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THE TENSE, ASPECT, MOOD – MODALITY SYSTEM OF THE TURKISH SPOKEN IN CYPRUS: A SOCIO-LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE

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Declaration for PhD thesis

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Abstract

This study discusses the tense, aspect and mood – modality system of the Turkish spoken in Cyprus. Initially a theoretical outline of the concepts of tense, aspect and mood – modality in general and that of the Turkic finite system is given followed by that of the historical development of Turkish grammar-writing tradition.

Modern Standard Turkish (MST), being the standard form used by the speakers of Turkish in Cyprus, has always been the dominant variety in formal environments and therefore the donor variety in inter-varietical contacts especially since 1974. Accordingly MST has contributed to development of the Cypriot variety immensely and likewise the tense, aspect, mood – modality system of the standard form based on Göksel – Kerslake's classification sets a good example for the Turkish spoken in Cyprus as well.

The parent variety of Turkish spoken in Cyprus was Old Anatolian Turkish (OAT), therefore the main source contributing to the formation of the Turkish variety spoken in Cyprus. It is possible to credit OAT for the diversities of the modern Cypriot variety together with the contact induced diversities. However OAT, being a variety of a multicultural region, itself needs to be socio-linguistically tackled. The lack of information on the Turkification process of Anatolia and on the differences between OAT varieties entails complications in establishing the outlines of the formation stage of the Turkish language in Anatolia. Nevertheless example texts in OAT grammatical studies are sufficient to systemize the finite verbal forms of the variety according to Göksel – Kerslake's classification.

It is concluded that the finite verbal system of the Turkish spoken in Cyprus is identical with that of MST in some areas whereas it shows great parallelism with that of OAT in other aspects. Additionally the variety accommodates local forms, which are internal developments in some cases and contact induced in other cases.

Acknowledgements

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Focus of the Study

Cyprus, which is an island located at the crossroads of three continents, has faced many invasions by major powers willing to control the trade routes, the routes to Holy Lands and one of the most strategically crucial locations in the Eastern Mediterranean since the dawn of history. These invasions exposed the island to a constant flow of different peoples as usually immigration and emigration followed the war times. This flow of populations ensured multiculturality and therefore contact of languages on the island throughout the history. The historical events and the constant re-settlement of peoples to the island have brought about the Turkish, Greek, Arabic and Armenian speaking populations of the island in modern times.

Turkish-speakers are the latest comers of these peoples. Undoubtedly they brought their language together when they had settled to the island. However, firstly the geographical limitations of living on an island and secondly the political developments leading to the breaking off of the island from the main Turkish-speaking lands have influenced the development of the Turkish language on the island. This isolation has led to preservation of archaic features (i.e. Old Anatolian Turkish features) together with internal developments in the language of Turkish Cypriots. On the other hand, contrary to this isolation, the standard from has always been that of Turkey leaving the Turkish Cypriot elites and the educated class with an uncut contact with Modern Standard Turkish. Another factor influencing the development of the Turkish language on the island has been language contact, mainly with the Cypriot variety of Greek. The prevalence of Turkish – Greek bilingualism has naturally effected the development of both languages. The influence of the Greek language on the Turkish population had been so strong that it had out rooted the Turkish language in some regions of the island.

This thesis focusing on the tense – aspect – mood / modality system of the Turkish language spoken in Cyprus, aims to classify the finite system of the variety. Establishing the

similarities and dissimilarities of the Cypriot system to that of Modern Standard Turkish is another important task set by the thesis. Additionally establishing the origins (i.e. whether they are preserved old forms or internal developments or contact-induced developments) of the forms, which are dissimilar to Modern Standard Turkish ones, has been deemed important by this thesis.

1.2 The Importance of Tense, Aspect and Mood / Modality and Key Issues

The importance of tense, aspect and mood / modality is the role these categories play in establishing finite verbal forms. Verbs are expressive grammatical units stating actions or situations. They are found in languages as infinitive forms used for naming these actions or situations. They need to be inflected, i.e. put into finite forms, in order to be functional in the language. Inflected verbs become functional in language by entering multi-dimensional relations with other words and take the biggest share in the formation of sentences. The categories of tense, aspect and mood / modality play the biggest role together with person and number in constituting finite verbal forms. Tense helps to locate the action on the temporal line while mood / modality shows the way or style the action is done and aspect indicates to the personal psychological position of the speaker with regards to the meaning conveyed by the finite form of the verb.

Perhaps the most important key issue is the fact that languages can have very different ways of verb inflection and different ways of thinking and phraseology with regards to their tense, aspect and mood / modality systems. Like so Turkic languages in general and Turkish in particular have their distinctive characteristics in respect to tense, aspect and mood / modality. For instance Modern Standard Turkish has separate tense categories for marking the present tense and the aorist (the so-called broad tense) whereas some languages, like German, do not make a difference between the two. Similarly Turkish employs two different tense markers to mark the direct past tense and the indirect past tense, whereas some other

languages, like English, do not. Compound tenses are constructed with the help of modal verbs in Indo-European languages whereas in Turkish the copula is used for this purpose.

The tense, aspect, mood / modality system of a language has a fundamental function in respect to its semantically relevant syntax. Extended contact between Turkic and non-Turkic languages has resulted in various alterations in this semantically and syntactically important grammatical categories. These alterations can be in forms of new developments, changes or disappearance (Johanson 2002: 97-98). Turkish spoken in Cyprus had been in intensive contact with the Greek variety spoken on the island for almost four hundred years until the division of the island. English, which had been the official language for almost a century and the minor languages of the island like Arabic, Armenian and perhaps Italian probably, played a smaller role in the language encounters. The fact that the Old Anatolian Turkish varieties, which had been the parent varieties of Turkish spoken on the island, were varieties of multi-lingual environments themselves complicates the issue further. On the other hand, the gradually intensifying contact of the Turkish Cypriots with Modern Standard Turkish since the middle of the twentieth century had its impact on the Cypriot variety as well. This impact especially has been determinant in shaping of the speech of the younger generations of the Turkish Cypriots with the centralization of the education system and the influence of the Turkish television channels. The disappearance of the Greek language from the Turkish socio-political life together with the replacement of the Greek population by the settlers from Turkey in the Turkish Cypriot everyday life has also contributed the approximation of the speech of the Turkish Cypriots to the standard language. The social interaction of the Turkish Cypriots with the settlers has been complete variegating from economic life to political life and from mixing in schools to inter-marriage. There is no available statistical data but there is no doubt that a very important sector of the younger generation of the Turkish Cypriot population is a product of these inter-marriages. All these

social factors have had their imprint in the speech of the modern-day Turkish Cypriot population.

1.3 Methodology

This thesis is developed in five main stages. The first stage is primarily constructed by summarizing the concepts of tense, aspect and mood / modality in general. Works like Comrie 1976, Comrie 1985, Smith 1991 and Palmer 2001, which are universally accepted to be the principal works of the subject, have been taken as basis in this summarization. The second step in the first stage has been to give a short outline of the Turkic tense, aspect, and mood / modality system in general. Then after a short history of the Turkish grammar-writing, the reason for using the system of Göksel – Kerslake 2005 is given.

The second stage has been a short section, which is the presentation of the tense, aspect and mood / modality system of Modern Standard Turkish. This stage is commenced by a review of the literature dealing with the tense, aspect and mood / modality system of Modern Standard Turkish. The system is patterned after Göksel – Kerslake's categorization of the Modern Standard Turkish tense, aspect, mood / modality system. In fact this section is in the form of a summary of the chapter dealing with tense, aspect and mood / modality in Göksel – Kerslake 2005.

The third stage has been to classify the tense, aspect and mood / modality system of the parent variety of the Turkish spoken in Cyprus, i.e. Old Anatolian Turkish, again patterned after Göksel – Kerslake's categorization. Since not only the ethnic origins of the Turkish Cypriots, but that of the Anatolian Turks as well has been disputed by Greek and Greek Cypriot historians, the ethno-linguistic situation of pre-Turkish Anatolia, the Turkification of Anatolia and the establishment of the Turkish language in Anatolia have been issues tackled in this stage. Old Anatolian Turkish textual material present in works like Mansuroğlu 1959, Adamovič 1985, Hacıeminoğlu 1991, Timurtaş 1994, Flemming 1995,

Kerslake 1998 and Özkan 2000 has been used in classifying the Old Anatolian Turkish tense, aspect and mood / modality system.

The fourth stage in the thesis has been to classify the tense, aspect and mood / modality system of the Turkish spoken in Cyprus, again patterned after Göksel – Kerslake's categorization. The first step in this stage has been to establish the appellation that will be used for naming the Turkish variety spoken in Cyprus. Various names have been used by different scholars to designate the variety. Therefore such an attempt has been necessary. It was touched on earlier that the ethnic origins of the Turkish Cypriot population have been disputed by Greek and Greek Cypriot historians. Thus, a detailed account of the establishment of the Turkish population on the island, their socio-linguistic and educational history is presented in order to clarify the issue as much as possible. The limited amount of Turkish Cypriot textual material has been scanned in order to classify the tense, aspect and mood / modality system of the variety.

The last stage of the thesis has been to compare and contrast the Turkish Cypriot system with that of the Modern Standard Turkish and Old Anatolian Turkish ones. This has been useful in determining firstly the diversities in the tense, aspect and mood / modality system of the Cypriot variety from that of the standard language. Secondly it has been possible to designate whether the existing diversities are the preserved forms of Old Anatolian forms or local features.

1.4 Thesis Overview

Turkish spoken on the island of Cyprus is one of the varieties of Turkish, which has been neglected in Turkish dialectical studies until recently. The vocabulary of the Turkish varieties of the island is not as represented as it deserves in the *Derleme Sözlüğü* the

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[1] *Derleme Sözlüğü* was compiled in Turkey in two stages. The first stage took place between the years 1932-1934 and a six volume dictionary was produced at the end of this stage. The second stage took place between the years 1952-1959 and at the end of this stage the work reached twelve volumes consisting of 4842 pages. The dictionary is based on more than 600,000 index cards collected from every corner of Turkey. The dictionary additionally includes lexical material from Northern Iraq, Former Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece and Cyprus. The

dialectical dictionary of Turkish. Again sections dealing with Cypriot varieties of Turkish are missing altogether or are touched upon vaguely in the works of scholars like A. Caferoğlu, L Karahan and Z. Korkmaz, who have spent great efforts on classifying Turkish dialects. Eren 1960 and 1964 should be excluded from this situation. However, it is seen that recently (since nineties) there has been an increase in the number of studies dealing with the Turkish spoken on the island with works like Vancı 1990, Boztaş 1991, Saracoğlu 1992, İslamoğlu 1996, Saracoğlu 1996, Gürkan 1997, Duman 1999, Scharlipp 1999, Duman 2000, Öztürk 2000, Pehlivan 2000, Tekin 2000, Argunşah 2000, Argunşah 2001, İmer 2001, Öztürk 2001, Demir 2002, Demir 2002a, Demir 2002b, Argunşah 2003, Çelebi 2003, Pehlivan 2003, Kurtböke 2003/04, Saracoğlu 2004, Demir 2005, Kabataş 2005, Pehlivan 2007, Demir 2007, Kabataş 2007, Kappler 2008, İleri 2009, Johanson 2009 and others. These works mainly focus on the characteristics of Turkish spoken on the island, which show dissimilarities to Turkish in general. Likewise, with regards to the tense, aspect and mood – modality system of the Cypriot varieties, scholars like L. Johanson and N. Demir have focused on past tense, present tense and subjunctive structures, which are areas of grammar displaying dissimilarities with Turkish in general. In other words a work dealing with the complete tense, aspect and mood – modality system of Turkish spoken in Cyprus is missing. The aim of this thesis is to be at least the first step in filling this gap and determine the sociolinguistic factors behind the similarities and dissimilarities of the Cypriot system to that of Modern Standard Turkish.

In the introductory chapter, the main aims and the basic theoretical and methodological issues of the thesis that will be applied throughout the study is put forward. The introduction consists of four parts including the focus of the study, the importance of tense, aspect and mood / modaltiy and key issues and methodology.

In Chapter II, which is the theoretical introduction of the thesis a definition of the concepts of tense, aspect and mood – modality based on the studies of B. Comrie, C. Smith and F. R. Palmer will be made. A short overview of the tense, aspect and mood – modality system of Turkic in general will follow. The last part of this chapter will be a section over-viewing the history of Turkish grammar-writing and the treatment of the finite verbal system in Turkish grammars.

Chapter III of the thesis, which starts with a literature review on Modern Standard Turkish tense, aspect and mood / modality, will be completed by a summary of the chapter dealing with the subject in Aslı Göksel – Celia Kerslake, 2005, *Turkish: A Comprehensive Grammar.*

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material from Cyprus is based on 1030 index cards, which is a very small number when compared to the total (*Derleme Sözlüğü* v. 1: V-LV).

The tense, aspect and mood – modality system of Modern Standard Turkish is included to the thesis since it is important being the standard from not only used by the speakers of Turkish in Cyprus but the speakers of all Turkish dialects. Modern Standard Turkish is taught at schools, used in formal environments and used in visual and printed media. Therefore giving a picture of the tense, aspect and mood – modality system of Modern Standard Turkish will set a good tool in determining local and general features of the tense, aspect and mood – modality system of Turkish spoken on the island. Göksel – Kerslake's classification is chosen as an example not only for Modern Standard Turkish but for Old Anatolian Turkish and Turkish spoken in Cyprus as well, since this work is perhaps the only work explaining aspect and modality system of the Turkish language in detail. The rest of the Turkish grammars in hand either omit aspect and modality altogether or omit one of these concepts.

Chapter IV mainly deals with Old Anatolian Turkish. The historical background of the Turks of Cyprus plays a key role in the sociolinguistic factors shaping the Turkish spoken on the island. Undoubtedly this brings up the issue of the original homeland of the members of pre-1974 Turkish Cypriot society. The ethnic origins not only of Turkish Cypriots but that of Anatolian Turks are disputed fiercely by tradionalist Greek and Greek Cypriot historians. This issue constitutes an important question to be answered for the scope of this thesis as conversion and assimilation are two influential concepts in language contacts, which can be determinant on the tense, aspect and mood – modality system of a language. Therefore trying to answer the question of the ethnic origins of Turkish Cypriots and Anatolian Turks is an important task for this thesis. Accordingly the third chapter of the thesis will be dealing with the issue of Turkification of Anatolia. The variety of Turkish used in Anatolia at the time, i.e. Old Anatolian Turkish, being the parent variety of Turkish spoken in Cyprus is another important subject of the thesis. Therefore, the third chapter will also include sections dealing with the establishment of the Turkish language in the peninsula both as a spoken and written language and its tense, aspect and mood – modality system.

The second stage in answering the question on the ethnic origins of the Turkish Cypriots will be the establishment and development of the Turkish society and its language on the island. Chapter V will be dealing with this issue in detail. The first step will be describing the historical facts of the establishment of the Turkish presence on the island after the Ottoman conquest. The second will be trying to detect the conversion and assimilation processes on the island and their contribution to the development of the Turkish-speaking society. Overview of the history of the education system of the Turkish Cypriot society will be

another important step in defining the sociolinguistic aspects of the Turkish spoken on the island.

Finally in Chapter VI, drawing a complete picture of the tense, aspect and mood / modality system of Turkish spoken on the island of Cyprus will be the aim of this thesis. This picture will be based on Turkish Cypriot textual material and will take into consideration the sociolinguistic factors deducted from the findings of the answers of questions dealt with in Chapter IV and Chapter V.

CHAPTER II: THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION – TENSE, ASPECT, MODALITY AND MOOD

2.1 Tense

2.1.1 Preliminary Notes

2.1.1.1 Time and Language

Traditionally time is accepted as a straight line, left symbolizing the past and the right the future and the present moment marked with 0 on the line. This symbolisation capacitates us to illustrate some temporal statements of language. That is to say; if an occurrence is to happen in the future it is located to the right of 0 on the temporal line, if an occurrence took place before another one it is marked to the left of the other or if two events occurred simultaneously they are marked overlapping on the line.

The aim of this diagrammatical method of representing time – language relation is to give an universal description of temporality in language and does not address to specific cultures which have concepts of time that are cyclic or do not have a concept of time at all (Comrie 1985: 2-7).

2.1.1.2 Location in Time

Locating situations in time is a hypothetical and cultural matter and may differ from language to language from two aspects. The first is the level of precision of locating situations in time and the second is the way which they are located.

Some societies are familiar with very small stretches of time such as nanoseconds due to their technologically advanced positions and are able to make very fine temporal distinctions when locating time. On the other hand in many others this detailed accuracy of temporal location is not possible and some even do not have a lexical difference between 'today' and 'now'.

The verbal statement of temporal location in languages in general can be classified in three categories. The largest of these categories is *lexically composite expressions* and is virtually unlimited as it includes expressions as *three minutes earlier, ten minutes after, eleven seconds before* etc. (a.e.)[2]. The second category is the *lexical items* used for temporal location in a language such as *now, tomorrow, tonight* (a.e.). One should note that the elements of these two groups may differ from language to language. For instance, the English wording *last year* is a lexically composite expression, the meaning of which is deduced from

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[2] Examples belong to Comrie unless stated otherwise. My examples will be marked by a.e.

the composition of the two words, whereas the Turkic parallel *bıldır* (a.e.) is a lexical item. The third category is the set of *grammatical categories*, which can be further classified as tense categories. English happens to have present, past, future, pluperfect and future perfect as grammatical expressions of temporal location, whereas many other languages have additional tense categories as a result of their determination of levels of distance in past and future (Comrie 1985: 7-9).

2.1.1.3 Tense and Deixis

The beginning and end of time is unknown to humanity and consequently it does not accommodate any boundary lines for location of situations. Therefore it is essential to create landmarks which can serve as temporal reference points for location of situations in time. It is observed that outstanding events such as the date for the founding of the city of Rome, the date for Christ's birth or the date for Mohammed's departure from Mecca to Medina has served as such reference points. In addition to these reference points, which are marked by lexically composite expressions, it is possible to make use of lexical items such as *pre-Revolutionary, post-Reformation etc*. However, it should be borne in mind that such landmarks are not used for grammatical categories.

Grammatical categories use the present moment for time, the present spot for space, and the speaker and hearer for person as reference points. Systems, which correlate concepts to such reference points, are classified as deictic systems and therefore tense is a deictic categorization (Saeed 1997: 115), as it locates situations at the same time as the present moment, or prior to the present moment, or subsequent to the present moment. This systemization of tense is only effective in establishing simple tenses and it is possible to use other temporal points or events as the deictic centre in order to establish more complex tense categories (Comrie 1985: 13-18).

2.1.2 Absolute Tense

The term absolute tense is a denomination used for tenses which take the present moment as their deictic centre. Universally accepted three basic absolute tenses are present, past and future, which mean to locate the situation at the same time as, prior to and, after the deictic centre present moment respectively.

2.1.2.1 Present Tense

The simplest explanation that could be given for present tense would be to say that locating the situation at the point marked as 0 on the temporal line gives us the present tense.

Nevertheless it would be an incomplete explanation, albeit not incorrect, since it is not very frequent for a situation to concur with the present moment precisely. In other words it is very rare for a situation to utilize a single point on the time line.

A more typical application of the present tense is in classifying situations which cover a much more stretched phase of time than the present moment, yet which still embrace the present moment. This type of tense is especially used for states and processes occupying the present moment, but which commenced prior to the present moment and probably will endure after the present moment. For instance in the examples *the Eiffel Tower stands in Paris* and *the author is working on chapter two* the situations occupy the present moment but are not limited with the present moment. Therefore "situations which include the present moment" would be a more appropriate definition for the present tense (Comrie 1985: 36-41).

2.1.2.2 Past Tense

When a situation is located to the left of the present moment marked on the temporal line the past tense is expressed. Therefore the interpretation of past tense is positioning the situation in time before the present moment. But the function of past tense is only to locate the situation previous to the present moment and does not indicate anything about whether it is marked as a single point before the present point, or as a stretched phase of time before the present point, or as the entire time until the present moment, like in the sentences: *at seven o'clock yesterday John promised to give me ten pounds*; *John lived in Manchester from 1962 to 1982*; *up to this moment this disease was incurable* (Comrie 1985: 41-43).

2.1.2.3 Future Tense

It could be simply said that locating a situation to the right of the present moment on the temporal line, in other words after the present moment gives the future tense. In this sense the future tense would be a symmetrical parallel of the past tense. However, the situation is not that simple. What past tense includes is unchangeable; it cannot be intervened as it already has occurred, whereas the future is more hypothetical and the speculations made about future may be altered by intervention. Hence future is less certain than past and accordingly it is arguable that while the distinction between the past and the present is one of tense, the difference between the future and the past and/or the present could be taken as one of mood rather than one of tense[3].

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[3] For interaction between future time reference and mood in Romance languages see Fleischman 1982.- reference in Comrie 1985: 44

Another problem with the symmetrical time system is that while in most languages the grammatical difference between the past and the non-past is very clear; in some languages the grammatical difference between the future and the non-future (especially the present) is rather vague. In many languages the present tense markers are also used for marking the future tense. For instance although German and Turkish have particular structures unique for the future tense as in *ich werde morgen gehen* and *yarın gideceğim* (a.e.) 'tomorrow I will go' it is possible to say *ich gehe morgen* or *yarın gidiyorum* (a.e.), which include present tense constructions. Although these examples may imply that these languages lack the future tense, they do not prove that general linguistic theory is not in the need of a future tense as there are many languages which do not permit the same constructions to be used for future and present tenses (Comrie 1985: 43-48).

2.1.3 Relative Tense

2.1.3.1 Pure Relative Tense

Unlike absolute tense, which the present moment is taken as a reference point for locating the situation in time, relative tense takes a point provided by the context as its reference point for the location of a situation. Time adverbials have a substantial role in establishing relative tenses. However there are time adverbials such as *today, yesterday, tomorrow* which help to locate the situation relative to the present moment, i.e. establishing absolute tenses. Time adverbials serving the formation of relative tenses are ones like; *on the same day, on the day before, on the next day* which locate the situation relative to the reference point provided by the context. Yet one should bear in mind that the distinction between absolute and relatives tense is not that between the present moment versus another point in time as the reference point, but between a structure whose meaning defines the present moment as the reference point and a structure whose meaning does not define that the present moment has to be the reference point. Therefore relative tenses may have the present moment as one of their potential reference points (Comrie 1985: 56-64).

2.1.3.2 Absolute – Relative Tense

As it is seen above absolute tenses may be formed by locating the situation at, prior to, or subsequent to the present moment as a temporal reference point, whereas relative tenses are established at, prior to, or subsequent to a reference point provided by the context. Additionally it is possible to have tenses which combine these two kinds of time reference. The English pluperfect is a good example for this kind of tense. The interpretation of the

pluperfect could be put as 'past in the past' as there is a reference point in the past, and the situation under consideration is located previous to that reference point. For instance in the sentence *John had arrived by six o'clock yesterday evening*, where the time adverbial *by six o'clock yesterday evening* forms a reference point in the past (6:00 pm yesterday), and John's arrival is located before that time point (Comrie 1985: 64-82).

2.2 Aspect

2.2.1 Definitions and Terminology

2.2.1.1 Definition of Aspect

Aspect, along the lines of temporal location deals with the temporal structure of a sentence but with a different point of view. Locating situations on the temporal line views events from an external perspective, whereas aspect holds an internal perspective. As seen above tense and time adverbials locate an event in time with past, present or future references. On the other hand aspect demonstrates the internal structure of the event. For instance the difference in the sentences *John sang; John is singing; John will sing* is a property of tense, whereas the difference in the sentences *John sang; John was singing; John used to sing* is that of aspect[4].

2.2.1.2 Punctual (Instantaneous) and Durative

Duration of a situation is related to the time that it takes to occur. Instantaneous events may take several milliseconds, whereas durative events last for a certain period of time. A possible example for an instantaneous event can be the one described by the sentence *John reached the summit of the mountain*. This sentence contains a moment when John had not yet reached the summit and another moment when he had. There is no time period between the two and the event is instantaneous[5].

2.2.1.3 Telic and Atelic

Telicity of an event is contingent on whether it has a natural endpoint including a target or a result. Telic events have such natural boundaries, whereas atelic events do not. For instance if one contrasts the semantic aspectual properties of the situations described by the two sentences *John is singing* and *John is making a chair* it is seen that both refer to durative situations as both consume a certain amount of time. Yet they have a significant dissimilarity concerning their internal structure. In the former John can stop the action i.e. *signing* at any

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[4] For a detailed definition of aspect see Comrie 1976: 1-6; or Smith 1991: 22-26.
[5] For a detailed discusssion on duration see Comrie 1976: 41-44; Smith 1991: 29-30.

point and it will be true that he has sung. On the other hand in the latter the action described by *make a chair* can only be completed when the chair is ready and this is the terminal point of the action described by *make a chair* and cannot proceed any further. Therefore the situation described by *make a chair* is telic and the one described by *sing* is atelic[6].

2.2.1.4 State and Dynamic Situation (Event)

States are simple situation types which consist of period of undifferentiated moments without endpoints. They do not take time despite the fact that they are in time. On the other hand events are dynamic, involving agency, activity and change. If one looks at the sentences *John knows where I live* and *John is running*, (s)he will find out that at whichever point of time the situation of John's knowledge is cut in the former sentence the situation is exactly the same. Therefore it is a state. However, in the latter different phases of the situation will be very different. At one moment John will have one foot on the ground, at another moment neither foot will be on the ground and so on, giving a dynamic situation[7].

2.2.2 Situation Aspects

2.2.2.1 States

States are stable situations. They may continue for a short time period or with intervals and have whimsical endpoints. *Own the farm, be in Copenhagen, be tall, believe in ghosts,* are classic examples of states[8]. Sates comprise an undifferentiated period and do not transform on their own but need an external force for the change into or out of the state.

There are numerous varieties of states. They incorporate all types of concrete and abstract properties, possession, location, belief and other mental states, disposition, habits etc. (Smith 1991: 37-44).

2.2.2.2 Activities

Activities are processes, which include physical or mental activity, and depend completely on the process. *Stroll in the park, laugh, revolve, think about, eat cherries* are examples of typical activities. They do not have any targets, high points or natural endpoints. Their end is only the stopping of the activity. Activities have sequential phases and take time, and needs energy to continue. Stereotypic activities happen in intervals. They are consistent and have dynamic sequential phases and whimsical endpoints.

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[6] For a further discussion of telic atelic see Comrie 1976: 44-48; Smith 1991: 6, 29.
[7] For detail see Comrie 1976: 48-51; Smith 1991: 28-29.
[8] Examples given from now on belong to Smith unless stated otherwise.

Activities are also mentioned as processes as they have no result or change of state. Consequently activities terminate or stop, but they do not finish (Smith 1991: 44-49).

2.2.2.3 Accomplishments

Accomplishments comprise a process and a result, or a change of state. The change is the conclusion of the process. *Build a bridge, walk to school, repair a radio, drink a glass of wine* are typical examples of accomplishments. They have sequential phases in which the process progresses to its endpoint. Accomplishments terminate in a new state.

If a process, which has a natural endpoint, attains its sequel, the process is concluded and cannot carry on, unless the event is repeated. Stereotypic accomplishments have natural final points which are plainly perceivable or comprehensible (Smith 1991: 49-55)

2.2.2.4 Semelfactives

Semelfactives are punctual, atelic events such as *knock, cough.* They probably are the simplest event type as they have no preparatory or repercussive phases. Stereotypic semelfactives are events, which happen very quickly, such as *knock at the door, hiccup, flap a wing.* Their only result or outcome is the happening of the event itself (Smith 1991: 55-58).

2.2.2.5 Achievements

Punctual events, which terminate in a change of state, such as *break, reach the top, leave, recognize Aunt Jane* are achievements.

Stereotypic achievements are changes of state, which happen very quickly, such as *find, recognize, break a glass.* The lexical span may concentrate on the consequence of a string of events, as in *reach the top, arrive*; or event itself may be punctual as in *find, lose* (Smith 1991: 58-63).

2.2.3 Viewpoint Aspects

"Aspectual viewpoints function like the lens of a camera, making objects visible
to the receiver. Situations are the objects on which viewpoint lenses are trained.
And just as the camera lens is necessary to make the object available for a
picture, so viewpoints are necessary to make visible the situation talked about in
a sentence…"[9]

Viewpoint makes a situation completely or partially perceptible, without concealing the notional peculiarities of the situation type. Additionally it may provide the sentence with

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[9] Smith 1991: 91.

a precise temporal outlook contributing to the notional connotation. The prime semantic dissimilarity between aspectual viewpoints is in how much of a situation they make perceptible. *Perfective viewpoints* contain both the initial and final points; *imperfective viewpoints* pinpoint on phases, excluding the initial and final points; *neutral viewpoints* contain the initial point and at least one phase of a situation.

The correlation between the viewpoint and the situation type is the crucial concept of the two-component theory of aspect. It precisely demonstrates that the situation type is the locus for the viewpoint, and that information is not concealed by the viewpoint. The two-component theory necessitates every sentence to have a viewpoint, as it is not possible to perceive the situation type information without one. This theoretical necessity has the result that sentences without clearly expressed aspectual morphemes must have an aspectual viewpoint. Neutral viewpoint can be posited as a default for such sentences. The default viewpoints convey fragmentary information, which permits for interpretations that speakers make of such sentences (Smith 1991: 91-93).

2.2.3.1 Perfective Viewpoints

Sentences with a perfective viewpoint demonstrate a situation as a solitary entity including the initial and final points of the situation. Therefore it is informationally closed and cannot be applied to stative situations.

The English perfective viewpoint is frequently described as simple aspect as it is indicated by the simple form of the main verb, whereas the imperfective is indicated by the auxiliary *be + ing*. The perfective and a claim that an event continued are inconsistent, like in the sentences *Lily swam in the pond* (Activity); *Lily coughed* (Semelfactive); *Mrs. Ramsey wrote a letter* (Accomplishment); *Mr. Ramsey reached the lighthouse* (Achievement). The two important points about these sentences are that they demonstrate the events informationally closed, including the initial and final points, and the events are interpreted as terminated or completed depending on the situation type, the former two demonstrating terminated events and the latter two completed events.

As perfective viewpoints canonically contain the initial and final points of a situation, it is not applied to statives by Universal Grammar. However this parameter may vary according to particular languages. For instance in French, perfective viewpoint is compatible with all situation types. The French stative sentence *Marie a vécu à Paris* 'Marie lived in Paris' in *Passé Composé,* which is one of the perfective past tenses of the language is consistent with the French system (Smith 1991: 103-111).

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2.2.3.2 Imperfective Viewpoints

Imperfective viewpoints demonstrate situations partially, excluding the initial and final points. Therefore they are informationally open. The main imperfective viewpoints are the general imperfective and the progressive imperfective. The former is compatible with all situation types, whereas the latter only with non-stative situations.

The French *Imparfait*, which is a past tense with an imperfective value, is a typical example of the general imperfective. The viewpoint is compatible with all situation types with internal phases, as in the sentences *La mer était calme* (State) 'The sea was calm'; *L'enfant leurait* (Activity) 'The child was crying'; *Ils bâtissaient une cabine* (Accomplishment) 'They were building a cabin'[10].

Progressive imperfectives concentrate on the internal phases of non-stative events. Dahl points out that, progressives are inclined to appear in all tenses if a language has tense (1985: 92)[11], while general imperfectives are inclined to be restricted to past tenses. The English sentences *Kelly was singing* (Activity); *Ross was climbing a tree* (Accomplishment); **Bill was knowing the answer* (Stative) demonstrate that activities and accomplishments, which both are events with internal phases are compatible, whereas the state is ungrammatical (Smith 1991: 111-119).

2.2.3.3 Neutral Viewpoints

Smith argues that aspectually vague sentences, which have neither a perfective nor an imperfective morpheme, should be classified as sentences with neutral viewpoint. The neutral viewpoint is a default with specific positive value and it has both pragmatic and theoretical impetus to be posted as such.

Pragmatically, aspectually vague sentences can neither be classified as perfective nor imperfective, as they are more flexible than either viewpoint and allow both close and open readings. The theoretical question is whether aspectually vague sentences should be provided with a new viewpoint, or simply should be said to have no aspectual viewpoint. Smith argues for the second (the more radical view) on two grounds. The span of connotations found for aspectually vague sentences and the theory-internal necessity of perceptibility, indicate that they have a viewpoint, which is open but not unlimited.

Smith rules out the possibility that aspectually vague sentences have one of the standard aspectual values by demonstrating that such sentences may have both perfective and

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[10] The English translations are approximate as the English progressive is the closest translation but it differs slightly from the *Imparfait*.
[11] Reference in Smith 1991: 112.

imperfective readings. Then she rules out the possibility that aspectually vague sentences have no viewpoint aspect and allow free interpretation by demonstrating that certain readings do not arise for such sentences. She suggests that evidence from interpretation strongly supports the idea that there is a specific viewpoint value for sentences without a viewpoint morpheme, which is compatible with the closed and open readings of the perfective and imperfective viewpoints, but is not unlimited. This specific viewpoint is neutral with an informationally open value differing from both the perfective and the imperfective. It is weaker than the perfective as it allows open readings, and stronger than the imperfective as it allows closed readings.

The French *Futur* in the context of a *when*-clause demonstrates situations, which can be taken as open or closed. The sentences *Jean chantera quand Marie entrera dans le bureau* 'Jean will sing when Marie will enter the office'; *Jean dormira quand Marie entrera dans le bureau* 'Jean will sleep when Marie will enter the office' have two interpretations, one open and one closed. The first sentence can be interpreted as Jean will start singing at the time of Marie's entrance with a closed reading, which is inceptive, or as Jean will already be singing when Marie enters with an open reading. Although both are possible, the closed reading is more natural for this sentence, whereas the open reading for the second sentence as Jean is already asleep when Marie enters is more natural (Smith 1991: 119-125).

Comrie classifies aspectual opposition as perfective and imperfective without mentioning neutral viewpoints (1976: 16). He states that while many languages have a single category expressing imperfectivity, some languages subdivide imperfectivity into a number of distinct categories. He diagrams these subdivisions of imperfectivity as follow:

Table 2.1: Classification of Aspect (Comrie 1976: 25, Table I):

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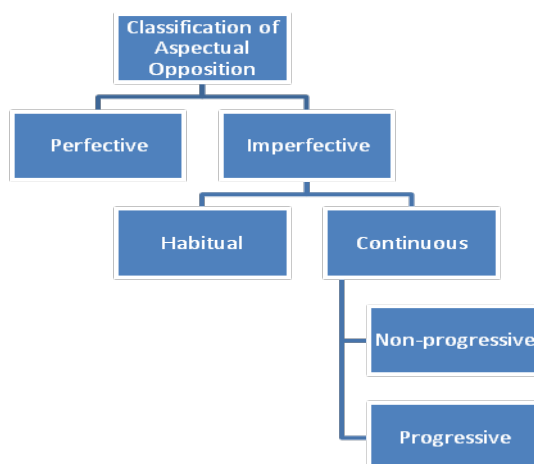
2.2.4 Markedness

The sense instigating the concept of markedness in linguistics exists where there is a contrast between two or more constituents (e.g. perfective versus imperfective). It is frequently a situation when one component of the contrast is considered to be more expected, more conventional or less particular. This member of the contrast is regarded to be unmarked and the others marked. However, it is not always necessary that the situation has an unmarked element and a marked element or elements. In some contrasts all components can be equally marked.

2.2.4.1 Markedness and Semantics

In many occasions, it is possible for the connotation of the unmarked category to incorporate that of its marked equivalent. The most distinct representative case of this is where the conspicuous expression of the connotation of the marked category is always non-compulsory, in other words, where it is always possible to use the unmarked category, even in the case where the marked category would be relevant as well. For instance Italian and Spanish have progressives with very similar meanings to that of English: Italian *sto scrivendo*, Spanish *estoy escribiendo*, English *I am writing*[12]. But, in Spanish and Italian it is possible to use the non-progressive forms *scrivo* and *escribo* instead of the progressive forms and still comprise the progressive connotations; whereas in English to replace *I am writing* with *I write* unavoidably will entail a modification to a non-progressive connotation. In such situations the marked category indicates to the existence of a characteristic, whereas the unmarked category implies nothing about its existence or non-existence[13].

2.3 Mood and Modality

2.3.1 Definitions and Terminology

Another grammatical category closely connected with tense and aspect is modality. Modality deals with the status of the proposition which describes the event, whilst tense is concerned with the time of the event and aspect with the nature of the event (Palmer 2001: 1).

2.3.1.1 Basic Concepts

2.3.1.1.1 Realis and Irrealis

Unlike tense and aspect, modality is not directly relevant to any property of the event, but only to the status of the proposition. A credible proposal to its study is to make a binary

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[12] Examples related with markedness are taken from Comrie 1976.
[13] For detail on markedness see Comrie 1976: 111-122.

contradiction between 'realis' and 'irrealis'[14]. The realis depicts situations as actualized, as having materialized or actually materializing, discernible as a consequence of direct perception; whereas the irrealis describes situations as entirely in the bounds of thought, perceivable only through imagination.

There are dissimilarities in the categories, which are regarded as realis and irrealis, in individual languages as there is substantial variation in the manner which languages deal with grammatical categories in all typological studies. For instance, commands may be marked as irrealis by one language, realis by another, while may not be treated as a part of the system of modality by another. Comparable dissimilarities may apply to the treatment of futures, questions, denials, reports, etc.

To illustrate, English uses a modal verb to distinguish a judgement about a proposition as in *Mary may be at home*[15] or *Mary must be at home* from a categorical statement as in *Mary is at home*; whereas Spanish distinguishes what is believed to be true from what is doubted, by employing the indicative *Creo que aprende* 'I believe that he is learning' and the subjunctive *Dudo que aprenda* 'I doubt that he is learning'. On the other hand in the Papuan language Amele the grammatical labels of realis and irrealis are used to distinguish remote past, today's past, habitual past and present from future, imperative, hortative, counterfactual and negative (Palmer 2001: 1-3).

2.3.1.1.2 The Notion of Assertion

The traditional designations 'the indicative' and 'the subjunctive' used in many European languages to distinguish between the realis and the irrealis are accountable with regards to 'assertion' or 'non-assertion'. Lunn (1995: 430)[16] directly connects the preference of the indicative to assertion and the preference of the subjunctive to non-assertion and puts forward that a proposition is ineligible for assertion for three reasons: (i) the speaker is doubtful about its accuracy: *Dudo que sea buena idea* 'I doubt that's a good idea' (ii) the proposition is unrealized: *Necesito que me devuelvas ese libro* 'I need you to return that book to me' (iii) the proposition is presupposed: *Me alegra que sepas la verdad* 'I am glad that you know the truth'.

This analysis incontrovertibly demonstrates that the preference of the irrealis marker, the subjunctive, is not to distinguish between what is factual and what is not or what is true

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[14] It is possible to set the difference as 'non-modal' and 'modal' or 'declarative' and 'non-declarative' or 'factual' and 'non-factual' or 'real' and 'unreal'. However Palmer considers these terms to be not technical enough to avoid any possible connotations of the more familiar terms (Palmer 2001: 1).

[15] Examples given from now on belong to Palmer unless stated otherwise.

[16] Reference in Palmer 2001: 3.

and what is not, but to distinguish between what is asserted and what is not. This is specifically obvious from the third sentence, which concerns with what is presupposed, for here the proposition ('that you know the truth') is clearly factual. It is known to both the speaker and the addressee. Accordingly it is not factuality, certainty or truth which is under discussion here, but that nothing is being asserted and there is no information value as both the addresser and the addressee accept the proposition (Palmer 2001: 3-4).

2.3.1.2 Two Basic Distinctions

2.3.1.2.1 Mood and Modal Systems

Fundamentally the category of modality is grammatically treated by languages in two manners, which are (i) modal system and (ii) mood. Some languages like German, which has a modal system of modal verbs and mood (indicative and subjunctive), may have both. However, most languages have only one of these implements.

Despite the fact that the distinction of realis / irrealis is considered to be prototypically binary, there are inconsistencies: (i) the imperative and the jussive are not included in the indicative / subjunctive mood system and (ii) where there are realis and irrealis markers, some clauses may be unmarked for this distinction.

Various categories of modality within modal systems are classified within a single system of commuting terms. For instance in English modal verbs are employed to make judgements about the factual status of a proposition as in *Kate may be at home now, Kate must be at home now, Kate will be at home now* denoting speculative (a possible conclusion), deductive (the only possible conclusion) and assumptive (a reasonable conclusion) modalities respectively. In addition to these three types of (irrealis) modality, which are marked by the modal verbs, English has a realis form, the declarative, which has no modal verb: *Kate is at home now*.

Nevertheless there are two patterns which it is difficult to employ this binary system of realis / irrealis. Some languages which have modal systems do not have an unmarked (realis) declarative and some languages have a mood system with realis and irrealis markers in addition to their modal system with a realis / irrealis distinction (Palmer 2001: 4-7).

2.3.1.2.2 Propositional and Event Modality

The fundamental difference between 'propositional modality' and 'event modality' is the presence of an element of will and the absence of an element of will. The former deals with the speaker's perspective to the truth-value or factual status of the proposition, whereas

the latter is concerned with events which are not materialized, events which have not taken place but are nothing more than a potentiality. (i) *It is possible (possible the case) that Kate is at home now, It is necessarily the case that Kate is at home now;* (ii) *It is possible for Kate to come in now, It is necessary for Kate to come in now*: The significant difference between these two pairs of sentences is marked by the words 'that' and 'for'. The first pair is referring to the speaker's judgement of the proposition that Kate is at home, whilst the second pair deals with the speaker's opinion on a forthcoming event (Palmer 2001: 7-8).

2.3.1.3 The Classification of Modality in Modal Systems

2.3.1.3.1 Epistemic and Evidential

The two principal varieties of propositional modality are epistemic and evidential systems. The elemental distinction between these two varieties is that speakers use the epistemic modality to convey their opinion on the factual status of the proposition, whereas they use the evidential modality to demonstrate the evidence they have for its factual status. Therefore the abovementioned three English sentences *Kate may be at home now, Kate must be at home now,* and *Kate will be at home now* are all examples of epistemic modality. But on the contrary the German modal verbs *sollen* and *wollen* are used as evidentials in the sentences *Er soll steinreich sein* 'He is said to be extremely rich' and *Er will eine Mosquito abgeschossen haben* 'He claims to have shot down a Mosquito (plane)'. In both sentences the speaker presents the evidence for the proposition. The former conveys what is reported and the latter what is claimed by the person designated by the subject of the sentence (Palmer 2001: 8-9).

2.3.1.3.2 Deontic and Dynamic

The two main varieties of event modality are deontic and dynamic. Deontic modality is concerned with obligation or permission coming from an external source, whereas dynamic modality refers to ability or willingness, which emanates from the related individual. This contrast can be observed in the sentences *John may/can come in now* (permission), *John must come in now* (obligation) and *John can speak French* (ability), *John will do it for you* (willingness), the first two representing deontic modality and the second two dynamic (Palmer 2001: 9-10).

2.3.1.4 Other Types of Modality

The sub-types of modality described under the previous title (see section 2.3.1.3) are concerned with modal systems. However there are other grammatical categories which are related to modality and mood in particular.

