes with the particle in its various shapes:

- *oġlanlarıŋ begra:ma gideni altı a:y boldı heni:z-em o yerde i:šlä:b otı:rlar. (Är. 8)*  
It's been six months since the guys have left for Begra:m but they are *still* working there.
- *qadı:m waxtlarda ġudalara öŋinde ġoyulyo:n etler-em belli eken. (Te. 19)*

<sup>192</sup> In this function it can best be compared with Old Turkic *ymä* as characterized by Erdal (2004:347).

In ancient times the (pieces of) meat that had to be placed in front of the in-laws were clearly defined.

- oların o:balar-**a:m** da:ğ eteginde-keni. (Är. 43)  
Their village was/is on the hillside.
- za:yirša:nıñ zama:nında-**da:m** ba:yların üyünde bir-iki altatar tüpeñ ba:r-ti. (Är. 12)  
In Zāhiršāh's time there used to be one or two six-shooting guns in the homes of the stockbreeders.
- men ata:mın gelmedigini öñ-**em** size xabar beriptim. (Är. 7)  
I had (*already*) told you earlier that my father has not come.

The phenomenon that a feature can denote itself and, along with this, its own exact opposite is well-known in linguistics. (In the Turkmen dialects, for example, diminutives can be used to verbally increase their heads, etc.) The emphatic particle *hem* appears to be a case in point: When the particle comes with personal pronouns – of 1<sup>st</sup> person singular or plural –, it functions as the opposite of an upgrader for attention, namely, a downgrader for modesty.

- men-**em** güzera:na yetişsek bolıp altı ça:ğa:nı olaltjaq bolıp saçım ti:z ağardı. (Är. 5)  
While I struggled for the essentials of life and was intent to raise (my) six children, my hair has quickly turned white.
- biz-**em** yığnağa dö:rt bolıp bardıq. (Te. 5)  
We went to the meeting as (a group of) four.
- meniñ-**em** oğlum köp yaman bolıp çıqdi (Är. 6)  
My son turned out to be very bad.

#### (vi) *la*

This assertive particle adds extra emphasis to the word or sentence to which it is attached. The particle often comes with conditionals in volitional function.

- bā:! bıl oğlan kiçi bolsa-da edyo:n i:şleri ketde a:damqı ya:nı-**le**. (Är. 30)  
Wow! Although this boy is (still) young, the things he does are really like an adult man's!
- bi gi:je yaman köp içdiñ-**le**?! (Är. 5)  
But last night you had boozed a hell of a lot!
- ğoysañ-**la**! şunı ö:ziñ yazdım? (Te. 14)  
Now hang on! Have you really written this yourself?
- elim şel boldı, şu ça:ğa:nı alsañ-**la**! (Te. 5)  
My hands are like paralyzed, now wouldn't you take that child?!

#### (vii) *ol*

The particle *ol* – which is otherwise known as a demonstrative pronoun – can be employed to add emphasis. Other demonstrative pronouns (*bıl, şıl...*) also occur in this function, although less frequently. Differently from all above-named emphatic particles, which emphasize either single words/phrases, or the topic of a sentence, or the sentence as a whole, *ol* emphasizes the comment part of the sentence.

- yağşı çopan bolsa ö:zı yağdaya düşünmeli **ol**, köp ğa:r yağtberse ol ğoyunları i:qra:q yere elmeli. (Är. 12)

As for a good shepherd, *he must understand the situation all by himself*. If much snow falls, he must take the sheep to a more sheltered spot.

- yağşı atadan dörä:n oğlan xo:y-xıslatınnan bildiryo:r **ol**. (Är. 1)  
A child who has been procreated by a good father *can be recognized from his character*.
- pıša:r yaramaz za:d eken **bil**. (Te. 10)  
(High) blood pressure *is a nasty thing!*

#### (viii) *xo* ~ *ki*

The particle *xo*, which in the *nāxālīş* dialects also comes as *ki*, emphasises the word to which it is attached and connotes suggested consent on the part of the audience.

- onda aytti: men-**xo** bıl a:dam-i tanı-me-y-men. (Mu. 1)  
Then he said, but I don't know that man!
- şipille-**ki** yo:q, oğri-yem yo:q başğa-yem yo:q, şipille pi:len-**xo** hi:ç gep yo:q. (Mu. 2)  
Nowadays there is nothing (dangerous going on) – no thieves, no others, today there is literally nothing!

#### (ix) *inha* ~ *inha:*

The particle *inha* ~ *inha:* has been reported from the Teke and and Yomut dialects only. It adds emphasis to the word or phrase which is its scope and to whose final position it is attached.

- yö:ne şipilleki hä:zir türkmençe kepleya:n xalq **ba:r bolsa-inha**, bolar türkmenista:nnan göcip baran (Te. 2)  
And if today there *are any folks at all* who speak Turkmen, these are (the ones) who have immigrated from Turkmenistan.
- uç toqrtğa:nıñ **bi:ri-inha:** şu yerde, bi:risi-de ol depä:niñ yanında, yene bi:ri-de iki ki:lo:mitir aqrıda. (Te. 8)  
*One* of the three muddy water pipe is at this place here, again one is beside that hill over there and again one of them is two kilometers away.

### 5.1.12 Interjections

Interjections replace or complete verbal expressions which communicate emotions like joy, sadness, surprise, compassion, sorrow, discontent, despair and others, or highlight speech acts like order and command, admonition and alert and so on. In the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan there exist a number of lexicalized interjections; stress and pitch can modify the quasi-lexical meaning of these words according to the communicational needs and intentions of the speaker. We can differentiate two types of interjections – simple items which bear no literal meaning, and phrase-like items which have crystallized in a specific understanding beyond their literal meaning.

#### (a) Simple interjections

Simple interjections consist of one syllable or a group of syllables which are not necessarily syntactically related to the phrase or sentence which they precede or follow. Their phonetic

structure need not conform to the phonotactic rules that otherwise guide Turkmen speech. Some simple interjections are gendered, others are typical of one given dialect, again others occur without obvious restrictions.

(i) Interjections typical of female speech

*axi:* expresses grief, sorrow, compassion

- **axi:** ! hali:ma:nıñ ği:zi heni:z yigirmä:m yaşama:ntı, juwa:nmerg bolıpdır bi:çä:re. (Är. 5)  
*Axi:* , Hali:ma:'s daughter had not even lived twenty (years), now she has died at young age, poor thing.

*ayuw* draws attention to the speaker

- **ayuw!** bä:ri ğarañ! (Är. 52)  
*Ayuw!* Look my way!

*hi:* expresses regret, sorrow, despair

- qa:dır hajı:nı iki mertebe emelya:t etdirdik, **hi:** ol yağşı boljaq dä:l şekilli. (Är. 18)  
We had Qa:dır Hajı: unergo surgery twice, but *hi:*, it doesn't seem as if he were going to recover.

*waxay ~ waxwaxey* expresses deep concern, sorrow, compassion

- **waxwaxey!** büjağaza nä:m-boldı? (Är. 5)  
*Waxwaxey!* What has happened to this poor little (thing)?!

*wi:* expresses regret and compassion

- **wi:** oğulša:d eke ölipdir!? (Är.)  
*Oh,* Oğulša:d Eke has died!

(ii) Dialectal difference

*ba:y ~ bayba:y ~ bay-bayaw ~ baybu:* ~ *baybo:* expresses positive surprise, astonishment coupled with joy and enchantment. While the first, second and third variants are typical of the Ä:rsa:rı dialect, *baybu:* would be the typical Teke, and *baybo:*, the Sa:rıq variant.

- **bay-bay** sala:mba:y sen zor-aw! (Är. 53)  
*Bay-bay!* Sala:mba:y, you are great-aw!

*bä:* ~ *beh* : expresses surprise and astonishment; the *bä:* variant is typical of the Ä:rsa:rı dialect while *beh*, which is uttered with particular stress and raised voice is typical of the Teke dialect.

- **bä:** bıl oğlan kiçi bolsa-da edyo:n i:şleri ketde a:damqı-ya:nı-le. (Är. 30)  
*Bä:* ! Although this boy is small, his achievements are like a big man's!

- **beh** čımmı aytya:nıŋ? (Te. 1)  
*Beh!* Is (it) true what you are saying?!

*übi:* / *übüy* ~ *wi:* expresses grief and sorrow. *übi:* is typical of the Moqri, Xatap and Bayat dialects, while *wi:* is typically used in the Teke dialect.

- **übi:** mutar yıqılıp biş a:dam ölipdi. (Ba. 3)  
*Übi:* , the car has been overturned and five men have died...

*wa:y* ~ *wa:ywa:y* expresses surprise about something undesirable.

- **wa:ywa:y** onıŋ salsa:l bolıp gelişin görin! (Är.)  
*Wa:ywa:y*, look how draggily he is coming!

*wä:* expresses surprise, mostly about matters unpleasant to the speaker. Children use this interjection to express malicious glee and spitefulness.

- **wä:** sende mınya:nı oynıjaq yo:q. (Är. 4)  
*Wä:*, you don't have toys like this!

(iii) Universally applied interjections

*a:y*: is used to draw attention of a crowd to what is going to follow; it is frequently used by (professional) barkers on the bazaar or during sports events.

- **a:y** merdim eşitdim eşitmedim di:ymä:ŋ! uwal ta:bağın yüz da:lar bilen bir do:n serpa:y ba:r a:w!  
*A:y* people, don't say I've heard or not heard (the message)! (For) the first lap there is a prize of one hundred dollars and a coat!

*a:w* ~ *aw*: follows the actual message; it draws attention and adds emphasis to what has been verbally expressed before. (Compare also the above example.)

- bay-bay sala:mba:y sen zor-**aw**! (Är. 53)  
*Bay-bay!* Sala:mba:y, you are great-*aw*!

*ey* expresses disappointment and regret

- **ey** yene i:şimiz bitmedi, güma:nıma soñqı hepdä: ğaljaq şekilli. (Är. 22)  
*Ey*, our matter has again not been completed. I guess it looks like it will remain for next week... .

*ey-ho:* expresses surprise and astonishment, but is also used to alert people of dangerous situations.

- **ey-ho:** bi nä:hi:li a:dam-eken-ä:? (Är.)  
Hey, what a strange man indeed!
- **ey-ho:** mä:kä:m yapışın! düşip ğa:la:ma:ŋ! (Är. 26)  
*Ey-ho:* hold on tight! Don't fall down!

*hä:* confirms and underlines what another person has said or is doing.

- **hä:** *šüylä diyıñ-ä.*, men-hem *šünya:nı* bolar diyip oylıyo:r-tım. (Är. 27)
- *Hä:*, you are right, I was also thinking that (things are) this way.

*ha-ha-ha* expresses pride and joy

- **ha-ha-ha** biz utdıq! (Är. 12)  
*Ha-ha-ha* we've won (the game)!

*ha:y* is shouted in order to attract attention and avail oneself of somebody's help. It can precede or follow the actual message or both (as is the case in the example below):

- *ha:y!* oğrı *gäşdı* **ha:y!** *göyma:ñ!* (Är.)  
*Ha:y!* The thief has escaped-*ha:y!* Don't let go of him!

*he ~ hä:-hä:* expresses disapproval and is applied in order to embarrass and/or intimidate somebody; it precedes the actual phrase.

- **hä:-hä:** *yene biz bilen ji:l edersıñmi?* (Är.)  
*Hä:-hä:*, are you again having an argument with us?

*hey:* is an expression of regret and despair.

- **hey** *saña nä:me diyeyin men?! indi ö:ziñ bilibermeli hemme za:tları!* (Är. 10)  
*Hey* what else shall I tell you?! Now it is for yourself to know/understand everything!

*how* expresses consent. It also serves as a response when one is being addressed, saying something like "yes, please".

*hümmm* expresses disapproval of, or disagreement with an action after it has been completed, or the same with regard to the person who has accomplished it.

- **hümmm** *ey bolya:-da, öñnen u:rına çıqsaniz yağšra:q bolar-dı.* (Te.)  
*Hümmm ey* it's okay (but), it would have been better if you had cared for its good quality beforehand!

*oho:* expresses surprise about unpleasant, sad, embarrassing etc. news and can include the affirmation of one's compassion and/or sorrow. It is typical of male speech.

- **oho:!** *men-ä: ešdenim yo:q, hajıa:ğa qačan öldi?* (Är. 3)  
*Oho:!* I had not heard (about it), when has the old man died?

*päh ~ paha:* expresses positive surprise and approval.

- **paha:** *axdığñız ketde bola:n šekilli?* (Är. 17)  
*Paha:!* Your grandson has grown up, it seems?!

*tüf* is an expression of disgust and utter disapproval.



- **tüf** ekrem a:dam dä:l ol, msa:niyet diyen za:t onda hi:ç yo:q. (Är. 10)  
*Tüf!* Ekrem is not a man. The thing called humaneness is totally absent in him.

(b) Interjection phrases

These phrases, whose literal meaning is often independent from their situational function, precede or follow the actual sentence; in some situations they can be used as self-sufficient speech acts of their own.

*al kerek bolsa* (Te.) ~ *al gereği* (Är.): The literal meaning of this phrase is "Take what (you) want(ed)!". It is employed when somebody has messed up a situation and the speaker reacts with a despitiful, mischievous remark.

*berekella*: is a phrase of applause, most often used by elders or superiors in order to encourage somebody.

- **berekella**:, yağşı i:ş edipsiniz, sizden umı:d-am şüyle! (Är. 6)  
*Berekella*:, you have performed well and this is what (we had) expected from you!

*ey wella*: is an expression of despair, sorrow and grief, full of frustration.

- **ey wella**!: nä:me bela: bolsa ğari:bıñ üstine gelyo:-da. (Är. 41)  
*Ey wella*:, whatever disaster is (available) will come over the poor...

*tuweleme*: is another phrase of applause directed on inferiors, particularly children for encouragement. It is accompanied with light spitting intended to avert the evil eye.

- **tuweleme**, göz degmesin! bä:beğın öre:n uwadan! (Är. 5)  
*Tuweleme*, may the evil eye not hit (the baby)! Your baby is very pretty!

*ya:ša* : which literally means 'stay alive!' is an interjection of approval and support uttered for encouragement. It can be supplied with enforcing elements: *yüz ya:ša* 'live a hundred (times)!', *müñ ya:ša* 'a thousand (times) bravo!'.

## 6. Lexicology

Difference between the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan is to a significant degree constituted by difference in the lexical stock. The basic lines along which the lexicon falls apart coincide roughly, as we have already observed when discussing phonology and morphology, with the delineations of the tribes.

Many reasons may have led to the variegated picture the dialects are depicting today. While part of the Turkmen tribes over time engaged primarily in livestock breeding and animal husbandry, others were preoccupied with agriculture and craftsmanship. Some groups lived in isolation while others lived in close vicinity of other Turkmen tribes or people belonging to altogether ethnically and linguistically different groups. Economic relations with neighboring groups were not evenly distributed – while some groups had intense economic and cultural relations with others, some hardly had any, or if they did, their coming and going was directed towards other neighbors so that possible influences came from very different directions. These factors have all contributed to the development of specific lexical features.

The Ä:rsa:rı tribe, for example, until the 16<sup>th</sup> century led a primarily mobile life like the other Turkmen tribes. Starting from that time, however, the Ä:rsa:rı began to settle down along both banks of the Amu Daryā river. Consequently, the Ä:rsa:rı lexicon bears significant traits of a sedentary mode of living – including agricultural and horticultural terminology but also terms related to arts and crafts. Much the same can be said about the Sa:rıq dialect, whose speakers shared a similar geographical and climatic environment and occupied themselves with similar professions as the Ä:rsa:rı speakers.

Another important historical factor of influence on the lexicon is cohabitation with non-members of the own language community, or a lack of such. Since the Ä:rsa:rı speakers have for a relatively long period of time lived in areas which they share with Uzbek and Persian-speaking peoples, they have adopted many lexical items from the idioms of these neighbors which in other Turkmen dialects were not accepted at all. Or even if the same lexemes (including secondary copies which had incurred the Uzbek and Persian dialects before from Arabic, Mongolian or other background languages) from other Turkic or from Iranian idioms were copied into the Ä:rsa:rı dialect, they were not copied the same way, with the degree of phonetic adaptation or non-adaptation and semantic transformation or non-transformation varying from the Ä:rsa:rı dialect to others to a significant extent: Lexical copies that were included in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect are generally closer to the prototypes than those included into the other *xāliş* dialects, that is, Sa:rıq, Yomut and Teke. Only the lexemes copied into the *nāxāliş* dialects – Moqri, Bayat, Xatap and Surxi - are even closer to the prototypes of the background languages. Within the *xāliş* dialects the Teke dialect, whose speakers had for centuries been living in relative isolation from neighboring peoples, firstly contains a significantly smaller stock of copied lexemes and secondly, stands out with a high degree of phonetic and semantic adaptation of whatever copies exist at all.

### 6.1 Lexical difference between the Turkmen dialects

Difference in the lexicon is of two basic types: variation and distinction. While some lexemes exist in some, many, or all dialects (although they display variation in form and/or function), others are distinctive elements of one specific dialect or a limited number of dialects only.

Due to the obvious limitations of my material it is of course risky to claim reliability of my findings with regard to the latter: fresh research might bring variants to the fore which we cannot overlook today. However, my field research together with many previous years of observation has led to some certainty with which intermediary results can be put forward here, however with caution and some reserve.

Lexical items which are distinctive of a given dialect can mostly be related back to cultural difference grounded in a divergent historical experience. For example, among the Ä:rsa:rı Turkmens and small groups of speakers of other dialects, who have also dwelled along the Amu Daryā for a long time, an important item of female bodily self-improvement is the piercing of one nasal wing so that a piece of jewelry can be inserted. This type of jewelry is thus an areal feature. It is called *ısrğa* in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect. In the Teke and Yomut dialects such a word does not exist – nor does the custom of piercing the nasal wings of women.

In a similar vein, economic and festive practices which are confined to a particular language community are denoted with specific terms in these communities while practise as well as denotate are missing in the others. Such is the case, for example, with social practises like *geşte*<sup>193</sup>, *dejene*<sup>194</sup> and *haşar*<sup>195</sup> which are unknown among the Teke and Yomut of Afghanistan; consequently, the respective terms are missing in these dialects as well. The Ä:rsa:rı know a social institution named *gü:ç giyew* which implies that a family who has no sons arranges a marriage of one of their daughters with a bridegroom who is ready for uxorilocal residence; in fact the bridegroom is by his in-law family considered an innate son. Again, both the social institution as well as the term is absent in the Teke and Yomut context.

Food terminology is another case in point: Some special dishes which the Ä:rsa:rı people are used to prepare are unknown in Teke and Yomut contexts, and so are the respective terms, like for example *şöhla:t*<sup>196</sup> or *yö:rme*. Some popular games are also endemic in one given dialect community, which consequently is the only one to have a term denoting that game; to name just one example, a customary competitive shooting game typical of the Ä:rsa:rı only is the so-called *altın ğa:baq*.<sup>197</sup>

Lexical variation is a much more common type of dialect difference in the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan and cannot be related back to simple reasons.<sup>198</sup> The lexeme 'calf', for example, varies from *göle* (Te.) to *ta:na* (Yo.) and *höjek* (Är.). In most cases such variants are

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<sup>193</sup> *Geşte* (which has been described in the ethnographic literature on Tajik, Uzbek and Uyghur communities all over the region but is not so widely spread among the Turkmens of Afghanistan) is a type of socializing event which unites a given group of friends who belong to the same age cohort, often share affiliation to the same water distribution system, or have other socio-economic interests in common. The members of the circle meet on a regular basis circulating from one member's home to the next, mostly over the winter months, to enjoy food and entertainment together.

<sup>194</sup> *Dejene* is another type of rotating socializing event. It differs from *geşte* in that the expenses for each party are shared between all members of the group, although again, one group member hosts the party in his home.

<sup>195</sup> *Haşar* is a practise of mutual support of households in a given village in major endeavors of one particular household, such as construction or renovation of a house, or collaborative work of the village population in the realization of major community projects.

<sup>196</sup> A kind of sausage prepared from a mixture of meat, liver and onions and stuffed into the intestine fat or into guts of sheep.

<sup>197</sup> *Altın ğaba:q* is a shooting competition with either bow and arrow or with guns. The target consists of a bell-like object dangling from a 40-50 meter high pole.

<sup>198</sup> Lexical variation is not necessarily at the same time a feature of dialect difference, though, as can be seen from the lexeme 'wolf', for which there exist three synonyms (*mö:jek*, *ġu:rt*, *bö:ri*) and a taboo word (*ja:nda:r*), all of which, however, are present in all of the dialects.

intelligible across dialect borders; some can even be understood without context, others within an explanatory context only. Some variants, however, are unknown and unintelligible beyond the borders of a given dialect. The 'webfoot of animals' is in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect called *nu:ri*, while the Teke dialect has *ders*; none of these lexemes is known to speakers of the respective other dialect. As a matter of fact, among Teke speakers *Nu:ri* is a favorite male anthroponym, which causes surprise or even disapproval on the part of many an Ä:rsa:rı speaker. – In the Ä:rsa:rı dialect the homonym of Sa:rıq *čaqldaq* 'apricot' would be understood as 'lump of dry dirt'<sup>199</sup>; although one may speculate about a shared etymological background as 'dried-out object', the striking difference in contemporary meaning is more obvious for the average speaker. – The Sa:rıq word *samsıq* 'plum' has a Teke homonym *samsıq* meaning 'silly, foolish'. – Needless to say that these examples, and quite a few more which are funny or embarrassing or both, are common currency in local knowledge and support mutual stereotyping of dialects – and along with them their speakers – as strange, funny, or stupid. On the other hand the average speaker of one given dialect does not have much knowledge of actual lexical specifics of the respective other dialects.

There is no full symmetry in the distribution of lexical materials among the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan. While two dialects may agree in one part of the lexicon they may disagree in other parts, in which, however, they agree with a third or fourth dialect. This fact can be illustrated with the phrase expressing 'one's bile being up':

- turşı nä:rise i:sem **zerdä:m küyyo:r.** (Är. 45)  
If I eat sour things my gall will be up.
- sebä:bini bilmedim, üç günnen bä:ri **sa:rı:m ğaynaya:r.** (Te. 16)  
I don't know the reason (why, but) since three days my gall has been up.
- şu ğa:wın-am sirke-ya:lı za:t, mi:dä: yaqano:q **zerdä:ni çoğdıro:r.** (Sa. 5)  
Honey melons are a vinager-like thing: they don't cause the stomach acid to overflow but they make the gall go up.

In the following we will discuss four different sub-types of variation between the Ä:rsa:rı and Teke dialects, and after that examples of distinction between the Ä:rsa:rı and Teke and the Ä:rsa:rı and Sa:rıq dialects. (Since my material is very rich with regard to the majority Ä:rsa:rı dialect and lesser substantial concerning all other dialects, I take the Ä:rsa:rı dialect as general reference.)

### 6.1.1 Homonyms varying in lexical meaning

Ä:rsa:rı	Teke	
father	ata	grandfather
mother	ene	grandmother
paternal and maternal grandmother	ma:ma	maternal grandmother
moist, wet	çı:ğ	raw

<sup>199</sup> These small lumps are by some people used instead of toilet paper.

### 6.1.2 Phonetic divergence in synonymic lexemes

Some of the phonetic features in which divergence between the Ä:rsa:rı and Teke dialects can be observed highlight the Ä:rsa:rı dialect's relative closeness to the Qarluq end of the Oğuz group of the Turkic languages in contrast to the unequivocally Oğuz character of the Teke dialect.

Ä:rsa:rı		Teke
kelin	bride, daughter-in-law	gelin
kelineke	sister-in-law (elder brother's wife)	gel(i)neje, genneje
ni:kče	thin, slim, delicate	i:nče
čünnek	beak	čünk

Other phonetical or morphological features seem to point to a more qypčaqoid character of the Ä:rsa:rı dialect as opposed to the Oğuz one of the Teke dialect: e.g. 'broom' = Är. *süpürgič* ~ Te. *sübsə*. Single examples seem to reflect more ancient divides among the Turkic languages: 'obvious; specific' = Är. *ayıq* ~ Te. *anıq*; 'adequate' = Är. *habay* ~ Te. *abay*. Some lexemes whose phonetic realization varies broadly among all Turkic languages while clearly reflecting a single core pattern also depict a varying phonetic realization: 'butterfly' = Är. *kebelek* ~ Te. *kemelek*.

Finally, in quite a few lexemes dialectal variation is confined to simple phonotactic phenomena such as assimilation: 'peach' = Är. *šapta:lı* ~ Te. *šetta:lı*; (pers. *šafta:lu:*), As has been discussed in more detail in the phonology chapter, the Teke dialect generally shows a stronger inclination towards modification of lexical copies (which often contain phoneme combinations otherwise unusual or unacceptable in the Turkmen language).

### 6.1.3 Dominant versus recessive meanings

The Ä:rsa:rı and Teke dialects share a relatively large number of synonymic pairs or (only in single cases) triples which consist of one/two dominant and two/one recessive element(s) each. Interestingly, the dialects are almost always complementary in this respect: what is dominant in one dialect will be recessive in the respective other.

The "qarluqoid ~ oğuzoid" and "qypčaqoid ~ oğuzoid" divides which have been mentioned above, and "qarluqoid ~ qypčaqoid" ones in addition, can be traced in many synonyme couples of verb stems. In some of these cases the divide relates back to earlier processes of copying from non-Turkic languages which happened in one of the main groups of Turkic languages but did not likewise happen in the other(s), as can be readily seen from the examples below:

**Table 6. 1:** Dominant/recessive couples of verb stems

dominant in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect		dominant in the Teke dialect
čap-	to run	ılğa-
ğara-	to look	baq- ~ seret-
öt-	to pass	geč-
pinek et-	to take a nap	irkil-
tart-	to pull	ček-

maxta-	to praise	öw-
erin-	to idle; to avoid/evade doing ...	yaltan-
doğ-	to give birth	ğuzıla-

Some couples of dominant/recessive substantive and adjective nouns can also reflect these grand lines of Turkic language group divides.

However, there are many more examples where one member is a (more) ancient Turkic word while the respective other member belongs to an obviously more recent layer of lexical copies, mostly from the neighboring Persian dialects. Where the latter is the case, the Ä:rsa:rı dialect is generally (though not without exceptions) more favorable of recent loans than the Teke dialect – which does not come as a surprise, given the above-mentioned areal distribution of the tribes over the last couple of centuries.