2.3.1.4.1 Presupposed

In section 2.3.1.1.2 it was noted that employing the subjunctive in subordinate clauses, like the Spanish sentence *Me alegra que sepas la verdad* 'I am glad that you know the truth' probably is the most irrefutable manifestation of presupposition, as it is obvious that no assertion is made by the proposition in the subordinate clause. However it is also possible to come across the subjunctive in concessive clauses, marked as irrealis presupposing propositions as it is in the Italian sentence *sia pure come dici tu ma io non vengo* 'It may be as you say, but I am not coming', where the addresser acknowledges the factuality of the proposition.

To a great extend, presupposed resembles the category, which is called by some linguists the factive, with the assertion that *regret, resent*, etc. are factive predicates. Though the designation can be equivocal, since 'to know' is a typical instance of a factive predicate. It does not denote presupposition despite the speaker consents to the factuality of the information and it does not indicate that the addressee equally consents to the factuality (Palmer 2001: 11).

2.3.1.4.2 Negative and Interrogative

Negatives and interrogatives occasionally appear in the bounds of modal systems or are marked as irrealis where mood is marked. Their connection with non-assertive forms like *any* and *yet* has led to their classification as non-assertive in English (Palmer 2001: 11-13).

2.3.1.4.3 Wishes, Fears, etc.

Despite the fact that wishes and fears convey opinions on propositions with unknown factual status or propositions concerning with immaterialized events, their position in the bounds of modality is vague, as they are to some extend deontic and to some extend epistemic. They are generally marked in subordinate clauses as in the Spanish sentence *quiero que estudias más* 'I want you to study more', but they can also be expressed by the subjunctive being used in main clauses as it is in the Latin sentence *modo valeras* 'If only you were well' (Palmer 2001: 13).

2.3.2 Modal Systems: Propositional Modality

2.3.2.1 Epistemic Modality

2.3.2.1.1 The Three Types

Expression of uncertainty, inference from perceivable evidence and inference from general knowledge are three types of conventional judgement in languages. These are distinguished as speculative (or dubitative), deductive and assumptive respectively.

A very few number of languages have a system marking all three categories and English, which employs three modal verbs *may, must* and *will* to mark them, is one of these exceptional languages: *John may be in his office*, *John must be in his office* and *John will be in his office*. In the first sentence the speaker is doubtful if John is in his office, in the second a strong opinion is given, based on evidence, for instance office lights are on, and in the third sentence the judgement is based on general knowledge about John, for instance he always starts at eight, etc. The conclusions drawn from these three judgements respectively are: a possible conclusion, the only possible conclusion, and a reasonable conclusion.

In the English system there are two absolutely accordant contrasts. The first relates to the potency of the conclusion and marks the difference between *may* be and *must* be, that is to say what is epistemically possible and what is epistemically necessary. This designates speculative and deductive. The second concerns with the difference between inference from observation and inference from experience or general knowledge that is to say between deductive and assumptive (Palmer 2001: 24-26).

2.3.2.1.2 Speculative and Deductive

The contrast between speculative and deductive expressed in the sentences *John may be in his office* and *John must be in his office* are propositions concerning with the present. However it is possible to have this contrast in propositions referring to the future as in *John may / must come tomorrow* or, when used with *have* together with the past participle, to the past as in *John may /must have been in his office*.

This contrast is not unique to English and occurs commonly in many other European languages as in the Italian sentences *Puó essere nell ufficio* 'He may be in the office' and *Deve essere nell ufficio* 'He must be in the office' or the Danish sentences *Det kan være sandt* 'That may be true' and *Det må være sandt* 'That must be true' (Palmer 2001: 26-28).

2.3.2.1.3 Deductive and Assumptive

The contrast between deductive and assumptive in English can be seen in the sentences *It's nine o'clock – John will be in his office now* and *Yes, the lights are on, so he must be there*. *Will* can also refer to the future as *may* and *must* but with difficulty to be distinguished from pure future (will be discussed later on) and to the past when used with *have to* (Palmer 2001: 28-31).

2.3.2.2 Evidential Modality

Even though systems with many terms, which are fundamentally evidential, do exist, the two basic evidential categories are reported and sensory[17].

2.3.2.2.1 Reported

Willet (1988: 57, 96)[18] divides reported evidence in three sub-categories: 1) Second-hand evidence: the speaker claims to have heard of the situation described from someone who was a direct witness. 2) Third-hand evidence: the speaker claims to have heard of the situation described, but not from a direct witness. 3) Evidence from folklore: the speaker claims that the situation described is part of established oral history. Possible terms for these three sub-categories might be 'quotative', 'hearsay' and 'folklore' respectively. However there is a big instability in the use of these terms in literature. Furthermore the term 'folklore' can be confusing as the third category more than often pertains to situations, which are considered to be true, not necessarily as a part of folklore or tradition.

Matthews (1965: 99-100)[19] perceives the difference between 'quotative' and 'report'; the former expressing that the speaker considers his utterance to be general knowledge and the latter expressing that the speaker received the information from another source, but has no evidence of its truth value.

In German the distinction between what others say and what the person represented by the subject says is marked with the modal verbs *sollen* and *wollen* respectively: *Der Geschäftsführer sollte schon nach Hause gegangen sein* 'The manager was said to have gone home already', *Er will eine Mosquito abgeschossen haben* 'He claims to have shot down a Mosquito (plane)'. In German also the subjunctive is used for indicating what was said: *Bei seiner Vernehmung berief sich H. auf Notwehr. Er sei mit S. in Streit geraten und habe sich von diesem bedroht gefühl*t 'In the course of his cross-examination, H. pleaded self-defence. He had become involved in a quarrel with S. and felt himself to be threatened by him'. The

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[17] For languages with complex evidential systems see Palmer 2001: 35-39.
[18] Reference in Palmer 2001: 40.
[19] Reference in Palmer 2001: 41.

second sentence is not asserted by the speaker, but is shown to be what was said by H. (Palmer 2001: 40-42).

2.3.2.2.2 Sensory

In sensory the evidence for the situation is through senses. Some languages have one category of sensory, whereas others have sub-categories, of which 'visual' (evidence from seeing) and 'auditory' (evidence from hearing) are the most basic. On the other hand there are three possible distinctions: (i) a single marker (sensory), (ii) a marker for seeing and another for all other senses (visual and non-visual), (iii) markers for seeing and hearing (visual and auditory). Markers for senses other than hearing and seeing are very rare in languages (Palmer 2001: 43-47).

2.3.2.2.3 Direct and Indirect Evidence

In some languages both what is said (report) and what is inferred (deductive) is marked with one marker of modality. For instance in Turkish the indirect experience suffix –*mIş* is used for both propositions. To exemplify, the sentence *Ahmet gelmiş* 'Ahmet came / must have come' may be interpreted either as (a) the speaker sees Ahmet's coat hanging in front hall, but has not yet seen Ahmet (inference), or as (b) the speaker has been told that Ahmet has arrived, but has not yet seen Ahmet.

However, the inferential reading is feasible only where the interpretation is inferred from a state arising from a preceding process, e.g. the coat hanging on the wall resulting from Ahmet's arrival. Therefore for the sentence *Yağmur yağacakmış* 'It is reported that it will rain' only the hearsay interpretation is possible (Palmer 2001: 47-50).

The propositional modality system explained until now is arranged by Willett (1988: 96)[20] in an alternative way, who categorizes the whole system under evidentiality and this can be portrayed as follow:

Table 2.2: Classification of Evidential Modality

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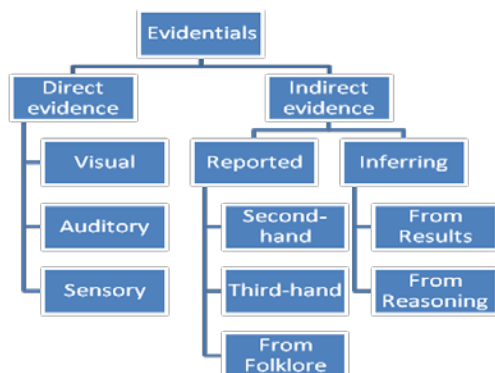
[20] Reference in Palmer 2001: 56. The subsequent diagram is based on Willett's categorization.

2.3.2.3 Interrogative and Negative

Although not frequently, interrogative and negative are occasionally presented as parts of an epistemic modal system and unsurprisingly there are some languages which use the same marker to mark the two propositions since both can be considered to be non-assertive. The English forms *any* and *yet,* already mentioned in section 2.3.1.4.2., are good examples for such situations (Palmer 2001: 52-55).

2.3.3 Modal Systems: Event Modality

2.3.3.1 Deontic Modality

2.3.3.1.1 Directives

Directives are used in situations, which the speaker tries to get others to do things. In English two kinds of directives exist marked by the modal verbs may / can and must, which at the same time are the markers of the epistemic speculative and deductive. E.g. *you may / can go now*, *you must go now*. These two types of directives can be distinguished as permissive and obligative respectively. Similarly many other European languages, for instance like German and Italian, have parallel pairs of verbs such as in the sentences *Du magst herein kommen* 'You can / may come in', *Du must herein kommen* 'You must come in' and *Puó entrare* 'You may come in', *Deve entrare* 'You must come in' (Palmer 2001: 70-72).

2.3.3.1.2 Commissive

Commissives are situations which the speaker commits himself to do things and they are expressed in English by the modal verb *shall*. Generally they appear either to be promises or threats. The only difference between these two is weather the action undertaken by the speaker is received by the addressee with pleasure or not. In the sentences *John shall have the book tomorrow* and *You shall do as you are told*, the speaker commits himself to guarantee that John receives the book and that the addressee does what is demanded. *Shall* is also used for future time reference in English, but it occurs only with first person subjects under this function (Palmer 2001: 72-73).

2.3.3.1.3 Subjectivity

Despite the fact that deontic modals are frequently employed for expressing permission and obligation issued by the speaker, they are not exclusively subjective in this sense. For instance, in the sentences *You can smoke in here* and *You must take your shoes off when you enter the temple* the speaker may not have any involvement. On the other hand,

usually it is implied that the permission or obligation is agreed by the speaker. It is relevant that there is an alternative form to *must* for obligation in English, which is *have to* indicating that the speaker takes no responsibility for the obligation. This contrast can be observed in the sentences *You must come and see me tomorrow* and *You have to come and see me tomorrow* where the former could be no more than a suggestion or an invitation and the latter suggests that there is some compelling reason independent of the speaker (Palmer 2001: 75).

2.3.3.2 Dynamic Modality

2.3.3.2.1 Ability and Willingness

The two types of dynamic modality are the abilitive and the volitive, expressing ability and willingness respectively. English uses the modal verbs *can* and *will* to mark these modalities: My destiny is in my control. *I can make or break my life myself* and *Why don't you go and see if Martin will let you stay?* As it is seen these verbs are verbs which are also used for other types of modality.

The distinction between permission and ability is not marked in many languages. However, the distinction in English is very obvious since *may* cannot be used to indicate ability and on the other hand dynamic *can* include circumstances affecting the person involved as well as referring to physical and mental powers: *He can run a mile in under four minutes* (ability), *He can escape* (there is nothing to stop him).

As it is already mentioned *will* in English is used as a volitive, expressing willingness, in addition to as an assumptive indicating future: *Why don't you go and see if Martin will let you stay?*, *She loves him and won't leave him*, *Will you stand by the anchor*? The formal difference between future *will* and volitive *will* is that only the latter can be used in the protasis (*If-* clause) of a conditional sentence: Compare *It'll rain tomorrow → If it rains tomorrow* with *John will help you → If Jon will help you* (Palmer 2001: 76-79).

2.3.3.2.2 Imperative and Jussive

The majority of languages have a distinct form, which is called imperative. In languages like English, where modal verbs are used for marking the modal system, the imperative is almost entirely unconnected to the modal system. For instance English uses the form of the verb to mark the imperative as in: *Come here*.

Nevertheless, the imperative is closely linked with deontic modals hypothetically, as it is irrefutably directive and generally used for giving a command. However it differs from modal verbs at two points. Primarily in addition to commands it can be used for giving

permission and advice as in *Come in!* and *Don't worry about it*. The first sentence can be interpreted either as *You may come in* or *You must come in*. Secondly, the imperative is performative and subjective as the command is given by the speaker actually in the act of speaking and unlike the directives cannot occur in a subordinate clause. Compare: *You must come home → I said that she must come home. Come in → * I said that come in.*

The first and third person imperatives are called jussives as it is argued that imperatives can only be, strictly, second person (Palmer 2001: 80-82).

2.3.4 Modal Systems and Modal Verbs

2.3.4.1 Modal Systems

2.3.4.1.1 Formal Identity of Different Systems

Epistemic modality and deontic / dynamic modality, hypothetically don't seem to have much in common, as the former relates to the speaker's attitude to the truth value of a proposition, whereas the latter is concerned with events, which are not actualized. However, in some languages like English, the same forms are used for both types. For instance the sentences *He may come tomorrow*, *The book should be on the shelf* and *He must be in his office* can all be interpreted either epistemically or deontically.

Usually there are slight distinctions in the forms, where same verbs are used for marking different types of modality. These distinctions indicate that the types are grammatically and hypothetically non-identical, but do not clarify why the forms are fundamentally the same (Palmer 2001: 86-89).

2.3.4.1.2 Possibility and Necessity

In terms of possibility and necessity there is an explanation for why the same forms are used in different types of modality. It is feasible to understand the epistemic speculative and deductive as what is epistemically possible and what is epistemically necessary: *John may be in his office* 'It is epistemically possible that John is in his office'. *John must be in his office* 'It is epistemically necessary that John is in his office'. Likewise, it is possible to understand deontic permissive and obligative as what is deontically possible and deontically necessary: *You may / can go now* 'It is deontically possible for you to go now'. *You must go now* 'It is deontically necessary for you to go now' (Palmer 2001: 89-90).

2.3.4.1.3 Possibility, Necessity and Negation

A modal expression can be negated in two ways as it is in the following English epistemic possibility: *Mary may be at school → Mary may not be at school* or *Mary can't be*

at school. It is simple to demonstrate the dissimilarity between the two kinds of negation in terms of possibility and necessity. One can be interpreted as 'possible not' and the other as 'not possible'. In the former one the proposition is negated and in the latter the modality.

It is possible to make a comparable contrast between 'necessary not' and 'not necessary'. However there are no parallel forms of *must*, which are used for the negation of epistemic necessity. The only options are: *John must be in his office* (necessary) → *John can't be in his office* (necessary not). *John may not be in his office* (not necessary). It is promptly perceptible that these forms of negation are the same as those used for epistemic possibility, but in the reverse order. The explanation of this is the logical fact that 'not possible' is parallel to 'necessary not' and, contrarily 'not necessary' is parallel to 'possible not' (Palmer 2001: 90-98).

2.3.4.2 Modal Verbs

It is possible to mark all four kinds of principal kinds of modality (judgements, evidentials, deontic and dynamic) with modal verbs. English has a well defined set of modal verbs. They are *may, can, must, ought to, will* and, *shall* and marginally, *need* and *dare*. German parallels of these verbs are: *können, dürfen, müssen, mögen, sollen* and, *wollen*. They are obvious cognates of the English ones and are used both epistemically and deontically. The epistemic *may* is translated by either *können* or *mögen*, the deontic *may* either by *können* or *dürfen*, whereas both epistemic and deontic *must* are translated by *müssen*.

French verbs *pouvoir* and *devoir*, Italian *potere* and *dovere*, Spanish *poder* and *deber* are Romance parallels of these verbs (Palmer 2001: 100-103).

2.2.4.3 Modal Systems and other Categories

2.3.4.3.1 Mood

Despite the fact that most languages either have mood or a modal system, some have both. This co-existence occurs in two possible ways. Firstly, in a small number of languages, which have a mood system with realis and irrealis markers, it is possible for the categories connected with irrealis to devise a modal system.

Secondly, the Romance languages have a mood system, marked by indicative and subjunctive, but also have a set of modal verbs. However the modal verbs have not been fully grammaticalized, and in French and Italian, the subjunctive seems to be disappearing. Furthermore, in English, the emergence of the modal system of modal verbs has coincided with the vanishing of the Anglo-Saxon mood. Therefore it is reasonable to propose that the

two are not likely to co-exist or if they do, one will replace the other in time (Palmer 2001: 104).

2.3.4.3.2 Future

Despite the fact that *will* and *shall* are modal verbs, they are frequently used with future time reference and are dealt with by traditional grammar books as future tense markers. Nevertheless, it is tenable to assert that English does not have a future tense since they do not often denote pure futurity, but are connected with conditional futures. Actually *be going to* is a more appropriate possibility for the future tense in English.

It is quite natural that modal verbs should have future time reference as the future is not entirely known and it is consistently no more than a logical assumption that a future event will follow. Even languages, which have future tenses as part of an inflectional system rather than modal, frequently, use these tenses with similar intentions. For instance in French and Italian the future tense is used in an assumptive denotation like English *will*: *Ça sera le facteur* 'That will be the postman' (epistemic), *Suonano sarà Ugo* 'The bell's gone; it will be Ugo' (Palmer 2001: 104-106).

2.4 The Turkic Tense, Aspect, Modality and Mood System

Unlike the Indo-European Languages, which Comrie, Smith and Palmer have mainly based their theories upon, the tense, aspect; modality and mood systems of the Turkic Languages are not operated by employing modal verbs, but are mainly produced by finite forms. It should be taken into consideration that this structural difference would require a different categorization of the tense, aspect, mood and modality system and perhaps a different terminology than that of the Indo-European Languages, which is done for Turkish by Göksel & Kerslake.

There is quite a few numbers of past tenses, predominantly more than one present tense and more than frequently ingenuine future implicators in modern Turkic languages. Their aspecto-temporal systems are rather complicated with a number of aspect or viewpoint markers offering various ways of visualization of events with regards to their initial and terminal limits as intraterminals, post-terminals and terminals.

With presents and imperfects, which are intraterminals, the event is visualized after its commencement and before its termination, i.e. within its limits. Some as in Uzbek *keläyåtir* '(S)he is just coming', Noghay *barayatïr* '(S)he is just going', Kazakh *žazip otïr*, Uyghur *yezivatidu* '(S)he is writing', Turkish *okumaktayım*, Kirghiz *oqūdamïn* 'I am reading' are

more focal, concentrating more on what is occurring concurrently with the time of speech, and are similar to English progressives. On the other hand less focal usages are employed for events envisaged as progressing within a broader time-period, for prolonged, habitual or general events as in Bashkir *ěšley* '(S)he works', Nohgay *baradï* '(S)he goes', Tatar *yaza*, Uyghur *yazidu* '(S)he writes', Uzbek *bilämän* 'I know', Kazakh *Ol ïlÿïy şay işedi* '(S)he always drinks tea', *qus uşadï* 'A/the bird flies'. Parallel past forms like focal imperfects also exist as in Turkmen *iyyerdim* 'I was just eating', Azeri *alïrdï* (< *alïr idi*) '(S)he was taking, took', Kumyk *bara edim* 'I was going, went', Chuvash *śïrattăm* 'I was writing'. Some of the languages have exceptional habitual past forms as Kazakh *baratïn* '(S)he used to go', Kirghiz *oqūçumun*, Khakas *xï   γ*I used to *ïe*ad'.   *jaŋmïn*

With post-terminal forms like the perfects the event is visualized after it has been fulfilled. These perfects may vary with respect to their focality. More focal forms as in Turkish *ölmüş bulunuyor* (is in the state of having died) '(S)he has just died' are stative or resultative concentrating on the orientation point. Less focal forms as in Uzbek *yåzγän* '(S)he has written', Kumyk *barγan* '(S)he has gone', Uyghur *Bu kitapni men oquγan* 'I have once read this book', are similar to English perfects and indicate present relevance of past events. Also pluperfect forms, denoting a post terminal aspect in the past, exist as in Azeri *yazmïşdïğ* (< *yazmïş idik*) 'We had written', Kumyk *barγan edim* 'I had gone'. Additionally there are special negative forms used for marking categorical pasts as in Uzbek *yåzγänim yoq* (there has not been any writing of mine) 'I have not written at all', Kazakh *körgenim žoq*, Bashkir *kürgeněm yoq* 'I have not seen it', Turkmen *bilemōq* 'I do not know at all' and forms used for denoting that an event has not yet occurred as in Kirghiz *kelelek* '(S)he has not come yet', Yakut *bara ilik* '(S)he has not gone yet'.

All Turkic languages have a simple past as a terminal form envisaging the event directly and as a whole indicating that it is accomplished as in Uzbek *yåzdim*, Chuvash *śïrtăm* 'I wrote'.

Modal connotations related to the attitude of the speaker are also transmitted by means of verbal suffixes. Imperatives are used for various levels of politeness. Optatives are used for marking the voluntative modality and are frequently used for establishing purpose clauses. Optatives additionally are closely associated with imperatives and conditionals, and occasionally are used with similar purposes. Necessitative or obligative forms like –*mAK*, -*(y)AsI*, -*mAlI* etc. as in Kirghiz *cönömökpüz* 'We must set out', Tatar *barasïbïz* 'We must go', Azeri *gelmeliyem* 'I ought to come' and intentional forms like –*mAKçi* as in Uzbek *Meni körmäkçi* '(S)he will / intends to see me', Uyghur *Men yazmaqçimen* 'I am going to write'.

The so-called aorist in -(V)r is another verbal marker generally used modally denoting disposition, inclination, prospectivity as in Tatar *kiler* (S)he may / will come', Chuvash *śïrtap* 'I will write'. There are also more specific future forms as in Tatar *kileçek*, Turkish *gelecek* '(S)he will come'.

Other typical finite forms shared by the Turkic languages are indirective categories and evidential categories, which are used for qualifying the experience in question. Indirective expressions refer to the conclusion of an occurrence in an indirect way. The information conveyed by indirective forms is either received through hearsay, inferred from results or may be consequence of direct experience. The way of marking this epistemic modality varies across languages but are mostly expressed by post-terminals such as –*mIş* and –*(V)ptIr* as in Turkish *Ali gelmiş* 'Ali has (reportedly, apparently, obviously) come', Uzbek *yåziptilär* 'They appear to have written', Uyghur *yeziptu* '(S)he appears to have written', Kazakh *barïptï*, Altay *barïptur*, Yakut *barbït* '(S)he appears to have gone'. In addition to these verbal past tense particles, indirective forms are also established by indirective copula particles *imiş*, *èken*, which are temporally neutral as in Turkish *Ali geliyormuş* 'Ali is / was (reportedly, apparently, obviously) coming'. This relatively high number of simple and compound tense, aspect, mood-modality forms are almost not standardised in grammatical literature (Johanson 1998: 43-45).

Johanson (2002: 97-105) has clearly put forth that Turkic grammatical categories in general and the tense, aspect, mood and modality system in particular have been subjects of language contact and code-copying. The Turkic tense, aspect, mood and modality system appears to be both the donor and the receiver component in language contacts. For instance the Tajik tense, aspect, mood and modality system has been transformed to the point to duplicate almost the whole Uzbek verb system. Likewise Georgian, Kurdish, West Armenian, Persian and perhaps Bulgarian[21] have developed Turkic-like indirective forms with influence of Turkish. Again Central Anatolian dialects of Modern Greek have developed a Turkic-style pluperfect resulting from Turkish influence. On the other hand the Qashqai tense, aspect, mood and modality system displays a remarkable example to a Turkic variety under foreign influence. The Qashqai verbal system appears to be a one to one copy of that of Persian. Similarly the post terminal- indirect finite form –*miş* has diminished in the speech of second generation Turks in Germany since the German verbal system lacks an equivalent category. These cases, which easily could be increased, display that the area of tense, aspect, mood and

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[21] It is not clear whether the Bulgarian indirective forms derive from strong early Turkic substratum influence or are adoption from Ottoman in the course of long and intense contact.

modality is an area worth looking at in order to detect contact induced changes in Turkic varieties. The latter situation in particular sets an important example for the scope of this thesis as it will be touched on later that a very similar situation exists in the Turkish Dialects of Cyprus.

It was mentioned earlier that the tense, aspect, mood-modality forms of Turkic are almost not standardised in grammatical literature. Therefore it would be useful to touch on the history of Turkish grammar-writing and the treatment of tense, aspect, mood-modality in Turkish grammars.

2.5 Turkish Grammar-Writing

The first known Turkic grammar to be written is in the second half of the 11th century by Mahmud al-Kashghari during the Karakhanid period. Despite this almost a thousand years history of grammar-writing, Turkish grammar-writing lacks a native tradition. Unfortunately Kashghari's grammar named *Kitâbu Cevâhirü'n-Nahv fî Lûgati't-Türk* has not survived. However it is not hard to surmise that this work was probably based on the grammar-writing system of Arabic (Versteegh 1997: 166-172), when Kashghari's surviving work *Divânü Lûgati-t'Türk* (Cf. Dankoff - Kelly 1982-1985 or Erdi – Yurteser 2005) and his aim to teach Turkish to Arabs is taken into consideration[22]. But still the latter is taken to be

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[22] It would not be wrong to infer that Kashghari wrote his grammar based on Arabic grammar-writing even if we did not have his second work in hand. The Turkic intellectual of the period did not have many choices. There is no record of an earlier original Turkic grammar. Therefore either he had to pattern his work on the written traditions of the autochthonous Indo-European Languages, which many were extinct by then, or on Arabic, which was the *lingua sacra* of the period being the language of the Koran. Historical course had shown that the latter alternative was preferred as Turkish grammars were written under the influence of the Arabic grammar-writing until the Modern Times. However, one should bear in mind that there is always the possibility of an earlier Turkic grammar based on different traditions as there is an immense amount of Turkic Literature pre-dating the Qarakhanid Period written under the influence of autochthonous Indo-European Languages and Chinese or Tibetan and our knowledge on Tibetan and Chinese dictionaries and grammars of Turkish is not enough. We know from both Turkic and foreign sources that there were many Turkic and non-Turkic intellectuals bilingual in Turkic of the period and these languages. In fact more than a few alphabets were used for writing Turkic languages borrowed from the languages under consideration. Another important question that should be answered would be the purpose of a Turkic intellectual of the period in writing a grammar. In Arabic the motivation was religious. Arabic grammars were needed in order to be able to understand the Koran more clearly. In Persian the motivation was probably artistic. Persian grammars and rhyming dictionaries were needed for poetry. In Turkic the motivation seems to be political or bureaucratic. Kashghari in his Divan clearly states that he produced his work to be able to teach Turkish to Muslims, who were speakers of other languages. He legitimated his aim by quoting the hadith, which translates as "Learn the language of the Turks as their reign will be long" (Erdi & Yurteser 2005: 11). As it is seen his aim clearly was to teach the language of the rulers to the ruled ones. It can be seen that the aim was not much different during the Mameluk period, when a great amount of Turkic grammars and dictionaries were produced. The motivation again had been to

the foundation stone of comparative[23] Turkic grammar writing. Zemahsheri's *Mukaddimetü'l-Edeb*[24] (Cf. Yüce 1993) in the 11th-12th century from the Khwarezm Area and Abu Khayyan's *Kitâbu'l-Idrâk Li Lisâni'l Etrak*[25] (Cf. Caferoğlu 1931) written in Egyptian Kipchak during the 15th century provide us with information on the Turkish / Turkic of their period in addition to their lexical contribution. *Et-Tuhfetü'z-Zekiyye Fi'l-Lûgat-it-Türkiyye*[26] (Cf. Atalay 1945) and *El-Kavânînü'l-Külliyye li-Lûgati Zabiti't-Türkiyye*[27] (Cf. Toparlı et al 1999) can also be added to the latter two. Kadri of Pergamum's *Müyessiretü'l-ulûm*[28] (Cf. Atalay 1946 or Karabacak 2002) from the 16th century is the first

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teach the language of the ruling Turkic Mamluks to the local Arabic-speakers or to learn the language of the masters (Pritsak 1959: 74, Caferoğlu 1964: 190, Demirci 2003: 54).

[23] The term "comparative" is used here as Kashghari's work is the first known work to provide us with examples from the different Turkic Languages or Turkish Dialects, as he puts it, of the period. However, it should be born in mind that Kashghari's work is based on lexicology rather than syntax and semantics.

[24] It is assumed that Zemahsheri wrote *Mukaddimetü'l-Edeb* sometime between 1128-1144 as he died in 1144 and Atsiz, whom he dedicated his book to, was on the Khwarezmshah throne between 1127-1156. This work is prepared for the learners of Arabic. It is in the form of a simple dictionary composed of lexical material and simple sentences. Zemahsheri's original copy is not present today. There are many later copies with interlinear translations in Khwarezmian Turkic, Persian, Khwarezmian, Mongolian, Chagatai Turkic and even Ottoman Turkish. The oldest known copies are with translations in Persian and Khwarezmian Turkic (Yüce 1993: 7-8).

[25] Abu Khayyan completed *Kitâbu'l-Idrâk Li Lisâni'l Etrak* in 1312 in Cairo. The original copy is missing, but three later copies exist in Istanbul. The earliest copy dates to 1335. This work, which is composed of morphology, syntax and dictionary was produced in order to teach Turkish to the speakers of Arabic (Demirci 2003: 54) and is organised according to Arabic grammar and lexicology system. Therefore vowels, which are much more important in the phonological system of Turkish when compared to Arabic, are neglected. Some Turkish roots and suffixes are written by only using consonants. Turkic elements in the work are classified as Turkish and Turkmen, the former meaning Kipchak Turkic and the latter Oghuz Turkic (Mansuroğlu 1993: 31a-b).

[26] The author of *Et-Tuhfetü'z-Zekiyye Fi'l-Lûgat-it-Türkiyye* is unknown. It is believed to be written sometime before 1425 in Egypt. The only copy of the work, which is a manuscript, is in Istanbul. It Is composed of two sections. It consists of a grammar of Kipchak Turkic and a dictionary (Demirci 2003: 55).

[27] *El-Kavânînü'l-Külliyye li-Lûgati Zabiti't-Türkiyye*, which is another anonymous work, is a Turkish grammar written in Arabic at the beginning of the 15th century. The only known copy of the work is in Istanbul and the dictionary part is missing (Demirci 2003: 56). It includes many subjects contrary to the structure of the Turkish language as it is organised from the point of view of Arabic grammar-writing (Toparlı et al. 1999: IV).

[28] Kadri of Pergamum completed his *Müyessiretü'l-ulûm* in around 1530-1531 and dedicated it to Suleiman the Magnificent's grand vizier Ibrahim Pasha. It is written in Turkish and includes two chapters apart from an introduction. In the introduction the author states the shortage of similar works up to that date as his reason for writing this book. In the first chapter the 'word' concept is defined and word types are classified as *nouns*, *verbs* and *particles*. In the second chapter different types of nouns, verbs and particles are defined as well as other grammatical categories like pronouns, adverbs and complements. At the end of the second chapter grammar rules are shown on text (Karabacak 2002: VIII-IX; Güner 2002/03: 151-166). Kadri in his work states that the reason for writing his work is to help the Turks to understand their language in a better way as it is easier for people to understand their own native language. He also states that it is easier for people to learn other languages if they are able to compare it to their own (Karabacak 2002: 5-6).

known and surviving Turkish grammar written in the Anatolian surroundings. (Eraslan 1995: 8).

In the 17th century works written in Latin, like A. du Ryer's *Rudimenta Garmmaticer Turcicae* (Paris 1630) and H. Meyiser's *Instutionum Linguae Turcicae Libri Quatuor* (Leipzig 1612) are significant works as they are among the earliest grammar books on Turkish (İdben 1999: XV). In the 18th century, missionary Meninski's *Lexicon Turcico-Arabico-Persicum* (Vienna 1780) and Viguer's *Elements de la Langue Turque* (Istanbul 1790), which are dictionaries, are also important as they again provide us with valuable morphological and phonological information on Ottoman Turkish (Eraslan 1995: 8). Transcription texts should also be mentioned among important sources on the grammatical development of the Ottoman Turkish. Additionally there is a good deal of Turkish grammars, of which a full list is given in Deny 1959 (223-226), written in German, French, Greek and Italian in the 19th Century and early 20th Century.

In a number of grammars written in the Ottoman Empire from the 19th Century on, attempts continued to fit Turkish into templates produced by the Arabic grammar-writing tradition (Akar 2006: 296). As a matter of course this was causing some difficulties in topics related to syntax in particular. The first comprehensive Turkish grammar written with a Western methodology is Jean Deny's *Grammaire de la Langue Turque* (1921). This work was modelled on French grammar-writing system and was translated into Turkish in 1941 by Ali Ulvi Elöve. There has been a great improvement in Turkish grammar-writing during the Republican Period. Tahsin Banguoğlu produced *Ana Hatları ile Türk Grameri* in 1940. Ahmet Cevad Emre's *Türk Dilbilgisi* followed in 1945 and Muharrem Ergin's *Türk Dilbilgisi* in 1962. Kaya Bilgegil prepared *Türkçe Dilbilgisi* in 1963, Tahir Nejat Gencan *Dilbilgisi* in 1971, Tahsin Banguoğlu *Türkçe'nin Grameri* in 1974 and Hikmet Dizdaroğlu *Tümce Bilgisi* in 1976. Muharrem Ergin's *Türk Dilbilgisi* and Tahsin Banguoğlu's

Türkçe'nin Grameri have become significant works in Turkish grammar-writing tradition because of their scientific methodology in showing the contemporary structure of the Turkish language. Banguoğlu's work, which has a modern approach, is based on contemporary French linguistics. On the other hand Ergin's work has a quite traditional approximation, mostly dealing with phonology and morphology. However, the shared characteristic of all these works, perhaps except Emre's work (Göksel – Kerslake 2005: xxix) is the fact that they all are written in a descriptive manner leaving out certain topics like aspect and modality completely or partially (Eraslan 1995: 8-9).

2.5.1 Treatment of Tense – Aspect – Mood in Main Turkish Grammars

The classification of Turkish finite forms has always been a matter of terminological confusion as grammarians and linguists from various scientific schools have used different technical terms for identifying same concepts and in some cases different terms for identifying related or even unrelated concepts. For instance Banguoğlu (1974: 457-473) uses the term *kip* 'mood' to define both tense and mood as it is in *geçmiş kipleri* 'past tense moods', *gelecek kipleri* 'future tense moods' and *istek kipleri* 'optative moods', *gereklilik kipleri* 'necessitative moods' or *buyuru kipi* 'imperative mood', whereas he uses the term *zaman kipleri* 'time moods' exclusively for tenses as in *geçmiş zaman kipleri* 'past tense moods' and *şimdiki zaman kipleri* 'present tense moods'. Gencan (1966: 305-331) follows a similar terminology with the only difference that he restricts the term *kip* to mood. On the other hand Emre (1945: 451-52) and Ergin (1962: 273) draw a firm line between tense and mood by defining the former as *zaman* and the latter as *kip*. However, Emre (1945: 456) complicates the matter later on in his work by defining finite forms and infinite forms of the verb as *bitimli kipler* and *bitimsiz kipler* respectively[29]. The matter is complicated further as a result of various categorizations proposed by different scholars regarding the tense-aspect-

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[29] It is worthwhile noting that Korkmaz (1992) translates *kip* into English as 'mood' or 'mode' (p. 103) and *zaman* as 'time' (p. 177).

mood / modality system of the language[30]. Some divided the tense system of Turkish into two subcategories as absolute tenses and relative tenses, whereas some contemplated the latter under the domain of aspect. Additionally some grammarians like Ergin, Banguoğlu deliberate the tense system of Turkish as tripartite, i.e. past, present, future, while others like Yavaş (1980)[31] consider it binary, i.e. past - non-past, with the influence of the linguistic approach regarding future as a modal concept rather than a temporal one[32].

However, in spite of this confusion, traditional grammar books agree in general that Turkish has three tenses and five moods as the indicative, the conditional, the optative, the necessitative and the imperative, presenting the three tenses under the indicative mood.

Another area in which traditional grammar books are in agreement with is the absence of sections dealing with the aspect and modality systems of the Turkish language. Lewis (1967) and Ergin (1972) omitted the subject all together. Gencan (1966), who also does not accommodate the subject under a separate topic, touches on to aspect and modality without specifically mentioning them in the section *Eylem Kiplerinde Anlam Kayması* "Semantic Transfer in Moods" (pp. 245-247). However, he contributes to the confusion by referring to the main tenses of Turkish as "present tense mood, future tense mood etc.". Banguoğlu (1940: 442-43) categorises the main tenses of Turkish under a subcategory, which he refers to as 'real tense moods' and to the moods under a subcategory, which he refers to as 'injunctive moods". He further complicates the subject by mentioning four modes, i.e. the indicative mode, the perfective mode, the narrative mode and the conditional

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[30] See Lewis 1967, Underhill 1993, Banguoğlu 1974, Ergin 1972, Gencan 1966, Özel-Atabay 1976, Aksu-Koç 1988.

[31] As a result of the element of prediction and correlated modal notion, which are included in future, it is possible to consider future outside the domains of tense and in that of modality (Lyons 1977: 677). In line with this approach Yavaş (1980: 166) states that "past tense is marked with -DI; non-past tense has no morphological marking. What is regarded as future tense in Turkish is best analyzed within the category of modality; the form -(y)EcEk is the marker of presumptive modality and, as such, it is used in making presumptive statements about non-future events as well as making predictions about future happenings".

[32] The temporal distinction in many languages is made between past and non-past or future and non-future producing a binary tense system. For a detailed description of and a discussion on binary tense systems see Comrie 1985: 43-50.

mode, which appear to be a mixture of aspect, modality and mood. He uses the latter three for defining compound tenses and the former for simple tenses[33]. This confusing and defective situation in the Turkish grammars has urged Dilaçar[34] (1974: 165) to invite Turkish grammarians to include this subject not only in grammar books but in course books as well. He draws attention to two terms. These are *görünüş* and *kılınış*. He defines aspect as *görünüş* and event / state distinction as *kılınış*, noting that he felt obliged to introduce these two concepts after the publication of Johanson 1971 (Dilaçar 1974:159). He adds that it is not possible to find these concepts in the works of Turkish grammarians from both the imperial and republican periods (Dilaçar 1974: 165). The fact that Turkish grammarians did not touch on these subjects at all is a question worth tackling. In his article Dilaçar (1974: 160) states that these two concepts were developed into terminological forms by German and Swedish linguists. Therefore they have Indo-European roots and most probably the answer of the question lies under this fact. It was mentioned before that early Turkish grammarians spent a great effort to categorise Turkish grammar with the methodology of the Arabic grammar-writing tradition. It is possible to observe this influence even in works as late as Banguoğlu 1974. The "modern" face of this work, which is taken to be one of the most important pieces of Turkish grammar-writing, is maintained by the French translations of the Turkish terminology given in brackets. However, the classification of the finite forms is rather traditional. Often the old terminology as in *şuhudî mazi, naklî mazi* are given.

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[33] Banguoğlu (1940:411-19) entangles the situation even further by defining the subcategories of voice as aspect; i.e. he defines the causative, negative, reciprocal etc. forms of a verb as the aspects of the verb. For the definition of Trk. Çatı, Ger. Diathesis, Fr. Voix, Eng. Voice see Korkmaz 1992: 35.

[34] Our earliest information on Agop Dilaçar's (then known as A. Martayan) occupation with the Turkish language is during the First World War, when he was teaching Turkish to the allied officers as a Turkish lieutenant. After 1922 he moved to Sofia becoming a lecturer of ancient oriental languages at the Svaboden University. He participated in the First General Meeting of the Turkish Language in Istanbul in 1932. After the First General Meeting he settled in Istanbul becoming a lecturer at the University of Istanbul. After the Second General Meeting in 1934 he was appointed by Kemal Ataturk as the chief expert of the Turkish Language Society. Additionally in 1936 he became a lecturer at the Faculty of Language and History-Geography at the Ankara University. He also became a consultant to the *Türk Ansiklopedisi* 'The Turkish Encyclopaedia' in 1942. In 1950 he left his job at the university and became the chief consultant of the encyclopaedia in 1956. In 1958 he became the chief editor. He produced many books on the Turkish Language and linguistics in general until the year 1979, when he died at the age of 84. For detailed information on the live and works of Dilaçar see Türkay 1982.

Moreover as it was touched on previously main tenses are classified under the category of mood. There is a great possibility that this traditionalism has hindered the development of concepts like aspect and modality.

Eventually Dilaçar's call was answered in 2005 and this gap was filled with the publication of Göksel & Kerslake 2005. Despite the fact that works on the fragments of aspect and modality systems of Turkish are present in many scientific journals and monographs, Göksel & Kerslake 2005 is the first work to include the whole system in a designated chapter.

CHAPTER III: Tense, Aspect and Modality System of Modern Standard Turkish

3.1 General Situation in Modern Standard Turkish

The complicated situation of the classification of finite forms in Turkish grammars was mentioned earlier (see section 2.5.1). If Turkish grammars and other works done on the tense, aspect, mood – modality system of MST is looked into in detail, it is seen that these classifications are generally mood based and usually do not mention aspect at all in addition to their complicated state.

Emre (1945: 451) uses the terms tense (*zaman*) and mood (*kip*) conjointly. He explains mood as forms produced by the human mind, which are results of different considerations of an affirmatively, negatively or interrogatively expressed verb. Suffixes are linguistic tools used for expressing these moods. He subcategorizes tenses under the indicative mood and explains them as forms used for actions / inactions or activities / 'inactivities', which are known for sure by the speaker. He describes rest of the moods as forms of verbs which, express suppositions, requests or inferences.

Ergin (1984: 133; first published in 1956) describes *kip* 'mood' or *şekil* 'form' as the grammatical category, which indicates the performance manner of the action expressed by the verb root or base. For this category, verb roots and bases enter some patterns called mood or form. The only function of the mood category is not to indicate mood or form, but some of them express time as well. That is to say moods mark the category of tense as well as the category of mood. The suffixes, which are added on verbs to construct moods and forms, are called the mood and form suffixes of the verbs. Thus the category of mood is marked by the inflected forms of verb roots and bases. The inflectional suffixes forming this category are the mood or form suffixes. Therefore a group of the suffixes used in verbal inflection are the mood or from suffixes. Ergin (1984: 134) adds that the category of tense is not a category on itself but a sub-category of mood since the suffixes marking tense are also

mood suffixes. Therefore tense system is not an independent system but a part of the mood system.

Dizdaroğlu (1963:8) mentions three elements in a verb, which are activity, tense and person. He names the combination of these three elements as mood (*kip*) and explains it as the activities, ways of formation, situations, and forms related to time of verbs.

It was touched on earlier that Gencan (1966: 305-331) uses the term mood (*kip*) to classify both mood and tense. He explains the term as the each one of the forms, which verbs enter by receiving suffixes with specific temporal and semantic characteristics and mentions moods like past tense mood, present tense mood, optative mood etc. Again it was touched on earlier (see page 44) that Gencan refers to the categories of aspect and modality but fails to name these categories as so. Instead he treats these subjects under the topic of "Semantic Transfer in Moods".