Yet another type of synonymic couples are those (relatively few) where both members are obviously recent copies from (different?) neighboring Persian dialects.

**Table 6.2:** Dominant/recessive couples of substantives

dominant in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect	dominant in the Teke dialect	
ayıl	saddle girth	čeki
ğayış	leather belt	čeki
taylaq	camel foal	kö:šek
tegen	stable, shed (specially for sheeps and ghoots)	a:ğıl
suwlıq	snaffle	ağızdriq
čoğan	(a kind of fodder plant)	gö:k tu:dana
depgi	(wooden stepping piece of a spade)	ğolaq (pi:liñ ğolağı)
tä:kmeç	cholera	ğaraxassa
gömüsge	buried treasures	xazı:na
çomuç	skimmer	kürüşge
na:n ğa:rma	(a dish)	doğrama
ğülbent	(knife's) silver garment	ya:ğlaw
hemsaya	neighbor	ğoñşı
kipt	shoulder	egin
peçek	vetch	çirmaşıq
petde	(a kind of shrub)	torañni
pille	time	waxt
duwa:yı	medicine	derma:n
ta:y	place	ja:y

**Table 6.3:** Dominant/recessive couples of adjectives/adverbs

dominant in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect	dominant in the Teke dialect	
ernew	lazy	yalta
içiğara	envious	ğisğanç
yağşı	good	ğawı, oñat
yaramaz	bad, evil	erbet

köp	many; much	kä:n
asta	slow(ly)	yuwaš, hayal
ketde	big	olaqan
ra:st	straight; right, correct	doğrı
ti:z	quick	basım
ziya:d	too many, too much	artıq

#### 6.1.4 Monosemy versus polysemy

Many word pairs in the Ä:rsa:rı and Teke dialects appear as synonyms at first sight but when more closely scrutinized turn out to be incomplete synonyms only: While the dialect couples share one meaning of the lexeme, other possible meanings which have been reported in one dialect were not found in the respective other. (The fact that my materials from the Ä:rsa:rı dialect are more comprehensive and more differentiated may be at the ground of the observation that in almost all cases a given lexeme in this dialect bears more than one meaning while in the Teke dialect it is confined to one only.)

**Table 6.4:** Incomplete synonyms

Ä:rsa:rı		Teke
wood, timber	ağaç	1. wood, timber; 2. tree
1. favorable; 2. threatening / intimidating appearance	abay	favorable
1. head; 2. bunch (of grapes etc.)	baş	head
1. pit, pothole; 2. deep	çuqur	pit, pothole
1. lake; 2. stagnant river waters	kö:l	lake
1. rib ( <i>anat.</i> ); 2. rib ( <i>boat</i> )	ğapırğa	rib ( <i>anat.</i> )
1. reed; 2. mat	yeken	reed
1. to suffer; 2. to be (economically ...) deprived	ğı:nan-	to suffer
1. to elongate; 2. to see off	uzat-	to elongate

#### 6.1.5 Lexical distinction

Lexical distinction implies that in the dialects totally different lexemes are used to express the same meaning or, as has been shown in the introductory paragraphs (but is a relatively rare phenomenon), that one dialect has a lexeme for a notion for which no lexeme exists in the respective other dialect.

In a similar vein as has been said with regard to dominant/recessive pairs, some of the distinct word pairs relate back to different layers of lexical copies from neighboring languages, while a smaller number highlight the Oğuz-Qarluq or Oğuz-Qypçaq divide.

**Table 6.5:** Distinct word pairs from the Ä:rsa:ri and Teke dialects

Ä:rsa:ri		Teke
aba /ata	father	qa:qa
a:ğar	moisture	ızğa:r
ayrı	Bactrian camel	iki ürkiçli düye
aqrıp	(halter for camels)	osar di:şi
ammır	bull-nose pliers	at ağız
asdar	lining (material)	işlik
atala	roux soup	bolamaq
a:şna:	friend, pal	do:st
a:rıq	irrigation canal	ulı ya:p
balaxa:na	second floor (of a two-storey building)	iki gatja:y
bekewıl	master of ceremonies	toyıñ ya:şolısı
bena:t	<i>banāt</i> (a kind of fabric)	begres
biya:ra	tendril	pa:zıl
göle	calf	höjek
setil	bucket	bedre
çı:bin	fly	siñek
gö:dek	youngster, immature child	ja:hıl; yigitçe
na:n	bread	çörek
çörek	(sweet flat cake)	çörekçe
erre	saw	biçği
pa:lbaqar	bladebone	pi:lçe
hişt	brick	kerpiç
kirmek	silk worm	yupek ğorçığı
hali:li	<i>xalīlī</i> (a kind of grape)	ti:zbişer
ıñırjaq	donkey saddle	ğañña
ğundal	tarantula	ayaqçı
dä:ldirik	wild rue	üzä:rlik
juwa:na	two-year old male bull	ökizçe
piya:z	onion	soğan
ğalampur	red chilies	burç
pira:ri	renegade	gelmişek
sünğalşa	exchange of daughter (form of marriage)	ğarşa
qabrısta:n, u:lya:	cemetery	ğo:namçılıq
a:şıq-ma: şıq	hinge	petle
bi:jirim	fearless	ğorqısız
arqanla-	to tether	örkle-
axtala-	to castrate	biç-
baqış-	to help each other	kömekleş-
hemme	all	ähli
arna	drainage for flood water	— <sup>200</sup>

<sup>200</sup> Not established in my materials.



**Table 6.6:** Distinct word pairs from the Ä:rsa:rı and Sa:riq dialects

Ä:rsa:rı		Sa:riq
erik	apricot	çaqıldaq
čä:ge	dune	ğırmıq
čı:bın	fly	Peşşe
ta:baq	plate	mejme
üçek	observatory post made of wood	sabat

## 6.2 Lexical difference in special semantic fields

After the general considerations on lexical difference I am now going to discuss lexical difference between the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan in a number of semantic fields.

### 6.2.1 Animal husbandry

The lexicon of animal husbandry does display some difference among the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan, but not too much. All Turkmen tribes have a long history in mobile animal husbandry and although some, like for example the Ä:rsa:rı, have to a large extent settled down starting from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, this has until today not caused a significant break-off from the common stock of Turkmen lexicon of animal husbandry. However, there is difference in detail.

The lexicon of animal husbandry is not structured the same way in all dialects. While some dialects have specific lexemes to denote given items, others may use descriptive terms for these. In the Ä:rsa:rı dialect there exists a term for 'five-year old sheep', namely *merri*, while in the Teke dialect it would be circumscribed as *dişden ğalan ğarri ğoyon* (lit. 'old sheep that has no more teeth'). The Teke dialect in its turn is rich in descriptive terms for animals of a special age, which are missing in all other dialects: *mä:lemez* 'two-year old lamb' (lit. 'a lamb that does no longer bleat for its mother'), *mañ* 'four-year old sheep', *mañramaz* 'seven-year old sheep'. In the Ä:rsa:rı dialect female sheep are termed according to how often they have given birth to lambs: *bä:ş / altı / yetti doğan ğoyun* 'a sheep which has given birth five/six/seven times'. Another example of an asymmetric pair including a lexical and a descriptive term is 'Bactrian camel', which is *ayrı* in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect as opposed to *ikki ürküçli düye* (lit. 'two-humped camel') in the Teke dialect.

Terminology for herds of animals of sorts, and of their guarding personnel, also varies among the dialects. While the Ä:rsa:rı dialect has *pa:da* 'herd of cows' and *pa:daba:n / pa:dıqba:n* 'herdsman', the Teke dialect has *sığır sürüsi* and *sığır čopan* for these; Ä:rsa:rı *gä:le* 'herd of horses / camels' and *darğa* for the respective herdsmen, Teke has *ylqı (sürüsi)* and *düye sürüsi* for horse and camel herds and *čopan* for both types of herdsmen.

The following table gives an overview of variants in animal husbandry terminology between the Ä:rsa:rı and Teke dialects.

**Table 6.7:** Variants in animal husbandry terminology

Ä:rsa:rı		Teke
juwa:na	two-year old male bovine	öküzçe
ḡunajın	two-year old female bovine	tuve
höjek	calf	göle
pa:da	cow herd	sıḡır sürüsi
pa:daba:n ~ pa:diqba:n	cowboy	sıḡır čopan
gä:le	herd of cattle or horses	diye / yılqı sürüsi
bo:rdeki	(sheep kept in the home for immediate consumption)	ba:ḡ ḡoyon
ši:rba:zı	lamb	toqli
ḡalja:yi ḡoyon	Ghilzay sheep	ösgun tüyli ḡoyon
do:sba:yı	Dostbāyi sheep	kurtli ḡoyon
serke	billy-goat	erkeč
četir	four-year old camel	dö:rd ya:šar diye
ayri	Bactrian camel	iki ürküçli diye
darḡa	camel herdsman	diye čopan
čira:zı	grey karakul hide	ča:l baḡana

**Table 6.8:** The following table shows asymmetrically distributed terms:

Ä:rsa:rı		Teke
öküz ~ boqa	bull	öküz
taylaq ~ kö:šek	camel foal	kö:šek
sıḡır	cattle	sıḡır
inek	cow	sıḡır

## 6.2.2 Agriculture and horticulture

A lexeme which depicts a surprisingly broad variation between the dialects is the word for 'small irrigation canal': It is *ša:x* in the Ä:rsa:rı, *salma* in the Teke, *soqma* in the Yomut, and *ḡoljuq* in the Sa:rıq dialect. Unfortunately my materials are not equally rich in all dialects in the total of the vocabulary, so that further on I must confine myself to a comparison which includes only the Teke and Ä:rsa:rı dialects.

**Table 6.9:** Agriculture

Ä:rsa:rı		Teke
almurı:t	pear	armut
dayma	rainfield	düme
düyyedi:š	(a large-grained type of wheat)	— <sup>201</sup>
kelekbaš	(modified seed of wheat)	—
čalmakä:di	(a yellow kind of pumpkin)	—

<sup>201</sup> Not established in my materials.

tarpız	watermelon	ǵarpız
bürünj	rice	tüwi
a:rıq	irrigation canal	ulı ya:p
šax	small irrigation canal	kiči ya:p ~ soqma
arna	drainage for flood water	—
toqortǵa	water pipe	turba
pıya:z	onion	soǵan
serdaba	cistern	yapıq hu:z
lo:lba	bean	no:yba

### 6.2.3 Household equipment

Ä:rsa:rı		Teke
lä:li	tray	telper ǵa:p
taǵara	large bowl	da:š kersen
boǵjama	Special fabric bag	— <sup>202</sup>
setil	bucket	bedre
gü:düş	milking bucket	—
asma ya:yıq	(Leather bag for making yoghurt )	yanlıq
güpi	big samowar	da:š yanlıq
çıǵıl	(Traditional filter for cleaning seeds)	sıq elek
depgi	(wooden stepping piece of a spade)	pi:linj ǵolaǵı
čırapa:ya	candlestick	—
jıla:jın	(small bell)	kičijik jañ
desšo:y	handwashing basin	(el yuwilya:n) legen
zi:ne	staircase	başǵančağ
arqan	rope	yüp

### 6.2.4 Items of construction and architecture

Ä:rsa:rı		Teke
beçge	muddy inforcemnet to keep wall	— <sup>203</sup>
mertxa:na	labour room	yer do:la
bala:r	roofbeam	(ja:yıñ ustine ǵoyıly:a:n) aǵaç
balaxa:na	two-storey building	iki ǵat ja:y
yerdeşik	air vent	—
xišt	brick	kerpič
üček	observatory post made of wood	ta:mıñ üsti

<sup>202</sup> Not established in my materials.

<sup>203</sup> Not established in my materials.

### 6.2.5 Food items

Ä:rsa:rı		Teke
atala	roux soup	bolamaq
börek	(meat dish in layer pastry)	etli ğı:ta:p
čeki:de	curd	süzme
čerbi ya:ğ	intestine fat	iç ya:ğ
čökölik	(a kind of curd)	ğaynadılan süzme
na:nğa:rma	(a dish of boiled meat , fat bread and, onion minced together)	doğrama
miče	(meat stewed in the pilaff)	–
yasama	(a kind of flat bread)	bızmıq
yö:rme ~ šöhla:t	(a dish from minced meat)	–

### 6.2.6 Garment items

Ä:rsa:rı		Teke
asdar	lining	içlik
tayxa	(a kind of headgear)	taxya
ğalpaq	(a kind of men's headgear)	bö:rük
ki:se	pocket	jübi
sümnen	fur cap	şırma telpek

### 6.3 Proper names

Name-giving has over the last 30-40 years for various reasons undergone significant change. In former times the custom of giving apotropaeic names was in common currency among the Turkmens of Afghanistan. Preferred names of that kind would be taken from surrounding items of everyday life such as *ğa:zan* 'cauldron', *ta:ğan* 'tripod', *čerkez* 'a kind of a desert bush' and many others, or from natural phenomena, which led to names like *Yağmur* (lit. 'rain'), *Gündoğdı* (lit. 'sun has risen'), *Ğa:ryağdı* (lit. 'it was snowing'), *Dağatar* (lit. 'dawn') and the like. Meanwhile these names have passed out of use and the only remaining bearers are persons of mid or old age. Customs have changed and one of the main reasons for that is the continuously growing interference of spiritual leaders in the name giving process. Most male names given today are Arabic-Islamic or Persian ones. Among the most popular contemporary women's names there are European and Hindi ones, which relates to the growing popularity of movies and serials.

Conventional anthroponyms were to a certain degree indicative of a person's ethnic affiliation. Although quite a few names occur in more than one or even in all Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan, it is in many cases possible to identify a person's tribal affiliation by their first names. In the Ä:rsa:rı and Sa:rıq dialects a familiar apotropaeic name was *Uwez*, whose equivalent in the *nāxālış* dialects would have been *Orun*. *Bö:ri* (lit. 'wolf'), *Asta:n* (lit. 'threshold of a saint person') and *Nawru:z* (lit. 'new year') were typically given to their offspring by members of the *nāxālış* tribes while being almost unknown in the others. Typically Teke names, in their turn, would be *Yo:lbars* ('tiger'), *Bayram* ('religious holiday'),

*Wepa:* ('fidelity'), *Jeren* ('gazelle'), *Ma:ya* ('thoroughbred female camel') and *Yalqa:p* ('forgiven (by God)'). Names inspired by natural phenomena like those mentioned earlier were not frequently used among members of the *nāxālīš* speaking communities.

Turkmen anthroponyms often consist of two elements, of which either the first or the second can be considered an auxiliary element in that it indicates the gender of its bearer: While *Ĝurba:n Mohemmed*, *Ĝurba:n Ğoli*, *Ĝurba:n Geldi* and *Ĝurba:n Berdi* are by their second (auxiliary) elements recognizable as men's names, *Ĝurba:n Silta:n*, *Ĝurba:n Gözel*, *Ĝurba:n Baxt* and *Ĝurba:n Gül* are marked as women's names.

The different dialects have different favorite name components. The *Mira:t* element in names like *Saparmira:t*, *Xojamira:t*, *Sä:tmira:t*, and *Atamira:t*; the *Durđı* element of *Mira:tdurđı*, *Jima:durđı* and *Annadurđı*; and *Mä:met* in many composite names points to a bearer from a Teke dialect speaking group. *Niya:z*, *Jima:*, *Nazar* and *Beren* in names like *Ö:denya:z*, *A:ğajima:*, *A:nna:jima:*, *Jima:nazar* and *Alla:beren* are favorites of the Sa:rıq speaking groups, while *Ĝuli* and *Berdi* in *Alla:ğuli*, *I:ša:nğuli*, *Muxammedğuli*, *Annaberdi* and *Xuda:yberdi* are typical names of Ä:rsa:rı speakers. In the *nāxālīš* dialects the respective element would be *Qul*: *Jima:qul*, *I:ša:nqul*, *Xuda:yqul*.

In a similar vein, elements like *Gözel* (lit. 'beautiful') and *Jama:l* (lit. 'beauty') occur in women's names primarily among Teke speakers (e.g. *Bi:bigözel*, *Mayagözel*, *Bibijama:l*), while *Xa:n*, *Bi:ke* and *Beg*, all of which suggest a high rank of the female name's bearer, are widely used among Ä:rsa:rı speakers (e.g. *Oğulxa:n*, *Aqbi:ke*, *Ağabeg*, *Oğulbeg*) and the element *Silta:n* occurs mostly in Sa:rıq names (e.g. *A:qsilta:n*, *Begsilta:n*). The element *Baxt* (lit. 'good luck') is a Yomut favorite and finally, *Gül* (lit. 'flower, rose') as either a pre- or post-element is very common with speakers of *nāxālīš* dialects (e.g. *Na:rgül*, *Xurmagül*, *Ro:zıgül*, *Gülšenem*).

In the realm of non-composite anthroponyms we can also make out different preferences between members of the dialect groups.

While indicating the position of a given child in the row of siblings is an ubiquitous practise among Turkmens, the concretization differs: Ä:rsa:rı, Sa:rıq, Salır, Muqrı, Xatap, Olam and Surxı give names like *Ča:rı* and *Penji* to their fourth and fifth sons – both taken from Persian; in the Teke and Yomut dialects *Dö:rtğuli* and *Bä:şim*, derived from tkm. 'four' and 'five' respectively, are preferred in these cases. In Ä:rsa:rı and *nāxālīš* dialect speaking families second-born children would be named *Hemra:* or *Jo:ra* (both meaning 'companion') so that they may forever give true support to their elder siblings; in the Teke dialect the same goal is pursued by naming the second-born child *Yo:ldaş*.

Teke speakers observe the custom of including kinship terms into anthroponyms, which results in composite names like *Ataja:n*, *Atamira:t*, *Qa:qaja:n*, *A:ğamira:t* (all male names), *Eneği:z* and *Ejeği:z*.

Apotropaeic names like seemingly "ugly" animal names (*Köpek* 'dog', *Kürre* 'ass foal', *Eşek* 'ass', *Göjik* 'dog'), which are given to babies by parents who had remained deprived of offspring for a long time, or whose newborn children had died so far, are particularly common among Teke dialect speakers. Composite names containing similar elements have been recorded from Ä:rsa:rı and Sa:rıq dialect speakers (e.g. *Köpekmira:t*, *Italmaz* lit. 'a dog wouldn't take (that baby away)'). Again as an apotropaeic device, Sa:rıq families have been

found to name their babies *Satliq*, while from a Yomut speaking context *Satliqgılıč*, and from *nāxāliš* dialect speaking families, *Satıbaldı* has been reported, all of which are meant to cheat noxious spirits by pretending that this baby is not a human being but just a purchased object of sorts.

Among Teke speakers the additional element *tuwaq* can be added to the main component of the name if the baby is born together with its placenta: examples are *Annatuwaq*, *Oğiltuwaq*. While this element seems to be unique among Teke speakers, the Persian-origin equivalent *perde*, which in that language denotes the placenta, has been found to be used in a Sa:riq speaking context (although not as an element of a composite name but as a full name *Perde* or *Perdek*).

Naming male children after wild animals has been a familiar custom among Turkmens over time. Among the Turkmens of Afghanistan today, the choice of name is in these cases again indicative of tribal affiliation: While in the *xāliš* dialects *Ğu:rt* ('wolf') and *Yo:lbars* ('tiger') are used, their equivalents *Bö:ri* and *Arslan* ~ *Şe:r* are more familiar in the *nāxāliš* dialects.

In Turkmen communities people are often known by two different names – first, the so-called 'true name' (*čin a:t*) given to them right after birth by parents or elders, and second, the 'untrue name' (*yalan a:t*) which is given to them by age-mates and friends, sometimes out of teasing and fun, but also out of anger and with the desire to harm their personality. With advancing age some people cast these untrue names off again, others are called that way until their dying day. There seems to be no major dialectal variation in this type of names, with *Jimmi*, *Maşal*, *Şammı* and the like occurring in all dialects. Secondary elements can also be joined to a person's 'true name', as can be seen in examples like *Saparğuli Şatta*, *Ha:mit Wağar*, *Ča:ri Qaqaw* and so on.

Abbreviation or distortion of anthroponyms, which result in a kind of nickname, are again features which display some dialect difference. *Mustaq* (< *Mustafa:*), *Jımaq* (< *Jıma:ğuli*), *Mä:mi* ~ *Mä:t* (< *Muxammed*), *A:qı* (< *A:q Muxammed*), *Hümme* (< *Hümme*) and the like are more typical of the Teke dialect than of any other.

Additional elements which point to bodily particularities or character traits of a given person are on the other hand universal in the Turkmen dialects and have been reported from all dialects. Examples are *Abdıraxı:m nu:ča* 'Abdıraxı:m beanpole', *Açıl kö:r* 'blind Açıl', *Xuda:yberen gotır* 'pock-marked Xuda:yberen', *Yüsüp kel* 'baldhead Yusuf', *Raxı:m čolaq* 'limping Raxı:m'. Ill-tempered persons have *küçük* ('dog') added to their true name, stupid ones, *eşek* 'donkey', persons of unbalanced temperament will be named *dä:li* 'mad', and double dealers, *şeyta:n* 'devil'. In many communities such elements are added to names for distinction, since aliases as well as family names are unusual in Turkmen contexts. If there are seven *Ča:ri* in a village, they may be distinguished by additional elements like *Qaqaw* 'gang', *Ğara* 'dark', *Geda:y* 'the beggar', *Kö:r* 'the blind', *Kelte* 'short', *Janjal* 'trouble-maker' or *Bela:* 'disaster' (of which the latter bears positive and approving connotations). – Elements added to a person's true name by members of the community can also bear a thoroughly positive meaning, like *pä:lwa:n* (lit. 'wrestler', 'strong man'), *jiğa* 'crown', *güda:mda:r* 'store-keeper', *serda:r* 'chief', *ba:tır* 'hero', *mıra:xır* (a military title given by the late Bukharan Emir). This kind of honorary titles can even be handed down from father to son, so that it is not necessarily indicative of a given man's personal achievements.

As has been discussed in the phonology chapter, in the Teke and Yomut dialects – more than in all others – there is a marked tendency towards phonetic assimilation and simplification of copied lexemes. Anthroponyms copied from Arabic are particularly affected by this phenomenon. *Moxammed* also exists in a reduced form *Mä:t*; *Huseyn* becomes *Süyen*, *Ġıya:s* is transformed into *Qıya:s*.<sup>204</sup>

#### 6.4 Gender marking

In the Turkmen language there is no grammatical gender. If natural gender needs to be marked, lexemes denoting animals can be supplied with the attributes *erkek* 'male' and *orqaçi* 'female': *erkek pişik* 'tomcat', *orqaçi pişik* 'she-cat'.

Specific lexemes for male/female animals are not symmetrically distributed in all dialects: *at* 'stallion', *baytal* 'mare'; *öküz* (Te.Är.) ~ *buqa* (Är.) 'bull', *inek* (Är.) ~ *sığır* (Te.) 'cow'; *yekeġapan* 'boar', *mekejin* 'sow'; *ner* 'camel bull', *arwana* 'she-camel'; *ġoç* 'ram', *ġoyun* 'sheep'.

Unless otherwise specified, some human kinship terms in the Turkmen dialects denote the male: *doġan* 'sibling; brother', *yegen* 'nephew; offspring of ego's brother or sister', *oġlan* 'son; child'. The attributes *erkek* 'male' and *aya:l* ~ *ġı:z* 'female' can be applied to these lexemes in order to specify their gender: *erkek doġanim* 'my brother', *aya:l doġanim* 'my sister' (*xālış dialects*); *ġı:z yegenim* 'my niece' (Är.), *erkek oġlan* 'son', *ġı:z oġlan* 'daughter'.<sup>205</sup> In the Teke dialect *yegen* is only used for 'nephew' while there is an extra lexeme *yegençi* for 'niece'.

In the Ä:rsa:rı dialect the lexemes *üyya* is 'younger sister' and *jo:ra* (used only by females) means (female) 'friend'. In the Sa:rıq dialect, on the other hand, the correlates of these lexemes can be used by and for females as well as males, with *ıya* meaning both 'younger sister' and 'younger brother', and *jo:ra* is 'male friend' among males and 'female friend' among females. The Teke dialect has specific lexemes for younger brother and sister, *ini* and *üya*; however, it is more common to use *erkek doġan* and *aya:l doġan* instead.

Lexemes for garments can in some dialects differ according to the gender of the persons who wear them, but coincide in others. In the Sariq dialect *bö:rök* denotes women's and men's headgear of one specific type; in the Teke dialect, on the other hand, *bö:rök* denotes female headgear while the male equivalent is *taxya*.

#### 6.5 Animal calls

Calls which are uttered either to attract or to fend off domestic animals often resound the denotate for that very animal in the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan: When shooing a dog (*küçük*) one says *küç*; a sheep (*ġoyon*), *qošt*; a goat (*geçi*), *geç*; chickens (*tu:q*), *toq*. A donkey (*ešek*) is halted by saying *iş*. In the Ä:rsa:rı dialect, where the regular word for 'calf' is *höjek*, the call for shooing a calf is *höç-höç*; in the Teke dialect, on the other hand, 'calf' is *göle* and consequently, the shooing word is *göle-göle*.

<sup>204</sup> Some of these products of phonetic transformation resound funny, weird or embarrassing words in the same dialect or in another.

<sup>205</sup> *Oġul* as part of female anthroponyms has been mentioned above; compare also *Oġul bi:ke*, *Oġul şa:t*, *Oġul naba:t*, *Oġul durdi*.

## 6.6 Synonyms

The Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan consist of complex layers of vocabulary which include Turkic elements that point to different areal or temporal cohabitation and community; along with these, they are rich in lexical copies which again relate back to various relations over time.

My materials do not allow to draw definite conclusions about what tribes may have lived in close connection with what other(s) and where; until now the picture is blurred in some cases and in many fields the material is simply not thick enough as yet. I will only point to a few single examples of synonyms – which in some cases exist in all dialects (with uneven distribution, as has been shown above) and in others don't – which show interesting features that would be worth investigating in more depth whenever the sociopolitical situation makes ample field research possible again.