It was touched on earlier that Dilaçar wrote his article calling for grammarians to include aspect after the publication of Johanson 1971 (see page 45). Johanson, who states that aspect is a grammatical category related to the finite forms of verbs, also states that mood suffixes are used with functions other than their principal ones. This usage is connected with the special meaning loaded to the structure by the speaker; therefore subjectivity is in question in aspect (Johanson 1971: 46). The concept of aspect is based on the initial point, the final point or the duration of an event. In other words, in aspect focusing on one of the stages of the process of realization of an event is in question. It is possible that the same event could be viewed in a different way by different people, i.e. the view of every person could focus on any one of the mentioned points. On that sense aspect differs from aktionsart (manner of action), which is objective and does not differ from person to person. Every verb has an aktionsart by itself and is known collectively by the speakers of the language. He classifies verb bases as initial-transformatives, final-transformatives and non-

transformatives depending on their aktionsart (Johanson 1994: 249). Johanson also states that the human perception principally has two types of aspect. These are intraterminality and posterminality. Intraterminality views the stage between the initial-point and the final-point of an event, i.e. the duration; whereas posterminality indicates that the critical parameter (*kritische Grenze*) of the event has passed. This critical parameter differs according to the aktionsart of the verb expressing the event. In final-transformatives and non-transformatives the final point is important whereas in initial-transformatives the initial point is. According to posterminal aspect the event is in the past from the aspectual viewpoint in final-transformative and non-transformatives. In the sentence *Ali gelmiş* 'Ali has (apparently) come' it is indicated that Ali has come before the temporal point focused by the speaker and cannot come any more. In initial-transformatives it is possible for the event to be on the viewpoint as it is enough for it to pass the initial-point to realize, i.e. the realization can be in the state of duration. In the sentence *Ali uyumuş* 'Ali has slept' it is indicated that Ali slept before the temporal point focused by the speaker and is still sleeping. Johanson adds that apart from these Turkish has a type of perspective aspect, which does not express a realized event and could be interpreted as a modal-perspective according to the situation (Johanson 1994: 249-250).

It was touched on earlier that Banguoğlu uses a ternary system for the classification of Turkish finite verbs (see pages 44-45). He uses the terms tense (*zaman*), mode (*tarz*) and mood (*kip*). If we take into consideration the fact that the first edition of his work is in 1940 Banguoğlu seems to be the first Turkish grammarian at least to understand intuitively verbal categories such as aspect and modality. However he classifies finite forms in such a complex way that it is almost impossible to recognize these categories. He subcategorizes tense into two as principal tenses and secondary tenses; placing past, present and future under the former and the dubitative and the aorist under the latter. He classifies these five tenses as the

absolute tense moods and the desiderative – conditional, the optative, the necessitative and the imperative as the injunctive moods. Then he states that there are four modes, which are the indicative mode, the perfective mode, the narrative mode and the conditional mode. Despite that these modes seem to be a mixture of aspect (as in perfective aspect), modality (as in narrative modality) and mood (as in indicative and conditional moods), he considers each mode to be a separate conjugation of the nine moods and describes the indicative mode as simple conjugation and the other three as composite conjugations. He also considers the conjugation of absolute tenses by these four modes to form the relative tenses. However it is not clear whether he subcategorizes mode under mood or vice versa as he states that a mood is formed by adding a tense suffix, if necessary a mode suffix and a personal suffix on a verb (Banguoğlu 1995: 440-444, first published in 1974). It is seen that in his earlier work he had followed a completely different denomination for his classification of the finite verbs. For the category, which he uses the term four modes in his later work; he had used the "four inflections". Additionally he had classified the tenses under the category named as the temporal moods (*temporal sigalar*) and the other four moods as the modal moods (*modal sigalar*). His terminology is also explicitly old as he had named the five tenses as *şuhudi mazi, nakli mazi muzari, hal, isitkbal* and the moods as *temenni, ilitizami, vücup* and *emir*; *çekim* as *tasrif* 'inflection' and *kip* 'mood' as *siga* (Banguoğlu 1940 4-49).

Dilaçar's call to include into Turkish grammar books sections dealing with aspect and the event / state distinction (see page 45) was answered by Doğan Aksan in 1976[35] not in a grammar book but in a monograph on part of speech. A separate section in a chapter on verb is given to manner of action (state / event distinction) and aspect under the name of *Eylemde Kılınış ve Görünüş* (Aksan et al. 1983: 206-210). He describes aspect as an indicator of the speaker's subjective evaluation of the event, the action or the happening

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[35] In this thesis the second edition of the book, which was printed in 1983, is used.

conveyed by the verb; and to be related to the mental influences and conditions, which are reflected on the use of the verb. The speaker loads a new value to the verb by means of aspect. The types of aspect in MST are not given in this work. Instead it is displayed by means of a few examples, which are mainly quoted from Johanson and Dilaçar, that tense suffixes can sometimes denote different meanings than their primary functions. In a later work, in which he has dedicated a four paragraph short section to the subject, Aksan explains aspect as the reflection of a personal and subjective expression of the verb apart from the event or state conveyed by its conjugated form (Aksan 2007: 102)[36]. Tense (*zaman*) in Aksan et al. 1983 is explained as the time, in which the action comes in to being, and is stated to include principal subject of verb. The verb determines the time as well whilst expressing a state, an event or a judgement. It is also stated that verbs take shape in relation to person by determining the concept of person together with tense. These shapes form moods (*kip*). It is added that mood is the name of the expressive forms related to the motion, action, state or event conveyed by the verb. Some of these forms function as the indicators or reporters of events, some convey a condition, a request, a wish or a command. Four simple tenses, namely the perfect with its two versions, the present, the future and the aorist; three composite tenses, namely the perfective, the narrative and the conditional; two groups of moods, namely the indicative and the subjunctive are mentioned. The indicative includes the tenses and the subjunctive includes the optative, the necessitative, the imperative and the desiderative-conditional moods. It is mentioned in just a single sentence that there are many more moods than the ones which are present in the Turkish grammar books. It is possible that the category of modality is meant by this sentence but it is hard to say as there is no detail.

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[36] Originally this work was published as three separated volumes. The first volume was published in 1977, the second volume in 1980 and the third volume in 1982. Thereafter volume 1 reached fourth edition, volume 2 third edition and volume 3 second edition. In 1995 the three volumes were printed as a combined volume. In this thesis the fourth edition of the combined volume is used.

Bilgegil (1984: 262) states that moods are notional patterns depending on the temporal and stylistic aspects of verbs. An overt or covert concept of time exist not only in the ones, which include information on whether the action has occurred or not, but in the ones, which express an intention or request. A verb, which pertains to a specific time, is expressed in a particular form and this form constitutes the mood of the verb. Every mood has an idiosyncratic suffix and this suffix does not change from person to person. It is possible to sub-categorize all moods in two groups depending on the characteristics of their meanings as *haber kipleri* (*siga-i ihbariyye = mode indicatif*) 'indicative moods' and *dilek kipleri* (*siga-i inşaiyye = modes subjonctifs*) 'subjunctive moods'.

Ediskun (1988: 171-173) marks a difference between form (*biçim*) and mood (*kip*). The form of a verb shows the nature of the action conveyed by the verb. This nature can be in the form of an affirmation, a negation, an affirmative question or a negative question in respect of a statement, a wish, a condition, a necessity or a command. On the other hand he explains mood as patterns, which are taken by verbs with the addition of some morphemes and mentions moods like past tense mood, imperative mood etc. Time as a grammatical term, i.e. tense, is explained by him, as the notional concept of period, which indicates that an action is done, is being done or will be done. The notional period indicating that the action is done demonstrates the past tense, the one indicating that it is being done demonstrates the present tense and the one indicating that the action will be done demonstrates the future tense. He takes these three tenses to be the three main tenses of MST. He adds that since past tense can indicate definitely as well as sceptically that an action is done it should be accepted as a tense with two meanings. He also states that there is an additional universal tense or broad tense, i.e. the aorist tense, which contains the past, present and the future tenses. He classifies these tenses as the indicative moods. He classifies the optative, the necessitative the desiderative-conditional and the imperative as the

subjunctive moods. A sub-section exists for all mood kinds named as "the special uses", which could be taken as an indicator to aspect and modality, although not entitled so.

Another work, which is not a grammar book but should be mentioned, is Aksu-Koç 1988. This work deals with the acquisition of aspect and modality in Turkish, grounding on the past reference. Aksu-Koç states that the Turkish verb expressed by adding on a number of particles to it that serves for modulation of meaning when appended. She formulates the Turkish verb to be made of an invariant root followed by a sequence of suffixes, which agree with the root in vowel harmony and indicate voice (causative, reciprocal, reflexive or passive), modality (necessitative, abilitative/potential, or conditional), negation, tense-aspect-mood and person/number as in *koş-uş-tur-ul-a-ma-dı-ysa-lar* 'If (they) haven't been made available for our service'. She characterizes definitions of tense in Turkish grammars, which distinguishes between absolute tenses organized around the moment of speech and relative tenses organized around a moment different than that of the moment of speech, as being classical. She also questions both claims about the division of the Turkish tense system, which are the tripartite division (past, present and future), which is generally preferred and the binary division (past and non-past), which is preferred by in Yavaş 1980 (see p. 44). It is concluded that it is with more recent theoretical approach that "the temporal distinctions that can be made from the deictic temporal zero point of the utterance involve reference to past, present or future". Past reference is either marked by *–DI* for direct experience or by *–mIş* for indirect experience. The two inflections are stated to explicitly contrast in terms of modality but not of aspect as aspectually both are perfective; but the primary function of the indirect past marker is to demonstrate lack of 100 percent commitment to the truth of an assertion and is the marker of the evidential mood. As for present, Aksu-Koç notes that there is no aspectually unmarked present tense in MST. The two suffixes associated with present reference are both primarily aspectual and/or modal in

function. One of them (-*Iyor*) is prototypically the marker of the progressive aspect and is also used for indicating habitual activity and making future reference. The other (-*Ar*) is used for marking habitual aspect as well as for making generic statements. The latter also has modal future uses but it indicates possibility, potentiality or intention whilst –*Iyor* is used in encoding future events which are almost factually known to happen. In addition to the modal uses of the present reference markers, Aksu-Koç notes that it is possible to realize future reference by -*(y)AcAk*, which is the presumptive modality marker. Future reference made with this suffix denotes a strong degree of certainty regarding the taking place of the predicted event. These distinctions are stated by Aksu-Koç to be made in the indicative mood. The optative indicating desire and intention, the necessitative indicating obligation, the potential indicating possibility or ability, the conditional used in the expression of realizable, possible or remote conditions or wishes and the imperative used in the issuing of commands and orders are other moods of MST, which "can be expressed in utterances made from the primary axis of orientation". It is added that retrospective or prospective structures, which involve a range of temporal distinctions necessitate compound constructions with more than one tense-aspect-mood markers. Aspectual distinctions like anteriority – posteriority, simultaneity – non-simultaneity, proximity – non-proximity of one situation relative to another, duration, completion, inception and etc. are indicated with these compound structures. Similar to primary tense-aspect categories they can simultaneously be in the indicative, subjunctive, evidential or conditional moods. Aksu-Koç finally adds that it is possible to mark aspect in MST by non-finite verb forms as well (Aksu-Koç 1988: 17-21).

The first grammar on MST written in Turkish to include aspect under the name *görünüm* as a separate section is Koç 1990 (:284-87). He describes aspect as the manner designating the formation of the verb concept, i.e. whether the action is terminated or not; its commencement, progress, termination and recurrence. He gives nine types of aspect, which

namely are perfective aspect, durative aspect, the approximative aspect, the simulative aspect, the deliberative aspect, the volitative aspect, the habitual aspect, the resultative aspect and the expeditive aspect. It could easily be seen that this categorization is rather suitable for modality than aspect. Moreover, compound verb forms formed by auxiliaries and verbal doublings are given under aspectual categorization but not forms established by finite verbs, which would be expected under the title of aspect. But still it is observed that Koç's systemization is a mood-based system and modality is nominally missing from the classification. However the section dealing with this subject appears under the title *Kiplerin Birbirinin Yerine Kullanılması* 'The Use of Moods Instead of Each Other' (p. 260). The rest of Koç's categorization of Turkish finite forms is quite classical. He describes mood (*kip*) as the expressive forms which indicates the attitude of the speaker, i.e. whether s(he) is just making a statement or making a comment; or whether s(he) is conveying a request, a wish, a condition or a command. He also mentions nine moods and subcategorizes them into two placing the five tenses under the indicative mood. He subcategorizes the remaining four moods, i.e. the optative, the desiderative, the necessitative and the imperative as the subjunctive moods (p. 235-246). Koç also gives a separate section to compound tense (p. 247-259). He names three compound tenses as the pluperfect or the imperfect (*hikâye*), the dubitative or the narrative (*rivayet*) and the conditional (*koşul*). He gives three sets of inflections of the moods under these compound tenses, which causes confusion as in simple tenses, tense is categorized under mood whereas moods are inflected under tenses in compound conjugations.

In Kornfilt 1997 (: 336-379), which is written as a part of a series of descriptive grammars written for linguists, a unique classification of MST finite verbs is followed. This uniqueness is perhaps a natural result of the template system, which has been used for writing the grammars of all languages included into the series. She notes that most tense

markers also have aspectual functions and some also function as mood markers. In the work, after stating that "there is no universal tense in Turkish" three tenses are mentioned for MST; the so-called aorist is presented as the only present tense marker, the direct and indirect past tenses are given as the two types of the simple past tense and the suffix –(y)AcAK is given as the future tense marker. From a different viewpoint it would be possible to accept the aorist as universal tense and the marker of the progressive aspect as a present tense marker as well. Relative tenses established by the copula and the marker of the tense in question, are given under every tense rather than as a separate topic. Aspectual functions of every marker as well are given in the sections dealing with tense. Additionally a separate section is dedicated to the subject aspect. Kornfilt, states in this section that Comries's definition that "aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation" is not suitable for Turkish since suffixes used for marking aspect in Turkish do not have aspectual functions exclusively as they also express tense and / or mood. She adds that a given marker is not linked to a given aspect in all syntactic and morphological contexts. She lists the perfect, the perfective, the imperfective, the habitual, the continuous, the progressive, the ingressive, the terminative, the iterative, the semelfactive, the punctual, the durative, the simultaneous and the telic as the aspects of MST. It is observed that Kornfilt uses not only the finite verb forms but the infinite verb forms and lexical elements as well when classifying the category of aspect. As for mood, Kornfilt notes that in Turkish the indicative mood is not marked overtly but it is inferred from the absence of mood markers. It is clearly seen that this assertion is different than the common approach, which classifies the tenses of MST under the indicative mood. She gives the conditional, the imperative, the optative, the intentional, the debitive, the potential, degree of certainty, authority for assertion, the hortatory, the monitory, the narrative, the consecutive and the contingent as the moods of

MST. Again it is seen that this classification includes structures build by finite verbs and infinite verbs as well as lexical elements.

Eker (2003: 299-302) follows Banguoğlu's classification and categorization. Likewise he uses the terms *zaman*, *tarz* and *kip*, but with some alterations. He translates *zaman* and *tarz* together as tense the former being simple tense and the latter composite tense, and *kip* as modality into English. He explains *zaman* as the time period, which the action conveyed by the predicate is related to and adds that Turkish has three basic tenses; the past, the present and the future. He describes *kip* as the grammatical category, which is formed according to the temporal, personal and semantic characteristics of verbs. He subcategorizes nine modalities into two as the indicative modality and the subjunctive modality. He places the five simple tenses under the indicative modality and the optative, the conditional, the necessitative and the imperative under the subjunctive modality. It is clear that Eker means mood by modality. He explains *tarz* as being formed by the transfer of the temporal point by the speaker from the time of speech to another time. He gives the four composite tenses of Turkish under this title. Eker mentions aspect under the name of *görünüş* as a category of verb without explaining or exemplifying it.

The most voluminous work to be done on Modern Standard Turkish grammar is Korkmaz 2003[37], which is a 1224 page morphology emphatic work. An eight page section in this work, which is perhaps the longest in all grammars written in Turkish, is dedicated to aspect (p. 576-583). Nevertheless this work as well contains a mood based classification of finite verbs and modality is non-existent. Korkmaz (2007: 569) describes mood (*kip*) as a grammatical pattern and an expressive form, which designates the manner and style of the action, the event or the state denoted by the verb from the point of view of the speaker, the listener and the discussed subject. She adds that moods are patterns of expression, which

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[37] In this thesis the second edition of this work, which was printed in 2007, is used.

verbs enter in order to be able to transform into a judgement related to form, time and person. She also states that mood is not directly connected with tense, but often lies inside tense and is confused with tense as some of the moods contain the concept of time in the conjugation patterns they enter. With regards to tense, Korkmaz (2007: 570) states that a conjugated verb contains a temporal element in addition to the pattern, which binds the event or the state to a form. This temporal element is tense and it is a grammatical category, which designates the location of an event or a state demonstrated by a verb on the eternal temporal line. Korkmaz has divided the MST mood system into two subcategorizing the five tenses under the indicative mood as mood tenses and the optative, the imperative, the desiderative, and the necessitative as the subjunctive moods (*tasarlama kipleri*). In fact she has translated the latter four into French as *modes subjonktifs* but into English simply as "moods"[38] (Korkmaz 2007: 583-702). Korkmaz regards the category of aspect to be a result of semantic, temporal or functional transfer of finite verbs. Therefore there is no classification of verbal inflectional suffixes according to the category of aspect. She has given the aspectual uses of tense suffixes as sub-sections of relevant tenses as the semantic, temporal or functional transfers of these tenses without separately naming them. A similar method is used for the so-called mood suffixes, which could be perhaps regarded to be the category of modality. In the section named "Aspect" she discusses the claims of the scholars who has dealt with or mentioned the mater previously and concludes that it is possible to summarize that aspect has three principal characteristics. It is a grammatical category concerned with the finite verbs; mood suffixes are used with purposes other than their temporal and functional ones; and aspect contains subjectivity as the use of a mood suffix with another function than its original one is connected with the personal meaning loaded to the structure

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[38] This preference of translation of these categories simply as "moods" rather than "the subjunctive moods" is important for one of the fundamental issues of this thesis since the only structure deemed suitable of being named as "the subjunctive mood" in this thesis is the structure in the Turkish varieties of Cyprus, which appears as a non-Turkic element (see Section 5.6.4).

by the speaker. Korkmaz, agreeing with the first two characteristics, finds the subjectivity of aspect worth tackling. She puts forth that aspect contains objectivity in addition to subjectivity since the special meaning loaded to the structure by the speaker is understood by the addressee.

Uğurlu in his article on aspect in Turkish, in which he summarizes Johanson's approach to the subject, states that despite there is adequate information about the conjugation and the structure of tense suffixes in Turkish grammars there is insufficient data on their functions. Hence a consensus is not reached in works done so far and new attempts are being done in most recent works. For instance it has not been possible to present the difference in all its aspects between the two past tense suffixes of Turkish. Uğurlu thinks that this subject has been avoided by terms like definite or indefinite past tense, which practically explains nothing or by intuitional explanations according to the context. Uğurlu also objects to the term *görünüş* which is used for interpreting aspect in Turkish grammars. He states that the verb *görün-*, which the term is derived from, is a verb with reflexive voice, whereas in the category of aspect, the point in question is how the event expressed by the finite verb is viewed by the speaker not how it appears automatically. In other words the act is not realized by the event, but by the human viewing it. Therefore the term *bakış* is suggested since there is no reflexivity (Uğurlu 2003-5: 124-126).

It is possible to classify the approaches in Turkish grammars into two groups. These classical approaches are that of Ergin and that of Banguoğlu. Despite the fact that the first Turkish grammar to treat the Turkish finite verbal system under the indicative mood – subjunctive mood opposition and to place tense under the former is Emre, it is Ergin, who has developed it into a fully established system. Indeed Ergin's grammar is still the most widely used grammar book in hundred and eighty odd Turkish universities. Ergin is regarded as the real founder of Turkish grammar writing in many circles and his predecessors

including Emre have been disregarded altogether. Ergin has omitted the categories of aspect and modality in addition to subcategorizing tense under the indicative mood. Omission of modality is understandable and perhaps could be taken as an acceptable point of view as Palmer states (see page 27) that most languages either have a modal system or a mood system. On the other hand it is not possible to say the same for the category of aspect. Despite Dizdaroğlu, Gencan, Aksan, Bilgegil, Ediskun, Koç and Korkmaz seem to be followers of Ergin's approach, there are indications that the category of aspect was present to the knowledge of some of these scholars at least vaguely. However, the traditionalist approaches of Turkish grammarians have hindered the inclusion of this category into Turkish grammars. In fact Gencan has sensed the existence of the category of aspect as early as 1966 but has failed to name it so. Instead he preferred to name the category as 'Semantic Transfer of Moods'. It should be born in mind that Gencan wrote his grammar five years prior to Johanson's work on aspect in Turkish in 1971. Dilaçar wrote an article in 1974, calling for the inclusion of the category of aspect in Turkish grammars and overtly stated that the reason for writing this article was the publication of Johanson 1971. A similar call was made by the scholar before in his article on the description of grammar in general (Dilaçar 1971: 109-111). Aksan, who is the first scholar to answer Dilaçar's call in his work, dealt with the subject theoretically in his work, but again failed to categorize the aspectual connotations of Turkish finite verbal forms. He rather treated the topic as temporal transfer. Aksan also added, without any explanations, that the Turkish language had more moods than the ones included in the grammar books. Perhaps this could be taken as the first indication of the category of modality in a Turkish work dealing with Turkish grammar. Ediskun as well has preferred to treat the subject under the title 'Special Uses of Mood', which seems to be a mixture of aspect and modality. Koç is the first scholar to include the category of aspect in his grammar as a separate title and has named nine Turkish aspects, which look like a

mixture of aspect and modality. Despite this big step of including aspect in a Turkish grammar, his categorization of nine moods as indicative moods and subjunctive is very classical. He placed the tenses under the former and the moods the latter, which is nothing else than the repetition of Ergin tradition. Even Korkmaz, who has spared eight pages (the longest in a Turkish work) for aspect, made no classification of the verbal inflectional system according to aspect. She dealt with the matter theoretically in the section dedicated for aspect and treated Turkish aspectual forms as 'semantic, temporal and functional transfers'. Dizdaroğlu and Bilgegil, like Ergin, has omitted the subject altogether.

Banguoğlu follows a completely different classification of Turkish finite verbal forms. The only common point of his approach with that of Ergin is perhaps the absence of aspect altogether. Unlike Ergin's classification tenses are not subcategorized under mood and moods are subcategorized as the injunctive moods. Then he classifies tenses and moods under four modes. The tenses constitute the indicative mode, whereas the moods receiving the appropriate marker form the perfective, narrative and conditional modes. He states the categories subcategorized under the indicative mode to be simple inflections and to form absolute tenses. On the other hand he regards the perfective, narrative and conditional modes as composite inflections and relative tenses. Eker, who has followed Banguoğlu's categorization and classification, has used the same terminology (i.e. *zaman, kip, tarz*) as well. However, Eker loaded different meanings to the terminology. Eker translated *kip* as modality and subcategorized tenses under the indicative modality. What Banguoğlu and the rest of the grammarians have classified as moods and subcategorized under the subjunctive (injunctive by Banguoğlu) mood is classified as modalities and subcategorized under the subjunctive modality by Eker. The category, which has been classified as mode (*tarz*) by Banguoğlu, is classified as the composite tenses by Eker. Eker also mentions the category of aspect however does not explain or exemplify it. Eker is not the only scholar to follow

Banguoğlu. Timurtaş and Özkan, who are the two of few scholars to deal with the verbal finite forms of Old Anatolian Turkish, have followed Banguoğlu's steps and classified the Old Anatolian Turkish finite verbal system exactly the same way Banguoğlu did.

As it was mentioned above Göksel & Kerslake 2005 is the first work to present the tense/aspect/modality system of Turkish as a whole in accordance with the definitions of modern linguistics. Therefore it has the potential to set a good example for scholars and students who would like to do further work on the subject. The three main tenses of the language are explained with every detail and with an abundance of examples. Again after a short definition of aspect in general the four main aspects are presented with their subcategories and are fully explained with examples. Finally after a general short definition of modality four main modal categories of Turkish and their subcategories are explained satisfactorily with plenty of examples. The most outstanding feature of Göksel & Kerslake's system is the non-existence of the categorisation of mood, which is a traditional category (Aksan 1989: 103), based on Classical Greek grammarians' classification as *psykhes (or psykhike) diathesis* 'psychological situation, temperament'. It is a well established category particularly in Western linguistics. It has been presented as *modus* 'style' in Latin, *mode* 'psychological situation' in French, *mood* 'psychological situation' in English, *modo* 'inclination' in Spanish and Italian, *naklonenie* 'inclination' in Russian (Dilaçar: 1971: 106) and *modus* 'style' in German (Zeynep 1992: 103). In Turkish the category of mood had been classified under the name *siga*, which was a result of the Arabic nomenclature, during the imperial period. As a result of the purification movement in language during the republican period, like the rest of the terminology, it was replaced by a term with a Turkish etymology, which is *kip*[39]. However, this categorisation is not necessarily relevant today especially for non-Indo-European languages. This may be the reason why Göksel & Kerslake do not use it.

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[39] Nişanyan (2007: 177, 262) notes that the term *kip* is derived from the Middle Oghuz word *kib* 'pattern, model, likeness' listed in Kashghari's Divan and is from the same root with the word *gibi* 'like'.

A separate conditional, optative, imperative, potential or necessitative mood does not exist in the work, but they are fully integrated into the modal system of the language. This does not pose a problem from the point of view of Modern Standard Turkish. However, when diverse dialects such as the Turkish Dialects of Cyprus (henceforth TDC) are in discussion some problems occur. For instance it is not possible to incorporate the subjunctive[40] mood of TDC into this system as it is not possible to integrate the subjunctive into neither aspect nor modality. Therefore the subjunctive mood will have to be given under a subtitle in this thesis in the chapter concerning TDC.

In Göksel & Kerslake (2005: 328-29), in the chapter dealing with tense, despite there is a category classified as the present it is stated that primary tense differentiation in Turkish is between past and non-past. Therefore Turkish is regarded to not have a marker for present tense and the category to be marked by a marker of progressive aspect, *–(I)yor* or *–mAktA*, or by the absence of the past copular marker. The fact that the suffix *–(I)yor* is used for marking the future tense as well also supports Göksel & Kerslake's statement. However, this statement is in contradiction with Turkish grammars, which draws a firm line between the present tense and the future tense, classifying *–(I)yor* and *–mAktA* as present tense markers and *–(y)AcAk* as the future tense marker. On the other hand, it is in compliance with Comrie's statement that it is very rare for a situation to utilize a single point on the time line and therefore the present tense should be defined as situations including the present moment (see page 17). Indeed it would be more appropriate for a situation including the present moment, .i.e. stretching over a time even if it is very short, to be marked by a progressive aspect marker. Comrie also adds that the difference between future and present in many languages is rather vague (see page 18), which also supports Göksel & Kerslake's statement.

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[40] Despite the fact that the subjunctive mood does not exist in Modern Standard Turkish, Lewis (1967: 132-137) gives a section under this title. However he clearly states that he means the optative by the subjunctive. It is possible that the close relation between the subjunctive and the optative has inspired him to use such a definition. Indeed in TDC the subjunctive mood is formed with the help of the optative marker.

It is seen that in Göksel & Kerslake the term 'aspect' is used for classifying the category classified as 'viewpoint aspects' by Comrie and Smith. Categories treated by Smith under the topic of aspect, like telicity, dynamic situations or situation aspects are categories related to the verb bases rather than finite verbal forms therefore are not directly to do with the scope of this thesis. Göksel & Kerslake's classification of aspectual opposition as perfective and imperfective is in compliance with that of Comrie, who has classified the viewpoint aspects in the same way. Göksel & Kerslake, like Comrie, ignore the category of neutral viewpoint / aspect, which is argued for by Smith (see page 23-24). Göksel & Kerslake's classification of the past tense markers –DI and –mIş as the perfective aspect markers of Turkish is a situation parallel with Smith's definition of perfective viewpoint. Smith explains perfective viewpoints to include the initial and the final points of a situation (see page 22), which is in accordance with the Turkish past tense markers. Göksel & Kerslake subdivide imperfective aspect into two as Smith does for imperfective viewpoint. However, there are differences in the subdivisions. Göksel & Kerslake subdivide imperfective aspects as progressive and habitual, whereas Smith subdivides imperfective viewpoints as general imperfective and progressive imperfective. Göksel & Kerslake regard both subcategories of imperfective aspect to apply for both past and non-past context. On the other hand Smith points out that, progressives are inclined to appear in all tenses while general imperfectives are inclined to be restricted to past tenses.

It was touched on earlier on many occasions that most of the classical Turkish grammars make a differentiation between indicative mood and subjunctive (or injunctive) mood, subcategorizing tense under the indicative. Palmer clearly states that the traditional designations 'the indicative' and 'the subjunctive' are used in many European languages to distinguish between realis and irrealis and are accountable with regards to 'assertion' or 'non-assertion'. Palmer explains realis depicting situations as actualized, as having

materialized or actually materializing, discernible as a consequence of direct perception and irrealis depicting situations as entirely in the bounds of thought, perceivable only through imagination. Additionally Lunn directly connects the preference of the indicative to assertion and the preference of subjunctive to non-assertion. Lunn also puts forth that a proposition is ineligible for assertion for three reasons: (i) the speaker is doubtful about its accuracy, (ii) the proposition is unrealized, (iii) the proposition is presupposed (see page 26). Palmer's and Lunn's statements clearly explain why Göksel & Kerslake disqualifies the category of mood for the classification of the Turkish finite verbal forms. It seems impossible to place some Turkish tenses under the indicative since the latter is connected with assertion. First of all the speaker lacks information on the accuracy of what is said in sentences marked with the indirect past tense marker of Turkish, which disqualifies the category to be classified under the indicative mood. Additionally the proposition marked by the future tense marker is not realized there for ineligible for assertion, which again disqualifies it to be classified under the indicative mood. Göksel & Kerslake make a completely different classification of modality when compared to that of Palmer. Göksel & Kerslake divide the Turkish modality system into four as generalizations and hypotheses, possibility and necessity, evidentially marked statements and volitional utterances. On the other hand Palmer divides modality into three as propositional modality, event modality and modal systems structured by modal verbs. Palmer subcategorized propositional modality as epistemic modality, evidential modality and interrogative and negative (see pages 30-33). Generalization and hypotheses of Göksel & Kerslake seem to be the parallel of Palmer's epistemic modality, which is explained to be conveying the speaker's opinion on the factual status of the proposition. Göksel & Kerslake's evidentially marked statements seem to be Palmer's evidential modality. In Turkish, interrogatives and negativity are not properties of the finite verbal system but that of infinite forms. Palmer divides event modality into deontic modality with

subcategories of directives, commissive, subjectivity and dynamic modality with subcategories of ability and willingness, imperative and jussive. Possibility and necessity of Göksel & Kerslake appears to be a mixture of Palmer's deontic directives, commissive, subjectivity and dynamic ability. And the last modality type mentioned by Göksel & Kerslake, i.e. volitional utterances, is a mixture of dynamic willingness imperative and jussive of Palmer. Since Turkish does not have modal verbs naturally the last modality type mentioned by Palmer does not exist in Göksel & Kerslake's classification.

Nevertheless as it is already mentioned above in two instances that this classification is the best available example and therefore it will be applied to the Turkic languages and dialects concerning this thesis with the necessary amendments and additions at required places.

Tense, aspect and modality in Modern Standard Turkish (henceforth MST) are marked by verbal suffixes and / or copular markers and -DIr. Since the tense/aspect/modality connotations denoted by the copular markers in MST are limited the copular/auxiliary verb ol- is often used in nominal sentences as the carrier of the tense/aspect/modality suffixes. In verbal sentences, where it is not possible to mark a tense/aspect/modality combination by the expression of a single verb stem, compound verb forms incorporating free auxiliaries like ol- and bulun- are employed. It should be born in mind that tense, aspect and modality in MST are only utterly expressed in finite forms (Göksel - Kerslake 2005: 326).

3.2 Tense in MST

The most important tense distinction in MST is that of past and non-past. Present and future tense markers *-(I)yor*, *-mAktA* and *-(y)AcAK* are relative tense markers since it is possible to express absolute present and future tense by the non-existence of a second tense marker like the past copula *-(y)DI*, which would locate the situation on the temporal line to somewhere else than the present moment (Göksel - Kerslake 2005: 326-27).

3.2.1 Past Tense in MST

Past tense in MST is marked by the verbal endings *-DI* and *-mIş* and the copular marker *-(y)DI*[41].

(i) *-DI* and *-mIş*:

These two endings are used for marking both past tense and the perfective aspect. Therefore they articulate past events, which are considered to be completed.

> (1) *Evi sattınız mı?*[42]
>
> "Did / Have you sold the house?"
>
> (2) *Kerem'in babası ona biraz para vermiş*.
>
> "Apparently Kerem's father gave / has given him some money."

(ii) *-(y)DI*:

The past copula is used for marking the past tense and the imperfective aspect as it demonstrates how a situation was some time in the past. It can refer to the circumstances in a nominal sentence (3) or an event ongoing (4) or anticipated (5) at the time of reference:

> (3) *Evde hiç para yoktu*.
>
> "There was absolutely no money in the house."
>
> (4) *Ayten bir bankada çalışıyordu*.
>
> "Ayten was working in a bank."
>
> (5) *Yeni bir ögretmenimiz olacaktı*.
>
> "We were going to have a new teacher."

The difference between the suffixes *-DI* and *-mIş* and the copular marker *-(y)DI* are not only regarding aspect. They also differ in respect of their exact tense values. In instances where the past copula *-(y)DI* is used as a tense marker it locates the situation prior to the present moment establishing an absolute tense. On the other hand *-mIş* marks relative past tense. It is

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[41] *-(y)DI* is sometimes replaced by *idi*.

[42] Examples on MST belong to Göksel - Kerslake unless stated otherwise. Identifying numbers of the examples are different than that of those in Göksel - Kerslake 2005 as they are re-numbered in order to fit into the sequence in this thesis.

possible for *-mIş* to refer to a time prior to any contextual reference point, when followed by the past copular or an auxiliary verb, even if it is in the future:

(6) *(Döndüğümde) herkes yatmıştı.*

"(When I came back) everyone had gone to bed."

(7) *İnşallah (ben dönünceye kadar) uyumuş olacaksın.*

"I hope you will have gone to sleep (by the time I get back)."

Tense-wise the principal task of *-DI* is same as that of the past copular *-(y)DI*. However, sometimes in colloquial speech *-DI* enters combinations with *-(y)DI* acquiring a relative tense value like *-mIş* (Göksel - Kerslake 2005: 327-328).

3.2.2 Present Tense in MST

There is no present tense marker in MST. In verbal sentences it is denoted by the progressive aspect markers *-(I)yor*, *-mAktA* (the latter is rarer than the former) and the absence of the past copular marker *-(y)DI*. The tense value expressed by the progressive aspect is a relative present as it demonstrates a situation ongoing at a specific point in time. Example (8) is the non-past form of example (4):

(8) *Ayten bir bankada çalışıyor.*

"Ayten is working in a bank."

Present tense in nominal sentences not containing the auxiliary ol- is denoted by the absence of the past copula. Example (9) is the present form of example (3)(Göksel - Kerslake 2005: 328-329):

(9) *Evde hiç para yok.*

"There is absolutely no money in the house."

3.2.3 Future Tense in MST

There are four possible ways to mark the future tense in MST:

(i) The only categorical future tense marker of MST is *-(y)AcAK*. In nominal sentences it is attached to the auxiliary *ol-*:

(10) *Herkse bu romana bayılacak.*

"Everyone will love this novel."

(11) *Geldiğiniz zaman anahtar kapıcıda olacak.*

"The key will be with the caretaker when you arrive."

To be precise *-(y)AcAK* also is a marker of relative tense. It locates an event or a state after a contextual past reference point when combined with the past copular. It is possible for the

future presented by *-(y)AcAK* in *-(y)AcAKtI* to be or not to be in the future from the time of speech perspective:

>(12) *Geçen / Önümüzdeki yıl yeni bir ögretmenimiz olacaktı.*
>
>"Last year / Next year we were going to have a new teacher."

(ii) Another marker frequently used for marking the future tense is the imperfective aspect marker *-(I)yor*. It is used for marking events, which are scheduled or fixed:

>(13) *Yarın Londra'ya gidiyoruz.*
>
>"We are going to London tomorrow."

The employment of *-(I)yor* for marking scheduled future events demonstrates that the speaker has a strong belief that the events will happen as it is planned.

The value of the future tense marked by *-(I)yor* is also relative. In narrative contexts *-(I)yordu* denotes a scheduled event expected to actualise at some reference point in the past:

>(14) *Füsun telaşlıydı. Birkaç gün sonra annesi geliyordu.*
>
>"Füsun was agitated. Her mother was coming in a few days' time."

(iii) Despite the fact that the aorist form of the verb frequently denotes future time reference its temporal implications are determined by its modal functions.

(iv) actions, which are or were impending can be marked by the structure *-mAk üzere* 'on the point of …ing' (Göksel - Kerslake 2005: 329-330):

>(15) *(Sen telefon ettiğin sırada) sokağa çikmak üzereydim.*
>
>'I was on the point of going out (when you rang).'

3.3 Aspect in MST

The main aspectual categories in MST are perfective - imperfective opposition; progressive and habitual, which are the subdivisions of imperfective; event - state distinction; and aspect in nominal sentences.

3.3.1 Perfective and Imperfective in MST

The difference between perfective and imperfective is mainly relevant to sentences in past tense. In MST the verbal suffixes *-DI* and *-mIş* are used for marking the perfective aspect whereas the verbal suffixes *-(I)yor, -mAktA* and *-(A/I)r*, and the past copular *-(y)DI* are used for marking the imperfective aspect:

Perfective:

>(16) (a) *Geçen hafta her gün iki saat çalıştım.*

'Last week I worked for two hours every day.'

(b) *İki saat çalışmışım.*

'I seem to have worked for two hours.'

Imperfective:

(17) (a) Saat ikide çalışıyordum.

'At two o'clock I was working.'

(b) Saat ikide ofisteydim.

'At two o'clock I was at the office.'

(c) Genellikle iki saat çalışırdım.

'I would usually work for two hours.'

The constructions *-mIştI* and *-DIyDI* incorporate both perfective and imperfective components. They display the situation occurring upon the accomplishment of an action or event (Göksel - Kerslake 2005: 331).

3.3.1.1 Subdivisions of Imperfective in MST: Progressive and Habitual

Progressive and habitual aspects, which are the subcategories of the imperfective aspect, are relevant to both past and non-past reference. Progressive aspect considers situations (both states and events) to be in progress or continuing, i.e. incomplete, at the temporal reference point. On the other hand habitual aspect views the situation as a part of a recurrent pattern.

The two progressive aspect markers of MST are *-(I)yor* and *-mAktA*. *-(I)yor* is used for marking both progressive and habitual aspect whereas *-mAktA* is mostly used for marking the progressive aspect. However, it is possible to mark the habitual aspect with *-mAktA* as well in formal expression. Therefore the contrast between *-(I)yor* and *-mAktA* is one of style. The former is much more frequent in colloquial speech than the latter. Nevertheless it is possible for the speaker to employ *-mAktA* in conversation when stressing the strength of the progressing event is needed:

Progressive: (event)

(18) A.- *Şu anda ne yapıyorsunuz?*

'What are you doing at the moment?'

B.- *Yemek yiyoruz.*

'We're having dinner.'

(19) *Bugün aile yapısı hızla değişmekte.*

'Today the structure of the family is changing rapidly.'

Progressive: (state)

>(20) *Sen Ömer'i benden daha iyi tanıyorsun.*
>
>'You know Ömer better than me.'
>
>(21) *Çizginin üst tarafında birkaç beyaz nokta görülmektedir.*
>
>'Several white spots can be seen above the line.'

Habitual:

>(22) *Fatma genellikle Ankara'ya otobüsle gidiyor.*
>
>'Fatma usually goes to Ankara by bus.'
>
>(23) *Türkiye artık televizyon ihraç etmektedir.*
>
>'Now Turkey exports / is exporting televisions.'

The connotations denoted in past-tense sentences with *-(I)yordu* and *-mAktAydI* is very similar:

>(24) *Saat ikide çalisiyordum.*   (Progressive: event)
>
>'At two o'clock I was working.'
>
>(25) *Sen Ömer'i benden daha iyi tanıyordun.*   (Progressive: state)
>
>'You knew Ömer better than me.'
>
>(26) *Genelikle yazın bu rakam artmaktaydı.*   (Habitual)
>
>'This figure would usually increase in the summer.'

The aorist structures *-(A/I)r / -mAz* are never used in MST for marking the progressive aspect. But past habituals *-(A/I)rdI / -mAzdI* are equivalents of *-(I)yordu* and *-mAktAydI*:

>(27) (a) *O zamanlarda Mehmet çok sigara içiyordu.*
>
>'At that time Mehmet was smoking a lot.'
>
>(b) *O zamanlarda Mehmet çok sigara içerdi.*
>
>'At that time Mehmet smoked / used to smoke a lot.'

The difference between the two habitual forms is that *-(A/I)rdI* generally denotes a long-term pattern of behaviour whereas *-(I)yordu* refers to a situation directly experienced by the speaker (Göksel - Kerslake 2005: 332-34).

3.3.2 Events and States in MST

Aspect marking and the contrast between event and state are inseparable from each other. Even though imperfective aspect can occur in the expression of both events and states, perfective aspect is used only in that of events. Certain Turkish verbs like *dur-* 'stop (event),

stand (state)', *otur-* 'sit down (event), be sitting (state)', *yat-* 'lie down, go to bed (event), lie, be in bed (state)', *uyu-* 'fall asleep (event), be asleep (state)', *tanı-* 'recognize (event), know (state)', which express physical position or a psychological situation, express an event when presented in a perfective form, and a state when presented in a progressive form:

> (28) (a) *Tülay yanıma oturdu.* (Event)
>
> 'Tülay sat down beside me.'
>
> (b) *Yemekte Tülay yanımda oturuyordu.* (State)
>
> 'Tülay was sitting beside me at dinner.'

The perfective (expressing entry into a state) and progressive (expressing the state itself) forms of some psychological verbs (and some others) can be used interchangeably:

> (29) (a) *Mehmet'in geleceğine sevindim.* (Entry into state)
>
> 'I was / I'm glad (to hear) that Mehmet's coming.'
>
> (b) *Mehmet'in geleceğine seviniyorum.* (State)
>
> 'I'm glad Mehmet's comong.'

> (30) (a) *Anladın mı?* (Entry into state)
>
> 'Have you understood? / Do you understand?'
>
> (b) *Anlıyor musun?* (State)
>
> 'Do you understand?'

With the perfective forms of some of these verbs (especially the ones expressing psychical states), which are able to express both event and state, is possible to express that the state has continued over a period of time as well as the entry into the state:

> (31) *Sekiz saat uyumuşum.*
>
> 'I seem to have slept for eight hours.'

> (32) *Bütün gün evde oturduk.*
>
> 'We sat at home all day.'

There is a small group of verbs in Turkish which can only express entry into state. The perfective form of these verbs is used for expressing the existence of the state at some particular time. The most significant ones of these verbs are *acık-* 'get hungry', *susa-* 'get thirsty', *yorul-* 'get tired', *bık-* 'get tired (of) / bored (with)', *kız-* 'get angry', *kal-* 'be left' (Göksel - Kerslake 2005: 334-35):

> (33) *Susadım.*
>
> 'I am thirsty.'

3.4 Modality in MST in MST

Modality, different than tense and aspect, which are related to the concept of time, deals with how a expressed fact has become known to the speaker. Verbal sentences marked by *-DI*, *-(I)yor* or *-mAktA* and nominal sentences with no marker or marked by -(y)DI are modally neutral as they reflect a fact directly known to the speaker. There are four modality categories in MST (Göksel - Kerslake 2005: 338).