### 6.6.1 Plain synonyms

We have already briefly mentioned lexical items which are plain synonyms, all of them time-honored in the Turkic languages without any obvious criterion by which they could be attributed to a specific subgroup of these. For the lexeme 'wolf', for example, all Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan have three synonyms available, namely, *bö:ri*, *ğu:rt* and *mö:jek*. Etymologically speaking the latter two are apotropaic words serving to avoid the actual appellative *bö:ri*, but the contemporary speakers (regardless of dialect) are not aware of this fact and use them alternately like real synonyms. (The fourth item denoting 'wolf', *ja:nda:r*, is perhaps only a partial synonym since it is preferably used in taboo situations.) The triple *altın ~ ğızıl ~ tilla*: 'gold' is another example for fully interchangeable lexemes, where variation can be made out neither along dialect borders nor between registers or styles. Again much the same can be said about the group of lexemes all denoting 'God': *tañrı*, *xuda:*, *xuda:wend*, *perwerdiga:r*, *alla:h*, *bi:ruba:r*. Although *tañrı* generally appears to hold a recessive position in all dialects today and there is some difference in frequency of use between the others, they are basically real synonyms and are being applied as such.

### 6.6.2 Asymmetric synonyms

The Turkmen dialects have a few synonym pairs which I call asymmetric. This is the case of *ağşam* and *gi:je*; both lexemes mean 'evening' in the first place, but *gi:je* can also denote 'night', that is, it denotes not only the onset of the dark daytime as *ağşam* also does, but then remains valid for the rest of the dark daytime until dawn, which *ağşam* does not. So the meaning of the pair overlaps in one part – where they are synonyms – but does not overlap in the other.

### 6.6.3 Synonyms and dialectal variation

While the above-named plain synonyms exist in all dialects and are likewise dominant or recessive in all, there are several cases of synonym pairs/triples where regardless of unity in existence there is diversity in frequency. As has been mentioned above in the subchapter on dialectal variation, there are pairs and triples of synonyms where dialectal variation plays out in dominance/recessivity, such as the triple *basım ~ ti:z ~ terk* whose first member is



dominant in the Teke dialect while *ti:z* and *terk* are dominant in all others; the respective other items are in all cases known in the other dialects as well, but they are less frequently used.

Some synonym pairs exist in one given dialect while in the others only one member of the pair is known. The pair *yaz-* / *bit-* 'to write' exists in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect while for example in the Teke dialect only one member is known, namely, *yaz-*. The following table points out several lexical items that in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect exist as synonym pairs, triples or even quadruples, but are single items in the Teke dialect. Generally speaking, the Ä:rsa:rı dialect seems to contain more synonyms than any of the other dialects.<sup>206</sup>

Ä:rsa:rı		Teke
ata ~ aba ~ dā:de	father	qa:qa
ḡuwı ~ a:lin ~ oḡat ~ ḡuraw ~ ya:ḡşı	good	ḡawı
artıq ~ sü:şik ~ ziya:d	much	artıq
dā:ri ~ duwa: ~ derma:n	medicine	derma:n
mojiq ~ yaman ~ yaramaz ~ bed	bad	erbet ~ bed
doḡrı ~ ra:st ~ düzew	right, correct	doḡrı ~ düzew
aya:l ~ heley	wife	aya:l
waxt ~ mewrit ~ ča:ḡ ~ pille	time	waḡıt ~ möwrit
ti:z ~ terk ~ bejit	quick	ti:z ~ basım
köp ~ kā:n ~ ziya:d	many	kā:n
ketde ~ i:ri ~ ulı ~ olaqan	big	olaqan
xišt ~ kerpič	brick	kerpič
tayxa ~ ḡalpaq ~ bö:rik	(a type of men's headgear)	taxya

## 6.7 Copying

### 6.7.1 Lexical and phraseological copying

Etymological issues are not the topic of this book. It may suffice to point to the fact that the contemporary Turkmen dialectal lexicon is multi-layered and includes loans and copies from many idioms spoken or written by neighboring peoples with whom the Turkmens have been in contact and communication over time. The dialects contain lexical loans which are quite obviously primary copies immediately adapted from an idiom in which they may have originated, but most copies would be generally difficult to trace since they appear to have been handed down from an ancient original through several intermediate idioms, phonetically adapted to various target languages and re-adapted in again others, to end up in a given Turkmen dialect of today.

The analysis of the contemporary dialect lexicon could be a worthy endeavor but it cannot be achieved on the narrow basis of my material. I only want to draw attention to more or less

<sup>206</sup> As has been repeatedly indicated, my material is very thick for the Ä:rsa:rı dialect while less complete for all others, so that from the absence of a given lexeme here we can so far not draw any conclusions about its non-existence.

spontaneous copying phenomena which can today be observed in the process of evolving. This chapter only describes copies which could have happened spontaneously – since the "non-copy" way to express the same meaning is readily available and has in fact been realized during the period of my observation. I can in many cases not quote parallel examples of copied and non-copied items since my materials are mostly collected from natural speech; in order to establish the non-copied correlates, I would have had to resort to elicitation which I didn't do in a systematic way. The non-copied items thus come from additional observation. Non-copied correlates of single lexemes and phrases will be given wherever possible, but we cannot always be sure that the non-copied variant is equally often used in the respective register, whether it may or may not have been given up in the respective dialect, whether it would really be regarded as a fully synonymous word/phrase in the same community of speech, and so on.

The spontaneous insertion of single copied words, very often substantive nouns, into Turkmen speech is particularly common among people from all layers of society who regularly interact with speakers of the other language; this could be due to cohabitation in mixed-language neighborhoods or to life in mixed-ethnic families altogether, but also to regular and frequent visits of the bazaar and other ethnically diverse commercial and professional places, to temporary inclusion in a militia or the national army, to involvement in state schooling, and so on. The higher somebody's level of education, the more they are generally inclined to include lexical copies in their speech, be it by force of habit or by desire for distinction.

In the following a few concrete examples will be discussed.

- *g̃ıšlağmızda köprä:k tu:t zerda:lu: alma we ba:dam diyen-ya:nı mi:weler boladı.* (Ba.2)  
In our village there are mostly fruit (trees) like mulberry, apricot, apple and almond.

While *tu:t* 'mulberry' and *ba:dam* 'almond' are well-established lexical copies for which there exist no non-copy words in any one of the Turkmen dialects, the regular word for 'apricot' is *erik*, which does exist in the Bayat dialect as well. Is there a greater temptation to slip in one more Persian loanword in a row? Why then didn't the speaker use *se:b* instead of *alma* as well? Copying seems to be an irregular, inconsistent process where speakers have much agency for spontaneous choice-making.

- *üyde ö:z içimizde ö:z zaba:nimiza gepleşyo:rs.* (Xa. 2)  
At home, among ourselves, we speak our own language.

There is no doubt that *dil* 'language' rather than *zaba:n* 'id.' is the standard lexeme used in the Xatap dialect, regardless of Xatap being one of the *nāxālış* dialects which are generally very open to influences from the neighboring languages. As can be seen from this sentence, not only has the speaker copied the Persian lexeme into his speech without any obvious need, but he also applies the dative rather than the locative, which the verb *gepleš-* otherwise governs in his dialect; this is also copied from Persian, whose *bā-zaba:ne xud* the speaker obviously interprets as a dative.

- *ata-babalarımız kerkiden öten soň şu aqjada zindegi: edip ğa:lan.* (Mo. 1)  
Our forefathers ended up living in this (very city of) Aqja after crossing (the border) from Kerki (into Afghanistan).

The speaker might have used *diriçilik* rather than *zindegi*: 'life'; or he could have avoided the phraseological copy *zindegi: et-* 'to live' (after Pe. *zindägi: kârdän*) altogether by using one of the verbs usually applied in this kind of Turkmen sentences, like *ya:ša-* 'to live', *otur-* 'to dwell', *dur-* 'to stay' etc. The processes of code-copying apparent in this example and the one above go much deeper than just the use of single nouns.

### 6.7.2 Imitation of foreign language syntactical structures

There are a few types of syntactical copies in the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan which have settled in over time and can today be considered part of the regular Turkmen dialect syntax or even of the lexicon, since they are normally employed in crystallized phrases only. The Persian *izāfat* construction is part and parcel of so many locutions and phrases in all Turkmen dialects that hardly a speaker would still acknowledge them as copies: *bā:zi: xa:nlarmız* (Är. 1) 'some of our khans'.<sup>207</sup> The Russian construction of infinitive+*nel'zja*, which functions as an impersonal negative imperative, appears to have been successfully copied into the Teke dialect as a ready pattern *INF+bolano:q*, and come to Afghanistan in that dialect:

- Turkmenista:nda umu:mi: ja:ylarda čilim çekmek bolano:q. (Te. 2)  
Smoking is forbidden in public places in Turkmenistan.

On the other hand, the spontaneous imitation of Persian syntactic structures seems to go way beyond what can be meaningfully grasped with the term "copying": long phrases or even sentences in total are construed as though they were in the Persian language altogether. It may suffice here to give just a few examples from various dialects. The phenomenon as such occurs across dialect borders; it seems to be more directly tied to social borders, since all of these examples were collected from educated upper-class speakers.

- aslan tuja:rat iki raqam tuja:rat o:ğa:nista:n-da ba:r  
actually business two kind business Afghanistan-LOC EXIST  
bir raqam tujarat-i:-ki ata kesb-i bol-ip,  
one kind business-IZAFINDEF-REL father trade-POSS be-CONV  
bi raqam pi:š git-yo:r. (Är. 25)  
one kind forward go-PARTPRS

Actually business is of two sorts in Afghanistan: One kind that was father's trade and one kind is in progress.<sup>208</sup>

From the use of the existential *ba:r* as an equivalent of pe. *ast* in a phrase that certainly does not take an existential in non-copied Turkmen, to the *yāy-i tankīr* followed by the relative suffix *-ki* and a phrase-final finite verb (converted into a Turkmen-style converb so as to link the coordinated verb chain) rather than an attributive participle, and to the interesting calque *pi:š git-* after pe. *pe:š-raft(an)* '(to make) progress', there is actually not much Turkmen substance left in this phrase, which can hardly pass for a sentence according to conventional Turkmen modes. However, this example is not untypical of the kind of speak which is common currency among members of a still Turkmen-speaking, but perhaps more adequately Persian-conceptualizing-and-thinking community of speech. This example shows how the

<sup>207</sup> One may even consider the construction *köpi ja:ylarda* 'in many places' (Är. 12) a copy after this Persian pattern. (A different explanation is given by Erdal 2004: 163, who has put forward several examples of exactly that construction which he interprets as a partitive possessive.)

<sup>208</sup> اصلا دو شکل تجارت در افغانستان است. یکی تجارتي است که کسب پدر بوده و یک رقم پيش ميروند.

Ä:rsa:r1 dialect can be transformed by massive copying and imitation of Persian items. Much the same features can be observed in speech that is based on another *xāliş* dialect, and on a *nāxāliş* dialect, too:

- Turkmenista:n-a                      ki        ataba:ba-lam-miz-inj                      yu:rd-i  
Turkmenistan-DAT    REL    forefather-PL-POSS1PL-GEN    land-POSS3SG  
bol-an,                      ged-em-miz-o:q. (Sa. 7)  
be-PST go-PART-POSS1PL-EXISTNEG  
We have never gone to Turkmenistan, which is the land of our forefathers.
- ana    şundağ                      etib    ol        nefer-i:-ki                      öz  
DEIC    like.this                      ADJUN this        person-(NOM).UNI-REL                      own  
ya:n-i-nda                      urgen-edi        be hisa:b        isti:da:d-i  
side-POSS3SG-LOC    learn-PRS3SG    quasi                      craft-IZAF  
xuda:yi                      dige                      xayya:ti-yem. (Ba. 3)  
God.given        CONFIRM        tailoring-(NOM)-CLT  
Like this, that person who learns (tailoring) by himself – (to him) tailoring is a quasi-God-given craft!

In the first example the Persian relative construction is imitated; in the second one, the attributive participles are replaced by the Persian *izāfat* construction with, in the prior case, a *yāy-i wahdat*, and the result of all this is a "Turkmen" word cluster that hardly retains any non-copied structural elements.

In local discourse on "how language should be" this kind of massive copying and imitation of foreign features is vividly disapproved of, no matter how common it is in actual speech. As a preliminary conclusion I should like to say that until now these features are clearly judged as foreign and strange rather than being fully appropriated and naturalized in one's own language. This holds true even for such a relatively simple feature as the *izāfat*, which can actually be easily integrated without major impact on the syntactic structure of Turkmen speech. However, change seems to be under way since acceptance is growing with more and more speakers frequenting Persian-speaking milieus on a regular basis.

### 6.7.3 Double coding

Double coding implies that the same lexical or other feature is expressed by two different means, in our case a non-copied and a copied item.

Simple double coding occurs when a lexical item is doubled up by a synonymic one outside lexicalized standard phrases.<sup>209</sup> It is not always easy to decide whether a given word pair is just a quickly corrected slip of the tongue or actually a spontaneous case of double coding:

- qışa yaqın **qala:n pillen** ba:ğlamalı. qırq künde a:t ö:zini yetiryo:r. (Mu.2)  
At the |:time:| when winter is near one needs to tie (the horse). Within 40 days the horse will recover.
- o yerde yuz pi:sed yuzdeyuz turkmenler ya:şayo:r (Är. 3)  
In that place there live |:one hundred percent:| Turkmens.

<sup>209</sup> While the neighboring Uzbek dialects abound with hendiadyoins, this feature is not very common in the Turkmen dialects.

In one particular case, however, there can be no doubt about the nature of the phenomenon – the doubling-up of the clitic particles *dA* and *hem*, both of which bear the meaning 'also'; they are contracted into *dA:m*. This feature has particularly often been recorded from the Ä:rsa:rı and Teke dialects.<sup>210</sup>

- *g̃u:rra:q boljaq yeri:m da:yımlaŋqı, mıra:dlaŋqa:-da:m kä:pille bararın.* (Är. 32)  
The place where I more often stay is my uncle's, (and) I also sometimes go to the (home of) Mıra:d (and his family).
- *O:ğa:nısta:nda onça emniyet bolmasa-da:m bu yerde ıqtısa:dı: ta:ydan ya:şama:na abay.* (Är. 5)  
Although in Afghanistan there is not so much security, it is from an economic perspective favorable to live here.

Actually the double feature, just like the single items, does not add much to the verbal meaning of the phrase; it is more often than not used as a downgrader for politeness, or to the contrary, an element that highlights its antecedent, or often just as an expletive.

Interestingly, the feature comes especially often after locative suffixes (while with other case suffixes, for example, normally either *dA* or some derivate of *hem* are applied but not both), which results in a haplologic effect.

- *Za:yırša:nıñ zama:nında-da:m ba:ylarıñ üyünde bir-iki altatar tüpeñ ba:rtı.* (Är. 12)  
In Za:hirša:'s time – well – there used to be one or two six-shooter guns in the homes of the cattlebreeders.
- *turkmenler ya:şayo:n yerinde-dä:m asta-asta zama:n geçişi bilen mektebler orta: gelipdir, g̃orşalıpdır.* (Är. 3)  
In places where Turkmens live, too, slowly-slowly with the course of time schools have come into being, have been constructed.
- *bizde-dä:m oro:za haydı bilen g̃orba:n haydınıñ aralığında toy eden yo:qlar.* (Te. 3)  
In our (milieu) they don't actually make weddings between the Ramazan and Qurban feasts.

## 6.8 Euphemisms and vulgarisms

Euphemisms and vulgarisms are items of metaphorical speech designed to upgrade or downgrade referents against their primary lexical representations. Single lexemes as well as phrases can be subject to euphemistic and vulgarizing endeavors.

### 6.8.1 Euphemisms

The need to express unpleasant and negative content in pleasant and acceptable language has led to a number of euphemistic words and phrases.

Taboo words are not spontaneously created but have long ago been lexicalized. The Turkmen dialects do not contain many taboo words; the most famous ones from the realm of dangerous animals are probably *arqan* 'rope' (for 'snake'), *g̃oyruğı çaytı* 'crooked tail' (for 'scorpion') and *ja:nda:r* 'animal' (for 'wolf'). The clear words for these items (*yılan, çıyan, bö:ri* ~

<sup>210</sup> Salan (2011) in his comparative study on *hem* in Turkish and Turkmen does not mention this phenomenon at all. Berkil (2003) does not mention it either, but differently from Salan lists at least the simple enclitic form *-Am*.

*mö:jek~ģu:rt*) are also general knowledge and are used along with the taboo words. – Taboo also concerns objects which can be sexually connoted. Thus it is quite impossible for females to name their pantaloons by the actual lexeme *išta:n* 'bloomers'; instead they use *balaq* (lit. 'footlets').

Phrases around death and dying circumscribe the unspeakable in euphemistic terms: *ja:ni haqa tabşır-* 'to entrust (one's) soul to God', *dünya:dan göz yum-* 'to close (one's) eyes from the world', *rihlet et-* 'to depart'. When talking about a deceased child, the lexeme 'to die' cannot be applied; instead, the adequate euphemistic phrase is *pala:ni:niň çağası sıçra:pdır* 'someone's child has passed away' – the literal meaning of *sıçra-* being 'to be sprinkled (like water)'.

Formal and polite speech is another field where euphemisms are often used. In Turkmen it is virtually impossible to directly address a high-ranking person saying, your words are wrong or lies. Instead one uses euphemistic speech like for example *siziň söziňiz sä:w bolsa gerek* 'seems as if what you said is erroneous' – whose message, however, because of its high degree of conventionalization is just as unequivocal as the respective clear text. – Bodily deficiencies of honorable persons cannot be directly addresses either. Thus one uses *qa:ri:* (lit. 'reader of the Koran') instead of *kö:r* 'blind' and *golağı ağır* 'heavy-eared' instead of *ker* 'deaf'.

### 6.8.2 Vulgarisms

Vulgarisms are metaphorical items considered as shameful, insulting, absurd, obscene or otherwise going against socially accepted modes. Many vulgarisms are conventionalized and can thus be decoded irrespective of semantic reference to their denotate; there is, however, more space for creativity in vulgar than in euphemistic speech.

The Turkmen dialects include vulgarisms which are despite their metaphorical quality by speakers characterized as "natural" and "logically consistent" no matter how contingent and arbitrary the subject-referent relation may be. Examples are *tilki* (lit. 'fox') or *qırq emjek* (lit. 'sb. who has forty breasts') for a cunning person; *xamu:rxa:n* (lit. 'dough-eater') and *debeň* (lit. giant) for a fat person; *iskili:t* (lit. 'skeleton') for a skinny person; *berzeňni* (an epical hero historically related to East Africa) for a person of dark complexion; *enesiniň emjegni kesen* (lit. 'sb. who has cut the breasts of his mother') for an ignorant but tricky person. This type of vulgarisms can be employed for a variety of intentional purposes from ridiculing and derogation to insult but also mockery and joke.

Another type of vulgarisms can only be applied as swearword or offense; there seems to be no obvious semantic correlation between subject and referent beyond the desire on the part of the speaker, to insult the addressee or object of his speech. Examples: *hara:mza:da* and *wellezzina*: 'born out of wedlock'; *hara:mxo:r* 'consumer of illicit things'; *lewde* 'fool'; *ešek* 'ass'; *ğüyruqsız ešek* 'tailless ass'; *it ~ küçük* 'dog'; *kö:rmüş* 'bat'; *doňuz* 'pig'; *mekejin* 'sow'; *juwa:nmerg* 'sb. who dies at young age'; *yertartan* 'sb. whom the ground/grave attracts'; *yeryu:dan* 'sb. whom the ground will swallow'; *dejja:l* 'devil'; *ģu:riayaq* 'ugly'; *lo:lı* 'prostitute'.

Interestingly, some vulgarisms are undergoing a process of upgrading to the effect that while initially denoting something very contemptuous and disrespectful, they are actually used to express approval and appreciation. The vulgarisms *beče ğar* 'son of a bitch' and *ene ğar* 'sb.

whose mother is a whore' are applied to very active young men, or to extraordinary people and objects in general.

## 6.9 Phraseologisms

Phraseologisms are crystallized lexical units with a limited degree of variability. They differ from proverbs in their adaptability to syntactic needs; their lexical components, on the other hand, are widely or totally unchangeable. In the phraseologism *bir çuqura tüykir-* (lit. 'to spit in a (shared) pit'), that is, 'to cooperate closely', none of the elements can be exchanged for another – thus it would be impossible to say *bir a:rığa tüykir-*. Only within a community of speech all of whose members are well aware of the form and function of a given phraseologism can an element possibly be replaced by another one. There is reason to assume that actually the above-mentioned phraseologism in fact contains a euphemism; instead of *tüykir-* 'to spit' the verb could have been an indecent word which denotes an optically similar action. Since all speakers share the awareness of the original phrase they can even draw additional pleasure from the euphemistic innovation and of course the shared knowledge makes sure that communication is not violated.

Much phraseologism is common in all or at least many of the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan. However, there is also variation in detail, or even difference all along the line between phraseologisms in different dialects. Some phraseologism has been reported from one given dialect only and do not seem to exist in others.

In the following a selection of phraseologisms will be presented. Once again due to the superior quality of my materials from the Ä:rsa:rı dialect I take this dialect as point of reference. (If in the Teke dialect a given semantic unit is not rendered by phraseologism but in plain speech, I indicate the respective word or phrase in paranthesis.)

**Table 6.10:** Phraseologisms in the Ä:rsa:rı and Teke dialects

Ä:rsa:rı	Teke	(explanation)
ağzınıñ parawızı yo:q 'his mouth has no stitch'	ağzınıñ jehegi yo:q 'his mouth has no seam'	about a person who talks instead of shutting up
yüz gören 'who has seen a face'	(dul aya:l) ( 'widow')	about a woman who marries again after the death of her husband
edep çöpi sı:rılan 'whose stick of decency has been broken'	yüzi açılan 'whose face is opened'	about a shameless person
burnı i:s alan 'whose nose has taken in smell'	(jahıl çıqan oğlan) (a youngster whose temper rises)	about a quick-tempered young man
ça:y jöğa:p et- 'to respond to the tea'	buşuq- 'to relax'	to urinate
gepiñ geda:yi 'a beggar of words'	(gepe çeper) (ready for words)	about a quick-witted person who can aptly express his/her thoughts
gäpırğa et- 'to be boring'	(çekin-) 'to be shy, modest'	to behave in a modest manner

olarıñ a:rasından boğaz či:bin ġıslıp ötyo:r. 'A pregnant fly can (hardly) squeeze through between them.'	olarıñ arasınnan ġıl geçeno:q. 'Not (even) a hair passes between them.'	about people who are very close friends and cannot be played out against one another
arpa:ñi xa:m ordımı? 'Has he cut your barley (while it was still) unripe?'	ekiniñe düšdimi? 'Has he befallen your crop?'	did he do something wrong to you ?
kešb açıl- 'cheer up'	ġüwin açıl- 'opening (heart)'	to become happy
bir yerä: ġarşı ökje göter- 'to raise (one's) heels against a place'	bir yere ġarşı du:dek bol- 'to be running against a place'	to run away, to flee
i:ša:nlardan ġaçan ya:nı 'as if run-away from the shaykhs'	sa:l-sa:l ešikli 'dressed in torn pieces'	about someone dressed in rags
bolamağā batğā, u:n aša yıla:n diyyon waxtıñ-am biz onı bilyo:r-tıq. 'When you called <i>bolamaq</i> a bog and noodles a snake, we were aware of (your talking nonsense).'	sen çörege çöçge diyä:rkä:ñ-em biz onı bilyä:dik. (Te.) 'When you called the breadloaf <i>çöçge</i> , we were aware of (your talking nonsense).'	about someone who considers himself to be smarter and know better
tezegini aldıran tomazağā ya:nı bolıp ġa:l- 'to be like a beetle who has lost its dung'	elinnen a:wını aldıran ya:lı bolıp ġal- 'to be like (sb.) who had his prey taken away'	about sb. who is regretting what he did
ğolaq kesyo:n ba:r 'it is ear-cutting'	šapta:lı arza:n boldı 'peaches are cheap'	it is very cold
demi zağara biširyo:r 'his breath fries corn'	demi da:ğ ya:rya:r 'his breath splits hills'	about an ill-tempered person
ġü:ni qa:f da:ğında 'His heart is at the Qāf Mountain.'	hekkesi ġoš dileyä:r 'His magpie wishes twofold.'	about sb. who cherishes idle wishes

My materials also contain a number of phraseologisms from the Ä:rsa:rı dialect for which no parallels at all have been found in the Teke or other dialects.



**Table 6.11:** Ä:rsa:rı phraseologisms

burnının usti derlä:p du:r. 'He is sweating on his nose.'	about a person who is enraged for no reason at all
na:nıñ içinnen gögerip çıqan 'sprouted from inside the breadloaf'	about sb. who has risen into a high position without merit
künjiden zıya:n gören ya:nı 'as if he had suffered losses from sesame oil'	about sb. who behaves sulky
gu:nı xa:m tarpız iyen ya:nı 'his mood is as if he had eaten unripe watermelons'	he repents
eşekden palaña alan ya:nı 'like taking the saddlecloth off an ass'	about a very easy task
bi:rine asdarlı gep ayt- 'to say lined words to sb.'	to speak vaguely, to make allusions
ağzınnan ma:l basan '(sb.) whose mouth an animal has kicked'	about a very silly person
buxar gitdi 'He has gone to Bukhara.'	He has fallen asleep.
yo:l ayrı:nıñ üstinde bol- 'to be at a fork in the path'	about a 15-20 years old boy who is extremely hot-tempered
eşegi köpriden öti:nçä: dost bol- 'to be friends until the ass has passed the bridge'	to be unfaithful
si:dik siñiren ğara: keçe 'black felt moistened by urine'	about sb. who has lived the longer part of his life

## 6.10 Kinship terms

While in some languages kinship terminology depicts no dialectal variation at all, this is not the case in the Turkic languages.<sup>211</sup> This holds true for the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan, too, as can be seen from the table below: A few terms depict no dialectal variation at all, but others vary between the *xāliš* and *nāxāliš* groups, and again others show some variation even within the groups. Many of the kinship terms of the *nāxāliš* dialects resemble the respective terms used in the neighboring Uzbek dialects more closely than the Turkmen terms from the *xāliš* dialects.

In the table we have marked those terms which cannot be applied as address terms with an asterisk \*.

<sup>211</sup> Li (1999).