3.4.1 Generalizations and Hypothesis in MST

It is possible to mark the distinction between neutral statements denoting direct experience, information or observation and modal statements making general and theoretical assertions or expressing assumptions and hypotheses in the modal system of Turkish. The principal grammatical markers used for marking these categories of modality are the aorist forms in verbal sentences and the generalizing modality marker *-DIr* in nominal sentences.

3.4.1.1 Statement of Permanent or Generalized Validity in MST

Verbal Sentences with Aorist

It is possible to mark four different types of generalizations by the aorist:

(i) Scientific and Moral Axioms:

> (34) *İki, iki daha dört eder.*
>
> 'Two and two make four.'
>
> (35) *Para mutluluk getirmez.*
>
> 'Money doesn't bring happiness.'

(36), which is marked by *-(I)yor*, expresses the direct experience or observation of the speaker and is in contrast with (35), which asserts a comprehensive fact:

> (36) *Para mutluluk getirmiyor.*
>
> 'Money doesn't bring happiness.'

(ii) Normative or Perspective Statements:

Normative and prescriptive texts varying from constitutions to recipes, which formulate and enact a procedure to be complied with, use the aorist as a standard:

> (37) *Başbakan, Cumhurbaşkanı tarafından görevlendirilir.*
>
> 'The Prime Minister is appointed by the President.'
>
> (38) *Burada musluk suyu içilmez.*
>
> 'One does not drink the tap water here.'

The form of (38) marked by *-(I)yor* has a more descriptive nature:

> (39) *Burada musluk suyu içilmiyor.*

'Here people do not drink the tap water.'

Prohibitions in public notices are also regularly marked by the aorist:

(40) *Girilmez*   'No entry'

   Park yapılmaz   'No parking'

(iii) Generic Statements about the Characteristic Qualities or Behaviour of a Class

(41) *Kaplumbağa yavaş yürür.*

   'A tortoise walks slowly.'

(42) *Amerikalılar çok süt içer.*

   '(The) Americans drink a lot of milk.'

The replacement of the aorist by *-(I)yor* in sentences like (41), which has a subject in the simple form, transforms the statement from a generalization to a specific one. Therefore *kaplumbağa* in (43) concerns a specific tortoise:

(43) *Kaplumbağa yavaş yürüyor.*

   'The tortoise walks / is walking slowly.'

In (44), where the *Amerikalılar* is in the plural form, a specific group of Americans could be under consideration as well as Americans in general;

(44) *Amerikalılar çok süt içiyor.*

   'The Americans are drinking / drink a lot of milk.'

(iv) Statements about the Characteristic Qualities or Behaviour of an Individual:

(45) *Ali sigara içmez.*

   'Ali doesn't smoke.'

(46) *Ali sigara içmiyor.*

   'Ali doesn't smoke.'

It is possible to rephrase (45) as 'Ali is a non-smoker' whereas (46) expresses Ali's habitual behaviour observed by the speaker.

3.4.1.2 The use of *-DIr* in Formal Writing in MST

Formal and academic expressions regularly employ *-DIr* affixed to the finite verbal forms *-mIş, -(y)AcAK, -mAlI, -mAktA*:

(47) *Osmanlı Türkleri de bu kültüre katkıda bulunmuşlardır.*

   'And the ottoman Turks contributed to this culture.'

(48) *Bu teknik yüzeysel yapıları farklı olan eserlein karşılaştırılmasını kolaylaştıracaktır.*

'This technique will facilitate the comparison of works, which   have different surface structures.'

3.4.1.3 Hypothetical and Counterfactual Situations in MST

The accomplishment of a condition is indicated in hypothetical and counterfactual situations:

(49) *Koşma düşersin.*

'Don't run; you'll fall over.

The difference between counterfactual and hypothetical situations is that the condition upon which the former depend is known to be unrealizable. Counterfactual situations are marked by *-(A/I)rdI / -mAzdI* or *-(y)AcAktI*:

(50) *Ben bu rengi seçmezdim.*

'I wouldn't have chosen this colour.'

The only case, where *-(y)AcAktI* can be used is a pre-planned or scheduled event:

(51) *O konsere gitmek hoş olurdu / olacaktı.*

'It would have been nice to go to that concert.'

The past copula *-(y)DI* is a marker of modality as well as tense in counterfactual expressions, where the reference is not always to past time.

3.4.1.4 Assumptions in MST

The main markers of assumptions in MST are the aorist and *-DIr*. The confidence of the speaker in the reliability of the assumption is generally expressed with a modal adverbial like *kesinlikle* 'definitely' *herhalde* 'probably, presumably' or *belki* 'perhaps'. Expressions of hope, which are marked by the modal adverbials *umarım* 'I hope' and *inşallah* 'God willing, hopefully', are also included in the category of assumptions. The lack of a modal adverbial suggests that the strength of the assumption is same as the one marked by *herhalde*.

(i) Verbal Sentences with the aorist:

The time reference in assumptions marked by the aorist is always future and they express events, which are not considered to be pre-planned:

(52*) Mehmet geç gelir.*

'Mehmet will (probably) be late.'

(53) *Umarım Semra vazonun yokluğunu farketmez.*

'I hope Semra won't notice the absence of the vase.'

(ii) Nominal and Verbal Sentences with *-DIr*:

In this type of expression *-DIr* is affixed to 1st and 2nd person predicates as well as 3rd person:

(54) *İnşallah hasta değilimdir.*

   'I hope I'm not ill.'

(55) *Herhalde bir yerlerde karşılaşmışızdır.*

   'We have probably met somewhere or other.'

(56) *Mutlaka bugün telefon edeceklerdir.*

   'They will definitely ring today.'

The expression of confidence in the accomplishment of the assumption in (56) is greater than if the aorist had been used since *-(y)AcAktIr* marks the assumption that the expected action is predetermined.

(iii) Probability Statements with *olsa gerek*:

This structure is generally used in the 3rd person:

(57) *En iyisi bu olsa gerek.*

   'This one is probably the best.'

(iv) Non-future Predictions with *olacak*:

It is possible to use the future form of *ol-* with present time reference putting forth a firm assertion about an existence, which is out of sight at the time of speech:

(58) A. - *Zarflar nerede?*

   'Where are the envelopes?'

   B. - *İkinci çekmecede olacaklar.*

   'They'll be in the second drawer.'

(v) Assumptive use of *olması gerek / lazım*:

This structure is one of the ways of marking necessity as will be seen in the next section. The secondary function of the 3rd person form of this structure is to denote strong assumption based on information. Time reference is either present or past if marked by *-mIş*:

(57) *Bu saatte Ali'nin işte olması lazım.*

   'Ali must be at work at this hour.'

   (I know his hours of work.)

(58) *Herkesin afişi görmüş olması gerek.*

   'Everyone must have seen the notice.'

   (It was in an obvious place.)

(vi) Deductions with *olmalı*:

The copular / auxiliary verb *ol-* expresses inference based on strong circumstantial evidence when marked by the *-mAlI*. The time reference in nominal sentences is present:

(59) *Kapı açık, evde olmalılar.*

'The door's open; they must be at home.'

3.4.2 Possibility and Necessity in MST

The notions of possibility and necessity are different from other categories of modality as they have objective components, which are unattached to the viewpoint or discernment of the speaker. For instance, *Ahmet can swim two kilometres* is an objective possibility whereas *The card has to be inserted slowly* is an objective necessity.

3.4.2.1 The Expression of Possibility in MST

Possibility and impossibility in MST are marked by *-(y)Abil-* and *-(y)AmA* respectively, e.g.: *konuş-**abil**-mek* 'to be able to talk', *gör-**eme**-yen-ler* 'those unable to see'. In cases, where *–(y)Abil* is attached to a verb stem marked with the negative marker, implies the probability of the action not taking place, or the freedom of the subject no to perform it, e.g.: *söyle-me-yebil-mek* 'to be able not to say'.

It is possible to sub-categorize possibility in MST as objective possibility and speaker generated possibility.

3.4.2.2 Objective Possibility in MST

Objective possibility implies either the competence of the subject to accomplish an action or that there is no obstacle to prevent an event from taking place. In utterances containing objective possibility, the possibility or impossibility of actualization (taking effect) is denoted by the tense / aspect / modality markers succeeding *–(y)Abil / -(y)AmA*.

Statements marked with the aorist only denote the existence or non-existence of the possibility of occurrence of an action without touching on the question of actualization. Categorization of the (im)possibility statements marked by the aorist, would be parallel to that of modalized statements typically expressed by the aorist:

(i) Statements of generalized validity

(60) *Kaplumbağa hızlı yürüyemez.*

'A tortoise cannot walk fast'

(ii) Hypothetical statements

(61) *Masayı şuraya koyabiliriz*

'We can / could put the table here' (If we so decide(d).)

In cases, where the *–(y)Abilir* or *–(y)AmAz* is combined with the past copular *–(y)DI* a counterfactual meaning, implying that an action imagined as having been possible at some time in the past was not actualized, is denoted:

(62) *Daha uygun bir saat seçebilirdininiz.*

'You could have chosen a more convenient time.' (Implies that you didnot).

(iii) Assumptions and conjectures with future time reference

(63) *Belki bunca zamandan sonra birbirimizi tanıyamayız.*

'Maybe we won't be able to recognize each other after all this time.'

Unlike possibility statements marked with the aorist, the ones marked with *–DI*, *-mIş*, *-(I)yor* or *–mAktA* always denote the actualization of the (im)possibility:

(64) *Geçen yıl Bodrum'a dört defa gidebildik.*

'Last year we were able to go to Bodrum four times.' (Implies that we did this.)

(65) *Filiz o gün oğluyla konuşamamıştı.*

'Filiz hadn't been able to talk to her son that day.'

(Implies that she had not talked to him.)

In cases, where the possibility statement is marked by the future marker *–(y)AcAk*, it is simply denoted that a possibility (or the lack of it) is or was regarded as certain to take place at some time in the future. The question of actualization does not arise:

(66) *Yeni evimizden işime bisikletle gidemeyeceğim*.

'From our new house I shan't be able to go to work by bicycle.'

78

The form *–(y)Abiliyor* can also be used for expressing that a situation tends to occur from time to time:

> (67) *Plastik parçalar zamanla aşınabiliyor.*
>
> 'The parts made of plastic can / tend to erode by time.'

3.4.2.3 Speaker-generated Possibility in MST

There are two types of speaker-generated possibility. These are permissive possibility and speculative possibility.

(i) Permissive Possibility

Permission to an action to be performed by a speaker to a second or third person is expressed by *–(y)Abilir*:

> (68) *bilgisayarımı (ne zaman istersen) kullanabilirsin.*
>
> 'You can use my computer (whenever you like).'
>
> (I give you permission)

Prohibition is marked by *–(y)AmAz*:

> (69) *Burada oturamazsınız.*
>
> 'You can't sit here.' (I / We don't allow it.)

(ii) Speculative Possibility

Speculative possibility is usually expressed by *–(y)Abilir* and denotes a judgement about a possibility of an event taking place:

> (70) *Bugün yağmur yağabilir.*
>
> 'It may / could rain today.'

Infrequently it is possible to denote speculative possibility with *–(y)Abilecek*. This form gives a greater sense of authority to statement about the possible occurrence of a future event than *–(y)Abilir*:

(71) *Bu evler birkaç yıl sonra yıkılabilecek.*

'These houses may be demolished in a few years' time.'

It possible to use *–(y)Abilir* in statements denoting negative or (objectively) impossible situations in addition to positive ones:

(72) *Yağmur yağmayabilir.*

'It may not rain.' / 'It is possible (that) it won't rain.'

(73) *Coşkun'u ikna edemeyebilirim.*

'I may not be able to persuade Coşkun.'

The negative possibility aorist form *–(y)AmAz*, which normally does not denote a speculative meaning with verbs in general, can be used to negate a speculative possibility on the basis of other known facts when used with the copular / auxiliary *ol-* 'to be'.

(74) *Osman Ankara'da olamaz.*

'Osman cannot be in Ankara.' (e.g. because I saw him in London an hour ago)

(75) *Sen bu ceketimi daha önce görmüş olamazsın.*

'You cannot have seen this jacket of mine before.' (e.g. because I have only just bought it)

As it is seen from the examples above, the sequence *–(y)Abilir* is ambiguous potentially denoting objective, speculative and permissive readings in sentences expressing events in which human agency is involved. Therefore it is possible to translate the following sentence into English in three ways:

(76) *Ahmet tezini bu odada yazabilir.*

(a) 'Ahmet can / could write his thesis in this room.' (There is nothing to prevent him from doing this.) (objective)

(b) 'Ahmet can write his thesis in this room.' (I permit him to use the room for this purpose.) (permissive)

(b) 'Ahmet may write his thesis in this room.' (I consider it possible that he will decide to do so / perhaps he will do so.) (speculative)

3.4.2.4 The Expression of Necessity / Obligation in MST

In MST, it possible to express necessity / obligation in two ways: grammatically and lexically. The grammatical marker of necessity / obligation is the suffix –*mAlI*:

(77) *Ankara'ya gitmeliyim.*

'I must go to Ankara.'

It possible to express necessity / obligation by lexical means in three ways:

(i) As the subject of a nominal sentence with *gerek / lazım* 'necessary' or *şart* 'essential' as the complement:

(78) *Ankara'ya gitmem lazım / gerek / şart.*

'I have to go to Ankara.' / It's essential for me to go to Ankara.' (lit. My going to Ankara is necessary / essential.)

(ii) As the subject of a verbal sentence with *gerek-* 'be necessary' as the predicate:

(79) *Ankara'ya gitmem gerekiyor.*

'I have to go to Ankara.' (lit. My going to Ankara is necessary).

(iii)As the modifier in a –*(s)I* compound of which the head is *zor / mecburiyet* 'compulsion' or *durum* 'situation':

(80) *Ankara'ya gitmek zorundayım (mecburiyetindeyim) / durumundayım.*

'I have to / am obliged to go to Ankara.' (lit. 'I am in the compulsion / situation of going to Ankara.')

There is a fundamental difference between the grammatically expressed –*mAlI* form on the one hand, and the lexically expressed forms on the other. The grammatically expressed form denotes speaker-generated necessity / obligation and the lexically expressed forms objective necessity / obligation.

In addition to personalized examples in sentences (78), (79) and (80), it is possible to express objective necessity impersonally, with a *–mAk* clause as the subject of *lazım* or *gerek*:

> (81) *Burasını da doldurmak gerekiyor mu?*
>
> 'Is it necessary to / Does one have to fill this part as well?'

3.4.3 Evidentiality in MST

Evidentiality is a speaker-generated modality consisting of articulations constructed upon information received indirectly. It is possible to mark evidential modality by two markers in MST. One of them is the same verbal suffix used for marking relative past tense and perfective aspect, which is *–mIş*. The other marker of evidential modality is the copular suffix *–(y)ImIş*, which is purely a marker of evidential modality. The origin of the second-hand information upon which evidentiality is based is generally either someone else's assertion or a resultant state. In cases marked by *–(y)ImIş* the statements may sometimes denote a new discovery on the part of the speaker.

3.4.3.1 Evidential Modality Based on Information in MST

The use of an evidential marker is not a matter of choice in MST, when a speaker is transmitting information that they have acquired verbally from any other source. The absence of the evidential marker suggests that the statement is based on personal experience or observation. The following example illustrates the difference between the usage of *–mIş* and *–DI* more clearly:

> (82) (a) (Ali, to Gül) *Bahçeye bir meşe ağacı diktim.*
>
> 'I have planted an oak tree in the garden.'
>
> (b) (Gül, to Orhan) *Ali bahçesine bir meşe ağacı dikmiş.*
>
> 'Ali has apparently planted an oak tree in his garden.'
>
> (c) (Orhan, to Ali) *Sen bir meşe ağacı dikmişsin, bana göstersene.*
>
> 'I've heard you've planted an oak tree; why don't you show me?'

In cases, which the information transmitted by the speaker is not a completed, past tense event, the evidential copular marker *–(y)ImIş* is used. This marker has no temporal or aspectual meaning and the aspectual connotation of a sentence marked with *–(y)ImIş* is exactly the same of that of the same sentence without evidential marking. In situations, which

ambiguity of tense reference, i.e. past / non-past, arises in sentences marked with –(y)ImIş, a time adverbial is used since only one copular marker may appear on a verb:

(83) (a) (Ayşe to Çiğdem) *Annem biraz rahatsız.*

'My mother is not very well.'

(b) (Çiğdem to Nesrin) *Ayşe'nin annesi biraz rahatsızmış.*

'It seems Ayşe's mother is not very well.'

(84) (a) (Ayşe to Çiğdem) *O gün annem biraz rahatsızdı.*

'My mother was not very well that day.'

(b) (Çiğdem to Nesrin) *O gün Ayşe'nin annesi biraz rahatsızmış.*

'Apparently Ayşe's mother was not very well that day.'

3.4.3.2 Evidential Modality Based on Result in MST

The verbal suffix *–mIş* is also use for denoting an occurrence, which the speaker did not experience personally but is able to deduce from its consequence:

(85) (Commenting on a painting)

Ressam iki figürün arasını boş bırakmış.

'The painter has left the space between the two figures empty.'

(86) (On finding one's glasses are not in one's bag/pocket)

Gözlüğümü yanıma almamışım.

'I seem not to have brought my glasses with me.'

3.4.3.3 Newly Discovered State of Affairs Marked by the Evidential Copula in MST

Newly discovered state of affairs marked by the evidential copula *–(y)ImIş* often involves surprise:

(87) (On opening the fridge)

Aaa, yiyecek hiçbir şey yokmuş.

'Oh, there's absolutely nothing to eat.'

3.4.4 Volitional Modality in MST

Volitional utterances are not statements, but expressions of the speaker's (or in interrogative form the hearer's) will or desire in relation to the situation expressed.

3.4.4.1 Wishes in MST

Wishes verbally are marked by the forms *–sA* and *–sAydI* in MST. It is possible to categorize wishes in three sub-groups:

3.4.4.1.1 Realizable wishes to perform action in MST:

This type of wish is expressed by *–sA*:

(88) *Bu akşam güzel bir film seyretsek.*

'It would be nice to watch a good film this evening.'

3.4.4.1.2 Wishes which are beyond the speaker's power in MST:

–sA is also used for expressing wishes, whose fulfilment is beyond the speaker's power. These are often marked by the particle *keşke* 'if only' or the adverbial *bir* 'once':

(89) *Keşke daha çok param olsa.*

'If only I had more money.'

(90) *Bu soğuklar (bir) bitse artık...*

'If only this cold weather would come to an end...'

3.4.4.1.3 Counterfactual wishes or regrets in MST:

Counterfactual wishes or regrets are marked by –sAydI and is often marked by *keşke* 'if only':

(91) *Keşke Hülya'ya söylemeseydin.*

'If only you hadn't told Hülya.'

3.4.4.2 Commands in MST

3.4.4.2.1 Basic Commands in MST:
Basic commands in MST are either marked with the absence of a marker or by the verbal suffix *–(y)In(Iz)*:

> (92) *Bu parayı baban(ız)a ver(in).*
>
> 'Give this money to your father.'

The longer form, *-(y)InIz* of the 2nd person plural commands is used mainly in formal public commands:

> (92) *Lütfen kemerlerinizi bağlayınız.*
>
> 'Please fasten your seatbelts.'

3.4.4.2.2 Third person instructions in MST:
Third person instructions in MST are marked with the verbal suffixes *–sIn(lAr)*:

> (93) *Çocuklar burada kalsınlar.*
>
> 'Let the children stay here.'/ 'I want the children to stay here.' / 'See to it that the children stay here.'

3.4.4.2.3 Persuasive Commands in MST:
The persuasive commands in MST are marked by *–sAnA* and *–sAnIzA* being singular and plural respectively. *–sAn(Iz)A* are not so much commands but pointers to, or reminders of, something that needs to be done. They often denote impatience on the part of the speaker:

> (94) *Artık yatsan(ız)a, uyukluyorsunuz.*
>
> 'Why don't you go to bed now, you're nodding off.'

3.4.4.2.4 Imperative use of the future tense marker in MST:
The future tense marker *–(y)AcAk*, also is used for expressing an action that someone in a position of authority or power expects others to perform, in addition to its temporal implication:

(95) *Oraya bir daha gitmeyeceksin, anladın mı?*

'You're not going to go there again, do you understand?'

(96) *Bütün bunlar atılacaktı.*

'All these were supposed to be thrown away.'

3.4.4.3 Suggestions in MST:

Suggestions in MST are marked by the first person singular and plural optative markers –*(y)AyIm* and –*(y)AlIm*:

(97) *Sana yardım edeyim.*

'Let me help you.'

(98) *Biraz konuşalım.*

'Let's have a bit of chat.'

3.4.4.4 Deliberation about Possible Action in MST:

Verbs marked with the first person conditional markers –*sAm*, -*sAk* become consultative when they are used in a question. The difference between this form and the question form marked with the first person optative suffix is that the addresser considers the decision in the form marked with the conditional suffix to be more puzzling and does not presume the addressee to be able to give a simple answer:

(99) *Bu konuda kime danışsam acaba?*

'I wonder who I should consult about this.'

3.4.4.5 Requests and Offers in MST:

Requests and offers are marked by the second person aorist interrogative. Structurally requests and offers are exactly the same:

Request:

(100) *Benimle hastaneye gelir misin?*

'Would you (please) come with me to the hospital?'

Offer:

(101) *Çay içer misiniz?*

'Will you have / Would you like some tea?'

Offers in negative question forms are more persuasive in tone:

(102) *Oturmaz mısınız?*

'Won't you sit down?'

3.4.4.6 Commitments in MST

In MST the commitments or promises are expressed by the first person aorist:

(103) A – *Benimle evlenir misin?*

'Will you marry me?'

B – *Evlenirim.*

'Yes, I will.'

CHAPTER IV: OLD ANATOLIAN TURKISH

4.1 Ethnic and Cultural Composition of Pre-Turkish Anatolia

Like any other empire the population of the Byzantine Empire was far from being ethnically homogenous and it acquired its predominantly Greek character only after loosing its preponderantly non-Greek speaking realms to the Arab conquests in the seventh century. The loss of Syria and Egypt, where literature in indigenous tongues was flourishing, together with Latin and Punic speaking Africa left the empire with lands under stronger Hellenistic influence such as Anatolia, parts of the Balkan Peninsula, Aegean Islands, Sicily and some areas of Italy (Charanis 1959: 25). However the depth of the Hellenistic influence on the local populations is rather controversial. Therefore, in order to understand the linguistic complexity the Turks encountered upon their arrival, it would be useful to take a glance at the ethnic and linguistic structure of Anatolia, which had become Hellenized in three phases; during the classical Greek antiquity, the Hellenistic and Roman era and finally the Byzantine period (Vryonis 1963: 114).

The linguistic situation of pre-Christian Anatolia with its very complex structure is compared to that of the Caucasus (Sayce 1923: 396). Populations inhabiting Western Anatolia were originating mainly from the Aegean Islands and the mainland Europe and those populating the east from both Europe and Asia. Vryonis (1971: 43) lists Urartians, Hittites, Phrygians, Lydians, Lycians, Carians, Cappadocians, Isaurians, Armenians, Kurds[43], Greeks, Jews, Cimmerians, Persians, Mysians and Lycaonians as some of the peoples, who had inhabited Anatolia in the first millennium B.C.

The earliest known Greek colonies in Anatolia are the ones established on the western and southern coastal regions with mercantile intentions during the Mycenaean period (14th-

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[43] Vryonis must have interpreted "kardouhoui" mentioned by Xenephon to be the ancestors of the Modern Kurds as the ethnonym 'Kurd' did not appear until the Arab conquest (Bois – Minorsky – MacKenzie 1986: 449).

12th centuries BC). The second flow of Greek colonization came with the settlement of the western coasts by Aeolians, Ionians and Dorians around 800 B.C., who subsequently colonized the Black Sea coasts. This second wave of Greek settlement played a crucial role in the ethnographic development of Anatolia as it constituted a footing for the Hellenization of the whole peninsula. In classical ages the linguistic Hellenization was restricted to maritime areas because of the Persian rule in the up-country. Consequently in the late sixth century Anatolia was exposed to competing Hellenization and Iranization (Vryonis 1971: 43-44). From the sixth century to the fourth century B.C. infiltration of Greek cultural influence into Anatolian up-country had been a slow process. Especially Lydians, Carians, Lycians, Cilicians and Paphlagonians had been open to this process during this period (Goetze 1957: 209). The invasion of Anatolia by Alexander the Great hastened the Hellenization process as Hellenism attained political prestige. The primary agent of this process was the establishment of cities by local potentates on Greek models, where the official language was Greek. Accordingly autochthonous urban populations fused under Hellenistic culture. Hellenization in correspondence with urbanization persisted in the Roman and Byzantine periods as well (Vryonis 1971: 43-45). However, in defiance of urban centres, which were influenced by Hellenism intensely, the rural areas of Anatolia were resistant against the penetration of Hellenism. Charanis (1959: 25-26), commenting on information produced by Agathias, Socrates, Migne and Sozomen, claims that the primary indication of the weakness of Hellenism in the countryside was the persistent usage of the native languages in some parts of Anatolia during the Christian era. For instance Phrygian, Celtic in Galatia, Lycaonian, Mysian, Cappadocian and Isaurian were still spoken in the sixth century. Additionally there is evidence that Phrygians still were not completely Hellenized in the ninth century. The Orthodox Church in addition to the Greek language was / is regarded to be one of the main

elements of the Greek culture. Therefore the persistence of dissident sects[44] native to Anatolia is also regarded to be the indication of the resistance of local cultures against Hellenism (Charanis 1961: 141). On the other hand, the question whether the linguistic Hellenization of the non-Greek peoples of the empire was an intended assimilation policy executed by the imperial elite is one that should be answered. Mango (1980: 27-28) claims that the answer of this question is negative as the designation 'Greek' does not appear in the literature of the period and instead conversion of peoples to Orthodox Christianity is mentioned repeatedly. He suggests that the use of the Greek language for the evangelization of non-Christians and imposing Greek as the liturgical language was a natural result of the absence of linguistically qualified clergy. Probably the diverse nature of the population also contributed to the use of the Greek language.

The connection between the endurance of non-Greek native languages and heresy was first put forth by Holl (1908: 253), but is strongly argued against by Vryonis (1971: 59-60). However, it should be born in mind that this linguistic Hellenization process was only limited to the coastal regions of the peninsula. The coastal areas had been Hellenized for more than thousand years by the reign of Justinian (about 560 AD). In the Black Sea region, the east of Trebizond and Rizaion (Rize) was populated by Caucasian peoples like the Iberians (Georgians), the Laz and the Abasgians (Abkhazians) and the influence of the Greek language ended around present-day Turkish – Georgian border. In contrast to the coastal areas the highland plateau of the peninsula was a mosaic of indigenous peoples and non-native enclaves. It was touched on earlier that Phrygian, Celtic in Galatia, Cappadocian and the native language spoken in Isauria were some of non-Greek languages still spoken in and around Central Anatolia at this period. On the other hand the Greek language had established itself in the Cilician plain. In areas to the east of Cappadocia the Armenian language was

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[44] For detail on native Anatolian sects see Anderson 1906, Ramsay 1931 and Starr 1936.

flourishing with a written literature. In the Mesopotamian regions of Anatolia like Edessa (Urfa), Amida (Diyarbakir), Nisibis (Nusaybin) and Tur Abidin (Şirnak and Eastern Mardin) the Syriac language was used as a spoken and written language. The Monophysite monastic movement was the nourishing power of this language. (Mango 1980: 17-18)[45]. The most important population movement in Anatolia occurred after the annexation of Armenian lands in the east by the Byzantine Empire. Michael the Syrian and Bar Habraeus record that masses of Armenians migrated to the western provinces of the empire and established sizeable colonies in every corner of Anatolia (Vryonis 1971: 53-55). In fact Mango (1980: 26) states that the migration of Armenians into Anatolia started in the sixth century as they had occupied a significant place in the Byzantine army. Many took up residence in Cappadocia, Pergamum and Eastern Anatolia as well as Thrace.

The ethnic structure of Anatolia was further complicated as a result of population transfers carried out by the Byzantine state. There were several reasons for the Byzantine state policy of transplanting populations. Counter to Mango's claim that Hellenization had nothing to do with official or church policy, Vryonis (1971: 49) suggests that masses were removed from their homelands to unfamiliar environments in order to be exposed to Byzantinisation (i.e. Hellenization, Christianization and Orthodoxy) more openly and others were brought to Anatolia for military reasons, whereas others were Christians from lands lost to the Arab conquests. Perhaps Mango's suggestion that linguistic Hellenization was a natural result of the linguistic environment poses a convincing case. However, it is obvious that

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[45] Vryonis (1971: 53-55) draws a rather different picture for the ethnic structure of the Eastern parts of Anatolia in the tenth century. To areas like Amid (Diyarbakir), Mayaferrikin, Chliat, Manzikert (Malazgirt), Ardjish (Ercish) and to the regions northeast of Lake Van he locates the Kurds. He also claims that it was after the Byzantine re-conquest in the east in the tenth century that a mass emigration of Jacobite Syrians occurred to the areas of Melitene (Malatya) and Hanazit, diffusing to Zapetra, Tell Patriq, Simnadu, Saroug, Mardin, Germaniceia (Marash), Laqabin, Hisn Mansur, Goubbos, Gaihan-Barid, Callisura, Mayefarrikin, Arabissus, Melitene (Malatya), Anazarba, Tarsus, Amid (Diyarbakir), Edessa (Urfa), Kaisum, Nisibis (Nusaybin), Tell Arsanias, Claudia, Hisn Ziad, Caesareia (Kayseri), Samosata, Gargar and Erzindjan in the eleventh century. It is possible that the Jacobite church together with the Syriac language had expanded its influence after the Byzantine re-conquest. However, we know (see above for the information provided by Mango) that the Syriac language already existed at least in some of these areas in the sixth century.

Hellenization of transplanted populations served the purpose of the Byzantine State as they often included groups causing trouble for the empire in other provinces. On the other hand Charanis (1961: 151) emphasizes that economic reasons as well played a great role in these population transfers as some parts of the country were ruined by the Arab campaigns and needed to be re-peopled and rehabilitated. Vandals settled in Anatolia by Justinian (Procopius), Goths in Bithynia (Theophanes), Mardaites from Lebanon in Attaleia (Antalya)(Theophanes, Michael the Syrian, Porphyrogenitus), Cypriots in Cyzicus (Theophanes, Michael the Syrian), Persians and Arabs in Western Anatolia (Ibn Haukal) and Black Africans in South-western Anatolia (Jacobus Sirmondus) could be mentioned as some of the ethnic groups transferred to Anatolia (Charanis 1961: 141-149). However, the numerically most significant settlements were the ones of the Slavs. Theophanes records that the first settlement of Slavs in Anatolia was in Bithynia in the first half of the seventh century. But we learn again from Theophanes and Nicephorus that a numerically more significant one was the one established again in Bithynia after the victorious Byzantine campaign to Macedonia in 688[46] (see next paragraph). This community was large enough to supply an army of 30.000 to the Byzantines. Nicephorus adds that seventy years later another group of Slavs numbering 208.000 was settled around the Black Sea coast west of the Sangarius (Sakarya) River. There is evidence that small groups of Slavs were settled in different parts of Anatolia after the eighth century and finally Nicetas Choniates records that in 1129-30 Serbian prisoners were settled in Nicomedia (Charanis 1946-48: 70-73). It is possible that the remnants of these Slavs were still present in Bithynia in the thirteenth century (Charanis 1946-48: 82). In fact Mango (1980: 29) claims that it is a possibility that some of these Slavs were assimilated by the Ottoman Turks without having ever become Greek-speaking.

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[46] Vryonis (1961) suggest that these were Bulghars and were assimilated rapidly with the influence of the army and the church.

Special attention should be given to the Turkic peoples settled in Anatolia by the Byzantines as it is possible that these populations have played an important role in the ethnographic development of at least some regions of the peninsula. Theophanes (Eröz 1983: 17, Yinanç 1944: 167, de Muralt 1855: 150, 235, 275, 357, 520, 521, 635) notes that Turkic Bulghars were settled in Anatolia by Byzantium in 530 around Trebizond[47] and Eastern Anatolia, in 755 in South and South-eastern Anatolia and in 947 in Cappadocia. Additionally Theophanes (Vryonis 1961: 247) reports that Bulghars were settled in Bithynia in the seventh century and Charanis (1961: 149) commenting on the information produced by Cedrenus states that Bulghars were settled around Ephesus at the beginning of the ninth century. These settlers are considered by Charanis and Vyronis to be Slavs[48]. However the linguistic Slavization of the Bulghars accelerated only after when Boris Khan declared Christianity as the formal religion of his realm in 864 (Moravcsik 1958: 112; Menges 1968: 31) and their assimilation was not complete until a century later (Togan 1970: 156). It is possible that at least some of these Bulghars were already on the way of adopting Slavic, i.e. they were partly assimilated, in their Danubian homelands. Additionally some were perhaps exposed to a certain level of assimilation in Anatolia. However, Eröz (1983: 19) takes some geographical names as a proof of the presence of Turkic Bulghars in Anatolia. There are two Mount

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[47] Apart from the Mount Bulgar in Trabzon, which is mentioned by *Aşıkpaşazade*, there are several ethnonyms and toponyms in the Pontus identified with the Bulghars by Bilgin (2002: 150-151). He associates the village names Hortokopuzir (Aşağı "Lower" Hortokop / Kozağaç), Hortokopuvasat (Orta "Middle" Hortokop / Ortaköy), Hortokopubala (Yukarı "Upper" Hortokop / Yukarıköy) in the Değirmendere Valley of Mačka (Matzuka), Kılathortokop (Incesu) in the south of Trabzon, Hortoz (Fenerköy) in Rize, the Hortik village name and the Hortik Creek in the neighbouring Ispir region of Erzerum as well as the family name Hortuoğulları present in the region with the Bulghar tribal name Horto /Hortu. He also links the Savan (Darılı) village name in Of and the Tervel (Korkut) village name in Hayrat with the Bulghars.

[48] On the other hand, Vryonis (1961: 245-246) also discusses that the fact that the family name of St. Ioannicius, which is *Boilas*, is a Turkic word. Vryonis identifies this word with the Bulgharian word used for denoting a noble or high dignitary. The word `boilas` could easily be a loanword in Slavic Bulgarian. However, his village of origin, Marykatos, which is located in the general area of Bulghar settlement in Bithynia, would suggest that Ioannicus was a descendent of the Bulghars settled as soldiers in the Opsikion theme in the seventh century. Additionally his service in the army for twenty four years may also be a confirmation of this possibility as the Bulghars were used as soldiers by the Byzantines (Vryonis 1961: 247). If we take into consideration the historical fact that the linguistic Slavization of the Bulghars accelerated after the second half of the ninth century, it would be more accurate to take this word as an original Turkic Bulghar word rather than a loanword into Slavic Bulgarian.

Bulgars in Anatolia; one of them in modern Trabzon and the other in Tarsus. The one in Trabzon is also mentioned in the *A Additionally the region* between modern Tarsus and Karaman is called *Havali-i Bulgar ve Gülnar* by Ibn Bibi. Morever Şikari in his Karamanid History names the people of this area as the *Bulgar Kavmi* 'Bulghar Horde' and the *Bulgar Taifesi* 'Bulghar Tribe' (Eröz 1983: 20). In fact Tipkova-Zaimova (2002: 242) records that Şikari makes reference in 150 places to these Bulghars in his work. In the Adana *Mufassal* of the year 980 A.H. (1572-1573 A.D.) the ethnonym appears as a tribal name in several instances as in *Cemmat-ı Ordu-ı Bulgarlu*, *Cemaat-ı Halil Beylü tabi-i Bulgarlu*, *Cemaat-ı Kıpçak tabi-i Bulgarlu* and *Cemaat-ı Balcı tabi-i Bulgarlu* (Eröz 1983: 20). These tribal references are important as they show that the Bulghars did not disappear as a social group even in the Ottoman era. Additionally they are a proof that at least some of them did not lose their identity during the Byzantine period. In fact, the presence of a *Bulgarlu* tribe with a sub-group named *Kipchak* also provokes the intriguing idea that the Bulghars preserved their tribal organisation in addition to their identity. It should be born in mind that the Cuman-Kipchaks played an important role in the Danubian Bulgharian society in the late 12th and early 13th centuries (Pritsak 1982: 373; Vasary 2005: 63-65). On the other hand it is beyond doubt that all these references may well indicate to Slavic-speaking Bulgarians. However there are a few clues in Şikari's work that may imply that these Bulghars maintained at least some Turkic cultural features. Eröz (1983: 20) points out that a Bulghar chieftain in Tarsus named *Yahşi Bey* and his son *Aydın* are recorded in Şikari's chronicle. Additionally Tipkova-Zaimova (2002: 242) notes that Şikari mentions a certain Bulghar leader called Yakmi Kagan, who was killed in a battle against the Karamanids in 1228. There is no doubt that the first two of these names are Turkic and the title 'kagan' is an appellation connected with Turkic peoples more than often. If the information provided by Dimitrov (1993), referring to a Bulgarian Apocryphal Chronicle, that a Turkic-speaking Bulghar layer

existed along the River Danube even in the 12th century is born in mind, it would be more accurate to treat at least some of the Bulgarians transferred to Anatolia before this date as Turkic rather than Slavic.

However that may be, Bulghars were neither the first nor the last Turkic people to be transplanted to Anatolia by the Byzantines. Avars[49] were settled in Eastern Anatolia twice. The first group was transferred by Justinian II in 577 and the second group by Heraclius in 620.

Special attention should be given to the Pechenegs and the Uzes amongst Turkic peoples as they are regarded to be from the same stock as the Turkic masses entering Anatolia from the east, i.e. the Oghuz. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries Pechenegs were settled in Western Anatolia and Cilicia. Despite the fact that the origin of the Pechenegs[50] and the type of the Turkic language they spoke is a matter of controversy, there is a notable tendency to accept them as an Oghuz group. Nemeth and Ligeti (Golden 2002: 313) consider them most probably to be a Kipchak-speaking group. On the other hand Kurat (1937: 23;

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[49] Avars are one of the peoples of Eurasia, whose language is a matter of controversy. Some scholars suggest that they spoke a kind of Mongolian and others claim that they spoke in Turkic. The Mongolian origin of the Avars was first put forth by Pelliot. Menges has supported this idea by adding a few Altaic words, which he regards to be with Mongolian features and were borrowed by Slavic languages. The form of the name 'Bayan', which is the name of the first kagan of the Avars in Pannonia, is considered as the proof for the Mongolian origin of this people as it would be expected to be 'Bay' in Turkic. Ligeti agrees that the language of the early Avars was Mongolian, but Turkic together with other languages was spoken in the late Avar Empire. The defenders of the Turkic character of the language of the Avars like Vambery, Gombocz, Nemeth, Moravcsik and Harmatta take personal names and titles recorded in Byzantine and Latin sources as base to their claims. Despite all the controversy, inscriptions found recently, which the longest is the one in Szarvas in Hungary, has proved that Turkic and Slavic were spoken in the late Avar Empire (Rona-Tas 1996: 181).

[50] The history of the Chinese dynasty Sui (581-618), which was compiled in 629-636, seems to be the first place where the ethnonym Pecheneg appears. This source records a "barbaric" organisation around modern Tashkent with the name Pei-ju (*pəkńžiok) (Pritsak 1975: 211). Pelliot (1949: 226) identified this ethnonym with the Pecheneg, which is widely accepted in the scholarly world. The ethnonym appears in Tibetan sources as Be-cha-nag, in Islamic sources as bcnāk, bcānāk, bcnh, in Georgian sources as Pachanik-i, in Armenian sources as Pacinnak, in Greek sources as Patzinakitai. Patzinakoi, in Old Russian sources as Pecheneg, in Latin sources as Pizenaci, Bisseni, Bysseni, Bessi, Besseneu and in Hungarian sources as Besenyő (Golden 2002: 312). Kurat (1937: 25) in the steps of Gombocz (1918: 209) and Bang (1918: 436-37) attributes the ethnoym "Pecheneg" to the personal name "beče" marked with the diminutive suffix "-nek". On the other hand more convincingly Pritsak (1952: 52, 79; 1975: 211) connects this ethnonym with the appellative pečeneg < bečeneg / bačanag "brother-in-law" designating the representatives of the ruling clan within a tribal unit, who formed a class of brother-in-laws, related to the Turkic A-shih-na Dynasty (522-744) through marital ties.

1972: 22), and Sümer (1992: 238) following the steps of Kashgari, Rashidaddin and Yazicioghlu note them amongst the Oghuz tribes. Perhaps the roots of the controversy are in Kashgari's Divan. Kashgari mentions two separate Turkic groups under the name Pecheneg (Becenek): The Turk Pecheneg and the Oghuz Pecheneg (Erdi & Yurteser 2005: 179). Sümer regards the latter originally to be a part of the Turk Pecheneg and to be absorbed by the Oghuz. Does this mean that the Pecheneg originally spoke a Kipchak language and the Oghuz group lost their language in Oghuz-speaking surroundings? This may perhaps explain why Nemeth and Ligeti consider them to be a Kipchak-speaking group. Baykara (2004: 104) mentions a certain *Becene oğlu Kızıl Beg*, who was an influential tribal leader in Western Anatolia in the 13th century. Additionally there are Pecheneg villages recorded in the *Tahrir Defters* in the Ankara Sancak in the 16th century and a Pecheneg Valley again in Ankara (Sümer 1992: 238-39). The settlements and geographical names prove that certainly there has been a Pecheneg existence in post-Byzantine Anatolia. However it is not clear whether this Pecheneg imprint is a one from the Byzantine period or the Seljukid period, i.e. are they remnants of the Pechenegs transferred to Anatolia from the Balkans by the Byzantine state or are they remnants of Pechenegs, who came to Anatolia from the east together with other Oghuz groups. On the other hand tax records show that there were four Pecheneg groups around modern-day Adana in the 16th century (Sümer 1992: 239), which are possible to be the remnants of the Pechenegs settled to Cilicia in the 11th-12th centuries.

Also Uzes were transferred to Anatolia at different dates. It is even harder to detect the impact of the Uzes as they were exactly the same people, perhaps except religion, as the Oghuz groups, who entered Anatolia from the east. Uzes are a Turkic group, who entered the Balkans from the North of the Black Sea. They are recorded in the Byzantine sources as the 'Ouz+oi', in the Old Rus sources as the 'Tork' (Golden 2002: 241) and in the Arabic sources as 'Ghuzz' (Cahen – Deverdun – Holt 1986: 1106b). The etymology of the Byzantine

denomination probably is 'Oghuz+oi > Ouz+oi'. Kurat (1972: 65) claims that they had formed the western wing of the Oghuz tribal confederacy. They moved westward reaching the Balkans after the disintegration of the Oghuz Union whilst the rest of the Oghuz moved south and southeast. The fate of these non-Muslim Uz groups, who were transferred to Anatolia, is not very clear. Most probably most of them mingled with the Muslim Oghuz coming from the east. However, there is always the possibility that at least some of them played a role in the genesis of the Turkish-speaking Christians of Anatolia.