**Table 6.12:** Kinship terms in the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan

Ego's	<i>Xālş</i>					<i>nāxālş</i>	
	<i>Ārsa:ri</i>	<i>Sa:riq</i>	<i>Teke</i>	<i>Yomut</i>	<i>Yemreli</i>	<i>Muqri</i>	<i>Xatap</i>
father (F)	ata ~ aba <sup>212</sup>	aqqa	qa:qa	qa:qa	dä:de ~ atda	ata	ata
Stepfather (MH)	uwei ata*	uwei aqqa	uwei qa:qa	uwei qa:qa	uwei dä:de	ugei ata	ugei ata
mother (M)	ene	eje ~ ene	eje	eje	eje	ana	ana
Stepmother (FW)	uwei ene*	uwei ene	uwei eje	uwei eje	uwei eje	ugei ana	ugei ana
sibling (Sb) <sup>213</sup>	doğan*	doğan	doğan	doğan	doğan	toğan	toğan
Sister (Z)	ġı:z doğan*	ġı:z doğan	ġı:z doğan	ġı:z doğan	ġı:z doğan	şiŋli	şiŋli
brother (B)	erkek doğan*	erkek doğan	erkek doğan	erkek doğan	erkek doğan	ini-a:ğa	ini- a:ğa
Step-sibling (FWCh, MHCh)	uwey doğan*	uwey doğan	uwey doğan	uwey doğan	uwey doğan	ügey ini- a:ğa	ügey ini- a:ğa
elder brother (eB)	a:ğa ~ erkek doğan*	aqqa ~ erkek doğan	ġoçaq doğan	olaqan doğan	a:ğa	a:ğa ~ eke	a:ğa ~ eke
younger (yB)	ini ~ injik ~ erkek doğan*	ini ~ erkek doğan	kiçi doğan ~ jigi	kiçi doğan ~ jigi	ini	üke	üke ~ ini
elder sister (eZ)	eke ~ aya:l doğan ~ dä:de	eje ~ aya:l doğan	eje	eje	eje	apa	apa ~ afa
younger sister (yZ)	uyya ~ aya:l doğan*	uyya , ayal doğan	jigi ~ i:ya	jigi	jigi	şiŋli	şiŋli ~ üyya
child (C)	oġlan ~ erkek oġlan*	oġlan ~ erkek oġlan	oġlan	oġlan	oġlan	oġla:n ~ beçe	oġla:n ~ beçe

<sup>212</sup> The word *aba* is mostly used by young children, for address and reference alike.

<sup>213</sup> Siblings are referred to categorically speaking as *doğan* etc (as shown under the Sb entry) with no regard to gender and elderliness. The word is nevertheless used in address, too. Z and B terms are used analytically in reference to stress the sibling's gender. yB, eB, yZ, eZ terms are common terms of address but, as can be seen in the table, usage may show no clear boundary between elders and younger. Also, no Turkmen dialect displays separate terms for cross and parallel siblings, for instance between “younger sister male speaking” (yZm) and “younger sister female speaking” (yZf).

son (S)	oğıl	oğıl	oğıl	oğıl	oğıl	oğıl	oğıl
elder S	kette oğıl*	ulı oğıl	ḡoçaq oğıl	ḡoçaq oğıl	olaqan oğıl	kette oğıl	kette oğıl
(middle S)	ortanjı oğıl*	ortanjı oğıl	ortanjı oğıl	ortanjı oğıl	ortanjı oğıl	ortanjı oğıl	ortanjı oğıl
younger S	kiçi oğıl ~ kižžik oğıl*	kiçi oğıl ~ kižžik oğıl	kiçi oğıl	ortanjı oğıl	kiçi oğıl	kiçik oğıl	kiçik oğıl
first born C	düwinji*	düwinji	düwinji	düwinji	düwinji	— <sup>214</sup>	—
last born C	körpe	körpe	körpe	körpe	körpe	körpe	körpe
stepson (HWS)	üwei oğıl*	üwei oğıl	üwei oğıl	üwei oğıl	üwei oğıl	ügey oğıl	ügey oğıl
daughter (D)	ḡı:z ~ ḡı:z oğlan*	ḡı:z ~ ḡı:z oğlan	ḡı:z	ḡı:z	ḡı:z	qız	qız
elder D	kette ḡı:z*	ulı ḡı:z	ḡoçaq ḡı:z	olaqan ḡı:z	olaqan ḡı:z	kette qız	kette qız
younger D	kiçi ḡı:z*	kiçi ḡı:z	kiçi ḡı:z	kiçi ḡı:z	kiçi ḡı:z	kiçi qız	kiçi qız
stepdaughter (HWD)	üwey ḡı:z	üwey ḡı:z	üwey ḡı:z	üwey ḡı:z	üwey ḡı:z	ügey qız	ügey qız
next-born child	ergeš*	tirkeš	— <sup>215</sup>	—	—	ergaš	ergaš
grandchild (CC)	axdıq*	axdıq	axdıq	axdıq	axdıq	axdıq ~ nebire	nebire
great-grandchild (CCC)	çu:lıq*	çu:lıq	çu:lıq	çu:lıq	çu:lıq	çu:lıq	çu:lıq
(CCCC)	yu:lıq* ~ du:lıq <sup>216*</sup>	yu:lıq	yu:lıq	yu:lıq	yu:lıq	u:lıq	u:lıq
(CCCCC)	ya:dıq* ~ du:zıq <sup>217*</sup>	— <sup>218</sup>	—	—	ḡu:lıq artıq	—	—

<sup>214</sup> Not established in my materials.

<sup>215</sup> Not established in my materials.

<sup>216</sup> *du:lıq* has been reported from the honourable Dä:kteŕ Abdusatta:r, a member of the Ğa:basaqğal *qawm* of the Ä:rsa:rı tribe, from Dawlatābād/Balkh.

<sup>217</sup> *du:zıq* has also been reported from the same gentleman only.

<sup>218</sup> Not established in my materials.

(CCCCC C)	Ø <sup>219</sup>	Ø	Ø	Ø	dolanan *	Ø	Ø
grandfather (FF)	ba:ba	ba:ba	ata	ata	atda	ba:ba	ba:ba
grandfather (MF)	ba:ba	ene ba:ba	ba:ba	ba:ba	ba:ba	ba:ba	ba:ba
grandmother (FM)	ma:ma	ma:ma	ene	ene	ene	bi:bi ~ mama	bi:bi ~ eje
grandmother (MM)	ma:ma	ma:ma	ma:ma	ma:ma	ma:ma	bi:bi	bi:bi
uncle (FB)	atadoğan*	aqqa ~ ata	ğoçaq qaqa	ğoçaq qaqa	qa:qa	ameki ~ atadoğan ağa	emeki ~ ağa
aunt (FZ)	eke ~ ata doğan eke*	eje	eje ~ ğoçaq eje	ejeke	ejeke	emme	kette bibi <sup>220</sup>
uncle (MB)	da:yı	da:yı	da:yı	da:yı	da:yı	dayı ~ tağa	tağa
aunt (MZ)	dayza	dayza	dayza	dayza	dayza	xala	xala
cousin (FBS)	atadoğan oğlanı*	a:ğamıñ oğlı	doğan oğlan	doğan oğlan	doğan oğlan	emeki beçe	emeki beçe
cousin (FBD)	a:ğamıñ ğı:zı*	a:ğamıñ ğı:zı	jigi	jigi	jigi	a:ğamıñ ğı:zı	
cousin (FZS)	ekemiñ oğlı*	ejemiñ oğlı	ejemiñ oğlı	ejekemiñ oğlı	ejekemi ñ oğlı	amma beçe	amma beçe
cousin (FZD)	ekemiñ ğı:zı	ejemiñ ğı:zı	ejemiñ ğı:zı	ejekemiñ ğı:zı	ejekemi ñ ğı:zı	ammami ñ qızı	amma mıñ qızı
cousin (MBS)	da:yımıñ oğlı*	da:yımıñ oğlı	da:yımı ñ oğlı	da:yımıñ oğlı	da:yımı ñ oğlı	tağamniñ oğlı	tağam niñ oğlı
cousin (MBD)	da:yımıñ ğı:zı*	da:yımıñ ğı:zı	da:yımı ñ ğı:zı	da:yımıñ ğı:zı	da:yımı ñ ğı:zı	tağamniñ qızı	tağam niñ qızı
cousin (MZS)	çıqan ~ dayza:mıñ oğlı*	çıqan	çıqan	çıqan	çıqan	xala beçe çıqan	xala beçe
cousin (MZD)	çıqan ~ dayza:mıñ ğı:zı*	çıqan	çıqan	çıqan	çıqan	xalemniñ qızı ~ çıqan	xalem niñ qızı
husband (H)	ä:r*	ä:r	ä:r	ä:r	ä:r	ä:r	ä:r

<sup>219</sup> There is no term for this in the dialect.

<sup>220</sup> According to Xuda:yberdi Xatap : *bi:bi*.

wife (W)	aya:l *~ heley	heley ~ aya:l	heley ~ aya:l	aya:l	aya:l	Xatın ~ heley	xatın
religiousl y married woman	nika:l*	nika:lı	nika:lı	— <sup>221</sup>	—	—	—
bridegroom, son-in- law (DH)	gi:yew	gi:yew	giyewı ~ köreken	gi:yew~ köreken	köreken	giyaw	kiyaw
DH in uxorilocal residence	gi:ç gi:yew*	gi:ç gi:yew	gi:ç gi:yew	gi:ç ge:yew	gi:ç gi:yew	giç kiyaw	kiç kiyaw
daughter- in-law, sister-in- law (SW, yBW)	kelin	gelin	gelin	gelin	gelin	kelin	kelin
sister-in- law (eBW)	kelin eke ~ keleke ~ yenņge	gelin eje ~ gelleje	gelin eje ~ genneje	gelin eje ~ genneje	gelin eje	yenņe	yenņe
sister-in- law (HZ, WZ)	ba:ldız*	ba:ldız	baldız	baldız	ba:ldız	ba:ldız	ba:ldı z
brother- in-law (WB)	ğayın a:ğa*	ğayın a:ğa	ğayın a:ğa	ğayın a:ğa	ğayın a:ğa	qayın a:ğa	qayın a:ğa
brother- in-law (HB)	yu:rji*	yu:rji	yurji	yurji	yurji	yurji	yurji
father-in- law (HF, WF)	ğa:yınata*	ğa:yınata	ğa:yınat a	ğa:yınata	ğa:yınat a	qayınata	qayın ata
mother- in-law (HM, WM)	ğa:yınene*	ğa:yınene	ğa:yıne ne	ğa:yınene	ğa:yıne ne	qayınane	qayın ana
co-wife (HW)	gündeş*	gündeş ~ güni	gündeş	gündeş	gündeş	gündaş	künda ş
WZH	ba:ja	ba:ja	baja bajanaq	baja	baja	ba:ja	ba:ja
affins (SWF, SWm, DHF, DHM,	ğuda	ğuda	ğuda	ğuda	ğuda	quda	quda

<sup>221</sup> Not established in my materials.

relatives on ChPa side)							
HBW	elti	elti	elti	elti	elti	awsin	awsin

According to Turkmen custom people who are not consanguineous can enter a kindred-like relationship if, for example, a man/woman "in place of his own father/mother" cares for a child as if he/she were his parent. This kind of relationship is denoted by adding the suffix -*IIQ* to the respective kinship term: *atalıq* 'surrogate father', 'accepted father'; *enelik* 'accepted mother'; *oğollıq* 'person in place of one's own son' and the like.

An interesting term is *dolanan* 'grandson of ego's brother', which has been recorded from the Yemreli dialect only.<sup>222</sup> The term *dolanan ğarındaş* for 'distant relative' also exists in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect, but the Ä:rsa:rı speakers do not have the term *dolanan* as such.

The term *çıqan* for 'cousin' according to local knowledge is derived from *çiq-* 'to exit' and points to a specific historical custom. According to ancient Turkmen tribal law male relatives would be obliged to practise vendetta in case a relative were killed. The nephews of the murdered person, however, were exempted (literally, they "had quit") from this obligation which at the same time implies that they were not actually counted among "relatives" in an immediate sense.<sup>223</sup>

Sophisticated items from kinship terminology are today widely unknown to members of the young generation and may disappear from the Turkmen dialect vocabulary in the near future.

We conclude this chapter with some terms which are not actually part of kinship terminology but belong to the wider semantic field of human conditions and interhuman relations.

**Table 6.13**

	<i>xālıŝ(XD)</i>				<i>nāxālıŝ(ND)</i>	
	<i>Ärsa:rı</i>	<i>Sarıq</i>	<i>Teke</i>	<i>Yemreli</i>	<i>Muqri</i>	<i>Xatap</i>
man	erkek	erkek	erkek	erkek	erkek ~ erkey	erkek ~ erkey
old man	ġarrı ~ ča:l ~ ġarrı ba:ba	ġarrı ~ ġarrı ba:ba	ġarrı ~ ġoja ~ ġarrı ba:ba	ġarrı ~ ġoja ~ ġarrı ba:ba	qarrı ~ ča:l ~ qarrı ba:ba	qarrı ~ ča:l ~ qarrı ba:ba
old woman	ġarrı ma:ma ~ kempir	ġarrı aya:l ~ kempir	ġarrı aya:l	ġarrı aya:l	qarrı xa:tin ~ kempir	qarrı xa:tin ~ kempir
young man	yigit ~ ya:š yigit ~ gödek	yigit ~ gödek	yigitče ~ ya:š ja:hıl	yigit	yigit	Yigit
unmarried	öylenmedik	boy yigit	boy yigit	boy yigit	boyda:q	boyda:q

<sup>222</sup> Information by the honorable Ha:ji: Da:dmuhammed Yemreli from Herat.

<sup>223</sup> Information by the honorable Ha:ji: Abdulkeri:m from the village of Ba:ġbusta:n / district of Andkhoy.

man	yigit ~ boy yigit		~ sallax			
unmarried girl/woman	kette ġi:z	ulı ġi:z	ġoċaq ġi:z	ġoċaq ġi:z	qarrı qız	qarrı qız
divorced woman	ä:rden ayrılan	ä:rden ayrılan	quwındı	— <sup>224</sup>	bi:we	bi:we
widow	dul	dul	dul ~ başıboş	dul ~ başıboş	tul	tul

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<sup>224</sup> Not established in my materials.

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## Appendix: List of conversation participants and informants

<i>No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Identifier</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Literacy</i>	<i>Tribe</i>	<i>Place</i>
1	Juma bay Xamyabi	Är.1	male	63	tribe elder	low	Ärsa:rı	Xamiyab / Jawzjan
2	Mawlewi Ubeydullah	Är.2	male	48	mullah, clergyman	literate	Ärsa:rı	Andxoy / Faryab
3	Mohemmed Nayzari	Är.3	male	52	professor	high	Ärsa:rı	Andxoy / Faryab
4	M.Emin Nazari	Är.4	male	57	professor	high	Ärsa:rı	Aqča / Jawzjan
5	Bibi Jamal	Är.5	female	71	housewife	illiterate	Ärsa:rı	Andxoy / Faryab
6	Enjinyer M. Emin	Är.6	male	55	businessman	high	Ärsa:rı	Čayı / Balx
7	Rozıgeldi Oyçı	Är.7	male	54	politician	literate	Ärsa:rı	Šordepe/ Balx
8	Ismetıllah	Är.8	male	42	businessman	literate	Ärsa:rı	Andxoy / Faryab
9	M. Sadıq Bağşı	Är.9	male	60	musician, epic singer	literate	Ärsa:rı	Andxoy / Faryab
10	Enjinyer Abdırahman	Är.10	male	52	manager	high	Ärsa:rı	Andxoy / Faryab
11	Hajı Abdılqadır	Är.11	male	40	shopkeeper	illiterate	Ärsa:rı	Čarbölek / Balx
12	Abdırahim Nuča	Är.12	male	58	businessman	low	Ärsa:rı	Andxoy / Faryab
13	Xudaynazar	Är.13	male	50	civil servant	high	Ärsa:rı	Andxoy / Faryab
14	Abdılmejid	Är.14	male	57	caretaker	illiterate	Ärsa:rı	Čayı / Balx
15	Fatma Resuli	Är.15	female	48	civil servant	high	Ärsa:rı	Šıbırğan / Jawzjan
16	Allah Nazar Nazari Türkmen	Är.16	male	47	politician	literate	Ärsa:rı	Qalayi Zal / Qunduz
17	Mawlewi Jora	Är.17	male	77	clergyman	literate	Ärsa:rı	Qalayi Zal / Qunduz
18	Hajı.M. İbrahim	Är.18	male	60	manager	literate	Ärsa:rı	İmam Sahib / Qunduz
19	Hajı	Är.19	male	55	tribe elder	low	Ärsa:rı	Murdiya

	Baymurad							n / Jawzjan
20	Jelil Joyan	Är.20	male	58	officer	literate	Ärsa:rı	Xamiyab / Jawzjan
21	Abdılqadır Aşna	Är.21	male	53	officer	literate	Ärsa:rı	Qalayı Zal/ Qunduz
22	M. İkrām Yawer	Är.22	male	38	civil servant	high	Ärsa:rı	Andxoy/ Faryab
23	Esedullah Behramı	Är.23	male	56	civil servant	literate	Ärsa:rı	Aqça / Jawzjan
24	Rahımqul	Är.24	male	61	headmaster of school	literate	Ärsa:rı	Qalayı Zal / Qunduz
25	Salam Bay	Är.25	male	48	businessma n	literate	Ärsa:rı	Mazar-i Şarif / Balx
26	Nadır	Är.26	male	30	laborer	illiterat e	Ärsa:rı	Şibirğan / Jawzjan
27	Fawziye	Är.27	fema le	27	civil servant	high	Ärsa:rı	Şibirğan / Jawzjan
28	Oğulbaxt	Är.28	fema le	76	housewife	illiterat e	Ärsa:rı	Şibirğan / Jawzjan
29	Qadır	Är.29	male	47	laborer	illiterat e	Ärsa:rı	Şibirğan / Jawzjan
30	Mohemmed Kemal	Är.30	male	50	businessma n	illiterat e	Ärsa:rı	Keldar / Balx
31	Pırnazar	Är.31	male	44	craftsman	illiterat e	Ärsa:rı	Şibirğan / Jawzjan
32	Ismayıl	Är.32	male	68	craftsman	illiterat e	Ärsa:rı	Aqça / Jawzjan
33	İmamqul Xan	Är.33	male	53	manager	high	Ärsa:rı	Qalayı Zal / Qunduz
34	Gulam resul	Är.34	male	50	farmer	illiterat e	Ärsa:rı	İmam Sahib / Qunduz
35	Hajı Qandıł	Är.35	male	56	businessma n	illiterat e	Ärsa:rı	Şibirğan / Jawzjan
36	Hanifa	Är.36	fema le	15	student	literate	Ärsa:rı	Qalayı zal / Qunduz
37	Wezir Mohemmed	Är.37	male	62	goldsmith	illiterat e	Ärsa:rı	Aqça / Jawzjan
38	Hajı Ekber	Är.38	male	65	shopkeeper	illiterat e	Ärsa:rı	Mazar-i Şarif / Balx
39	Xudayberdi	Är.39	male	74	laborer	illiterat e	Ärsa:rı	Qalayı Zal /

								Qunduz
40	Mahmud	Är.40	male	26	laborer	illiterate	Ärsa:rı	Aqça / Jawzjan
41	Abdılqayyum	Är.41	male	47	laborer	illiterate	Ärsa:rı	Meñnejik / Jawzjan
42	Abdılahad Garajalı	Är.42	male	53	businessman	literate	Ärsa:rı	Aqça / Jawzjan
43	M. Ibrahim Tewekkeli	Är.43	male	55	intellectual	literate	Ärsa:rı	Aqça / Jawzjan
44	H. Abdılwahhab Daniş	Är.44	male	54	politician	literate	Ärsa:rı	Aqça / Jawzjan
45	M. Kemal Göneş	Är.45	male	48	politician	high	Ärsa:rı	Andxoy / Faryab
46	Abdılqadır Maliya	Är.46	male	50	arbitrator	illiterate	Ärsa:rı	Qarqın / Jawzjan
47	I:sa Haji	Är.47	male	68	shopkeeper	illiterate	Ärsa:rı	Xamiyab / Jawzjan
48	Haji M. Ismayıl	Är.48	male	65	shopkeeper	illiterate	Ärsa:rı	Aqça / Jawzjan
49	Sandıqçılar	Är.49	male	67	craftsman	illiterate	Ärsa:rı	Xamiyab / Jawzjan
50	Mulla Rehmetullah	Är.50	male	60	mullah, clergyman	literate	Ärsa:rı	Şibirğan / Jawzjan
51	Halima	Är.51	female	10	housewife	illiterate	Ärsa:rı	Dewletabad / Balx
53	M.Salih Rasekh	Är.53	male	51	professor	high	Ärsa:rı	Andxoy / Faryab
54	Yengejan	Är.54	female	60	civil servant	high	Ärsa:rı	Şibirğan / Jawzjan
54	Haji Nazar a:ğa	Te.1	male	75	tribe elder	illiterate	Teke	Bermezid / Balx
55	M. Emin Ferheç	Te.2	male	45	civil servant	literate	Teke	Herat city
56	Haji Abdillah	Te.3	male	68	businessman	illiterate	Teke	Derre-i Şax / Faryab
57	Bayram Ağa	Te.4	male	54	farmer	illiterate	Teke	Bermezid / Balx
58	Feride Emi	Te.5	female	40	civil servant	high	Teke	Şibirğan / Jawzjan
59	Mohammed Ismayıl	Te.6	male	42	shopkeeper	literate	Teke	Herat city
60	Haji Şageldi	Te.7	male	60	businessman	illiterate	Teke	Herat city
61	Paraxat	Te.8	male	58	civil servant	literate	Teke	Herat

								city
62	Abdılqayyu:m	Te.9	male	25	farmer	literate	Teke	Bermezid / Balx
63	Mawlewi Abdılkerim	Te.10	male	62	mullah, clergyman	literate	Teke	Herat city
64	Qa:rı Sebu:r	Te.11	male	40	civil servant	literate	Teke	Herat city
65	Tä:zegül Ama:nya:r	Te.12	female	35	civil servant	literate	Teke	Herat city
66	Dawudša:h Ferheç	Te.13	male	40	civil servant	literate	Teke	Herat city
67	Ahmedšah	Te.14	male	23	student	literate	Teke	Bermezid / Balx
68	Jama:lüddi:n	Te.15	male	22	student	literate	Teke	Bermezid / Balx
69	Hajı Abdıresu:l	Te.16	male	68	businessman	illiterate	Teke	Bermezid / Balx
70	Mohemmed Dawud	Te.17	male	47	shopkeeper	literate	Teke	Herat city
71	Ça:rya:r Mura:dı	Te.18	male	40	sport teacher	literate	Teke	Turğundi / Herat
72	Hajı Sa:bir	Te.19	male	72	shopkeeper	illiterate	Teke	Turğundi / Herat
73	Abdılخال:l	Te.20	male	27	farmer	illiterate	Teke	Turğundi / Herat
74	Dawud	Te.21	male	28	civil servant	illiterate	Teke	Turğundi / Herat
75	M. Sıddı:q Emıni	Sa.1	male	64	politician	high	Sa:rıq	Maručaq / Badğı:s
76	Hajı Abdılخال:l	Sa.2	male	62	tribe elder	literate	Sa:rıq	Maručaq / Badğı:s
77	Aqmohemmed A:ğa	Sa.3	male	64	businessman	illiterate	Sa:rıq	Maručaq / Badğı:s
78	Ši:rmohe med Yeñiš	Sa.4	male	55	poet	high	Sa:rıq	Maručaq / Badğı:s
79	Anna Bağşı	Sa.5	male	45	musician, epic singer	literate	Sa:rıq	Maručaq / Badğı:s
80	Gül Ahmed	Sa.6	male	53	shopkeeper	illiterate	Sa:rıq	Herat city
81	Dawudšah	Sa.7	male	52	civil servant	literate	Sa:rıq	Herat city
82	Hajı Ša:geldi	Yo.1	male	60	businessman	illiterate	Yomut	Herat city
83	N.N.	Yo.2	female	58	carpet weaver	illiterate	Yomut	Herat city
84	Hajı Rehmetilla:h	Mu.1	male	50	businessman	illiterate	Muqrı	Aqça / Jawzjan
85	Da:wud ağa	Mu.2	male	70	farmer	illiterate	Muqrı	Siyagird

						e		/ Balx
86	Penji	Mu.3	male	25	student	literate	Muqri	Siyagird / Balx
87	Seyis	Mu.4	male	48	horsebreeder	illiterate	Muqri	Aqča / Jawzjan
88	Haji Gaybullah	Mu.5	male	52	Horse breeder	illiterate	Muqri	Aqča / Jawzjan
89	Amanullah	Xa.1	male	56	farmer	illiterate	Xatap	Šehrek / Balx
90	Abdulhekim xatap	Xa.2	male	27	student	literate	Xatap	Šehrek / Balx
91	Xudayberdi	Xa.3	male	43	farmer	illiterate	Xatap	Aqča / Jawzjan
92	Hani:fa	Xa.4	female	18	student	literate	Xatap	A:qdepe / Qunduz
93	Kema:l	Xa.5	male	40	farmer	illiterate	Xatap	A:qdepe / Qunduz
94	Zi:ba:	Xa.6	female	50	housewife	illiterate	Xatap	A:qdepe / Qunduz
95	M. Emin Qa:ni	Xoj.1	male	63	civil servant	literate	Xojamba :z	Qunduz
96	Šükrullah	Xoj.2	male	32	farmer	illiterate	Xojamba :z	Ča:rdere / Qunduz
97	M. Seddi:q	Ba.1	male	37	craftsman	literate	Bayat	Šibirğan city
98	Seyfullah	Ba.2	male	35	labourer	literate	Bayat	Šibirğan city
99	Runa	Ba.3	female	23	student	literate	Bayat	Mazar-i Šarif city
100	M. Alim Rahmánya:r	Ba.4	male	40	journalist	literate	Bayat	Šibirğan city
101	Haji Yo:lbars Ata:yı	Ba.5	male	65	businessman	literate	Bayat	Šibirğan city
102	Haji Rehmethullah	Ba.6	male	48	businessman	illiterate	Bayat	Pi:rmezid / Šibirğan
103	Haji Xudayqul	Ol.1	male	65	shopkeeper	illiterate	Olam	Aqča / Jawzjan
104	Abdilleti:f	Ol.2	male	25	student	literate	Olam	Ča:rdere / Qunduz
105	Usta:d Nayi:m	Qar.1	male	60	professor	high	Qarqın	Qarqın / Jawzjan
106	Xadi:ja	Qar.2	female	26	student	literate	Qarqın	Qarqın / Jawzjan
107	Haji Uwez Durdı	Qar.3	male	70	craftsman	illiterate	Qarqın	Qarqın / Jawzjan
108	ġula:m Saxı Behra:mi	Qar.4	male	26	student	high	Qarqın	Qarqın / Jawzjan