Cumans entered Anatolia from two different directions. One group entered from the Caucasus and settled in East Anatolia and Eastern Black Sea regions. The *Tahrir Defter*s of the 16th Century show that some of the Cumans, who settled around the Black Sea Region, maintained their identity well into the Ottoman era. In the *Tahrir Defter* of the Trabzon district (*sanjak*) of the year 1515/16 numbered 52 in the Ottoman Archive of the Prime Minister's Office it is recorded that nine of the fifty five Christian households in the *Zavli* village of the *Sürmene* sub-district (*nahiye*) are Cuman (Bilgin 1990: 233)[51]. Additionally Bilgin (2007: 172-179) notes tens of toponyms, which he explains with Cuman origins. The second group came from the Balkans and were transferred to Anatolia by the Byzantines. The biggest Cuman colony in Anatolia was established in 1252 in the Maeander Valley and around Ankara (Eröz 1983: 24-27). Gregoras records that Cumans were also settled both in their Asian and European provinces by the emperors of Nicaea in the thirteenth century (Charanis 1961: 149).

In the light of the information provided it would not be inaccurate to suggest that the population of Anatolia was far from being homogenous at the dawn of the Turkish invasion. However, it should be born in mind that linguistic Hellenization, which started to gain ground

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[51] Zachariadou (1995:285) notes that Trapezuntines with Cumans names played a great role in the establishment of the Trapezuntine state. However he regards them to be Georgians. Zachariadou's confusion of Cumans with Georgians is justifiable as at least two great waves of Cumans had settled into Georgian territory (Golden 1984).

in Anatolia during the Hellenistic Antiquity, accelerated with the spread of Orthodox Christianity. The Greek language which had been the state language from the 6th century onwards entrenched itself in Anatolia by becoming the lingua sacra of the population as the holly scripts were in Greek (Mackridge 1985: 3, Umar 1998:16)[52]. By the beginning of the 7th Century apart from possible pockets of speakers of the ancient languages of Anatolia like Cappadocian and the Armenian-speaking population the population of the Anatolia became Greek-speaking as far as the banks of the River Euphrates. Armenian maintained its position as a well established language in Anatolia as its speakers remained outside the sphere of the Greek-orthodox church. Likewise Syriac Arabic held its ground particularly in the south-eastern parts of Anatolia since it was the lingua sacra of the Monophysite, Jacobite and Chaldean Christianity. As for Turkic languages in pre-Seljukid Anatolia we have no evidence for the existence of the languages. However, we know from historical sources that groups of Turkic peoples entered Anatolia at various dates. Probably the early comers became linguistically Hellenized or at least became bilingual in Greek or other indigenous languages. On the other hand there is the possibility that the late comers like the Uzes or the Cumans retained their languages.

4.2 Turkification of Anatolia

4.2.1 The Coming of Turks

Despite the fact that Turkic elements, who were transplanted to Anatolia by the Byzantines from the west and penetrated the country from the north-east over the Caucasus (Kramers 1954a: 25; also see end of previous section), existed in Anatolia prior to the Turcoman incursions of the 11th century, it has become traditional among historians to start the Turkification process of the peninsula with these incursions as the impact of previous elements on the local society is not known clearly. The frontier regions had been affected by

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[52] For a detailed account on the sociolinguistic development of the Greek language in the Antiquity and the Medieval Era see Browning 1983: 1-68.

endless Byzantine – Arab confrontations in the previous centuries and had deteriorated to a great extend (Taeschner 1960: 465b). Additionally the area was populated insufficiently as a result of over-taxation (Taeschner 1966: 739). The occupation of the Kingdom of Armenia by Basil II (976-1025) and his heirs, removed a buffer state as well as alienating the local population (Ménage 1979: 55) and as a consequence the borders were breached by the Turcomans, who occasionally had the assistance of Christian locals (Cahen 1954: 11), without difficulty. The first known Turcoman assault on Anatolia took place in 1018. The repeated raids in the following thirty years had the characteristics of reconnaissance and did not affect the status quo (Turan 1970: 231)[53]. However in 1048 came the first major Turkish military expedition, which devastated Eastern and North-east Anatolia (Cahen 1946-48: 14). Ceaseless Turcoman forays, intermittently reinforced by Seljukid forces, during the ensuing time period until the Battle of Manzikert in 1071 had proven to be rather effective in incapacitating Byzantine resistance. By 1071 towns of Erzurum / Theodosioupolis (in 1048), Kars (1054), Malatya / Melitene (1057), Sivas / Sebastia (1059), Kayseri / Caesarea (1067), Niksar / Neocaesarea, Konya / Iconium and Ammuriyya / Amorium (1068), Honas / Khonae (1069) as well as lowlands and highlands of Eastern, Central and Western Anatolia were under Turcoman domination[54]. But despite these military expansions, as a consequence of the presence of many fortified castles and cities manned by Byzantine forces, Anatolia was not a secure place for Turks to colonize at this time yet (Cahen 1968: 70-71; Turan 1970: 231-232).

4.2.2 Settlement of Turks in Anatolia

The presence of nomadic Turcomans in great numbers within their borders had been a problematic issue for the sultans since the foundation of the Seljukid State. Their nomadic

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[53] However, Vryonis (1971: 80-81), who states that there is a confusion on the date of the first Turkish raid into Anatolia, due to the perplexity in the Muslim, Greek, Armenian and Syriac sources, puts forth the raid on the district of Vaspouragan as the first Turkish raid and dates is as 1016-17. On the other hand Cahen (1968: 67-68) dates this raid as 1029 and states that earlier dates, which are linked with the cession to Byzantium of his kingdom by the king of Vaspouragan, seems impossible as this cession took place as a result of pressure exerted by the Byzantine Emperor Basil II. and the aggressiveness of the Kurdish princes of North-western Iran.
[54] For an elaborate account of this period with detail on the Byzantine internal factors see Vryonis 1971: 70-96.

way of life, which was in need of vast grazing lands for their herds and included pillaging for subsistence, entailed unavoidable clashes with the settled rural populations of the empire and they were considered to constitute a threat to the law and order of the country. Therefore by directing these Turcoman groups to Anatolia the Seljukid sultans not only imperilled the Byzantine Empire but also provided the Turcomans with land and livelihood and accordingly impeded the plundering of Muslim lands (Turan 1970: 232).

After the Byzantine forces were annihilated in 1071 at the Battle of Manzikert the Turcoman expansion and colonisation of Anatolia started (Turan 1970: 233). Turcoman raiding bands roaming the countryside were interfering with communications between towns and were immobilizing Byzantine administration (Taeschner 1960: 465b). However the first mass migration of nomadic Turks into the peninsula occurred in 1080 after the Turkish forces had reached the straits in Western Anatolia (Taeschner 1960: 235). This westward flow of nomadic Turcomans merged with the settled Turkic populations and slave soldiery of the march areas of the previous Islamic principalities (Cahen 1946-48: 7-8) accelerating the Turcification process of Anatolia and forming the demographic basis of the Sultanate of Rum. Nevertheless this young sultanate did not become the only centre of attraction for the new inhabitants of Anatolia. In addition to captured Turks, who were forcibly settled into Byzantine territory (Brand 1989: 13 and 22), many Turks entered Byzantine service as recruits or settled voluntarily into Byzantine lands as refugees (Brand 1989: 18)[55]. These Turks enlisted in Byzantine service with various reasons. Some took refuge because of internal struggles among Turks, some were lured by Byzantine gifts and titles, and others

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[55] Noting that Turks existed in Byzantine service as early as 10th century, Brand (1989: 2-11) gives detailed information on prominent individuals from Turkish origin in Byzantine service.

were simply attracted by urban life (Brand 1989: 14). Quite a few of these Turks were baptized and converted to Christianity (Brand 1989: 16)[56].

Turkish expansion into Byzantine territory was brought to a halt by the First Crusade (Taeschner 1960: 466b) and Turks were expelled from Western Anatolia as well as northern and southern coastal areas after 1110, reducing the realm of the Sultanate of Rum to the environs of Konya and inflicting great population loss on Turcomans (Vryonis 1971: 116-117). Driving back Turcomans eastwards reinforced their numbers in the mountains dividing the coastal areas from the Anatolian plateau. This compacted Turcoman presence in the mountains constituted a buffer zone between Konya and Byzantium, protecting the Sultanate of Rum from further losses (Vryonis 1975: 44). The circumspection of Byzantines in this century forced at least some of the Turcomans to settle in and colonize the rural regions of Anatolia, which were in their possession, adopting an agricultural and pastoral mode of life (Taeschner 1966: 743). The Battle of Myriokephalon in 1176 put an end to the Byzantine offensive and advances in Anatolia, not only extinguishing the dream of recovering Anatolia from the Turks but reversing the situation, which no longer (and never again) favoured the Byzantines (Vryonis 1971: 126-127). By the end of the century Anatolia already started to appear as 'Turchia' in Western sources (Cahen 1968: 145). This event also marked the end of Turkish presence in Byzantine service simply because Byzantium became ineffectual in the struggle for supremacy in Anatolia and therefore Turks no longer regarded becoming Byzantine profitable (Brands 1989: 12).

The Mongol invasion at the end of the 13th century triggered a second mass Turcoman migration and tribes from Transoxiana and Khurasan poured into Anatolia (Vryonis 1971:

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[56] It is another story how many of these conversions were genuine or whether baptism was only regarded as a tool for infiltrating the Byzantine society. Chaka, who established a maritime principality sets a good example for this type of conversion (Brand 1989: 17)

133), who partly were their companions and partly were driven out from their homelands by them increasing the nomadic element in Anatolia (Taeschner 1960: 467a). The newcomers were transferred to the marches together with nomads, who were forcibly driven there by the Seljukid central authority. In the south the region around Alaiyya / Alanya and Antalya (Attaleia) directed against Lesser Armenia and the Kingdom of Cyprus, in the north regions surrounding the Empire of Trebizond and in the west the frontier with the Byzantium were the three march areas designated by the Seljukid central power (İnalcık 1970: 263-264). As a consequence Anatolia was completely colonized (Teaschner 1966: 744).

This second wave of Turcoman migration came at a time when the Sultanate of Rum was in decline itself. The nomads in the march areas, whose numbers were getting more and more were uncontrolled as the Byzantine political and economic focus was transferred from Iznik / Nicaea to Istanbul / Constantinople (Vryonis 1975: 47) and the Byzantines were busy with the problems in the Balkans (Taeschner 1960: 467a-b). A great number of religious leaders, sheikhs and Turcoman *babas* (sufi teachers), fleeing from Turkestan, Persia and Azerbaijan because of the Mongol invasion took refuge in the march areas of Anatolia, converting half-shamanistic Turcomans and indoctrinating them with the idea of *ghaza* "holy war". Independent Turcoman principalities were being established and the population growth as a result of the migrations was increasing the pressure on the frontiers. Accordingly Turcomans governed by their tribal leaders and ghazis started to seize and settle in Byzantine lands. Turcomans were not only colonizing conquered territories but also were settling in Byzantine held lands as emigrants by bribing Orthodox priests. (Turan 1970: 251).

4.2.3 The Nature of Turkification

It is suggested by Turan (1970: 233) that there had been a 'swift and sudden' transformation in the ethnic characteristics of Anatolia subsequent to the Battle of Manzikert. It is indubitable that the demographic and cultural complexion of the peninsula had altered or

diversified at least, but whether the new religious and cultural boundaries coincided with the ethnical ones is a matter of controversy. The number of Turcomans[57], who settled in Anatolia and what happened to the Christian inhabitants of the peninsula are the two contentious questions, since they are as hard to answer as much they are politically loaded.

Although Cahen (1968: 143) states that it is beyond the bounds of possibility to estimate the number of Turks who settled in Anatolia, Vryonis (1975: 50) cites it as an ethnic migration on account of the large number of Turcomans present in the area in the late thirteenth century. Indeed the Muslim geographer Ibn Said, who has written his work during the Mongol period, reports the presence of two hundred thousand households (or rather tents) of Turcomans in the Meander Valley and a further thirty thousand around Ankara (Sümer 1992: 135; Togan 1970: 196-197)[58]. Despite the fact that there is a great possibility that these figures may contain some exaggeration still they are important as they indicate to the Turcoman presence in the area in great numbers. Therefore, although with some disagreement on the actual size of the immigrant Turcoman communities, there is conformity among scholars' views that a massive Turcoman migration towards Anatolia had taken place.

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[57] The nomenclature *Turkmen* first appeared in the works of Muslim scholars like el-Biruni, Gardizi and Bayhaki to discern Muslim Turkic peoples from non-Muslim ones. Later it had been identified with the Muslim Oghuz (Sümer 1992: 60), which the majority of was nomads or semi-nomads, whereas the denomination *Turk* was used to define city-dwelling Turkic peoples as well as non-Muslim Turks. In the Anatolian context it clearly meant city-dwelling.

[58] Turan (1993: 57) estimates the figures given by Ibn Said to be the equivalent of a population of five million persons. However Sarıkaya (2003: 64), assuming that every household consisted of an average of five individuals, gives a population of 1.150.000. There is no doubt that the figure given by Turan is too high, but a population of five for a medieval nomadic household is too little. Sarıkaya bases this estimation on Barkan's (1953: 12) suggestion. Although this suggestion has received an universal acceptance by scholars (but not without some drawbacks) ranging from Russell (1960: 265-266) to Lowry (2005: 29 and 183), Barkan himself states that this figure has no scientific basis and emphasizes that regional, social or / and economic factors may alter this figure. Indeed scholars like Issawi (1957-58: 329-331), Cook (1972: 85, 90 and 98), McGowan (1969: 139-196) and Jennings (1976: 21-57), investigating different regions and social groups in the same time period have come up with different figures. This is confirmed by Erder (1975: 284-301), who discusses Barkan's coefficient in the light of modern demographic theory and points out that the Ottoman *hane* had no geographical constancy. In parallel, İnalcık (1994: 28) notes that the households were bigger in the countryside than the ones in the towns. Indeed Bryer (1975: 138) confirms that the nomadic Turcomans had larger families than the settled natives. Therefore in this case the figures should be slightly higher than that given by Sarıkaya. For a brief sketch of the discussions around the population of historical Turkish households see Göyünç 1979: 331-348.

The question concerning the fate of the Christian inhabitants of Anatolia is a much more disputatious one than the size of the Turcoman hordes. Despite the assertion put forth by Kramers (1954b: 53) that assimilation of the conquered Christian locals by their Muslim conquerors did and could not happen as the chasm between the two worlds[59], hindering such a proximation, was deepened long before the arrival of Turks to the region, it is beyond doubt that conversions had occurred. However, the question is the amount of these conversions. Christianity and the Greek language were the preponderant cultural elements in Anatolia at the beginning of the eleventh century and in the following time period the peninsula became prevailingly Turkish-speaking with a high proportion of Muslim population. In fact Ménage (1979: 52) estimates the proportion of Muslims to be 90% in the early sixteenth century. There is no doubt that this estimation is far too high. However, it is still significant as it displays the high proportion of the Muslims in Anatolia in this period.

Contrary to Brice (1955: 18), who states that there is neither documentary nor anthropological evidence that the subjugated local populations of Anatolia were exterminated and the local populations were absorbed by their conquerors rapidly through mass apostasy and considerable intermarriage, Cahen (1968: 143) claims that at the time of Turkish incursions Anatolia was populated sparsely with some regional exceptions and this population was further decimated as a result of flights, massacres and enslavements, which occurred throughout the juncture of the Turkish conquest[60]. On the other hand Ménage (1979: 58), who also points out the depopulating effects of the era of conquest also reports that in some cases Christian populations fleeing from the countryside did not abandon Anatolia altogether but took refuge in the mountains, the walled towns and in coastal areas. However

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[59] Parallelly Vryonis (1971: 194-195) notes that Turkish invasions and settlements entailed religious tension and animosity creating a situation comparable to that in Syria and Mesopotamia after the Crusades.

[60] Turan (1993: 57) also asserts that Anatolia was bereft of people as it was deserted not only by common people but by the clergy as well and the Turcification is a result of two waves of migration rather than mass conversion (1970: 233). This assertion is also backed up by Vryonis (1971: 195), who notes that flight of the clergy became widespread in the decade following 1071 as a result of destruction of churches.

occasionally Greek inhabitants of towns as well were forced to flee in order to open space for the new Turkish / Muslim colonists. For instance Nicetas Choniates reports that the Greek inhabitants of Dadybra (Safranbolu) were forced to leave the city and were replaced by a Muslim population as a result of the terms of surrender after a siege of four months by the Emir of Ankara in 1196. Likewise Pachymeres recorded that when the Turks took Ephesus in 1304 they transplanted the entire Christian population of the town to another location. (Vryonis 1971: 129, 297).

As it can be seen the question is a highly contentious one. Although scholars are more or less in agreement that Anatolia had received a massive Turcoman immigration the situation of the Christian inhabitants of Anatolia prior to, during and after the conquest is like an unfathomable black hole. Disregarding the extreme assertions of the both camps (that Anatolia was completely empty or that the great proportion of Turkish-speaking Anatolian Muslims is a fruit of mass conversion/apostasy) it would be appropriate to state that there is a reality in the claims of the both camps. It is obvious that a great number of Turks migrated into Anatolia after the Battle of Manzikert. Additionally there is strong evidence that the population of Anatolia suffered to a great extend during the centuries prior to the Turkish incursions. However it seems unfair to claim that Turks found Anatolia completely unoccupied as the Greek and Armenian-speaking Christians of Anatolia as well as Turkish-speaking ones had been present in the peninsula in considerable numbers until the onset of the twentieth century. Additionally as it is clearly displayed by Lowry (see next section) in his work on the Islamization and Turkification of the city of Trebizond, in some areas the Christian communities disappeared or reduced in numbers as a result of conversion. Also there is strong evidence that races mingled especially in the marches and the cities. İnalcık (1970: 270) overtly states that the society of the march areas on both sides of the frontier was

ethnically very mixed. The presence of the *igdishan / mixobarbaroi*[61] on the Turkish side (Turan 1959: 147-150,) and the *tourkopouloi*[62] on the Byzantine side (Brand 1989: 13) is the clearest indication of this situation. Vryonis (1965: 228-29) also claims that the Seljukid central power had a great variety of non-slave ethnic troops like Latin, Greek, Russian, Georgian, Armenian, Khwarezmian, Baalbaki, Kipchak and Kurdish troops as well as *gulams*, who were mainly composed of slave Greeks and Armenians[63]. He also puts forth that the descendants of these *gulams* were assimilated into the Muslim society by giving examples from prominent Seljukid statesmen with *gulam* backgrounds (Vryonis 1965: 239). Another clear indication of non-Muslims' incorporation into the Muslim society is displayed by Vryonis (1975: 66-69) and Faroqhi (2000:25) with their citations from Eflaki's *Manaqib al-Arifin*, where first hand attestation of conversions is narrated. Additionally Turan (1970: 242) citing a Christian chronicler named Odo of Deuil states that three thousand crusaders during the Second Crusade converted to Islam and joined the Turks.

Cahen (1968: 144) asserts that the only factor in the Turkification of Anatolia was not the size of the colonizing community. Their social and economic status, when compared to that of the natives, also played an important role. He specifies the marriage of young native women either by right or by force to the conquerors as well as enslavement and discouragement as the main reasons affecting the size of the indigenous communities negatively and that of the conquerors favourably. The offspring of these intermarriages, who

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[61] *igdishan* is the Turkish and *mixobarbaroi* the Greek denomination for the group of people who were production of Turkish and Greek intermarriage in Anatolia and who served in the Turkish armies (for detail see Turan 1959: 147-150; Vryonis 1971: 176, 228-29). Akdağ (1999: 14-15) reports that Rumi classifies the *igdishan* together with the merchants as a distinctive social class in the cities, ranking them under the social classes of the sultan and his potentates (*melik*s), the military aristocracy (*emir*s) and above the craftsmen. It is interesting that Rumi, who himself is a man of letters does not mention the scholars (*ulema*) as a distinctive social class. If he did not regard them as a distinctive class it is a matter of curiosity under which class he considered them.

[62] *Tourkopoloi* was the half-breed or full-blooded Turks, who served in the Byzantine army (for detail see Brand 1989: 13).

[63] For detail on the *gulamhane* "the house of gulams" and the social and political implications of the gulams for the Seljukid society and state see Akdağ 1999: 53-54.

were being brought up as Turks, were increasing the population of the Turks at the expense of the natives. Certainly this fusing of races had its cultural and linguistic impact on all participating parties. Despite the fact that there is not much evidence on the linguistic and cultural situation of the offspring, it is a high possibility that particularly the ones brought up in Turkish speaking environments were at least bilingual if not monolingual in Turkish. Additionally Brice (1955: 22-24) points out that the physiognomic differences among the Turkish population is due to the mingling of races as a result of inter-marriages. Townsfolk, who is physically deprived of the 'old Turkish physiognomy[64]' with a higher proportion when compared to rural communities is the evidence of a higher percentage of intermarriage or children from *cariye* type concubines in the cities.

Vryonis (1975: 59-61) classifies the reasons for conversion of the Christians of Anatolia to Islam in two groups. He classifies the first group as the negative factors and summarizes it as the undermining of the cultural foundations of the Byzantine civilization. The Byzantine administrative structure and the ecclesiastical institution, which were the two formal aspects of the Byzantine culture, were destroyed by the Turkish conquest. The second group, which he classifies as the positive forces and factors in the cultural transformation of Anatolia, is the return of security to Anatolia and the sultanic or Islamic institutions. The sultans and emirs or *bey*s from tribal origin, who became settled rulers on Islamic patterns, built towns, palaces, mosques, madrasas, imarets, turbas, caravanserais and hospitals all around Anatolia. These institutions enjoyed enormous economic advantages and contributed to the preaching of Islam and to the conversion of non-Muslims. On the other hand Faroqhi (2000: 24-26) characterizes the dervishes to be much more successful than any sultanic or

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[64] Vryonis' (1971: 278) citation from Attaliates that Byzantines had difficulties in distinguishing their Uz mercenaries from the Seljukid Turks and his citation from Nicetas Choniates that after the Battle of Myriokephalon Turks removed the facial skins of the fallen from both sides to prevent the Greeks from finding out the Turkish loses are clear indications of the distinctive Turkish appearance in the early stages of Turkish settlement in Anatolia.

juristic institution in preaching Islam both to Muslim settlers as religious leaders and to the natives as missionaries. They spread Islam not only by preaching and setting religious role models, but by their existence. Subsequent to their departure from life their resting places were becoming places of pilgrimage and often villages were appearing around them. Faroqhi also expresses that neither the Seljukids nor the Ottomans made hard efforts to convert Christians and Jews. Additionally the disintegration of the ecclesiastical system, which was destroyed to a great extend during the Turkish conquest did not necessarily lead directly to the conversion of the Christians since there are numerous instances of survival of religious communities for generations in places from which their organized institutions has ceased to exist. However many of the Christian inhabitants of Anatolia did turn to Muslim way of life with social, economic and political reasons. Ménage (1979: 57) clearly indicating to Turan's (1959:152) proportional estimation of 30% converts in return for 70% ethnic Turks, states that even Vryonis (1971), who has done the fullest study of the Islamization of Anatolia is not able to put forth any solid conclusions even though he has brought together enormous data from both Islamic and non-Islamic sources.

It is clear that Turan and Vryonis, who represent Turkish and Greek nationalist history-writing respectively, do not concur on the issue. Turan suggests that the ethnical structure of Anatolia changed (and it happened quickly) after the Turkish invasion, whereas Vryonis claims that only the religious structure of the peninsula changed substantially after the invasion as a great proportion of the Muslims of the peninsula had originally been local converts. Both Turkish and Greek points of view have their interpretations in modern politics. The Greek one serves to keep the hope of revival of Hellenism in Anatolia alive as it claims the peninsula to be ethnically Greek to a great extent and also implies that Anatolia was de-Hellenized in an imperialistic way. On the other hand the Turkish point of view sounds like the refutation of the Greek one. It puts forth that most of Modern Turkey's population are

descendants of Turkish settlers, the peninsula was de-Hellenized as a result of emigrations and it was mostly done prior to the Turkish invasion. Therefore a claim of Greek nationalism on Anatolia is insubstantial.

4.2.3.1 The Pontus as an Exception

The Pontus remained in Trapezuntine hands and preserved its Greek-Orthodox character until its eventual capture by the Ottomans in 1461, whilst every remaining corner of Anatolia fell to the Turks had mostly become Turkified, even though with complexities, in the pre-Ottoman period. Obviously there were some factors, which prevented Turks from overrunning this part of Anatolia as they did in the rest of the peninsula. Primarily, unlike the rest of the peninsula which had been devastated and suffered great population loses as a result of extensive warfare during the Byzantine campaigns into the Armenian lands prior to the arrival of Turkish nomadic tribes, the Pontus had a sizable native population. In the second place, the traditional combatant characteristic of the inhabitants of the region enabled them to defend their homelands more successfully against the Turkish offensives[65]. Thirdly and perhaps most importantly the coastal stretch of land, inconsistent with the open Anatolian plateau, was easier to defend and innumerable secluded high mountain valleys provided impenetrable retreats at times of emergency[66], and finally, the Pontic Mountains and the heavily forested highlands impeding pouring of large nomadic hordes into the Pontus (Meeker 1971: 340). The walled towns of the coast and Trapezuntine rural achievement in

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[65] Meeker (1971: 340), claims that the biggest proof of the deterrent combatant characteristic of the Pontic peoples is the inability of the Anatolians inhabiting the southern slopes of the Pontic Mountains at gaining possession of the pastures only a short distance away from their villages. For instance the lowland villagers of Of still have pastures, which are 30 miles away and very close to the villages on the southern slopes. The peoples of these villages also claim these pastures but are unable to gain possession. Conflicts still occur (in 1970) but the superior fighting abilities enable the Pontians to keep the pastures.
[66] Seven valleys bounding Trebizond became military parishes (*banda*s) since the ninth century. These from west to east namely were Philabonites / Harşit Dere, Trikomia / Akçaabat – Kalenima Dere, Trebizond / Trabzon, Matzouka – Palaimatzouka / Maçka – Hamsiköy, Gemora / Yomra, Sourmania / Sürmene and Rhizaion / Rize. Only the Philabonites valley was overrun by the Turcomans whilst the remaining six maintained their military system until 1461 (Bryer 1975: 117). Consequently Philabonites became the only valley of Trebizond to more or less lose its Greek settlement. It was settled in by the Chepni tribe and became the Chepni *nahiyesi* after 1461 (Bryer 1975: 132-133).

resisting the Turcomans deprived the Turcomans from the rich pickings they found in the towns of Ionia / Western Anatolia. The summer pastures became the marchlands between the Trapezuntines, who were limited to the coastal regions and the Turcomans, who were in the highlands (Bryer 1975: 121-122)[67]. Contrary to the rest of Anatolia dervishes were unsuccessful in the Pontus and the only known Pontic *tekke* to be established by them is in Tripolis / Tirebolu. In fact the Pontus was the only region in the entire peninsula, where new bishoprics had been established from the fourteenth century on (Bryer 1975: 141). However in the late thirteenth century the defensive barriers of the Pontus were eventually breached by the Chepni tribe from the west. In the fourteenth century they captured the Cerasus / Giresun region. By the beginning of the sixteenth century they were in the west and south-west of Trebizond and from this century onwards they began to penetrate the areas east of Trebizond (Sümer 1965: 20b).

Another element, which should be born in mind when thinking of the Turkification of the Pontus is the "Turkish-speaking Byzantines" as Shukurov (1999a) names them. Shukurov (1999b: 1-2), who notes that many Turkish words and names exist in the Pontus sources of the 14th century, puts forth the idea that a linguistically influential Turcophone group of Greeks existed in the Eastern Black Sea Region at this period, who had an impact on the everyday speech. This group was integrated to the Christian society, but retained their Turkish language. He claims that this situation had caused a cryptic Turkification slowly

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[67] There is a clear indication in the Book of *Dede Korkut* how insecure the valleys of the Pontus appeared to be to the Turcoman imagination. In the Sixth Ballad of the book his father *Kañlı Koca* warns *Kan Turalı*, who is in the intention of descending from the *yayla* "summer pasture" to claim the Trapezuntine princess as his bride. *Kañlı Koca*'s description of the valleys is as follow: *Oğul sen varaçak yirüñ / Tolamaç tolamaç yolları olur / Atlu batub çıkamaz anuñ balçığı olur / Ala yılan sökemez anuñ ormanı olur / Gök-ile pehlû uran anuñ kal'ası olur / Göz kakuban köñül alan anuñ görklüsi olur / Hay dimedin baş getüren celladı olur / Yagrınında kalkan oynar yayası olur / Yavuz yire yiltendüñ kayıda döngil* (Ergin 1989: 186, Tezcan – Boeschoten 2001: 126) "Son, in the place where you would go, / Twisted and tortuous will the roads be; / swamps there will be, where the horsemen will sink and never emerge; / Forests there will be, where red serpent can find no path; / Fortresses there will be, that rub shoulders with the sky / A beautiful one there will be, who puts out eyes and snatches souls / An executioner there will be, whisking heads off in an instant / A soldier there will be, with shield dancing on his back / To a terrible place have you set your foot; stay!" (Lewis 1974: 119).

changing the linguistic situation in the region. This variety of Turkish, which was influenced by Greek as a result of widespread bilingualism, has become the base of the Turkish Dialects of the region. Indeed Brendemoen (1999: 365-66), who has done a linguistic study on the region also confirms that there has been an early bilingual community in the region (see next section).

Even though the Pontus maintained its Greek-Orthodox character to a great extend until its final capture by the Ottomans in 1461 and maintained a strong Orthodox character throughout the Ottoman period in spite of Islamization and Turkification, similar to everywhere else in Anatolia, though at a smaller scale, encounter with the Turcomans did prompt to some social and economic problems for the Trapezuntines[68]. Turcoman raids carried out, in order to abduct Trapezuntine villagers, and vanishing of shepherds on the pastures caused a persistent depletion of manpower depopulating villages and hence ruining the economy, which was based on crofting (Bryer 1975: 138-139).

Bryer (1975: 142-43) claims that the status quo (i.e. the Greek-Orthodox character of the region and its economic system) remained intact, to a great extent even after the Ottoman conquest, as it had not been menaced by Muslim preachers, proselytization, or extensive Turkish colonization[69]. However, Lowry (2005), who has done a thorough investigation of the Islamization and Turkification process of the city of Trebizond by analysing the four Ottoman *Tahrir Defter*s between the years 1486-1583, produces a quite different panorama. He tries to establish the proportion of the converts in the Trapezuntine Muslim population by

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[68] Bryer (1975: 139) notes that the Acts of the Vazelon Monastery contains evidence in abundance on the abduction of the locals by the Turcomans. For the social and economic implications for the Christian communities of the Turcoman and Seljukid raids elsewhere in Anatolia see Vryonis 1971: 241, 257 footnote 706, 307-314.

[69] Bryer (1975: 142) gives the population factor as the primary explanation for the Trapezuntine integrity. He claims the Ottoman conquest to be "swift and painless" not costing many lives. He also notes that the three grand inland monasteries, namely the Peristerota, Soumela and Vazelon Monasteries, retained forty four of their villages even in 1890 as a sizeable proportion of the monastic lands were not sequestered. He rates this to be the main reason hindering apostasy as the villagers would refrain from converting in order to not exasperate their landlords.

detecting individuals bearing *Abdullah* 'slave of God' as their father names[70]. By this method he demonstrates that 28.6% (163 households) of the Muslim population of the city of Trebizond in the year 1553 (number of total Muslim households: 570) and 22.57% (256 households) in the year 1583 (total number of Muslim households 1134) were first generation converts. However, when the two data are combined the total proportion of Muslims in the city, who are first or second generation converts comes to 44.71%[71]. Lowry also demonstrates that the proportion of Muslims in the total population of the city was 53.62% in 1583 (2005: 168).

The principal reason presented for the rapid Islamization of Trebizond is the economic factor. Being in the religion of the ruling class was providing economic benefits (like paying lower taxes, obtaining fiefs) and this was attracting the city's Christians to the phenomenon of conversion. Another prominent factor is, unlike the earlier stages, the success of the dervishes in converting the indigenous population. It is also observed that unlike the Balkans and the rest of Anatolia the Orthodox Church was in decline in 16th century Trebizond and its

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[70] Lowry borrows this method from Barkan (1968). Barkan concluded that the majority of individuals bearing this father name must have indicated to converts, voluntary or forced (p. 11), after detecting that 28.8% of the estates in the records were left by individuals bearing the patronymic *Abdullah oğlu* or *veled-i Abdullah* "son of Abdullah". He also notes that the reason for using this patronymic was that the father names of these individuals were not written (as they were non-Muslim names) (p. 82). Barkan also emphasizes that this method can only be used as a majority principle as there are children in the documents bearing the name *Abdullah* with Muslim fathers (p. 11). However, Lowry (2005: 148) states that this 'majority principle' meant 99% in the case of Trebizond. Ménage (1965: 112-118) also notes that from the beginning of the 16th century as opposed to ordinary folk bearing the father name Abdullah, high ranking officials with non-Muslim background started to use *Abd-al-latif*, *Abd-al-kadir* as their father names.

[71] In order to find the sum of first and second generation converts the number of first generation convert households is subtracted from the total Muslim household number in the year 1583: 1134-256=878 Muslim households. The difference between this figure and the number of Muslim households in the year 1553 (i.e. 878-570=308) gives the figure of the natural growth among the Muslims of the city. With respect to the fact that converts constituted the 28.6% of the Muslim population of the year 1553 (supposing that the natural growth of the converts and the Muslims by birth are the same) it is assumed that the 28.6% of the Muslim households in the year 1583 are second generation converts. In other words 251 of the 878 Muslim households in this year are children of the converts of the year 1553. When this figure of 251 households is added on top of the 256 households of the year 1583, which are the households of the first generation converts of that year, the outcome is the number of first and second generation convert households of the same year, which is 507 and the 44.71% of the total Muslim population (Lowry 2005: 161).

control over the local Christians was weakening[72]. Lowry also points out that the City of Trebizond was not an exception in the Pontus by analyzing data from Trikomia / Akçaabat. However, the Islamization process appears to be slower in the latter (Lowry 2005: 170-71).

It can be clearly seen from the information produced by different scholars that the pace of Turkification and Islamization had been different in the countryside and in the cities. In the Pontus specifically and in Anatolia in general Islamization and Turkification had been more frequent in urban centres. Presumably closer contact with Muslim masses in the cities and direct contact with Islamic and official institutions had accelerated conversions in urban centres. It is not easy to tell whether linguistic assimilation followed or preceded religious assimilation in the cities. The Turkish language was part of the everyday life in urban centres and probably in many cases linguistic assimilation was occurring before religious assimilation. The fact that urban Christian communities were bilingual and in some cases monolingual in Turkish, could be taken as an indication in this direction. On the other hand the situation seems to be rather different in rural areas. The faintness of officialdom as opposed to the integrity of the church in the countryside probably decelerated apostasy among rural communities. The situation of the monasteries in the Pontus sets a good example to this situation. Unlike urban parallels religious conversions did not necessarily coincide with linguistic assimilation. Presence of Muslim rural communities bilingual or monolingual in Greek (Andrews 1992: 203), Laz (Andrews 1992: 250), Armenian (Andrews 1992: 181) or Georgian (Andrews 1992: 246) is a strong evidence of this. The so-called Karamanlis, who were monolingual in Turkish, should be taken as an exception to this situation as the origin of this community is a rather contentious issue.

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[72] Vryonis (1571: 500) puts forth the reconstitution of the Orthodox Patriarchate by Mehmed II. after his conquest of Istanbul, as the main reason for the stabilizing and even increasing in proportion of the Christian communities of Anatolia and the Turkification of the Balkans to a lesser extent when compared to Anatolia.

4.2.4 The Rise of the Turkish Language in Anatolia

There is no doubt that the Turkish language was brought to Anatolia by the Turkic nomads and was spoken by the ordinary people in every corner of the peninsula, wherever they existed. However, Turkic nomads were not the only ones, who took refuge in Anatolia from the Mongol invasions. Iranian and Arab intellectuals surged into Anatolian towns dominating Seljukid cultural life. Consequently the Persian language became the language of literature and Arabic the language of education and law (Cahen 1968: 254). These Iranian elements played a big role in the Islamization of the country (Cahen 1968: 151) but had an Iranizing influence even on the ethnically Turkish townsfolk (Cahen 1968: 153)[73]. Nevertheless with the disintegration of the Seljukid central power and with the emergence of Turcoman principalities the Turkish language started to gain ground against Persian and Arabic in Anatolia and was declared as official language by the Karamanid ruler Mehmed Beg in 1276. Classical Arabic and Persian works were translated into Turkish with the orders of the principal rulers and a creative literature came into existence (İnalcık 1970: 273). Turan (1970: 252-253) connects the principal rulers' contributions to Turkish culture with their nomadic backgrounds, interpreting it as a reason for devotion to Turkish culture. On the other hand Mansuroğlu (1954a: 261) relates the affluence of Turkish works produced under the patronage of principal rulers simply to the unfamiliarity of these rulers with Arabic and Persian. It is obvious that both scholars affiliated the situation with the nomadic background of these chieftains but came up with different explanations by emphasizing different aspects

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[73] Bazin (1992: 26-27) notes that in the 13th and 14th centuries the population of the main cities in Anatolia, similar to the situation in Turkestan, were speaking in Persian even if they were ethnically Turkish. During this period the denomination *Türk* indicated to a rural and / or nomadic person. The proverb *Türk iti şehre gelince Farsça ürer* "a Turkish dog barks in Persian when it comes to a town", which existed in Anatolia until the 16th century was the clearest indicator of this situation. An interesting work is produced by Karadoğan (2002: 284), who has studied the names of the turcifiers of Anatolia by analyzing *Mehmed Neshri*'s *Kitāb-ı Cihān-nümā*. He has established that 70% of the names born by Turks in the work are from Turkish origin whereas the remaining 30% are from Arabic or Persian origin. The interesting part is that the proportion of Persian and Arabic names increases in the chapters dealing with the Seljukid Period of the work. Persian names like *Keykubad, Keyhusrev, Feramurz, Firuz* or Arabic ones like *Izzeddin, Kutbeddin, Giyaseddin* were only born by Turks belonging to the educated class and the courtiers i.e. higher classes of the townsfolk. On the other hand foreign names born by ordinary Turks were *Hasan, Huseyin, Mehmed, Mustafa, Ibrahim, Ali* etc., which were given after religious icons and has lived up to date.

of the same phenomenon: The Turks as nomads were devoted to their nomadic Turkic culture, and did not know much Persian or Arabic. Of course the main counter-argument to Turan's argument is that the written works all took Persian and Arabic as their model and were mostly translations or adaptations; only in so-called folk literature could we discern a notable nomadic element as in the Book of Dede Korkut.

In spite of the fact that Turcomans started settling in Asia Minor in the eleventh century, the earliest written Turkish works date to two centuries later. The number of these works increased in the fourteenth century, but in a non-standard language. The shared literary language in Anatolia was inaugurated after the political unification of the peninsula was achieved by the Ottomans (Mansuroğlu 1954a: 250-52). Despite that it has not been possible to settle the start date of OAT as there are records indicating that there had been earlier texts pre-dating the ones we have today (see below), it has been traditionalized to define OAT as the Turkish used as a spoken and written language in Anatolia in 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th and 15th centuries. However, the harmony shown in dating the language lacks in naming it. Mansuroğlu (1959) used *Das Altosmanische* 'Old Ottoman' and Kerslake 1998 used Old Ottoman, Doerfer (1976) used *Das Vorosmanische* 'Fore-ottoman', Timurtaş (1994) preferred *Eski Türkiye Türkçesi* 'Old Turkey Turkish' whereas Ergin (1984), Kokrmaz (1972, 1973-74, 1991), Gülsevin (1997), Özkan (2000), Şahin (2003), Gülsevin – Boz (2004) and Akar (2006) use *Eski Anadolu Türkçesi* 'Old Anatolian Turkish'. On the other hand Ercilasun (2008) has recently called it *Eski Oğuz Türkçesi* 'Old Oghuz Turkish'. It is possible to divide OAT into three periods as the Seljukid Period, the period of the *Beyliks* (Emirates) and the Early Ottoman Period.

The Seljukid Period of OAT includes the 11th – end of the 13th centuries. The Turkish language present in Anatolia in this period forms the base of the prospective forms of Turkish in Anatolia, i.e. Ottoman Turkish and Modern Turkish. However information on the features

of the Turkish of this period is very limited due to the inadequate amount of texts. At least nineteen works had been produced in Turkish in Anatolia during this period. Four of these works has not reached modern-day but from the records they are known to be produced. Two of the surviving fifteen works are anonymous. The remaining thirteen are produced by nine different authors. The high number of religious works stands out among the surviving works. Eight of the fifteen are related with religion. One of the remaining seven is a work on civil law, one is an itinerary and the rest are poetry. In fact eleven of the fifteen surviving works from this period are written in verse[74].

The Beyliks period of OAT, which marks the real establishment of the Turkish written language in Anatolia, includes the end of the 13th – end of the 14th centuries. Regardless the fact that Arabic and Persian elements started entering Turkish in this period, Ergin (1984: 16) characterizes it to be the purest period of the West Turkic written language in terms of foreign elements. In addition to the limited number of Persian and Arabic lexical elements in the language phrases from these languages, which made their presence felt in the period to come, are practically non-existent. A great dynamism is observed in Turkish intellectual life in Anatolia in this period. At least eighty four works had been produced in Turkish during this period. Twelve of these are anonymous and the remaining seventy two are indited by thirty three different authors. Despite the fact that there had been an increase in the topic variety, the high number of religious works is again very clear. Fifty six of these works are on religion or religion related topics. The remaining twenty eight show a variation including works on history, politics, chemistry, medicine, love, adventure, botanic; epics, fables and an encyclopaedia. The high number of epical and medical works also draws attention in this period. It is also seen that despite the most popular genre seems to be verse in this period as well, increase in the proportion of works written in prose is very explicit, when

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[74] For a full list of the works produced in this period with information on their authors, date, topic and genre see List 1 in Appendix 1.

compared to the previous period. Twenty five of the works are written in prose against forty five written in verse. Additionally four are written in mixed prose verse, a feature missing from the previous period[75].

The third period of OAT, which poses a transitional phase to the Classical Ottoman Turkish, includes the 15th century. In this period the Turkish language witnessed an increase in the number of the Arabic and Persian loanwords. Especially the language of poetry had received a great number of foreign elements like loanwords and phrases as a result of prosody and form since the Persian masters were imitated in poetry. The language of prose remained free from foreign elements when compared to that of poetry. It is observed in the language of the great amount of compiled and translated texts, which were produced as a result of the cultural break through during the reign of Murad II, that prose language remained fairly pure. On the other hand the first signs of deformation in the Turkish syntax appeared in this period as a consequence of translations (Ergin 1984: 16). A fall in the number of works written is observed in this period. It is possible that this fall is a result of the political turmoil which took place in Anatolia at the beginning of the 15th century. Anatolia experienced the destruction caused by the invasion of the peninsula by Tamerlane and the following civil war at the beginning of this period. Possibly the destruction restrained the development in intellectual life or rather the written texts had not survived the destruction. Fifty nine works have survived from this period displaying a 30% fall in number. The slight increase in the number of the authors, despite the fall in the number of works, indicates into the direction of the latter possibility, i.e. the destruction of written works. Fifty eight of these fifty nine works are produced by thirty five different authors and one is anonymous. The variation in the subjects discussed also could be taken as an indication of the liveliness of the intellectual life during the period. In addition to twenty six works written on religion or religion related

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[75] For a full list of the works produced in this period with information on their authors, date, topic and genre see List 2 in Appendix 1.

subjects, topics of the period include zoology, love, history, politics, story-writing, adventure, poetry, dream interpretation, astronomy, astrology, pornography, literary composition, medicine, musicology, geography, law and encyclopaedia-writing. Despite religion had continued to be the leading subject to be treated its proportion in overall topics had shown a sharp fall to 44%. Another interesting change in this period is the increase in the proportion of works written in prose numbering thirty six out of the total fifty nine and outnumbering the ones written in verse[76].

Although Özkan (2000: 39) notes that factors like the Seljukid choice to employ Arabic and Persian as medium of science and literature until the end of the twelfth century, endless warfare, and destruction of the libraries as a result of the Crusades and the Mongol invasion, delayed the formation of a written Turkish language in Anatolia, Mansuroğlu (1954a: 255) argues that it is impossible to regard the thirteenth century as the beginning of written Turkish literature in Anatolia when the variety and maturity in prosody, form and topic of the earliest Turkish works dating to this century is taken into consideration. Indeed Korkmaz (1973-74: 48) states that features of the Karakhanid written language increases in Oghuz from 13th century backwards. Therefore she regards the time period between the 11th-13th centuries as the transition period for the Oghuz written language, which started to establish itself as an independent written language from the end of the 13th century. The Oghuz spoken in Khorezm and Khurasan was very similar to that spoken in Seljukid Anatolia during this transition period. Constant migration from Khorezm to Anatolia maintained the link between the languages of the two regions and prevented their independent developments from each other (Korkmaz 1972: 31). Existence and persistence of Old Uygur orthographic features for a while next to Arabic and Persian ones in Old Anatolian Turkish is the evidence of this fact (Korkmaz 1972: 33). Additionally existence of works with a mixed-language (i.e.

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[76] For a full list of the works produced in this period with information on their authors, date, topic and genre see List 3 in Appendix 1.

containing both Central Asiatic and Anatolian features) seems to be further evidence backing up this claim. Korkmaz states that works written in this type of language were re-transcribed by scribes in the 14th and 15th centuries as they were considered to be out-dated (1973-74: 48). Korkmaz is not the first scholar to claim the mixed-language texts to be works of a transitional period between the Old Turkic written language and the one used in Anatolia. This view was first put forth by Arat[77] (1948) in 1943 at the Third Congress of Turkish History and advanced in 1956 at the Fifth Congress of Turkish History (Arat 1960). Sadettin Buluç(1963), Muharrem Ergin and Mustafa Canpolat (1963 and 1968) are other scholars, who have defended this view.   In spite of the fact that the popular ones of these works were copied with a *pure Ottoman*, Tekin (1973-74: 70-71) puts forth that Central Asian influence on the Old Anatolian Turkish written language is not a general characteristic and is not related to the connection between the Old Turkic written language and the Old Anatolian or Early Oghuz written language. Tekin suggests that the Central Asian features in Early Anatolian texts are individual peculiarities related to the arrival dates of the authors. It is more likely for these features to appear in the works of the early-comers since Oghuz written language was not fully established. However, Central Asian features disappear inversely proportional to the development and the establishment of the Oghuz written language in Anatolia. Therefore these peculiarities faded away gradually becoming non-existent in the works of the late-comers as the Oghuz written language became fully established in the 15th Century[78]. The third view on the mixed-language text belongs to Doerfer (1990), who divides Oghuz Turkic into two branches as West Ohguzic and East Ohguzic. He divides these two branches into ten subgroups. One of his subgroups is Khurasan Ohguzic, which has a dialect

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[77] Brockelmann (1917) is the first scholar to draw attention to *Ali*'s *Qissa-i Yususf* as a mixed-dialect text and describes the situation of the language of the text as "dialect interference". However, this view was objected by F. Köprülü (1945: 284), who had accepted these works to be the product of the Khwarezmian Turkic Literature, and the matter was left there until it was re-taken into consideration by Arat and characterized as a transitional period between Old Turkic and Anatolian Turkish written language.

[78] Tekin (1973-74) gives detailed explanation on the mixed-language works, with phonological, morphological, lexical and textual insight.

named Uzbek Ohguzic containing both Ohguzic and Central Asian features. According to Doerfer authors of the mixed language works are the speakers of this Uzbek Ohguzic dialect as a great amount of Turks migrated to Anatolia from Khurasan. Tekin's idea is the most reasonable as there are works with pure Oghuz, i.e. Anatolian, features like *Tezkiretu'l-Evliya*, *Kelile ve Dimne*, *Ahmed Fakih*'s *Çarhname* and *Aşik Pasha*'s works pre-dating the mixed-language texts. Additionally Sultan Veled, who came from a Central Asian Turkic-speaking family and was the son of renowned Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi, wrote his work in pure Anatolian Turkish, whereas his father wrote his Turkish pieces with a mixed-language. If these features were a matter of being a transitional period Sultan Veled, who was a good follower of his father in every matter, would be expected to principally write with a mixed-language in order to conserve his father's style. However, Sultan Veled had no choice but to write with a pure Anatolian Turkish as the Turkish written language had had established itself in Anatolia by then, whereas men of letters with Central Asian origins like Sheyyad Hamza or Mevlana did not have such a necessity in the 12-13 century.

Korkmaz (1971) investigating the connection of Turkish dialects of Anatolia with the ethnical structure plainly puts forth how different Oghuz tribes as well as other Turkic groups have shaped the dialectical map of Anatolia. She displays, with phonological examples that main groups, which have formed the dialectical structure of Anatolia are the *Kayı, Kınık, Afshar, Salur, Chepni, Bayındır, Bayat, Alayuntlu* and *Eymir* tribes of the Oghuz group (p. 25) and the Kipchaks (p. 21) as a non-Oghuz group. There is no doubt that these groups played an important role in the formation of the dialectical map of Anatolia, but a problem with this analysis is that it does not touch on the impact of indigenous populations on Turkish. Develi (2006: 45) citing Karal notes that partly Hellenized ancient groups of Anatolia rapidly mingled with Turks and became turkified whereas Greek-speaking merchants and craftsmen at the city centres had learned Turkish as their second language. It is

obvious that this explanation is politically convenient[79] and has no academic merit. Turkification of ancient Anatolian groups has no implications in modern Turkish society and off course politics. On the other hand it is impossible to say the same thing for the Greek (or Armenian) parallel of this claim as Turkish – Greek and/or Turkish – Armenian co-existence in large numbers is a rather recent circumstance with its social traumas directly related to the foundation stage of the Republic of Turkey. The other problem with this claim is its limitation of Greek-speakers to the town centres. Despite it is a high possibility that Greek-speaking merchants and craftsmen learned Turkish as their second language with social and economical reasons, denying the intermingling of Turkish-speakers and Greek-speakers in the countryside is nowhere close to the actual facts. The biggest fact disproving this claim is the existence of Christians monolingual in Turkish and Greek-speaking Muslims in Anatolia in significant numbers until the beginning of the 20th century (and perhaps up to today).

Brendemoen (1999: 354-55) also confirms that bilingualism became rather prevalent particularly in Central Anatolia within just a few generations after 1071 as a result of the obligation of interfacing with the new rulers and the new colonizers. Citing an anonymous document written in Latin from the year 1473 he also claims that Turkish had managed to supplant Greek in some areas, where the number of Greeks was not big enough to preserve the Greek language, at a very early stage[80]. Brendemoen suggests that the Turkish-speaking Christians mentioned by the Latin document could not be the Christians of Cappadocia as the bilingualism in the Cappadocian Christian villages was a result of a need to communicate with the neighbouring villages, which were Muslim. Despite Cappadocian Greek shows

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[79] Turkification of ancient elements like the 'Hittites' would not have any implications in modern Turkish politics as there is no speakers of these languages left. On the other hand a Greek or Armenian parallel of this claim would be a matter of fiery debate.

[80] This citation translates as "It is remarkable that in many parts of Turkey there are priests, bishops and archbishops who dress like the infidels and speak their language and cannot utter anything in Greek except chanting the Mass and the Gospels and the Epistles. Other speech they express in the language of the Turks" (Brendemoen 1999: 355). The fact that the groups mentioned in this citation dress like Turks as well as being monolingual in Turkish, may also be an indication of Christians with ethnically Turkish background.

"heavily structural borrowing under very strong cultural pressure" as Brendemoen (1999: 356) quotes from Thomson and Kaufman (1988), the mentioned Turkish-speaking Christians must have been the so-called Karamanlis of Central Anatolia, who are monolingual in Turkish (Brendemoen 1999: 359). The main question to answer would be the ethnic origin of the Karamanlis in order to determine whether there is a language shift or not. If the Karamanlis are descendants of Turkic tribes such as the Uzes or the Pechenegs, who settled into Anatolia long before the Turcoman invasions, then language shift would be out of question. However, if they are originally Greek then language shift would be under question, but this time the lack of Greek impact in their language would pose another problem. The lack of Greek substrate features in the Turkish written by the Karamanlis could be related to their geographical location and the relatively small number of the originally Greek speaking group in comparison with the surrounding Turkish speaking group. A complete language shift without any substrate could only occur if the shifting group is relatively small in comparison to the target language speakers and the process should occur over a relatively long span of time (Brendemoen 1999: 360-62). Also the location of the villages in question in the middle of plains made them vulnerable to any kind of external impact, in this case particularly the Turkish language development, releasing their speech from any substrate features (Brendemoen 1999: 355-56). In fact there are three main views on the origins of the Karamanlis. The mostly disregarded view belongs to Reed (1978), who claims the Lacaonians of Antiquity as the ancestors of the Karamanlis. The remaining two views are on their Turkish and Greek origins. It was stated above that some linguistic data, such as the lack of Greek substrate in the texts written by them, clouds but does not discredit totally their Greek ancestry. On the other hand the fact that the homeland of the Karamanlis was close to the former eastern border of the Byzantine Empire where members of Turkic tribes like the

Uzes and Pechenegs were settled as *akritai* "frontier fighters", may corroborate the view defending Turkish origins.

In the Pontus, which is another scene of Turkish and Greek language encounter the linguistic development has occurred in the opposite direction. As a result of the geographic conditions, historical and social structure of the region (which is also explained at the end of the previous section) the Greek language endured against Turkish and became the stable language subjecting the Turkish dialect of the region to Greek influence (Brendemoen 1999: 262-63). The Turkish language did not spread among the Greeks of the region until the 17th century, whereas Turks became bilingual at a very early stage (Brendemoen 1999: 365-66). Indeed both Bryer (1975: 143) and Meeker (1971: 344) also confirm that the Greek language was acquired by the Turkish population of the region as it was the prestige language. The existence of archaisms from the 14th century alongside characteristics as a result of Greek interference in the Turkish dialect of the region poses a big problem. These archaisms demonstrate that the Turkish dialect spoken in the area must have become isolated from the Turkish spoken in the rest of Anatolia in the 14th century. Additionally the fact that some of these archaisms survived as a result of the existence of similar features in the Greek language points out that Turks became bilingual around at the same time (Brendemoen 1999: 365-66). This idea is corroborated by Shukurov (1999b: 1-2) as well who emphasizes the presence of Turcophone Christians in the Pontus pre-dating the arrival of the Turcomans (see the previous section). The question whether if it is possible for the Greek influence to be a result of a language shift from Greek to Turkish is answered by Brendemoen (1999: 367) negatively as there was no necessity for the Greeks to become bilingual in the 14th century. On the contrary if Shukurov's claims are taken into consideration it appears that there had been a development in the opposite direction, i.e. the Turks became bilingual at a very early stage.

The Turkish language started to spread in the area slowly in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. There are two possible explanations for this development. Either the Greeks were outnumbered by the Turkish-speaking population as a result of a higher birth rate among the Turks or the Turkish language started to spread among the Greeks with conversions to Islam especially from the 17th century onwards. In the former case there would be no language shift whereas this would be the case in the latter (Brendemoen 1999: 368). Insufficient historical data from the period between the 16th and 18th centuries prevents us from coming to a clear conclusion whether we are dealing with language shift or language maintenance. There is no evidence in the variety of Turkish spoken in the area that suggests a language shift. Therefore the most credible explanation would be that there has been a slow diffusion of the Turkish language in the originally Greek-speaking regions mainly as a result of a high birth rate among the Turkish-speaking population, however also conversions existed in some regions. Accordingly the Turkish dialect spoken in the region today is likely to be the outcome of an amalgamation of the highly Hellenized Turkish mother tongue and a shift (Brendemoen 1999: 373). It is striking how this linguistic conclusion contradicts with the claims put forth by Lowry (see the previous section) based on historical data.

The historical data interpreted by Lowry reveals that in 1583 almost half of the Muslim population of the city of Trebizond were first and second generations of converts. On the other hand Brendemoen's linguistic analysis displays that Pontic Turkish shows no signs of language shift. At this point it should be born in mind that Lowry commented only on the history of the urban populations of Trebizond and Trikomia / Akçaabat. Bryer clearly puts forth that the Greek Orthodox Church sustained its domination over the rural populations as it is seen in the examples of the Peristerota, Soumela and Vazelon Monasteries. It is hard to say whether this urban – rural contradiction comprised to the whole of the Pontus. Further study needs to be done to be able to comment on the rest of the cities. Clearly Bryer's statement

that the Christian population remained intact to a great extent in the rural areas corroborates Brendemoen's conclusion that a Greek substrate is lacking in the Turkish dialect of the area.

As a conclusion it could be said that the ethnically mixed population of pre-Seljukid Anatolia posed a patched linguistic map. The western and central parts of the peninsula had gone through almost complete linguistic Hellenization under the influence of Byzantine culture and the Greek Orthodox Church. Perhaps the Phrygians and the late-comers of the transplanted populations displayed exceptions to this linguistic assimilation. Despite the fact that there is no linguistic evidence from the era to support this situation, there are some indications like toponyms (see pages 93-94) and historical records (see page 94) that some of the late-coming Turkic groups like the Bulghars, Cumans, Pechenegs etc. survived into the Turkish period. In the east and the southeast of the peninsula Armenian and Syriac, which also have served as *lingua sacras* for their communities, was flourishing as both spoken and written languages during the period and remained so until the modern times. In the northeast, Caucasian languages like Laz and Georgian, perhaps with strong Greek influence, were spoken and are still spoken.

The linguistic appearance of Anatolia have changed radically, tough not without its complications, after the Turkification. It is not possible to determine the sociolinguistic situation at the early stages of the Turkification process. However, military, socio-political and social groups like the *turkopouloi*, the *igdishan*, the *gulams*, the converts and the offspring of ethnically mixed marriages on the both sides, indicate that bilingualism, therefore contact of languages, started in Anatolia from the very early stage. Later linguistic situation of Anatolia proves that the sociolinguistic process has been in the favour of the Turkish language. Even the Pontus, which is the only region being able to maintain its predominantly Greek and Orthodox character until the later Ottoman period, has gradually gone under Islamization and Turkification. In fact, despite the great dispute around their

ethnic origin, the linguistic situation of the so-called Karamanlis is a clear indicator of the strength of the Turkish language in Anatolia after its arrival to the peninsula. The monolinguality of this community in Turkish shows the amount of the prestige owned by and the pressure felt from the Turkish language, no matter whether they are regarded to be from Greek or Turkish origin. In the case of accepting their Greek origin, the lack of a Greek substratum in their language indicates to the amount of pressure felt from the Turkish language, which is directly related to the size of the surrounding Turkish-speaking communities and the prestige of their language. In the case of accepting their Turkish origin, their non-assimilation into the Greek-speaking communities as had been the case in the earlier periods, again indicates to the size of the surrounding Turkish-speaking communities and the prestige of their language.

The ethno-religious and social picture of the peninsula leaves no gap for doubt that language contact have occurred in Anatolia throughout the Turkish period. The earlier stages of this contact is particularly important for the scope of this thesis, since the early varieties of Turkish spoken in Anatolia are the parent varieties of the Turkish varieties spoken in Cyprus. It was earlier touched on Johanson's evidence that Turkic grammatical categories in general and the tense, aspect, mood and modality system in particular have been subjects of language contact and code-copying (see page 9). Despite the fact that the early Turkish writings from Anatolia are mainly translations from Persian and Arabic, therefore are under the influence of these languages and represent the language of a city-dwelling society, still display examples worth being looked into. Mainly because not only rural communities, but urban elements like craftsmen, statesmen, clergy and soldiers were also transferred to Cyprus by the Ottoman central power. Additionally historical data show that conversions, paving the way to language shift, have occurred more often in urban centres than rural areas. Therefore it is possible to encounter the traces of linguistic influence other than Persian and Arabic, which in this case

would be Greek and perhaps Armenian. Such cases would be helpful in determining the origins of possible non-Turkic elements in the tense, aspect, mood-modality system of the Turkish varieties of Cyprus.

4.3 Tense, Aspect, and Modality / Mood System of Old Anatolian Turkish

In this section the tense, aspect and modality system of Old Anatolian Turkish (henceforth OAT) is going to be examined as it is the common origin of Modern Standard Turkish and the Turkish varieties of Cyprus. The possible presence of non-Turkic elements in the tense, aspect, mood-modality system of OAT or elements non-present in MST would play crucial role in examining that of the Turkish varieties of Cyprus in the case of any parallelisms. Therefore in this section, the example textual material present in works dealing with OAT grammar like Mansuroğlu 1959, Adamovič 1985, Hacıeminoğlu 1991, Timurtaş 1994, Flemming 1995, Kerslake 1998 and Özkan 2000 are examined from the point of view of tense, aspect, and mood-modality.

In Mansuroğlu 1959 (: 177-179) a systemization of OAT finite verbal forms does not exist. Verbal forms are listed without being designated whether they are categories of tense or mood. *Imperativ* 'imperative', *Perfekt* auf –d 'Perfect tense with –d', *Konditionalis* 'conditional', *Irrealis* 'irrealis', *Desiderativ- und Futurum* 'desiderative and future' and *Futurum* 'future' are finite verbal forms mentioned.

In Adamovič 1985 the tense markers of OAT are listed without being classified or categorized. Different tense suffix marking the same tense are given under separate titles as in *Futur auf –ïsar* 'future with –ïsar', *Futur auf –acaq* 'future with –acaq' and *Futur auf –ïcï* 'future with –ïcï', etc. Historical development of each form is given and is illustrated with examples. On the other hand the moods are not presented according to their markers but are designated under mood titles as *Imperativ* 'imperetaive', *Voluntativ* 'voluntative', *Optativ*

'optative', *Potential* 'potential' and *Nezessitativ* 'necessitative' moods. Adamovič does not speak of compound inflections but instead regards *imiş* and *idi* as *Hilfsverben* 'auxiliary verbs' used for inflecting participles. In other words it is alleged that forms receiving these auxiliary verbs are not finite forms but participles.

In Timurtaş 1994 (119-135) the OAT finite verbal forms are classified under the categories mood (*siga*), tense (*zaman*) and mode (*tarz*). The categories of aspect and modality are non-present in the work. Tense is classified under the category of mood and no theoretical explanation regarding these categories, except mode, is given. Mode is explained as the expression of the style of the action denoted by the verb. The system used in this work is very similar to that used by Banguoğlu for MST (see pages 49-50). Even the terminology and the way the terminology is presented are identical to that of Banguoğlu. Classical terminology is preferred and the modern Turkish ones together with the French ones are given in brackets. The four tenses, namely the direct past tense (*şuhudi mazi, görülen geçmiş zaman, praeterite*), the indirect past tense (*nakli mazi, anlatılan geçmiş zaman, dubitative*), the aorist (*muzari, geniş zaman, aoriste*), the future tense (*istikbal, gelecek zaman, futurum*) and the present tense (*şimdiki zaman, hal, present*) are classified as the indicative moods (*bildirme, haber, ihbar sigaları*). The optative mood (*iltizami, istek-gereklilik, optatif*), the imperative mood (*emir, impératif*), the conditional mood (*dilek-şart temenni désidératif-conditionnel*) and the necessitative mood (*vücubi, gereklilik, nécessisatif*) are classified as the subjunctive moods (*dilek, inşa sigaları*). These nine moods are stated to form the simple moods. Then it is stated that there are four modes, which are the simple or the indicative mode (*basit tarz or ihbar tarzı, indicatif*), the perfective mode (*hikaye tarzı, perfectif*), the narrative mode (*rivayet tarzı, narratif*) and the conditional mode (*şart tarzı, conditionnel*). Again as it is in Banguoğlu, despite that these modes seem to be a mixture of aspect (as in perfective aspect), modality (as in narrative modality) and mood (as in indicative and conditional moods), each

mode is considered to be a separate conjugation of the nine moods and the indicative mode is described as simple conjugation and the other three as composite conjugations. Another section, where modal usages are established but are classified otherwise in the work, is the section titled "the meanings expressed by the optative" (Timurtaş 1994: 126). The conditional, subjunctive, future, present and etc. implications of the optative marker could easily be classified as the modal expressions of the suffix.

Gülsevin (1997: 79) states that it is very difficult to establish the functions of the suffixes used for verbal inflection in OAT. He adds that the fact that OAT Turkish is a dead language, and therefore a spoken form is absent, contributes to this difficulty further as accent and stress have an important role in loading functions to some suffixes. It is also stated in the work that the functions of tense and mood markers in OAT is an area, which is not studied properly. Gülsevin's classification of the OAT finite forms is rather different than customary classifications (Gülsevin 1997: 79-114). Verbal finite form markers are subcategorized under two main categories as the tense suffixes (*zaman ekleri*) and the optative mood suffixes (*istek kipi ekleri*). The five tenses are the indirect past tense, the direct past tense, the so-called broad tense (aorist), the present tense and the future tense. Only one mood, i.e. the optative mood, is designated in the work. The categories, which are classified as imperative, conditional and necessitative moods, are classified under the optative mood and their markers are considered as the different markers of the optative mood. Additionally there are only two compound inflection markers. The narrative and perfective forms are considered to be the only two compound inflections of OAT. The conditional forms are classified as gerunds. These views are repeated in Gülsevin – Boz 2004 (117-136).

In Kerslake 1998 (192-194) the finite verbal forms of OAT are examined under the topic "Thematic Suffixes of Tense, Aspect and Mood". However the finite verbal system of OAT is given together with that of Ottoman Turkish since the Turkish language used in

Anatolia until 1928 is periodized as Old Ottoman (13th to 15th centuries), Middle Ottoman (16th to 18th centuries) and New Ottoman (19th century to 1928). The morphemes used for marking tense, aspect and mood / modality are not classified under these categories but rather the morphemes are listed and their temporal, aspectual and modal functions are given together with historical development of their semantics and functions.

A very similar system to that of Timurtaş is applied in Özkan 2000 (136-146). Özkan's classification of OAT finite forms is exactly the same as that of Timurtaş. The only difference from Timurtaş in Özkan's work is observed in the terminology used. In Özkan 2000 the classical terminology and their French translations are absent. A modern Turkish terminology is used in the work.

In Şahin 2003 (:59) it is stated that mood and tense suffixes used for the simple inflection of verbs are usually confused with each other. It is also added that there are two types of moods in Turkish, i.e. the indicative (*bildirme, haber*) and subjunctive (*tasarlama, dilek*) moods. The indicative mood suffixes are tense markers at the same time. They report that the action has happened, will happen, has always happened or will always happen. On the other hand the subjunctive moods at first view do not contain the concept of time. They do not imply whether the action has been realized or has not or whether it will realize or not. Only envisioning the action is in question. The different suffixes of this type of mood depict the way the action is envisaged. The direct past tense (*görülen geçmiş zaman*), the indirect past tense (*öğrenilen geçmiş zaman*), the aorist (*geniş zaman*), the future tense (*gelecek zaman*) and the present tense (*şimdiki zaman*) are the five tenses classified under the indicative mood. The optative (*istek kipi*), the imperative (*emir kipi*), the desiderative-conditional (*dilek-şart kipi*) and the necessitative (*gereklilik kipi*) moods are classified under the subjunctive mood. Verbs inflected with the markers of indicative and subjunctive moods are stated to enter other inflections with the help of the auxiliary verb *i-*. These inflections

constitute the compound inflections. They are the dubitative-narrative (*rivayet*), the imperfect or pluperfect (*hikaye*) and the conditional (*şart*) receiving the suffixes –*DI, -mIş* and –*sA* respectively (Şahin 2003: 59-65).

There is no doubt that the treatment of OAT finite verbal forms is inadequate in Mansuroğlu 1959. The indirect past tense, the aorist and the present tense are missing all together. So is the necessitative mood and compound inflections. The finite verbal forms marked with the suffix –*sA* are divided into two as the conditional and the irrealis. It is not clear on what basis this division is made as in any case the action denoted by a verb marked with the suffix –*sA* is not completed and always has the possibility to never be completed, which in that case would become an irrealis. The first person singular forms *–(y)ayïm / -(y)eyim, -(y)ayïn / -(y)eyin* and first person plural forms *–(y)alum / -(y)elüm*, which are treated by Mansuroğlu as imperatives are regarded by Adamovič to form a separate mood named the voluntative mood. Indeed it is not easy to justify the first person forms as imperatives, which contain a notion of voluntariness rather than command. Adamovič has named the conditional as the potential mood and has divided it into two as the realis and the irrealis. This is very similar what Mansuroğlu has done. Adamovič has designated forms, which lay down conditions, as the realis and the wishes which are beyond the speaker's control as the irrealis. It is hard to see the potentiality in irrealis. Timurtaş and his student Özkan, who has followed his steps, have applied the system used by Banguoğlu for classifying MST's finite verbal system to classify that of OAT. Timurtaş has even copied the terminology whereas Özkan has modernized it. This approach has inevitably transferred every complication produced by Banguoğlu, when classifying the finite verbal system of MST (for detail see pages 49-50), to the classification that of OAT. Gülsevin's systemization of OAT finite verbal forms is original. His division of finite verbal markers as tense suffixes and mood suffixes and especially designation of only one mood is quite unusual. However, on the other hand, his

omission of aspect and modality all together is a very common approach in Turkish grammar-writing. Şahin's classification of the OAT finite verbal forms is the most common approach in Turkish-grammar writing, which is mood based and omits aspect and modality all together. This approach subcategorizes tense under the indicative mood as opposed to the optative, imperative, conditional and necessitative moods, which are subcategorized under the subjunctive mood. This approach was first put forth by Emre, but has been systemized by Ergin (see p. 47). Kerslake seems to be the only scholar to take into consideration aspect and modality, when treating the finite verbal system of OAT. However, her preference of presenting OAT forms together with Ottoman Turkish forms has complicated the issue. Additionally the suffix based presentation, which she has chosen, rather than a category based one has prevented the emergence of a clear picture of the OAT finite verbal system. Nevertheless Kerslake's work is very explanatory in listing the temporal, aspectual and modal functions of every OAT finite verbal marker. Therefore the following section could be proposed to constitute the first attempt to the systematically classify the OAT finite verbal system.

4.3.1 Tense in OAT

4.3.1.1 Past Tense in OAT

Past tense in OAT is marked by the verbal suffixes – *dI*, - *mIş*, and - *Ub(dur-)* as well as the copula markers *idi* and *imiş*.

4.3.1.1.1 Direct Past Tense in OAT

The direct past tense marker of OAT is –*dI*. The consonant of the suffix does not change due to the consonantal harmony. Additionally the vowel of the suffix is always rounded in singular and plural first and second persons as it is in *irdüm, didüm, benzetdüm, gördüñ, işitdük, oturdı, tutdı, didiler* and etc… (Kerslake 1998: 193, Mansuroğlu 1959: 173, 176,178, Timurtaş 1994: 120-121, Hacıeminoğlu 1991: 124):

ben anuñiçün yaratdum 'ālemi

"I created the world for his sake" (Adamovič 1985: 175).

Anı nişe varub görmedüñ

"Why didn't you go and see him?" (Adamovič 1985: 178).

düşman öldi "The enemy has died" (Adamovič 1985: 181).

4.3.1.1.2 Indirect Past Tense in OAT

The indirect past tense in AOT is marked by two different markers, which are *-mIş*, and *-Ub(dur-)*.

4.31.1.2.1 Indirect Past Tense with *–mIş*.

The vowel of the indirect past tense marker *–mIş* in OAT is always unrounded and does not change when preceded with rounded vowels: e.g.: *kılmışam, karuşdurmışam, komışam, dimişsin, köyinmiş, olmışdur, durmışuz* and etc…(Kerslake 1998: 193, Mansuroğlu 1959: 173, 176,178, Timurtaş 1994: 121-122, Hacıeminoğlu 1991: 124):

dedi kim gelmişem bu mülke Çinden

"He said I have come to this land from China." (Adamovič 1985: 190).

quşa kim avlamışsın dāne ver

"Give corn to the bird which you have hunted" (Adamovič 1985: 194).

4.3.1.1.2.2 Indirect Past Tense with *–(y)ub(dur-)*

The second indirect past tense marker of OAT is *–(y)ub*, which originally is a gerund suffix. It must have undertaken this function with the influence of the auxiliary verb *tur-*, which originally followed it but dropped in later stages. The auxiliary verb *tur-* functioned as a copular denoting certainty or eventuality (Şahin 2003: 60) loading a perfective denotation

to the suffix –*(y)ub*. This suffix is usually used with the third person as –*(y)ubdur-*. It's first and second person forms are rare. The suffix –*(y)ubdur-* had died out in Anatolia by the sixteenth century, except the Eastern Anatolian Dialects, but is still very widely used in Azeri. The vowel of this suffix is always rounded: e.g.: *idübven, arubsın, olubdurur, bulubdur, gelübdür, gelmeyübdür* and etc… (Kerslake 1998: 193, Mansuroğlu 1959: 173, 176,178, Timurtaş 1994: 122, Hacıeminoğlu 1991: 124):

> *senüñ ʿışquñ beni benden alubdur*

> "your love has taken / detached myself from me" (Adamovič 1985: 203)

> *satubdur çeng ü nāya neng ü nāmı*

> " he has sold his honour for music." (Adamovič 1985: 203)

4.3.1.2 Present Tense in OAT
The present tense in OAT is encoded by the aorist and occasionally by the optative marker -*A*[81]. There are two types of aorist markers in OAT, which are –*Ur* and –*Ar*.

4.3.1.2.1 Present Tense with -(U)r
The first variety is –*(U)r*, which the vowel of is always rounded. e.g.: *kaluram, ölürem, gözedürem, sakınuram, görürven, sevinürsin, gösterürsin, belürdür* and etc… (Kerslake 1998: 193, Mansuroğlu 1959: 175, Timurtaş 1994: 123, Hacıeminoğlu 1991: 124):

> *yalvarurvan Tañrıya ben dün ü gün*

> "I beg God night and day" (Adamovič 1985: 48)

> *nişün esrük olursın*

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[81] The present tense marker –*yor* of Modern Standard Turkish, which has derived from the verb *yorı-* "to walk", appears in Ahmed Fakih's Čarh-nāme in the 14th century for the first time (Timurtaş 1994: 126). The original form –*(A)yUr(Ur) ~ -(I)yUr(Ur)* of the suffix was a combination of the verb *yorı- ~ yüri-* marked with the aorist and the converb –*(y)I*. Its shortened form –*(I/A)yür* appeared towards the end of the 15th century, eventually evolving into its modern form (Kerslake 1998: 193).

"Why do you become drunk?" (Adamovič 1985: 60).

4.3.1.2.2 Present Tense with -Ar

The second type is *–Ar*, which the vowel of is always unrounded, and a low vowel. It is affixed to verb roots with one syllable with the exception of verb roots *vir-, giy-, san-, kıl-, al-, kal-, ur-, yat-, bit-, ol-, tur-, var-, gel-*, and *gir-*. e.g.: *umaram, bakaram, iderem, satarsın, gider, biter, döner, iderüz, bozarlar* and etc… (Kerslake 1998: 193, Mansuroğlu 1959: 175, Timurtaş 1994: 123-124, Hacıeminoğlu 1991: 124):

biz qorqaruz Tañrımuzdan

"we are frightened of our God." (Adamovič 1985: 56)

quşlaruñ dedügin añlarmısın

"do you understand what the birds say?" (Adamovič 1985: 60)

These two types of aorist have become a single suffix in the later centuries allowing the vowel to change into a high vowel due to the vowel harmony (Timurtaş 1994:. 122).

4.3.1.2.3 Present Tense with -A

The optative marker *–A* is rarely used in the OAT period to mark the present tense:

bini ol hāslar bile kim ben nevem

"The genuine ones know that I am new" (Özkan 2000: 140)

vezir eydür geleli biş gün ola

"the vizier said it has been five days since they came (Özkan 2000: 141)

4.3.1.3 The Future Tense in OAT

The future tense marker of the OAT period is –(y)IsAr. e.g.: *diyiserven, gitmeyiserüz, bulısarsın, döniser, kılısar, bakısar, olmayısar* and etc… The morphological development of this suffix is controversial. Different suggestions are that it has derived from {*igsar*} (the aorist of desiderative {°*gsA*}), from a deverbal noun in -°*g* (or *gü*) + *ser*, from the Old Turkic gerund {*sAr*}, from a gerund in {*I*}+{*sAr*} or from the aorist of *sa-* "to think"[82]. The suffix started to decline in the fifteenth century and became sporadic in the sixteenth century (Kerslake 1998: 193):

> *vaqtüm geldi öliserem bīgümān*

> "My time has come; I am surely going to die." (Kerslake 1998: 193).

> *dünyadan olısarsın revāne*

> "You are going to leave this world." (Adamovič 1985: 89).

Occasionally the suffix –*gAy*, which was one of the future tense markers of the Old Turkic Period, is used in OAT texts written in a mixed language with Eastern Turkic (Timurtaş 1994: 125). Additionally the suffix –*(y)AsI*, which survives in Modern Standard Turkish in imprecations was rarely used in Old Anatolian Turkish to mark future time references (Kerslake 1998: 193):

> *Yarın sinde hem eyle olasısın ki qarıncadan alu qalasısın*
> "And tomorrow, in the grave, you will be more helpless than an ant"

> (Kerslake 1998: 193)

Another suffix, which was used in the OAT to mark the future tense, was the optative marker –*A*:

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[82] For a outline of the discussion on the origin of –*(y)IsAr* see Flemming 1995: 45-46.

Pes bilüñ kim gelmedi hem gelmeye / Mustafa gibi kimesne dünyeye

"Know that no one like Mustafa came and will come to this world"

<div align="right">(Özkan 2000: 139).</div>

The suffix *–(y)AcAk*, which is the future tense marker of Modern Standard Turkish started to appear rarely as a participle in the fourteenth century and did not develop its finite form before the seventeenth century (Kerslake 1998: 194, Timurtaş 1994:. 125).

8.3.2 Aspect in OAT

4.3.2.1 Perfective and Imperfective Aspect in OAT

The distinction between perfective and imperfective aspects is relevant principally to sentences in the past tense.

4.3.2.1.1 Perfective Aspect in OAT

The perfective aspect in OAT is marked by the verbal suffixes – *dI*, - *mIş*, and - *Ub(dur-)*:

düşman öldi "The enemy has died" (Adamovič 1985: 181)

'ilm oqımaɣa gelmişem

"I have come to study" (Kerslake 1998: 193).

Şikayeti nedür? Niçün gelübdür?

"What is his complaint? Why has he come?" (Kerslake 1998: 193)

4.3.2.1.2 Imperfective Aspect in OAT

The imperfective aspect in OAT is marked by the verbal suffixes *–Ur*, *–Ar* and the auxiliary verb *idi*:

Tañrıdan her gün bunuñ gibi belā dürlü dürlü gelür idi anlara

<div align="center">137</div>

"Every day another kind of plague was coming to them from God"

(Adamovič 1985: 221)

her vaqt kim ol zāg yavrı eylerdi ol yılan qamusın yerdi

"Whenever the crow had chicks, the snake was eating all of them

(Adamovič 1985: 221)

on biñ er miqdārı varıdı Fireng

"the Europeans were about ten thousand men." (Adamovič 1985: 219)

Progressive and habitual aspects, which are the two subdivisions of the imperfective aspect applying in past and non-past context, both are marked by the aorist and rarely by the optative marker *-A* in OAT[83]:

Progressive: (event / activity)

Ne turursun "why are you standing (there)?" (Kerslake 1998: 193)

and içerem kim işböyle eyleyem

"I swear to do like this." (Adamovič 1985: 49).

Progressive: (state)

ben bilürem suçumı

"I know my sin." (Adamovič 1985: 49)

eger bilesin ki bir haber dimekle göñül yıqılur,

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[83] The progressive aspect has been taken on by the *–(I)yor* suffix of Modern Standard Turkish after its full establishment as a finite item (Kerslake 1998: 193).

sen anı dimegil ki ayruq kişiler diyeler

"if you know that a heart will break when you give a news

don't give it so that someone else can give it" (Özkan 2000: 141)

Habitual:

Yalvarurvan Tañrıya dün ü gün

"I beg God day and night" (Adamovič 1985: 48)

Nice gündür otlardum ot

"For many many days I had been eating grass." (Kerslake 1994: 193)

Anları sevenleri ben gey sevem

"I love very much the ones who love them" (Özkan 2000: 140-41)

4.3.3 Modality in OAT

Modality, differently from tense and aspect, is not associated with the notion of temporality. It deals with whether a situation is set forth as a personally recognized fact, or in some other way. Suffixes used for marking situations set forth as displaying a directly known fact to the speaker are modally neutral. Neutral modality in OAT is marked by *–dI*, progressive types of the aorist in verbal sentences and with *idi* in nominal sentences.

Modalized utterances may present a generalization, an assumption or hypothesis, a statement concerning the possibility or necessity of the occurrence of an event or a state, a statement based upon information acquired indirectly and an expression of desire or willingness for an event or state to occur.

4.3.3.1 Generalizations and Hypotheses

This type of modality, which makes statements with a general, theoretical nature, or expresses assumptions or hypotheses, is marked by the aorist forms *–U/Ar/-mAz* in verbal sentences and with the generalizing modality marker *–dUrUr* in nominal sentences.

4.3.3.1.1 Statements of Permanent or Generalized Validity

Verbal sentences with aorist:

cüzzam deyü ol rence eydürler kim anı şehrden sürerler

"They call that illness leprosy; it is banished from the city."

(Adamovič 1985: 68)

Tañrı her nesneyi bilür

"God knows everything" (Adamovič 1985: 69)

cāhiller giremezler bu bizüm sırrumuza

"the ignorant ones cannot penetrate into this mystery of ours"

(Adamovič 1985: 85)

Nominal sentences with *-dUrUr*:

'aşiq oldurur kim 'ālemden kese

"lover is the one, who gives up this world" (Adamovič 1985: 45)

4.3.3.1.2 Hypothetical and Counterfactual Situations

Hypothetical and counterfactual situations indicate the accomplishment of some condition:

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Bin cān ü dil hadengine karşu hedef olur

"Thousand lives and hearts would become target to your arrow"

<div align="right">(Timurtaş 1994: 167)</div>

Counterfactual situations are dissimilar to hypotheticals in that the condition, which they are contingent upon, is known to be unrealizable:

Mülk-i İskenderi degişür idüm Cām-ı Cem'e

I would exchange Alexander the Great's empire for a glass of wine

<div align="right">(Timurtaş 1994: 170)</div>

4.3.3.1.3 Assumptions

Assumptions are mainly marked by the aorist and *–dUr(Ur)*:

bir iki günde başlarlar

"they will (probably) start in a few days" (Adamovič 1985: 69)

şimdi cānlarda pes ol od yanadur

"(probably) only that fire is burning in the souls now" (Adamovič 1985: 69)

4.3.3.2 Possibility and Necessity

The notions of possibility and necessity are different from other categories of modality as they have objective components, which are unattached to the viewpoint or discernment of the speaker.

4.3.3.2.1 Possibility

Possibility in OAT is marked by the auxiliary verb *bil-*: e.g.: *başarı bil-, degüri bil-, saklayu bil-, turı bil-, döne bil-*, etc (Özkan 2000: 148). On the other hand impossibility is marked by the negative form of the verb *u-* "to be able to". Both forms are preceded by either of the gerunds *–A*, *-I*, *-U*. There is no buffer between the gerund and *u-* in the negative form and the vowel *u* falls as a result of contraction (Özkan 2000: 148, Timurtaş 1994: 142):

cāhiller giremezler bu bizüm sırrumuza

"the ignorant ones cannot penetrate into this mystery of ours"

(Adamovič 1985: 85)

bilimez kankusıyla eyleye ceng

"he cannot know which one to combat with" (Timurtaş 1994: 142)

kazadan ayrılamaduk

"we couldn't leave the district" (Timurtaş 1994: 142)

Another way to express possibility or impossibility in the OAT is to employ the verb *(b)ol-* "to be" marked with the third person singular form of the optative marker *–A*:

Eyitdiler Yusuf bizi dakhı dile

/ bolay ki melik sözüñ kabul qıla

"They said "Yusuf mention us as well

/ (as) it is possible that the king will accept your word" (Özkan 2000: 142)

hīç kimseyile söz ve keleci itme olmaya ki aduñ yavuz ola

"do not talk to anyone (as) it is possible that you will be dishonoured

<div align="right">(Özkan 2000: 142)</div>

4.3.3.2.2 Necessity / Obligation

Necessity in OAT is rarely marked by the optative marker –*A* on its own:

Yavuz sanmaya qardaş qardaşına

"brothers should not think ill of each other" (Özkan 2000: 144)

However it is more frequently marked by combinations established by *gerek* "necessary, needed". Sometimes *gerek* marks the necessity on its own, but more often it acts in combinations with –*A* or the conditional marker –*sA*[84]:

Kim uş bu nev-ʿarusa sen yiñi ton / Gerekdür biçesin gāyetde mevzūn

"you have to cut new well-arranged clothes for this new bride"

<div align="right">(Özkan 2000: 144)</div>

ikimüz dakhı Tañrıya şükr eylemek geregüz

"we both have to thank God" (Adamovič 1985: 301)

akhılar gerek kim şehvetden ıraq olalar

"*akhi*s have to stay away from lust." (Adamovič 1985: 302)

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[84] The necessitative mood marker –*mAlI* of Modern Standard Turkish appeared in OAT as –*mAlU* in the 14th century (Kerslake 1998: 194; Adamovič 1985: 304) functioning only as a verbal noun suffix*: isitisqā olmalu gişiye fā'ide ede* "it will be useful for a person suffering from oedema", *şol asılmalu oγrı gibi* "like that thief, who has to be hung" (Adamovič 1985: 304). The suffix has become predicative by the 16th century (Meninski 1756: 134). It has lost its non-finite function in Modern Standard Turkish but still fully operates in Azeri, Turkmen and Crimean Turkic as a non-finite form (Eraslan 1980: 28).

yil bigi bir subh azm-i kūy-ı yār itsem gerek

"one morning like a wind I have to set out for the village of the beloved one"

(Özkan 2000: 144)

4.3.3.3 Evidentiality in OAT

Evidentiality is another important speaker-propagated modality in OAT (and Modern Standard Turkish) and comprises articulations constructed upon information received indirectly. This modality is marked by the verbal suffix *–mIş* and the copular suffix *–(y)ImIş*. The origin of the second-hand information upon which evidentiality is based is generally either someone else's assertion or a resultant state.

4.3.3.3.2 Evidential Modality Based on Information in OAT

When a statement is based on knowledge acquired indirectly it has to bear the evidential marker. The absence of the evidential marker suggests that the utterance is based on personal experience or observation:

gelinler görmemişler hiç damād

"apparently the brides have never seen a groom" (Adamovič 1985: 198)

dedi kim altunı ol almış durur

"he said that he has taken the gold" (Adamovič 1985: 198)

Dissimilar to *–mIş* the copular marker *–(y)ImIş* has no temporal or aspectual components. A sentence marked with *–(y)ImIş* has exactly the same aspectual meaning as the same sentence without evidential marking:

eşitdüm ki Şam vilāyetinde bir pādışah varimiş

"I heard that there is a sultan in Syria" (Adamovič 1985: 208)

kirpüklerüñ çü okhlar u qaşuñ kemānimiş

Apparently your eyelashes are like arrows and your eyebrows like bow"

(Adamovič 1985: 208)

4.3.3.3.2 Evidential Modality Based on Result in OAT

The verbal suffix *–mIş* is also used for denoting an occurrence, which the speaker did not experience personally but is able to deduce from its consequence[85]:

gazīlar gördiler kim kāfırlar yolları baylamışlar

"the wariors saw that the infidels has occupied the way."

(Adamovič 1985: 208: 199)

4.3.3.3.3 Newly Discovered State of Affairs Marked by the Evidential Copula in OAT

Newly discovered state of affairs marked by the evidential copula *–(y)ImIş* often involves surprise:

gördüm anı yüze yüz bir öküz imiş

"I have seen him face to face, he surely is an ox" (Adamovič 1985: 208)

sanurdum dost ol khod düşmen imiş

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[85] Adamovič (1985: 205-207) suggest that it is possible that a regional form of a resultant evidential marker in –ik/ -ıq / -ük / -uq had existed in the OAT period as it still exists in the Gaziantep dialect. For the use of this suffix in Gaziantep see Aksoy 1945: 176-182. In fact the use of this form is not limited to Gaziantep. Data gathered by Buran (1996: 14) displays that it is widely used in all over Inner and Southern Anatolia with at least three different distinct past connotations: 1) A resultant containing prediction as in *Mehmet eve gelik (gelmiştir)* "Mehmet has probably come home", 2) a use close to direct past tense as in *O yol senin gördüğün gibi kalmayık; güzel yapılık* "That road is not as you have seen it; it has been constructed very well. 3) a hearsay which is certain as in *Ahmet İstanbul'dan gelik mi? – Gelik... bu sabah çarşıda görükler* "Has Ahmet arrived from Istanbul – He has... They have seen him this morning at the downtown".

"I thought of him as a friend but (I see that) he is a true enemy"

<div align="right">(Adamovič 1985: 209)</div>

4.3.3.4 Volitional Modality in OAT

Volitional expressions, which are not statements, are the volition or inclination of the speaker concerning the state of affairs in question.

4.3.3.4.1 Wishes in OAT

Wishes in OAT were expressed by the verbal suffixes *–sA, -sA(y)IdI, -(y)AydI*.

4.3.3.4.1.1 Realizable wishes to perform action in OAT:

pes eyitdi: varsam Şenzebeyi görsem anuñ zamīrinden yiyi duysam

"then she said: It would be nice to go and see Shenzebe and understand his thoughts" (Adamovič 1985: 285)

4.3.3.4.1.1.2 Wishes which are beyond the speaker's power in OAT:

türkçe bilseydüm eydeydüm ben size sırları

"If only I had known Turkish, I would have told you the secrets"

<div align="right">(Adamovič 1985: 297)</div>

bulsayıdum dilüñi keseyidüm

"if I had found you I would have cut your tongue." (Adamovič 1985: 297)

4.3.3.4.1.3 Counterfactual wishes or regrets in OAT:

kaşkī yüzini göricek öleydüm

"I wish I had died as soon as I saw your face" (Özkan 2000: 383)

istemeyedüm "I would have not wanted" (Kerslake 1998: 194)

4.3.3.4.2 Commands in OAT

4.3.3.4.2.1 Basic Commands in OAT:

Basic commands in OAT are either marked with the absence of a marker or by the verbal suffixes –gIl, -A, -Uñ(Uz):

sen benüm südüm iç

"drink my milk" (Adamovič 1985: 229)

yüzmezisen gemiden çiqmaγıl

"if you can't swim do not leave the ship" (Adamovič 1985: 231)

qardaşuñuz alubanı gelesiz

"take your brother and come" (Özkan 2000:141)

ne kim ol eydürse anı qıluñuz

"do whatever he says" (Adamovič 1985: 235)

4.3.3.4.2.2 Third person instructions in OAT:

Third person instructions in OAT are marked with the verbal suffixes –sUn(lAr):

kimesne bencileyin zār olmasun

"let no one be worried like me" (Adamovič 1985: 239)

pencereyi bir dem qapamasunlar teferrüc edelüm

"let them not close the window for a while so we can have a look"

(Adamovič 1985: 239)

4.3.3.4.2.3 Persuasive Commands in OAT:

The persuasive command, which is marked by *–sAn(Iz)A* in Modern Standard Turkish, rarely pops up in the OAT texts in the singular form as *-sAña*:

bu ne gülecek yerdür aγlasaña

"this is not a place to laugh, (why don't you) cry" (Adamovič 1985: 233)

ol semā'da yügrişürler görseña

"they are moving together in the Semā' (don't you) see"

(Adamovič 1985: 233)

This form exists all over the Turkish dialectical map and its presence with the identical marker in dialects as diverse as Gagauz and the Turkish Dialects of Cyprus may suggest that its existence in the OAT period was more common than it is attested[86].

4.3.3.4.2.4 Imperative use of the future tense marker in OAT:

The Modern Standard Turkish future tense marker *–(y)AcAk*, in addition to its temporal implication, expresses an action that is the expectation of someone in a position of authority from others to perform as in *oraya bir daha gitmeyeceksin* "you are not going to go there again" or *bütün bunlar atılacaktı* "all these were supposed to be thrown away" (Göksel – Kerslake 2005: 361). Bodrogligeti (1970: 173) notes that the OAT future marker *–(y)IsAr* in spite of indicating future actions or occurrences, which are regarded to be certain, does not imply any sort of modality. On the other hand Flemming (1995: 52-53) suggests that the

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[86] This form historically exists in the Balkans as in *abe akhretlikler baksanıza bu bizim köse ülmemiş* "Oh my eternal friends! Look our beardless is not dead" (Kunos 1907: 42); in Gagauz as in *hey dostlar kardaşlar, dönsenize geri, görsenize beni* "Oh friends and brothers! (why don't you) turn back and look at me" (Pokrovaskaja 1964: 219); in the Cypriot dialects as in **gelseña buraya* "(why don't you) come here!" For the Anatolian variants of the form see Caferoğlu 1940: 4, Caferoğlu 1943: 68, Caferoğlu 1944: 16 and 19, Caferoğlu 1951: 186, Korkmaz 1963: 128, 142 and 200.

following examples (and others) should be included under the category of epistemic modality as they imply inevitability and a must as a logical outcome:

dirīgā kim uçisar quş qafesden / dirīgā kim çüriyiser bu ebdān

// dirīgā yatısaruz sın içinde / geçiser üstümüzden niçe ezmān

"alas that the bird will fly from the cage / alas that the bodies will decay

// alas we shall lie in the grave / so many times will pass over us"

su'al eyleyiserler itdügüñden

"they will ask you about what you have done"

cemī' enbiyā kefenlendiler bendakhı kefenleniserin

cemī' enbiyā öldükten soñra yunıldı bendakhı yunılısaram

"all prophets have been shrouded; I, too shall be shrouded.

All prophets have been washed after they died; I, too, shall be washed"

qıyāmetde elbette sorılısarsız

"at the resurrection you will certainly be interrogated"

4.3.2.4.3 Suggestions in OAT:

The first person singular and plural optative markers –(y)(A)m and –(y)AvUz in OAT mark actions, which the addresser proposes to conduct. In the plural form the speaker suggests the action to be performed together with the addressee(s) and/or other individuals:

ben deyem sözler ki kimse demedi

"let me say words that no one has said" (Adamovič 1985: 260)

eytdiler gelüñ bunı öldürevüz

"they said let's kill him (Özkan 2000: 139)

When this form is put in a form of question it becomes consultative:

ger senüñle gelmeyem qanda varam

"if I don't come with you where should I go?" (Adamovič 1985: 261)

4.3.2.4.4 Deliberation about Possible Action in OAT:

Verbs marked with the first person conditional markers *–sAm*, *-sAvUz* become consultative when they are used in a question. The difference between this form and the question form marked with the first person optative suffix is that the addresser considers the decision in the form marked with the conditional suffix to be more puzzling and does not presume the addressee to be able to give a simple answer:

ben senüñ elüñe girsem beni ve leşkerümi nece ederdüñ

"what would you do to me and my army if I had entered your realm?"

(Adamovič 1985: 280)

4.3.2.4.5 Requests and Offers in OAT:

Requests and offers are marked by the second person aorist interrogative. Structurally requests and offers are exactly the same:

Request:

bizi kabul edermisin bugice

"would you accept us tonight ?" (Adamovič 1985: 61)

Offer:

şundan istermisin

"would you like some of these?" (Adamovič 1985: 61)

4.3.2.4.6 Commitments in OAT

The first person aorist is used for marking commitment or promise:

deñize düşicek yüzerem

"I will start swimming when I fall in the sea" (Adamovič 1985: 49)

tañrıyiçün seni öldürürem

"I'll kill you in the name of God" (Adamovič 1985: 49)

ben seni işbu qılıcum ile depelerem

"I will kill you with my sword" (Adamovič 1985: 49)

ka'be dapa varuram esirgegil

"I am trying to reach the Kaaba so protect me" (Adamovič 1985: 49)

CHAPTER V: Tense, Aspect, Modality and the Mood System of the Turkish Dialects of Cyprus

5.1 Introductory Notes

Turkish spoken on the island of Cyprus has until recently been named by Turkish scholars as *Kıbrıs Türkçesi*, which can be translated into English as 'Turkish of Cyprus' / 'Cyprus Turkish' or as *Kıbrıs Ağzı* 'Cyprus Dialect' / 'Dialect of Cyprus'. However, lately some Turkish scholars, particularly ones originating from Cyprus have started to use *Kıbrıslıtürkçe* 'Cypriotturkish'[87]. This new usage is generally preferred by leftist intellectuals like Yaşin (2005) or like Mehmet Ali (2001) from the Diaspora as an indication of an emphasis on Cypriotness and has emerged as a reaction to the so-called assimilation of the Turkish Cypriots by Turkey[88]. The terms *Kıbrıs Türkçesi* and *Kıbrıs Ağzı* are being used by Turkey-oriented right-wing scholars in Cyprus like Gökçeoğlu or Saracoğlu and off course by scholars from Turkey like Karataş. However, the term *Kıbrıs Ağzı* is replacing the term *Kıbrıs Türkçesi* in this camp possibly as a reaction to the growing use of the term *Kıbrıslıtürkçe* since it subcategorizes the language under Turkish more clearly. Recent publications like Argunşah (2000, 2001, 2003), Çelebi (2003), Duman (2000, 2003), Öztürk (2000, 2001), Pehivan (2000) all prefer the term *Kıbrıs Ağzı*. In brief, the choice of whether to use the old form or the new form has become an indication of the political preference of the user. Therefore in order to avoid this political symbolisation, in this work Demir's (2002, 2002a, 2005) usage "Turkish Dialects[89] of Cyprus" (henceforth the TDC)

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[87] The reason for writing this term as a single word is not very clear. Grammatically it is an adjective clause and it would connote exactly the same meaning if it was written in two separate words, which is the orthographical correct form. It is possible that the intellectuals preferring this usage are intending to connote a new concept by writing it as a single word. Indeed in a personal conversation Mehmet Ali has disclosed that she uses it as a compound in order to emphasise Cypriotness. This may hint that it is written as a compound in order to put forth a new concept screening the word *Türkçe* "Turkish" as much as it is possible. Additionally it is stated in the spelling dictionary of MST that adjective clauses are written as single words when they connote a new concept (Akalın et al 2005: 20)

[88] The arrival of tens of thousands of settlers from Turkey after 1974 has evoked particularist feelings in some sectors of the Turkish Cypriot population in order to distinguish the original population from the settlers (Peeters 1997: 1582). Consequently some left-winged politicians and intellectuals in North Cyprus claim that the Cypriot identity of the Turkish quarter of the island is gradually disappearing under the influence of Turkey (Özgür 2002: 108).

[89] It seems to be useful to give some information here on what is meant by dialect as the term 'dialect' is not a very much preferred term in modern linguistics. However, in Turkish linguistics the term is fully in use with its classical connotations, but with a local understanding. The nomenclature used by the scholars from Turkey for

will be preferred, which also is suitable for the characteristics of the Turkish spoken on the island[90]. The TDC have the characteristics of various Anatolian Dialects of Turkish with the addition of some local features. For instance the use of the past participle marker *–Iq* as a temporal marker is a common feature in the Southern Dialects of Anatolia stretching from modern-day Antalya to Gaziantep. This usage exists in TDC even if not very frequent (see section 5.6.1.1.2.3). The dialectical diversity is more observable in the lexical structure of TDC. The word *uyan* "bridle" could set a good example for this situation. The word exists in TDC both as *uyan* and *oyan* (Kabataş 2007: 453, 568). Both varieties of the word survive in modern Anatolian Dialects of Turkish. It is present as *oyan* in Polatlı / Ankara, Isparta and Lapseki / Çanakkale (Derleme Sözlüğü v. IX: 3300), whereas as *uyan* in Kızılcahamam / Ankara, Konya, Kadirli / Osmaniye and Dörtyol / Hatay (*Derleme Sözlüğü* v. XI: 4047). The instrumental suffix also sets a good example for this situation. It is possible to find the suffix as *–(y)lA, -(y)ila, -nan, -(y)Inan* in the different varieties on the island. On the other hand lexical elements with Greek origin like *ispaho* "string, rope"(Kabataş 2007: 349), which is a very common word in TDC, or *diblari* "a sheep which gives birth to twins" (Kabataş 2007: 190), perhaps known only by bilingual shepherds, also exist in TDC and display good examples for dialectical differentiation

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indicating the Turkish variety used in Cyprus is perhaps a good example for this. Chambers and Trudgill (1980: 17-18) classify regional varieties as accent and dialect. They define accent as a regional variety with phonetical and/or phonological differences whereas dialect as a variety with grammatical (and perhaps lexical) and phonological differences. On the other hand in Turkish linguistics a trifid classification is preferred for regional varieties. The term *ağız* is used for defining varieties with phonetical and/or phonological differences; the term *şive* is used for varieties with phonological and grammatical differences, and the term *lehçe* for varieties with phonological, grammatical and lexical differences (Ergin 1962: 10). It is clear that Turkish spoken in Cyprus should be classified as an accent rather than a dialect according to Chamber and Trudgill's classification. However it has become traditional to treat the Turkish varieties spoken on the island as dialects. Therefore this term is appropriated in this thesis as well.

[90]At least twelve dissertations were held in Turkish universities between the years 1966-1981 dealing with more than ten different varieties of the Turkish spoken on the island. Some of the works are dealing with more than one variety at a time. A dissertation was held on two different varieties spoken on the island as late as the year 2000. The dissertations written on the different varieties of Turkish spoken on the island are as follow: Ali, Kemal, 1967. *Kıbrıs Klavya (Alaniçi) Ağzı*. Ankara; Atılgan, Hilmi Elmas, 1966. *Baf Ağzı*. Ankara; Avkıran, Şerif, 1970. *Lefkoşa Ağzı*. Ankara; Batkan, Narin Ağa, 2000. *Kıbrıs Baf ve Limasol Göçmenlerinin Ağzı*. Ankara; Cantaş, Yıltan, 1979. *Kıbrıs Lefkoşa, Ortaköy ve Gönyeli Ağzı Dil ve Gramer Hususiyetleri*. Istanbul; Ersun, Sami, *Larnaka Ağzı*. Ankara; Fevzi, Hasan Sarper, 1981. *Kıbrıs Ağzı / Çatoz, Kalavaç, Kazafana, Kırnı*. Istanbul; Halil, Sonay, 1974. *Abohor Ağzı*. Ankara; Mahmut, Ertan, 1972. *Kıbrıs Baf Ağzı*. Erzurum; Nail, Ali, 1980. *Kıbrıs Mesarya Ağzı*. Istanbul; Sami, Hasan, 1972. *Kıbrıs Limasol Ağzı*. Erzurum; Saracoğlu, Erdoğan, 1972. *Kıbrıs'ın Küçük Kaymaklı Ağzı*. Ankara; Tuğlu, Baykal, 1979. *Magosa Ağzı*. Istanbul. (references in Akçam 2007:339-346).

on the island. In addition to these characteristics Demir (2002a) has presented some features to be the distinctive features of TDC. The shortening of long vowels in words like *madem* 'since, in that', *lazım* 'necessary', *malum* 'certain, known', *cami* 'mosque', etc; the disagreement of some suffixes like the conditional marker *–sa,* the gerunds *-(y)kan / -(I)kan, -(I)nca,* and the instrumental *-(I)nan* with the vowel harmony and epenthesis of a /ş/ sound in demonstrative pronouns like *buraşta* 'here', *oraşta* 'there' are the phonological distinguishing features. The frequency of the diminutive *–cIk* and the copula *–dIr*, the absence of the focal present marker *–(I)yor*, the infrequency of the indirect past tense marker *–mIş* and the absence of the interrogative particle *mI* are the morphological distinctive features. The use of the word *hazır* 'ready' for marking approximation as in *hazır düşeyim* 'I almost fell', the objective sentences constructed with the finite form of the verb *iste-* 'to want' followed by the verb of the intended action as in *İsder oynaylım* '(S)he wants us to play', expression of necessity with *lazım / lüzum* 'necessary / necessity' as in *Lazım / lüzum gideyim* 'I have to go', construction of relative clauses with relative pronouns *şu* 'that' and *hani* 'where' instead of participles as in *Annatdı hani gitdi okula* '(S)he told that (s)he went to school', the mobility of the indirect past copula in the sentence, the use of the reflexive pronoun *gendi* as a demonstrative pronoun as in *...çıkdı dışarı, vurdu gendini* '... he went out (and) shot it' and construction of negation of the imperative-optative with the word *yok* 'nonexistence' as in *Yok unudasıň beni* 'Don't forget me' are the syntactic distinguishing features of TDC.

This heterogeneous characteristic is due to the demographic structure of its speakers. The bulk of the speakers of the TDC were settled to the island from different territories of the Ottoman Empire at different dates (Özkul 2005: 40-42)[91]. The island also had been a renowned place of exile during the Ottoman rule. It was not only a place of exile for individuals, but from time to time complete tribes or neighbourhoods had been sent to the island (Dündar 1998: 335-

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[91] The *Gedikli* Tribe was transferred to the island in 1140 A.H. (1727/1728). The *Güzelbeğli* Branch of the *Danişmendl*i Tribe was transferred to the island in the same year because of their involvement in banditry. The *Karhacılı* Branch of the *Mamalı* Tribe was transferred to the island in the same year because of the same reason. Again the *Saçıkaralı* Tribe from Ichel – Mersin was transferred to the island with the same reason the same year (Altay 1999: 457-458).

380). The dialects spoken by these people from the different regions of the empire has mingled moulding the basic dialectical features of the TDC. Numerous archaic characteristics of Turkish Dialects have remained preserved in the TDC, as Cyprus is geographically isolated from mainland Turkey. Also the almost two centuries long political isolation of the island from the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey may have contributed to the preservation of the dialectical features of the varieties of Turkish spoken on the island. The TDC also exhibit structural and prominent accentual diversities ascribed to its proximity with Indo-European languages, specifically Greek (Demir 2002a: 107, Eren 1960: 106).

5.2 Historical Background of the Speakers of the TDC

The Turkish Cypriots are characterised by Andrew Mango (1997:119-120) to be the last representatives of the Mediterranean Turkish Culture[92] on an island. The conventional opinion on their origin is that they are the descendants of the Ottoman Turks who conquered the island in 1571 and / or those who colonized it by the *sürgün* 'banishment' method afterwards[93]. However, the assertion that all the people settled were Muslim Turks is vehemently disputed, particularly by Greek Cypriot scholars. Papadopoullos claims that the ethnic structure of the Muslim deportees was heterogeneous, assuming that the Muslim population of Asia Minor consisted of a high proportion of converted Christians, mainly from

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[92] Mango is amazed with the fact that Turks, who generally are regarded to be continental and land-locked people, had established their selves in the Mediterranean only twenty years after the battle of Mankizert at the command of Chaka Bey. This presence was strengthened in the 13th century, when shipyards were founded by the Seljukid ruler Alaeddin Keykubad at Alanya (Alaiyye). In the 14th century Umur Bey of Izmir became the master of the Eastern Aegean. However from the 15th century onwards Turks became the masters of the Eastern Mediterranean under the Ottomans. First the Northern Aegean in the 15th century, then Rhodes in 1523, Cyprus in 1571 and Crete in 1699 were conquered. Significant Turkish communities with the Muslim Turkish culture flourished on the larger islands of the region. Later these communities disappeared after the withdrawal of the Ottoman Power from the islands. Especially the survivors of the Cretan Turks, who Mango claims to be the largest of these communities, still preserve a distinctive identity in Turkey, where they have migrated. Mango thinks that the Cypriot Turks are the last representatives of these communities on an island (1997: 119-120). However, Mango seems to have forgotten the Turkish communities of Rhodes, Mytilene (Midilli) and Cos (İstanköy).
[93] The practice of *sürgün* as a colonization method applied by the Ottomans is explained in detail by İnalcik (1954) and Barkan (1949-50, 1951-52 and 1953-54). It is claimed that the deportees were drawn from the Turkish population of the empire. Barkan repeatedly insists that the aim of these *sürgün*s was to turkify and islamisize the newly conquered lands. However in (1951-52: 60) he mentions a nomadic Arab tribe, which was deported to the Balkans together with Turkish nomads from Karesi. But he explains that this tribe was named as Arab because of sociological reasons and was not ethnically Arab as its members bore pure Turkish names rather than Muslim ones.

Greek origin[94]. On top of these claims put forth by Papadopoullos, Kyrris (1985:251-256), quoting Dandini, claims that the bulk of 12.000 – 13.000 Turkish Cypriots present on the island in 1596-1597, were Latin renegades, who converted to Islam in order to escape being slaughtered and to continue to enjoy the privileges of the ruling class.

Girolamo Dandini, who was a professor of theology at Perugia, was sent as a nuncio to the Maronites of Lebanon and visited Cyprus on his way in August 1596. He landed at Limassol then visited Larnaca and Nicosia. He left for Tripoli after staying almost for a month on the island. He returned to Larnaca in March 1597 and stayed for another month. His report was printed in Cesena 60 years after his visit to Cyprus, under the name of *Missione apostolica al patriarca e Maroniti del monte Libono*. A French translation was published in Paris in 1675 and an English version in London in 1811. (Cobham 1908: 181). Jennings (1993:142-143) finds Dandini's claim, that most of the Turks on the island were renegades, to be "a naive and self-deluding idea, dangerously ethnocentric and religiocentric". Jennings adds that this is a common theme among the foreigners, who visited the Ottoman Empire. Indeed De Groot (1986: 305) contradicts the information provided by Dandini by giving the number of Latin and Orthodox Christians, who converted to Islam directly after the conquest amounting only around 400[95]. A register held by the Ottomans

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[94] Papadopoullos (1965: 24-26) also argues that the deportees banished to Cyprus from Anatolia included the Christian population as well as the Muslim population. He takes the sultanic order exempting the relatives of the chief architect Sinan from the deportation as a base to his claim. However, it is controversial whether Chief architect Sinan came from a Greek background, as it is claimed that Turkish children were adopted as well as Christian ones with the *devshirme* method at the time. Additionally the names mentioned by Papadopoullos such as Sarioglou Dogantzi and Nisanoglou Elisabeth points to a Turkish-speaking Christian background rather than a Greek-speaking one. Urgup, as the place of origin, also points into the same direction as the area was populated by the Turkish-speaking Christian Karamanlis. For detailed information on Christian Turkic people including their historical development see Eröz 1983.

Papadopoullos also, referring to Lewis (1952: 31-32), sets forth, the order extending the deportation to five hundred Palestinian Jewish families from the town of Safed as a proof to his assertion that the deportees included the non-Muslim population as well. On the other hand İnalcik (1964: 30) puts forth that the aim of this order, to deport Jewish families from Palestine to Cyprus, was to revive the commercial life of the island but was cancelled by a second order (which is confirmed by Papadopoullos).

[95] Gerçel (1999: 492) states that Turkish Cypriot historian Vergi Bedevi, referring to the register of Nicosia, gives the number of 400 as the total number of converts from the Catholic and Orthodox population to Islam under the three century-long Turkish rule. This probably points to the number of converts only in Nicosia as it will be a very small number for the whole of the island.

during the conquest show that only seventeen Latins converted to Islam throughout the war (Göyünç 1971: 106). Additionally the *Mevkufat Defter* numbered 2551 and dated 22 September 1572 (13 Cemazıyelevvel 980) shows that 1908 families from around Aksaray, Beyşehir, Seydişehir, Anduği, Develihisar, Ürgüp, Koçhisar, Niğde, Bor, Ilgın, Ishaklı, Akşehir, Akdağ and Bozok were transferred to Cyprus within one year after the conquest (Halaçoğlu 2001: 40-41). Furthermore the *Muhimme Defter* dated 7th January 1581 (nr. 43, pg. 134) confirms that 8000 families, out of the intended 12000, were settled to the island from Anatolia by 1581 (Orhonlu 1971: 103; Halaçoğlu 2001: 44). If the estimation of five people per family is consented the re-settled population adds up to a population of 40000. On the 10th page of the *Maliyeden Müdevver Defter* numbered 5168 it is recorded that a military presence, numbering 3800, were left on the island after the conquest (Halaçoğlu 2001: 44). This tops up the Turkish or Ottoman population on the island up to 43-44000. Hence, it easily could be said that numbers provided by Dandini do not add up[96].

On the other hand Turkish and Western scholars share the opinion that the preponderant proportion of the ancestors of the Turkish Cypriots was Turkish, mainly *yörüks* 'Turkish nomads', artisans and farmers, transferred from Anatolia as well as Turkish soldiers who remained on the island after the conquest, which is supported by the figures provided by the afore mentioned *defters*. Gazioğlu (1990: 74-93), İnalcık (1964) and Kökdemir (1956: 86-114) give detailed information on the deportee population with reference to imperial decrees supplemented with the original and translated / transliterated full texts of the decrees. It appears that the deportation of communities to Cyprus had continued well into the 18th century. For instance in the 170th page of the *Maliyeden Müdevver Defter* numbered 8458 (p.

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[96] Papadapoullos (1965: 33) notes that he was detected in Larnaca during his second visit to the island on his way back from Syria by the Ottoman authorities with the accusation of conspiracy against Turks, but was not imprisoned. However, in the English version of his work Dandini states that he escaped being arrested as he was informed by an Italian merchant that there was an order for his arrest (Dandini 1811 :74-75). This passage is particularly interesting as Dandini states that this Italian merchant was informed by an Italian Renegade, who was working for the Ottoman authorities. If it so this may indicate that renegades kept their relations with their original communities alive. Perhaps they were used by the Ottoman authorities as mediators.

266-67) it is recorded that the communities named the Güngördü, Delili and the Kırıntılı were deported to Cyprus in 1702 (Halaçoğlu 2006: 141). In the 266-67th pages of the same defter it is recorded that the communities and families named *Elciler, Batralı* (a.k.a. *Püseli*), *Bolahadlı, Cerid, Çaylak, Dermili, Hacılı, Kiselioğlu, Kılıçlı, Kırıntılı, Lekvan, Sakallı, Sendil, Şamlı, Şeyhli* (a.k.a *Hacı Bahaddinli*), *Tacirli, Tırtar, Gedikli, Güzelbeğlı, Karahacılı* and the *Saçıkaralı* were deported to Cyprus in 1713 (Altay 1999: 456-458; Halaçoğlu 2001: 45, 2006: 141). Additionally the *Mühimme Defter* numbered 134 (p. 60-61) records that the Hardal, Paşmaklı, Yazıcılı, Hacı-İsalu, Tataroğlu, Kaçı, Horezm and additional groups of the Şeyhli and the Gedikli were deported to Cyprus in 1727 (Halaçoğlu 2001: 45, 2006: 141). Contrary to the settlers transferred to the island in 1572, who were mainly cotton- wool fluffers, boot makers, locksmiths, cooks, blacksmiths, bath attendants, shoemakers, gunsmiths, tanners, merchants, farriers, felt makers, carpenters, stonecutters, weavers, scholars, imams, bristle weavers, tailors and farmers (Halaçoğlu 2001: 43), the common feature of all of these families and communities is that all of them are *Yörük*s (nomadic Turcomans).[97] Special attention should be given to the name *Tırtar* here as it reminds the ethnonym *Terter*. *Terter* is known to be the name of one of the Cuman – Kipchak tribes (Golden 1995-97). It is possible that this social entity is a remnant of one of Cuman communities (re)settled to Anatolia (for detail see section 4.1). It is concluded that the greatest proportion of the Turkish settlers were transferred from the surroundings of Konya and from the Mediterranean coasts of Anatolia. There is no doubt that the population of these regions contained non-Muslims including Greek-speakers in the 16th century. However, in addition to the fact that non-Muslims were rarely resettled, in the case of Cyprus one of the significant causes of resettlement was to strengthen Muslim / Turkish presence on the island

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[97] For a list of communities and families banished to Cyprus and their places of origin before their banishment to the island see Appendix 3.

with military impetus besides economic factors. (Dündar 1998: 354)[98]. Kökdemir (1956: 113) additionally reports that two hundred households of Turks belonging to the Bayat tribe were transferred to the island from Aleppo[99].

The Central Anatolian vicinities like Konya and Mediterranean coastal vicinities like İçel, Antalya and Alanya as original homelands of the ancestors of Turkish Cypriots is also supported by some problematic linguistic evidence gathered by Eren (1964: 6-14) from the island. Eren's work is based on the lexical and folk literature material gathered from the island in 1959. Eren states that the lexical elements of the Turkish spoken on the island and the folk literature of the Turkish Cypriots are parallel to that of Anatolian Turks in general with some local additions. Therefore Eren has based his claim on lexical elements, which has geographically limited usage in Anatolia. Eren states that he has gathered 5000 words from the island. However, he has used only 30-40 words (both nouns and verbs) in his work. He states that he was planning to publish his material in a monograph on Cyprus. Unfortunately such a work was never produced. There is no doubt that the amount of words used in this work is too little but still is important as it may indicate some connection with the place they were gathered from and the regions stated in Anatolia. Another problem with the material produced by Eren in this work is the place of origin of the words. Place of origin for almost all of the words are villages located on the southern slopes of the Beshparmak (Pentadaktilos) Mountains and the Masarea Region, which both are in the northern parts of the island. Only

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[98] Information on the households sent from Ermenak, Mamuriye, Selendi, Gülnar, Mud and Silifke are recorded in a *defter* numbered Bab-ı Asafi Divan Kalemi no. 793. The information includes number of children, the nature of their resettlement and professional information. A passage in this 'defter' clearly indicates that the resettled households were Muslim households: *İş bu defterde mestûr olan elli dört hane sahiblerinin cümle zâd ü zevâda ve asâs-ı beyt ve alât-ı ziraat ve hirfetleri mükümmel olduğundan gayri nakle kâbil olmayan emlâk ve esbâbları bermûceb-i fermân-ı âli bey'-i men yezid olunub nihayet buldukda ehl-i vukuf ve mu'temedun aleyh olan müslümanlara dahi ziyade değmediğine yemin verildikten sonar bey' olunub, kıymetleri ellerine verilüb added ve mikdarları deftere kayd olunmışdır*. 'The amount of the food, furniture, agricultural and professional tools of the 54 households, which are included into this 'defter', are recorded after being auctioned, sold with the advice of experts, guaranteed to these trusted Muslims with an oath that their properties did not cost more and the price paid to them' (Dündar 1998: 354).

[99] Aleppo still is one of the centres in the Middle-east with the biggest concentration of Turkish population outside of Turkey. For brief information on Turks in Syria see Bleaney 1993.

Poli from the southern regions of the island is used five times as place of origin, only once being the place of origin on its own. In other four instances Poli is listed together with other localities from the north as the place of origin of the words in question. There is no mention whether he has interviewed people originating from the south or if there were some other words in his collection originating from the southern parts of the island. This absence is important as then a significant proportion of the Turkish population of the island still lived in the southern parts of the island.

Luke (1965: 79) takes the Turkish claims one step further and asserts that the Turkish immigrants abstained from intermarriage with the Orthodox inhabitants of the island and preserved the purity of their language[100]. It is not clear what is meant by Luke's characterization as "purity". However, interestingly the renown Turkish author Yaşar Nabi Nayır, who had visited the island in 1954 stated in a conference (03.08.1954) that Turkish in Cyprus was more "progressive" than the Turkish in the provinces of Turkey apart from Istanbul and Ankara (Yaşın no date: 739, Mapolar 2002: 64). Nayır clearly indicated to the correct use of the written language and its relief from local futures. On the other hand he stated that Turkish Cypriots' common mistake was that they were not attentive to the rules of the Turkish language when speaking as much as when they were writing. It is clear that Nayır had the opportunity to become acquainted with the Turks of Nicosia and educated people from the rest of the island. If Luke meant the lack of local features in the speech by "purity" clearly he as well only met Turkish-speakers from urban centres since the speech of rural communities especially that of the ones from Paphos had very strong dialectical features.[101] Jennings (1993: 212-239), Beckingham (1957b: 171) and Hill (1940-52) also support the claims that the Turkish Cypriots are descendants of Turkish settlers from Anatolia, but

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[100] Luke (1965: 79) claims the purity of the language of the Turkish Cypriots to be "unequalled in any other part of the Ottoman – Turkish-speaking world before the language reform carried out by the Ankara Government".
[101] The dialectical features in the speech of Turks from Pahpos are so strong that in the Turkish Cypriot society anyone with a strong dialect is called *Bafidi* "from Paphos".

disagree with Luke on the intermarriage issue. Especially Jennings thinks that intermarriage started from the beginning of the Turkish population on the island as at least some of the 1000 janissaries and the 2779 cannoneers and various unmarried volunteers, who were the first Ottoman elements to settle on the island, took Christian Cypriot women as spouses (Jennings 1993: 214-215)[102]. On the other hand he (1993: 224) rules out the banishment of Christians to Cyprus as the term *zimmi,* meaning the Christian *re'aya* (taxpaying populace) is missing from the decrees[103]. Beckingham (1957b: 171-172) also reports that the inhabitants of some Turkish villages on the island still recalled their place of origin in Anatolia in their oral traditions at the time of his visit. For instance some families in and around Kophinou (Geçitkale) regarded Antalya as their place of origin and the Turks of Mallia believed that they descended from janissaries[104]. However there was a Christian group whose migration to the island was encouraged after the conquest. The former inhabitants of the island, who fled to other regions like Anatolia and Rhodes (Çevikel 2007: 20) during the Latin Rule on the island, were offered every facility should they wish to return to the island (Orhonlu 1971: 101)[105]. There are records that the Cypriot colony of Venice also petitioned the Ottoman authorities to return to the island. They were not only granted permission to return but they were promised help in expediting their move as well (Jennings 1993: 214).

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[102] Jennings (1993: 215) refers to two orders requiring the district of Canik to provide Muslim Turkish virgins for the unmarried Ottoman soldiers, recorded in the *Maliyeden Müdevver Defters* in the Istanbul Başbakanlık Archive numbered 5168 (p. 10) and 7168. (p. 247). Jennings also adds that there is no evidence that these brides were sent to Cyprus. However, Orhonlu (1971: 93) states that there is a record in the *Divan-ı Humayun Mühimme Defter* numbered 17(p. 6) that this order was executed.

[103] Indeed the banishment decree recorded in the *Mühimme Defter* numbered 19 (p. 334) in the Istanbul Başbakanlık Archive contains the term *re'aya* at five places, whereas the term *zimmi* is not present: ...*memalik-i mahrusamda sa'b ve sengistan yerlerde mütemekkin olub yer hususunda muzayakaları olan re'ayayı ve re'aya arasında şirret-ü şeka ile ma'ruf olanları ve vilayet tahririnde yazılmayub kalan re'aya oğlanlarnı ve sonradan ahar yerden gelüb mutavattın olanları ve kendülerin yerleri olmayub ücret ile yer tutan re'ayayı ve ...* (Barkan 1949-50: 550-553). For the full text of the banishment decree see Appendix 2.

[104] I know from personal experience that people originating from Mallia still believe that their ancestors were janissaries. For detail on Ottoman soldiers settling in the island see İnalcık (1964: 30-31).

[105] According to a *Tahrir Defter* prepared in 1572, 76 villages were completely abandoned in the Masarea and Mazoto regions (İnalcık 1971: 60-61; Orhonlu 1971: 93; Jennings 1986: 177; Çevikel 2000: 28). Erdoğru (2008: 35) explains this with the population leaving the island during the Latin Rule and during the conquest. However, it is known that in addition to Cypriots, who emigrated from the island, a great number of people (probably a greater number than the emigres) took refuge in the mountainous regions of the islands in order to avoid the cruel Latin Rule and the battles of the conquest (Çevikel 2006: 80).

In spite of the fact that the Ottoman rule is one of the main determiners of the ethnic structure of the island, the Ottomans were not the first Turkish state to govern Cyprus[106]. Neither did the Turkish presence on the island start with them. Yorgancıoğlu (1980: 14-15) reports on French and Italian manuscripts mentioning Turks on the island, the Cilician Armenian ruler Levon XI's letter to Pope Innocentus complaining about the Turks of the island[107] and the manuscripts and memoirs of the soldiers, who participated in the Second Crusade, mentioning a whole community of Turks on the island. He tries to explain this community as the descendants of the Turkish soldiers, who were settled on the island during the Muslim-Arab expeditions. Perhaps the most important of all is Guy de Lusignan's report on Turks among the ordinary people, who came to welcome him, in his *Testa Cipriotu* (Yorgancıoğlu 1980: 15). Additionally there are reports on a Turkish Trade Colony on the island from the beginning of the Lusignan Period (1192) onwards (Dawkins 1932: 143; Turan 1964: 213, 223; Bedevi 1965: 80; Turan 1988: 118). A third stable element of the Turkish presence on the island is the Karamanid[108] Soldiers as the allies of the Cypriot Kingdom. Medieval Islamic authors like Aynī, Zāhirī, Maqrīzī, Ibn Hajar, Ibn Taghri Birdi (Abul-Mahāsin) and Christian sources like Makhairas, Amadi, Strambaldi, Morosini all report on the existence of Karamanid soldiers on the island (Darrag 1961: 256, Turan 1964: 225, Buharalı 1995: 104, Moukarzel 2007: 182). Finally the fourth Turkish group to exist on the island were the slaves. These slaves were in such great numbers that in some instances their

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[106] The first Turkish state to conquer Cyprus was the Mamluks based in Egypt. The Mamluk interest in Cyprus was a result of the strategically important location of the island for the Crusaders. Hugues III. King of Cyprus was particularly famous for his attitude in the favour of the Crusaders. Finally his attack on Alexandria in 1269 provoked the first Mamluk campaign on Cyprus (Buharalı 1995: 83). At the retroactive time period (1269-1571) of this attack, the Eastern Mediterranean Region witnessed a three century-long struggle between the Mamluks, the Seljukids and the Turkish Principalities of Anatolia, excluding the Karamanids, on one side and the Kingdom of Cyprus (later the Venetians) together with the other Crusader Kingdoms of the Middle East on the other side. The Karamanids systematically sided with the Kingdom of Cyprus throughout this struggle. The historical events of this period are described in detail in Turan 1964 and Buharalı 1995. This struggle must have had a great impact on the populations of the region as it caused extensive human loss and economic cost. It certainly made a great enough impact on the Turkish society of the period to find its way into the legends about the life of Baba Saltuk (Akalın 1999: 420-424).
[107] He precisely describes them to be "the relatives of the Sultan of Konya" (Yorgancıoğlu 1980: 14)
[108] It is not clear whether the term *Karamanid* actually means the Medieval Turkish Karamanid Principality or is the translation of the geographical name *Caramania* "Anatolia".

number was reduced by being slaughtered as the authorities were worried that they were causing a threat to the security of the island (Turan 1964: 226). Beckingham (1957b: 171) and Hill (1940-52, vol. 2: 469 and 473) provide information on both baptised and non-baptised Turkish, Arab and Egyptian slaves on the island before the Mamluk expedition to the island in 1425 and on that the invading Mamluk army gained access to the castle of Limassol through the aid of Muslim slaves[109]. Buharalı (1995: 97) reports on a similar incident, which took place in Iskepte during the same expedition.

Whatever their historical background might be, Turks undoubtedly had been the politically dominant element as the ruling class on the island throughout the Ottoman period. However this balance was disturbed dramatically after the arrival of the British to the island as governors. Naturally, Turkish (Ottoman) officials were replaced by their British counterparts and for the first time in their history the Turks of Cyprus became one of the governed elements rather than the governors. The social situation of the Turks on the island deteriorated further with the establishment of the Legislative Council. The council consisted of six British high government officials, nine elected Greek members and three elected Turkish members. Additionally, contrary to the Ottoman period, Greeks were favoured as officials in local administrative offices. Removal of Turks from governmental posts rapidly caused a severe decline in their economic condition and entailed a change of hand of lands on the island immensely. An emigration in great numbers of Turks to Anatolia followed this socio-economic upset (Alasya 1988: 138). This was the first big wave of emigration of Turks from the island. The Turkish outwards-migration continued all the way through the British period, but the second big wave came between 1924-26, when Turkey gave up her sovereignty over Cyprus at Lausanne. There is no numbers on the Turkish Cypriots, who

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[109] Unfortunately no information is given on the number of these slaves or the ethnic origins of the Egyptians, whether they were from Turkic Kipchak, Circassian or Berber origin. Therefore it is impossible to speculate on their impact on the population of the island.

have migrated to Anatolia during the Ottoman Period. The only available figure is from 1925.

It is recorded that with the enactment dated 7th December 1925 and numbered 2871, 20.000

Turkish Cypriots were resettled to Turkey (Nesim 2009: 11) Alasya (1964: 78) reports that

the presence of a three hundred thousand[110] strong Cyprus originated community in Southern

Anatolia (especially in the villages of Silifke, Anamur, Antalya and Alanya) is a result of

these two migrations. There is no doubt that there had been a outward Turkish migration from

Cyprus after the transfer of the island to British Rule as some of the descendants of these

people returned to the island as settlers after 1974. However the size of this emigrant

population should be suspected firstly because the population estimations of Cyprus,

especially the pre-British ones, should always be treated with caution as they seem to be very

fluctuating and secondly a census result informing us about the place of origin of people in

Turkey does not exist. The unsteadiness of the population estimate of Cyprus is not limited to

the Ottoman Period. In 1563 Elias of Pesaro mentions 15,000 villages on the island (Cobham

1908: 74). However, in 1678 the number of villages is given as 700 by Ricaut (Cobham 1908:

234)[111]. The population of the island in 1526 is given by Savorgnan as 180,000; in 1540 by

Attar as 197,000; in 1570 by Graziani 200,000 and in 1600 by Accidias 250,000 (İnalcık

1997: 4). Heyman estimates the total population of the island to be 200,000 again in 1700

(Lukach and Jardine 2007: 42) and Drummond (1754: 148) repeats the same number for the

whole population of the island in 1750, estimating 150,000 of these to be Muslims and the

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[110] It is possible that this number is an exaggeration. However still it is significant as it indicates to the immense size of this community. A personal experience of mine also points into the direction of a big figure on the population of Cyprus originated communities in Turkey. In 1993 I was told by a member of U.T.K. (Üniversite Temsilciler Konseyi – a left wing association established by Turkish Cypriot students studying in Turkey) that their proposal to broadcast a weekly programme on Cyprus was welcomed with great excitement by a radio station in Istanbul as it meant at least half a million of listeners for them. This figure adds up when the number given by Alasya is put together with the population of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. Kyrris (1985: 331) confirms that 5000 Turkish Cypriots left for Turkey between the years 1924-28. In spite of 5000 being a small amount it should be born in mind that it constituted 12% of the Turkish Cypriot population of the period. On the other hand Alasya (1988: 139) claims that in some cases the entire population of Turkish villages left for Turkey after 1923.

[111] Ricaut claims the number of villages to be 14,000 before the island was taken by the Turks. He also adds that the residents of the villages were killed in two rebellions in 1580 and 1593. He also adds that "the grievous pestilence" of 1624 added to the destruction (Cobham 1908: 234).

rest Christians. In 1788 Archimandrite Cyprianos, who was a Cypriot himself, in his *History of Cyprus* gives the total number of the islanders as 84,000; 47,000 Muslims and 37,000 Christians[112] (Cobham 1908: 367). Michael de Vezin, who was the British consul to Aleppo and Cyprus and died on the island in 1793, estimated the population to be 80,000; 60,000 Turks, 20,000 Greeks (Cobham 1908: 368). The Ottoman census held in 1841 produced the information of 33,000 Muslims, 76,000 Greeks, 1,300 Maronites and 500 Catholics on the island (İnalcık 1997: 4). Interestingly the Ottoman capitation tax records (*Cizye Defterleri*) displays a fluctuating tableau as well. The Christian population of the island appears as 180,000 (30,120 tax-payers) in the capitation tax record of 1606. In the record of 1643 this amount is 100,000 (18,040 tax-payers) and in the record of 1670 90,000 (15,000 tax-payers) (İnalcık 1964: 41).

Table 5.1 Development of Population in Cyprus between 1526-1841

Sources	No. of Villages	Muslims	Christians				Tot. Popul.	Year
			Tot.	Greek	Maronite	Catholic		
Savorgnan							180,000	1526
Attar							197,000	1540
Elias of Pesaro	15,000							1563
Graziani							200,000	1570

Accidias							250,000	1600
Ottoman Register			180,000				250,000	1606
Ottoman Register			100,000					1643
Ricaut	700							1678
Heyman							200,000	1700
Drummond		150,000	50,000				200,000	1750
Cyprianos		47,000	37,000				84,000	1788
Michale de Vezin		60,000	20,000				80,000	1793
Ottoman Census		33,000	77,800	76,000	1,300	500	110,800	1841

It is obvious from the figures that it is impossible to regard the estimations given to be reliable. However if we have to comment on the data in hand the difference (50,000) between the amounts given by Graziani in 1570 and Accidias in 1600 may give us an idea about the re-settled Turkish and returning Greek populations. One interesting common feature of all of the estimations, but the Ottoman census of 1841, is that the population of the Turkish / Muslim population is higher than that of the Greeks / Christians, which contributes to the confusion. This is interesting because the information produced by the British-held census on the island right after the transfer of the island is in the opposite direction (see table 5.2). Only

the statistics produced by the Ottoman census of 1841 is in compliance with the British-held censuses.

Alasya (1964: 76-77) also reports on an inwards Greek migration in order to increase the Greek population of the island, coinciding with these Turkish emigrations, which disturbed the demographic balances to a more advanced point[113]. It is not possible to know the actual amount of incoming Greeks. Unfortunately Greek historians are almost silent on this subject. Without giving numbers Kyrris (1985: 329) mentions "a number of Greek and Armenian refugees" moving to Cyprus after the Greek defeat in Anatolia. On the other hand from the Greek nationals, who were exiled from the island in 1920, with the accusation of preaching *Enosist* propaganda, we can infer that there were non-Cypriot Greeks on the island prior to 1922 (Alastos 1976: 346). Statistics showing the evolution of the Cypriot population seems to support the idea of coinciding ethnic based inward and outward migrations:

Table 5.2 Evolution of Population of Cyprus, 1881-1931[114]

Year	Population	Density	Community			Per cent		
			Greeks	Turks	Others	Greeks	Turks	Others
1881	186,173	20.1	137,631	45,458	3,084	73.9	24.4	1.7
1891	209,286	22.6	158,585	47,926	2,775	75.8	22.9	1.3
1901	237,022	25.6	182,739	51,309	2,974	77.1	21.7	1.2
1911	274,108	29.6	214,480	56,428	3,200	78.2	20.6	1.2
1921	310,715	33.9	244,887	61,339	4,489	78.8	19.8	1.4
1931	347,959	37.6	276,573	64,238	7,148	79.5	18.5	2.0

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[113] For the impact of these migrations on the demographic structure of the cities of Cyprus see Gürkan 1989: 137-141.
[114] Statistics are taken from Georghallides 1979: 427.

The statistics show that there had been a steady growth in the general population of the island in the first half of the British rule. The population of the Greeks of the island had grown in ten thousands in every decade and they are the only group to increase without any setbacks. The population of the smaller minorities of the island, which are classified as "Others", had risen steadily after 1891 in spite of an initial fall in the first decade of the British Rule. The Turkish population of the island also grew in numbers every decade. However, the percentage of the Turks to the general population had fallen more than 1% every decade. On the other hand the Greek population had shown a growth of almost 2% in the every decade of the first thirty years and slowed down in the following years. The change of the percentages of the two communities, especially in the first thirty years, may be an indication of the two way migration as well as the difference in the birth and death rates.

A third mass-migration, this time to Great Britain, Australia, Germany, Canada, Turkey and even to South Africa, occurred after the beginning of the terror attacks by E.O.K.A.[115] Alasya (1988: 140) claims that the monthly outward migration of the Turkish Cypriots had reached 800-1000 persons in 1962. Perhaps the biggest socio-economical upset for the Turks was caused by the exodus of Turks from the mixed villages in 1964 as a result of the violent terrorist attacks of E.O.K.A. The number of mixed villages, which was 114 in 1960; fell to 48 after the incidents of 1963-64[116] (Asmussen 1999: 261). These upsets in the

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[115] E.O.K.A. was organized by a Cyprus-born Greek officer named George Grivas in 1954, with the aim of *enosis* (annexing Cyprus to Greece). The organisation started its activities with anti-British guerrilla warfare and gradually turned onto the Turkish population of the island after the British began to recruit Turkish Cypriots as policemen (de Groot 1986: 306-307).

[116] The number of mixed villages is estimated to be 346 in 1891. This number had fallen to 252 in 1931 and to 114 in 1960. For a detailed account of Turkish exodus from the mixed villages see Asmussen 1999.

sociological, political and economical situation of the Turks of Cyprus had its socio-linguistic consequences, which will be touched on in Section 5.4[117].

5. Educational Background of the Speakers of TDC

5.3.1 The Ottoman Period

The classical religious-based mono-cultural education system of the Ottoman Empire was implemented in Cyprus soon after the conquest in 1571. Primary education was held in *iptidai*s (elementary schools) and secondary and higher education in *medrese*s (Behçet 1969: 23). Further education was given at *mektebs* to individuals, who were trained to become personnel employed by the Court, the government and the army (Suha 1971: 235).

5.3.1.1 Elementary Schools

There were three types of elementary schools; state sponsored *Sibyan* schools, waqf sponsored *Sibyan* schools and private schools. Private schools were mainly located in the villages and were sponsored by the villagers. The schoolmasters of these private schools were paid with provisions rather than cash.

Elementary schools were often adjacent to mosques and the schoolmasters performed the duties of imams as well. They were selected from *danishmend*s (advanced *medrese* students) and appointed by the *Meclis-i Sheri* (religious council)[118]. In the early stages all schoolmasters came from Turkey, but afterwards they were trained in Cyprus.

The starting age to elementary schools was 4-6 and the education was for four years. Education was given in boy – girl mixed classes. During the first two years of their elementary education children were taught the alphabet and passages from The Koran. The

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[117] For general information on British policies in Cyprus see Alasya 1964 or for more detailed information on British Cyprus see Gazioğlu 1996.
[118] The *Meclis-i Sheri* was composed of the Mufti, the chief Kadi, the director of Evkaf, the clerk of the chief Kadi and the Kadis of Nicosia and Kyrenia (Gazioğlu 1990: 197-8).

principal target of education was raising good Muslims; therefore foremost topics of reading and writing were of religious character. In 1871 geography and history lessons were added to the curriculum as a result of introducing a new instruction method into elementary schools.

The first elementary school was established soon after the conquest in 1571 and was named *Ayasofya Sibyan Okulu*. This urgency in starting their primary education system on the island is taken as the indication of importance given by the Ottoman elites to the education of children (Livatyalı 1999: 246). Towards to end of the sixteenth century there were eleven elementary schools in Cyprus; six being state sponsored and five waqf sponsored. When the island was turned over to the British in 1878 the total number of elementary schools in Cyprus was sixty nine and forty two of these were non-waqf schools. These schools were often established in villages near a mosque or a masjid. Additionally there were private schools attached to houses, where most rich people had their children educated (Gazioğlu 1990: 196-198). However, Livatyalı (1999: 247) claims that at one point the number of Turkish elementary schools had risen to seventy on the island, but dropped down to sixty five as a result of the decrease in the number of students. Livatyalı tabulates the distribution of elementary schools in Ottoman Cyprus as follow:

Table 5.3: Distribution of Elementary Schools in Ottoman Cyprus in 1878.

District	Turkish / Muslim	Greek / Christian	Total
Nicosia	22	21	43
Larnaca	8	12	20
Limassol	5	20	25
Famagusta	13	10	23
Paphos	16	12	28
Kyrenia	6	8	14
Total	70	83	153

Livatyalı's tabulation is based on the report prepared by M. Seager in 1878 after the island was transferred to the British Rule. Suha (1971: 230-31) provides a full list of the waqf sponsored elementary schools of the Ottoman Cyprus with their dates of starting to education.

5.3.1.2 Secondary Schools

The first medrese in Cyprus was established by a waqf near the Ayasofya (Selimiye) Mosque with the name of Büyük Medrese or Sultan Selim Medresesi two years after the conquest. This medrese remained active until the academic year 1939-40. Behçet (1969: 32) lists eight medreses in total in Cyprus, but Suha (1971: 237-38) reports on an additional three, whereas Livatyalı (1999: 249) records fifteen medreses:

Table 5.4: The List of Medreses in Ottoman Cyprus[119]

Year	Name of Institution	Endowed By
1573	The Büyük Medrese, Nicosia	Sultan Selim II
1578	The Mustafa Pasha Medese, Nicosia	Lala Mustafa Pasha
1580-84	The Pirpasha Medrese, Lefka	The Beylerbeyi Pir Pasha
1640	The Küçük Ayasofya Medrese, Nicosia	Hadji Ramadan Saadeddinzade Müfüt Ahmet Efendi
1688-9	The Paphos Medrese	Mehmed Bey Ebubekir
1718-19	The Arab-Ahmed Medrese , Nicosia	Şeraibzade El Hac Osman Efendi İbni Ahmed Agha
1748	The Saray Önü Medrese, Nicosia	The Bekir Pasha Waqf
1816-17	The Larnaca Medrese	Hadji İbrahim Agha bin Hadji Koca Hasan
1825-26	The Köprülü Medrese, Limassol	Köprülü Kadji İbrahim Agha
1826	The Kutub Osman Efendi Medrese, Famagusta	Seyid Mehmed Agha
1827-28	The Laleli Medrese, Nicosia	Muhasıl Ali Ruhi Efendi
	The Sezaizade Hadji Osman Efendi Medrese, Nicosia	Hadji Osman Efendi
	The Ahmed Raşid Medrese, Nicosia	Raşid Efendi
	The Esad Çelebi Medrese, Nicosia	Esad Çelebi
	The Peristerona Medrese	
	The Hadji Münir Efendi Medrese	Hadji Münir Efendi

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[119] This table includes information from the tables produced by Suha (1971: 237-38) and Livatyalı (1999: 249) combined together.

Education in medreses included four grades: (a) preparatory; (b) secondary education (first three years); (c) further secondary education (second three years); (d) higher or advanced-level education. Theological education was the basic principle of the medrese education. The most significant subjects inculcated were The Koran and its interpretation. Additionally subjects including mathematics, history, geography, Arabic, Persian, logic and agriculture were taught. Students from Southern Anatolian vicinities like Mersin, Adana, Anamur and Antalya also attended the medreses in Cyprus and in return some students from Cyprus attended higher education institutions in Turkey.

Secondary education in Cyprus was modernized with the establishment of *Rushdiye* schools as a result of the 1839 and 1856 reforms in the Ottoman Empire. The first *Rushdiye* of Cyprus was founded in 1862 in Nicosia next to the Selimiye Mosque. This *Rushdiye* became the basis of the *Lycee*, which was founded in later years. The elite of Turkish Cypriot intellectuals and educated class graduated from this *Lycee* (Gazioğlu 1990: 198-199)[120].

5.3.2 The British Period

5.3.2.1 Elementary Education

After the transfer of the island to the British, the colonial government established two separate boards of education for the Greek and Turkish communities on the island, as a part of their plan to centralize the education. This attempt was opposed fiercely by the Greeks and a board of education for every district was established accordingly in 1881. The nature of the Turkish Cypriot elementary education remained same as the Ottoman period on the island apart from this alteration in the managerial structure.

The management of the elementary schools on the island were taken over fully by the colonial government in 1929 by passing special laws. In 1935 use of books in elementary

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[120] For detailed information on Turkish Cypriot education during the Ottoman Period, including a full list of schools with their brief historical account see Behçet 1969: 21-53.

education was abrogated. This system, in which even taking notes was not allowed, had disastrous effects on the academic levels of the students, but stayed in effect until the very end of the British period in spite of the vehement criticism of the media (Alasya 1964: 85). This implementation was practiced under the Act of Education of 1935 (Feridun 2001: 20; Kyrris 1985: 347), which included precautions taken as a response to the Greek Cypriot Revolt of 1931. The only book allowed in this system for Turkish students was the reading book called *Alfabe Kitabı* "The Alphabet Book", which was prepared in Cyprus[121] (Feridun 2001: 20). It seems like the intention of the British authorities on the island was to prevent the indoctrination of the students on the island with the nationalistic ideas included in the books prepared by the Turkish and Greek governments. It is doubtful the British authorities intended the academic consequences of this system as their priority at the time was to get rid of the political tension present. The management of the Turkish elementary schools on the island was returned to the Turkish community only in 1959.

5.3.2.1.1 Ottoman Elementary Schools

In the 1880-81 academic year three of the Turkish elementary schools were closed down as a result of a deduction in the grants allocated to the schools. This caused a great anger among the Turkish population of the island and the clerk of the mufti presented the issue to the Ottoman Grand Vizier Kamil Pasha, who was a Turkish Cypriot as well, and the Ottoman minister of education personally in Istanbul. This application proved to be fruitful and the Ottoman government decided to establish and fund twelve new elementary schools on the island in lieu of the three which was closed down. A separate commission was formed to run these schools. It was also decided that in the case of British funding of any of these schools the money saved would be used to establish another one wherever necessary (Behçet 1969: 68).

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[121] Until then all text books were brought from Turkey. Considering this was part of a series of precautions taken after the Greek Cypriot Revolt of 1931 probably similar regulations were enforced upon the Greek Cypriot education.

5.3.2.2 Secondary Education

It was mentioned above (in section 5.3.1.2) that the first *Rushdiye* was established in Cyprus in 1862 in Nicosia. This school was supported by the Turkish government and had developed very promptly. In 1897 it became an *Idadi*, in 1920 a *Sultani* and a *Lycee* in 1926. A great number of students graduating from this school continued their higher education at the Istanbul University, or were employed in administrative government offices on the island. Additionally almost every Turkish Cypriot school teacher was a graduate of this school.

The number of *Rushdiyes* in Cyprus showed a gradual increase and had reached the number of twenty by 1920. Three of these were in Nicosia and the remaining in different parts of the island including both towns and villages. These schools were funded jointly by the Turkish government and the *Evkaf* in Cyprus.

The management of the *Rushdiyes* on the island in the early years of the British rule was directly under the aforementioned Muslim Board of Education. In 1896 a special commission was established for this purpose.

The headmasters and teachers of these schools were brought from Istanbul. In 1896 English and French were decided to be taught by teachers brought again from Istanbul. Additionally teaching Greek was introduced the same year. The books used in these schools were also brought from Istanbul.

In 1901 a girls' art school in Nicosia was established with the donations of the public. The school was named Victoria Islamic Girls' Art School and a curriculum similar to the *Rushdiyes*' was put into practice with the addition of English language, needlework and sewing classes. The headmistress was brought from Turkey and students graduating from this school could become teachers.

Students were accepted to the previously mentioned Lycee by an entrance examination. Eventually this caused a severe reaction among the public as more than three

hundred students applied to attend the Lycee every academic year between the years 1940 –
1943, but only eighty were accepted. In 1944 the government had to establish three new
secondary schools in Famagusta, Limassol and Paphos as a result of these reactions. Initially
temporary teachers were appointed to these new secondary schools from elementary schools,
but later teachers were sent from Turkey and were appointed to the districts by the local
Board of Education.

5.3.2.3 Private Education

During the British period there were a great amount of "mini" schools operating
without any official funding. These schools were consisted of classes mostly held by female
teachers in their own homes. They were very popular among the parents for their daughters
and were attended very rarely by minor boys. Only reading and the Koran were taught in
these schools, but writing and maths were not taught[122]. The teachers of these classes were
supported financially by the parents (Behçet 1969: 151-152).

5.3.2.4 Ethnically Mixed Schools

The most important multicultural mainstream school on the island was the English
School (*İngiliz Okulu*). This school was established soon after the transfer of the island to the
British and endured in the republican period as well. The school remained as a boy school
until 1962. A separate English school was established for girls in the 1957-58 academic year
and the two schools were united together in the 1962-63 academic year.

The school had two aims: a) to provide local officials for governmental offices; b) to
prepare students for British universities. Students from Turkish origin consisted 20% of the
total number of students of the school[123]. Turkish language classes and superficial Islamic

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[122] The belief that teaching how to write to girls would enable them to write letters to their sweethearts had been
a widespread opinion amongst Turkish Cypriots.
[123] Behçet does not state whether this ratio was as a result of a quota or not. On the other hand Hasan Peler, who
was brought up in Nicosia stated that there was a quota, but he remembers the quota to be 30%. Indeed Feridun
(no date: 67) notes in his memoir that the English School accepted ninety (30 Turkish, 60 Greek) students every

education, as Behçet (1969: 158) describes it, was provided for Turkish students. Turkish students attended Friday prayers and the school was closed on Turkish national and religious holidays.

There were also two American academies on the island established by Presbyterian missionaries but were not very popular among the Turkish population because of their religious nature. Other ethnically mixed educational institutions on the island were specialised schools like the Agricultural Academy, Teachers' Training Schools, School of Forestry, schools for disable people etc[124].

5.3.3 The Republican Period

After the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus, education on the island was left to the control of the two communities separately according to the 87th article of the constitution. The central government had no power over education and the Turkish Cypriot education was managed by the Office of Education ruled by the Turkish Community Council.

Turkish Cypriots had two hundred and seventeen elementary schools, five secondary schools and five lycees. Additionally there were five secondary schools funded by Turkey.

Turkish education as well as every other aspect of Turkish social life on the island was brought to a halt by the terror attacks of E.O.K.A. after December 1963. The five year educational plan could not be put into effect as the central government stopped paying the annual funding of £400000. Many students in secondary education could not return to their schools as a result of road blockades and seventy four elementary schools closed down as villages were evacuated. Dormitories had to be closed down as well because of the food

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year. In the first two years they were educated in separate classes, Turkish students forming one class and the Greek students two classes. From the third year onwards they were re-classified according to their success levels in ethnically mixed classes.

[124] For very detailed information on Turkish Cypriot education under the British rule see Behçet 1969: 54-271. This period of Turkish Cypriot education is harshly criticised by Konur (1938: 52-59) with a Kemalist approach because of its religious nature.

embargoes carried out by the Greeks. Some of the buildings of remaining schools had to be used as refugee sanctuaries and some as barracks[125] for the *mucahid*s [126].

5.3.4 The Period after 1974

The Turkish Cypriot education was rapidly integrated into the education system of Turkey after 1974. The curriculum and course books have been same as that of Turkey ever since with the addition of Cyprus History in secondary schools.

A primary school, modelled on modern Turkish primary schools, is established in every Turkish Cypriot village. There has been a great increase in the number of secondary schools accordingly. This expansion of education in the north of the island inevitably resulted in a shortage of teachers and this shortage has been complemented with ones sent from Turkey. Although this shortage was gradually filled by Turkish Cypriot teachers educated in Turkey and Cyprus, especially in the areas of history, Turkish language and literature and religious studies a significant number of teachers directly appointed from Ankara are still in service.

The language of education in Turkish Cypriot education has always been the official language of Turkey. But particularly in this period with the centralization of education and increase in the number of Turkey-oriented teachers, Standard Turkish had a great impact on the speech of Turkish Cypriots. This impact is reinforced by the influx of students from Turkey to the Turkish Cypriot universities and their mingling with Turkish Cypriot students in these institutions.

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[125] For information on Turkish Cypriot education during the republican period, including a full list of schools and detail on the curriculum see Behçet 1969: 272-312.

[126] The term *mücahid* is used with its traditional meaning, which is used among the Turkish Cypriot society, and has nothing to do with the modern jihadist concept. In the past it was used for the Turkish Cypriot voluntary fighters and at present it used for distinguishing the Turkish Cypriot army from the Turkish Peace Keeping Force, which is named as *Memed* or *Türkiye askeri*.

5.4 The Socio-Linguistic Background of the Speakers of TDC

It was mentioned above that both historical data from the Ottoman archives and linguistic data gathered from the island proved the existence of a strong connection between the Turkish speaking population of Cyprus and the surroundings of Konya and the Mediterranean coasts of Anatolia. Indeed the morphological and lexical structure of the TDC still preserves features of the Anatolian Turkish of the 16th century in abundance. From this point of view, the TDC look like a mixture of various Anatolian Dialects and could easily be qualified as a recently formed dialect of Anatolian Turkish. (Duman 2000: 16-17)[127]. Yet, the situation is much more complex than this. Besides this proximity between the TDC and various Anatolian Dialects, the TDC also have local characteristics, which partly formed as a result of internal development and partly as a result of language contact (Tekin 2000: 627). Although the contemporary speech of Turkish Cypriots has become very close to that of Turkey, with the spread of education, the picture was very different in the past. Statistical results procured by the British censuses held on the island brought into light that national / religious boundaries did not coincide with the linguistic ones. Census results show that there had been a Greek-speaking Muslim community on the island. The size of this community constituted more than 5% of the Muslim population on the island during the initial years of the British Rule. However, in the fourth decade of the British Rule, the size of this community was halved and remained around 2.5% in the following years (see table 5.5). On the other hand there had been a numerically insignificant Turkish-speaking Christian community of 100-150 persons on the island (see table 5.6). Additionally linguistic data gathered from the Turkish speaking population displayed a rather different portrait than today.

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[127] This heterogeneous appearance of the Turkish spoken on the island is the very reason why the term "TDC" is preferred in this work.

The censuses held on the island by the British colonial government display a rather different portrait than today's linguo-centric national boundaries. Mother tongue and nationality and / or religion are mentioned in these censuses. If we look at the mother tongue of the Turkish population of the island the picture is as follow:

Table 5.5: The Linguistic Results of the British held Censuses

Year of census →	1881	1911	1921	1931
Turkish-speaking	42,489 (93.47%)	55,019 (97.5%)	59,546 (97.08%)	62,496 (97.28%)
Greek-speaking	2,454 (5.4%)	1,191 (2.11%)	1,475 (2.4%)	1,631 (2.54%)
Arabic-speaking	445 (0.98%)	199 (0.35%)	194 (0.32%)	100 (0.16%)
Other	70 (0.15%)	19 (0.04%)	124 (0.2%)	11 (0.02%)
Total	45, 458 (100%)	56,428 (100%)	61,339 (100%)	64,238 (100%)

The censuses[128] show that there had been a significant Greek-speaking "Turkish" population with a steady proportion around 2% after 1911. Konur (1938: 28-29) considers this situation as the last stage before total assimilation, which is Christianizing and Hellenizing. Therefore he considers the Greek-speaking Muslims of the island to be Hellenized Turks. The census results do not seem to support Konur's claims that the Turkish Cypriot society was under the threat of total assimilation since 2% is a very small proportion. However it should be born in mind that 2% is only the proportion of the Turkish Cypriots, whose mother tongue was Greek and the census results do not reflect the real picture as there was a very big number of Turkish Cypriots, who were bilingual. On the other hand Beckingham (1955: 133; 1957b: 170-171) does not agree with Konur as he expects the assimilation process to be in the

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[128] The statistic for the year 1881 is taken from Papadopoullos (1965: 81), and the remaining three from Konur (1938: 29). The former uses the denomination "Moslem" whilst the latter uses "Turk". The percentile calculations belong to me.

opposite direction since the Greek-speaking Turkish villages are not located in remote regions of the island surrounded by Greek villages. On the contrary *Ayios Simoen*, *Ayios Andronikos* and *Galinoporni* (Kaleburnu) in the Carpass Peninsula were / are Greek-speaking whereas the neighbouring village *Korovia* (Kuruova) was / is Turkish-speaking. Therefore the author considers the inhabitants of these villages to be descendants of Cypriots, who converted to Islam. Yet he corroborates the second part of Konur's aforementioned judgement since the villagers felt reluctant to speak in Greek to strangers because of their national pride, which was the product of the Turkish teachers' efforts present in the villages[129]. On the other hand Konur has a point when mentioning the cultural assimilation of Turkish Cypriots into the Greek population. Gürkan (1986: 41) states that the hellenization of some Turkish families because of socio-economical reasons and the presence of some Turkish villages where the Turkish language was replaced by Greek are historical facts. For instance, according to Yurdal Cihangir who was active as a *mücahit* against the Greek Cypriot terrorist organisation E.O.K.A. and the Greek National Guards in the early 1960's in the Dillirga / Tilliria Region the population of the five Turkish villages, namely Bozdağ / Agios Theodoros (Aytodoro), Alevkaya / Alevga, Küçük Selçuklu / Agios Georgoudhi, Selçuklu / Selladi tou Appi (Selain Tappi) and Erenköy / Kokkina (Koççina), was monolingual in Greek except in Erenköy / Kokkina (Koççina). In the latter village the older generation was monolingual in Greek but the younger generation was bilingual as a result of the presence of a Turkish teacher in the village. Indeed this information is corroborated by Adalı (1963: 39-48), who had visited the region in the early 1960's as well. He also states that he had not been able to intercourse in Turkish with the older generation of the villagers except the teacher and the mukhtar, and in one occasion even the mukhtar as well was monolingual in Greek. On the other hand he was able to converse freely with the children in

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[129] The author notes that he became aware that a village was Greek-speaking only after seeing the sign *Türkçe konuşalım* in the village school.

Turkish. The villages in question are located in the remote north-western part of the island and were surrounded by Greek villages from the east, mountains from the south and south-west and by the sea from the north. They had no direct contact with the rest of the Turkish population of the island. They were in social and economic interaction with the surrounding Greek villages and the Greek village named Mosfileri / Mosphili, which was located in the middle of the Turkish villages. Especially Pirgo / Pyrgos was a big Greek village and the economic centre of the entire Dillirga / Tilliria region. Possibly the Greek language gained prestige as a result of its extensive use in economic relations rooting out the Turkish language in due course in some of the villages. Presumably the cultural presure was felt more than other villages in Bozdağ / Agios Theodoros (Aytodoro) since it was the closest of all five villages to the Greek village of Mosfileri / Mosphili. Indeed even a church was built in this Turkish village. Erenköy / Kokkina (Koççina) and its small fishing community in Mansura, which were located on the coast, were the only Turkish settlements in the region to have a vague direct contact with the rest of the island and Turkey by a sea route. Probably this geographical position accounted for the presence of a Turkish teacher in the village, which consequently kept the Turkish language alive in the village. Hacı Hafız Ziyai Efendi[130], who was the headmaster of the Rushdiye in Nicosia (1880-1896) and became the Mufti of Cyprus in 1912, in his letter written to the Ottoman authorities in 1910 states that most of the Muslims of the island were bereft of education and especially in the remote villages people were unable to speak Turkish[131]. Also Kyrris' (1977: 32) opinion that the Linobambakoi spoke Greek until their full Islamization in the early 1920's is a rather interesting point as it seems to be supported by the census results. The first census, which was held in 1881 directly

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[130] Hacı Hafız Ziyai Efendi, who was a Turkish Cypriot from Nicosia, received his education in Cyprus, Istanbul and Egypt. There is a biography of Hacı Hafız Ziyai Efendi in the yearbook of the Kıbrıs Erkek Lycee from the year 1933-1934, which exists in the Kadı Burhan Collection of the TRNC National Archive recorded as number 1198 (reference in Altan 2000: 9).

[131] This letter is in the *Meşihat Dosyaları* Section of the TRNC National Archive under the name *Bab-ı Fetava; Daire-i Meşihat-ı İslamiye Mektubi Kalemi Aded 84 eki*. See Appendix 4 for the Latinized version of the full-text of the letter.

after the British control over the island, shows the proportion of the Greek-speaking "Turks" to be 5.4%, whereas this proportion in the next census falls by almost 62% to 2.11% and remains around this figure thereafter. This plummet in the number of Greek-speaking "Turkish" Cypriots may indicate Crypto-Christians, who returned to Christianity during the initial period of the British rule.

Additionally census results provided by Papadopuollos (1965: 81) and Konur (1938: 33) present the mother tongue of some Orthodox Christians on the island as Turkish:

Table 5.6: Number of Turkish-speaking Christians

Year of Census	Number of Turkish-speakers
1881	95
1911	139
1921	68
1931	146

Papadopoullos tries to explain these as descendants of Turkish-speaking Christians deported from Anatolia to Cyprus. However Jennings (1993: 224) states that this misunderstanding of Papadopoullos and Kyrris, that Christian subjects were deported to Cyprus comes from the notion that the banishment was punitive, whereas in fact it was presumed that the banished would move to better circumstances than they were in at the time. Konur (1938: 31-33) regards some of these people as Christianized Turks and the rest as linguistically Turkified Greeks. He mentions the villages of Kambo, Paralimni, Sodiri and Pirgo where Turks had been Christianized as a result of the persistent efforts of the Kykkos Monastery.

It would be useful to compare and contrast the villages of Galinaporni (Kaleburnu) and Luricina (Akıncılar), which used to be Greek-speaking Turkish villages. Despite the fact that consumption of snails is not a very rare incident among Turkish Cypriots, the inhabitants of Galinaporni are particularly famous with the trading of this animal. If it is born in mind

that snail is not edible in Turkish Islam[132], we could say that it is possible that this is an old tradition preserved after conversion to Islam[133]. Or, it easily could be a culinary practice adopted by the general population of the village from a non-Muslim minority, which existed in the village and became extinct as a result of conversion or migration. The economic implications of the snail trade would make the adoption of this tradition even more practical. If that is the case, there is a need for a satisfactory explanation for the linguistic situation of the village. Another possible cultural contact could be a Semitic influence[134]. Snail consumption is a widespread practice among the Arabic-speaking populations of the Middle East[135]. Cyprus had contacts with the Semitic world throughout the history. Additionally it should be born in mind that an explanation providing for a possible Arabic influence is more acceptable from a Muslim point of view as it has the great advantage of providing an alternative of Greek influence. However, again this would not explain the linguistic situation of the village. On the other hand Luricina is noted as one of the Linobambakoi villages by Yaşin (2005: 56). However Altan, who had served as the director of the Ottoman Archives in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus for many years and therefore had full access to the archives, gives Luricina among the villages, which existed in the Latin period but was evacuated during the Turkish conquest and was settled by Turkish settlers[136] (reference in Gazioğlu 1990: 92)[137]. In point of fact the geographical location of the village explains the

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[132] The Turkish proverb *Müslüman mahallesinde salyangoz satılmaz* 'Snails cannot be sold in a Muslim neighbourhood' is based on this fact.

[133] Additionally I was once told by my aunt Mevhibe (Salih) Arıhanlı, who had spent many summer holidays in the village in her childhood, that the inhabitants of this village had traditions which were quite different than that of the rest of the island.

[134] For a detailed account of Semitic influence on the Cypriot cuisine in general see Hatay 2003b

[135] First evidence for the consumption of land snails by Homo sapiens dates to 31,000 years ago at the Mumba-Hohle site on the shores of Lake Eyasi in East Africa. Archaeological evidence from the Kvar 'Aqil site near Beirut shows that the consumption of this animal had spread to the Middle-East 22,000 to 23,000 years ago. Again archaeological evidence from 20,000 to 6,000 years ago shows that snail consumption had spread around the Mediterranean Sea. (For detail see Lubell 2004).

[136] The resettlement of evacuated Latin villages by Turkish settlers is confirmed by Beckingham (1956: 126) as well.

[137] Moreover, the effort of the Orthodox Church to assimilate the inhabitants of this village and the struggles of the Turkish authorities to redeem them is still memorable among the Turkish population of the island. The tale

linguistic situation. The socio-economical conditions were not very different from that of the Dillirga / Tilliria region, but on a smaller scale. The village is situated in the middle of a Greek-speaking region. The only socio-economical interaction of the population had been with the surrounding Greek-speaking villages. The name of the village also poses a problem for the Linobambakoi question. The village was a Latin village in the pre-Ottoman period. If the population descents from an originally Linobambakoi society as it is put forth by Yaşin the language spoken in the village should have been either Italian or French or perhaps Arabic. It is possible that the inhabitants became linguistically Grecified while becoming Islamized. However, there is no evidence that the inhabitants of the village have ever spoken any of these languages. On the contrary the Turkish language has always been present in the village.

The traditional history writing complicates the issue further in Cyprus. Both Greek (Cypriot) and Turkish (Cypriot) historiography are under the influence of nationalistic history writing. Both schools of history study the island with an ethnically bi-polar historical perspective; the Greeks one the one side and the Turks on the other. The Ottoman state is regarded as a Turkish state and the Muslims of the island as Turks, whereas on the other hand the Orthodox Christians are regarded to be Greeks (Michael 2009: 13-19). In fact the national boundaries on the island were drawn by religion rather than language and ethnicity well into the British Period. Bearing in mind the social facts of the pre-British Cypriot society it would be safer to state that national and linguistic fluidity had been bilateral rather than one side assimilating the other.

Konur (1938: 30) notes three sentences gathered from the Turks of the island, which are unthinkable in contemporary T.D.C.:

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of the Turkish teacher, who beheaded the priest of the village to save the villagers from Christianizing, is known by everyone in North Cyprus.

Ex. 1a:

*Ona **brostimo** kesmişler de gitti **barabano** etti.*

"They fined him, so he went and complained."

Ex 1b:

***Re** memedis gördün olan **enan katsellan ge enan damalûin** çıkardı*

***banosdu vunon**?*

"Hey Mehmet! Have you seen bud? He has taken a cow and a calph

on top of the mountain."

Ex. 1c:

***Ra** Ayşe **fere liğon zahari ge lāyi ge** yapalım şekerli bitta **ra**[138].*

"Hey Ayşe! Bring some sugar and oil so we can make sugary pitta."

These sentences are incomprehensible for the great majority of the younger generation of the Turkish Cypriot society. It can be supposed that they could be understood by the older generation, which the great sector of is bilingual. However, such sentences have disappeared from speech as a result of the inclination of speaking in a rather purified Turkish encouraged by the education system. It can easily be seen that there is a great amount of grammatical borrowing from the Greek language in these sentences. Universally, indicators of grammatical borrowings or copyings are prepositions, postpositions, conjunctions and other particles, case affixes and junctors in the form of predicators, etc. (Johanson 2002: 11). In sentences 1b and 1c the interjections *re* and *ra* together with the conjunction *ge* 'and' clearly pose examples of grammatical borrowing. The preposition *banosdu* 'on' in sentence 1b sets another good example of grammatical borrowing. Konur thinks that "this is the stage of assimilation and is a natural consequence of the cultural oppression of the uneducated

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[138] Bold parts are in Greek.

Turkish population by the well-organized Greeks, but the situation is reversed and will disappear gradually with the efforts of the Turkish government in the field of education". Historical developments proved him to be accurate at least in the second part of his judgement. However, the first part of his judgement needs thorough scientific investigation rather than his political views. Konur does not explain what he meant by Greeks being well-organized and Turks being ill-organized or being oppressed. Nor does he give the reasons of this situation, except touching on the wealth of the Greek Orthodox Church on the island. However Beckingham (1957a: 72-73), brings a broader perspective and a more scientific explanation to the issue by linking it to the lack of ordained priesthood in Sunni Islam and directly to the *millet* system of the Ottoman Empire. In the Ottoman Empire the society had been organized on the basis of different *millet*s. The dominant millet, Muslims, were exactly alike the ruling classes of the empire. Muslims everywhere inevitably lost their communal organization to a great extend with the end of Ottoman sovereignty as a result of this situation. On the other hand the Church of Cyprus was autocephalous, therefore the election and consecration of its Archbishops endured in the same way as it had been before 1878. Altan (2000: 7) seems to be in agreement with Beckingham on the issue as he insists that lack of schools and religious institutions, mosques in particular, paved the way to linguistic and religious assimilation respectively. He also emphasises the contribution of the priests brought from Greece to the assimilation of Turks. Interestingly in the aforementioned letter sent by Hacı Hafız Ziyai Efendi to the Ottoman authorities and an earlier letter sent by a certain Mustafa Şükri Efendi[139] from Izmir to the Sheyhulislam in Istanbul in 1905 the presence of Greek priests on the island and their preaching in Turkish villages is stressed.

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[139] The letter sent by Mustafa Şükri Efendi is in the TRNC National Archive *Meşihat Dosyaları* Section, under the name *Bab-ı Fetava; Daire-i Meşihat-ı İslamiye Mektubi Kalemi*. For the transliterated form of the full-text and the response by the Seyhulislam see Appendix 5.

Without disregarding Beckinham and Altan's views on the socio-religious institutions, one should bear in mind that the acquisition of the Greek language by the Turkish population of the island was as a result of the socio-economical situation of the island. Probably most of the Greek-speaking Turks were not complaining from being able to speak the language. On the contrary it is possible that the Greek-speakers felt privileged as they were able to speak the language of the majority and were able to join the socio-economical life on the island. They were simply enjoying a tool useful for social and economical intercourse. There is no doubt that linguistic awareness among the Turks of the island awakened only after the arrival of teachers from Turkey. Letters written by Hacı Hafız Ziyai Efendi and Mustafa Şükri Efendi seem to support this, since these two Turkish scholars clearly state that the reason for the loss of the Turkish language was the lack of education. Additionally Beckingham's statement that the villagers felt reluctant to speak in Greek to strangers because of their national pride, as a result of the Turkish teachers' efforts present in the villages (see page 180) also seems to corroborate the development of linguistic awareness of the Turks of the island in a later date as a result of a nationalistic education programme.

It is possible that the institutional ill-organisation of the Turkish population on the island together with the efforts of the Greek-Orthodox Church during the British Period contributed to the linguistic and religious assimilation of the Turks of the island. Particularly the lack of organization in the field of education probably had influenced the Turkish population very strongly. This meant that influential posts in the society were occupied by the better educated Greeks, which had its socio-linguistic results in return. The Greek language gained prestige accordingly and bilingualism for the Turkish population became an everyday necessity. It is possible that in some cases the Greek language had supplanted the Turkish language in some villages as a result of intensive interaction with the Greek-speakers. In the letter of Hacı Hafız Ziyai Efendi two travelling preachers, who would be fluent in Greek,

were requested from the Ottoman authorities. This indicates that the Turkish language did not only fall from usage as a spoken language but also was not understood in some villages[140]. It is possible to infer from the anxiety in the language of the letter that the number of these villages were not very little. It is impossible to detect whether this situation was a result of language loss or the population of these villages were Muslim Greeks.

If we return to the highly grecified linguistic data provided by Konur, Appel and Muysken (1987: 154-158) notes five possible scenarios in which grammatical borrowing could occur: a) convergence; b) cultural influence and lexical borrowing; c) language acquisition and substrate; d) re-lexification; e) imitation of prestige language patterns[141]. If these five possible scenarios are examined in the case of Cyprus regarding Turkish the picture would be as follow:

a) Turkish and Greek (and other minority languages like Arabic, Armenian and Latin) coexisted on the island at least for four centuries. Bilingualism must have been very common at least among converts and the Linobambakoi and it is possible that some sort of convergence has occurred in the speech of these people.

b) It is known that lexical borrowing between the Turkish and Greek languages were mutual. Communities on the island influenced each other extensively as a result of three centuries long coexistence. It is possible to observe this mutual influence in many aspects of the

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[140] In some Turkish villages like Erenköy (Kokkina), Akıncılar (Luricina) or Kaleburnu (Galinaporni), where Greek was the language of speech, the people understood Turkish even if they could not speak it. It is still possible to find people like this among the very old generation of the populations originating from these villages. The situation in the Greek-speaking villages mentioned by Hacı Hafız Ziyai Efendi, where Turkish is not understood, is rather different. Does this mean that they lost their language at an earlier date or perhaps Turkish was never spoken by the majority of the population in these villages? This is a situation hard to detect.

[141] a) **convergence**: occurs gradually due to prolonged coexistence in a situation in which more than one languages is spoken in one area generally by the same people; b) **cultural influence and lexical borrowing**: most significant consequence of this type of effect is lexical borrowing; c) **re-lexification**: is the substitution of the word stock of one language with that of another, while sustaining the original grammar; d) **language acquisition and substrate**: if a language is introduced into a new region and speakers of other languages in the region adopt it as their second language due to its cultural and political prestige, the original language of these speakers may influence the new language in various ways; e) **imitation of prestige language patterns**: this scenario is by necessity limited to fairly superficial phenomena. Only aspects of the grammar that are easily perceived can be imitated.

everyday life. Perhaps the most striking example of this is the lexical borrowings in the languages of the two largest communities of the island. There are 1022 words originating from Greek in the Etymological Dictionary of the TDC whereas Kabataş (2007: 627-673) has detected more than 1500 words originating from Turkish in works published in South Cyprus. Material gathered by Konur (1938: 30) is a good extreme example for this scenario in the case of Turkish. More than half of the lexical elements of the sentences quoted by Konur originate from the Greek language. Particularly the sentence Ex. 1a, where the only foreign elements to Turkish are two words originating from Greek, is a good example for lexical borrowing.

c) If the fluidity between national and religious groups on the island, which is displayed by the British census results, is taken into consideration it is plausible to suggest that re-lexification has occurred during the assimilation process. In sentences Ex. 1b and Ex. 1c the word order is non-Turkic. The normal word order of Turkish, which is subject + object + verb (SOV), is not observed in these compound sentences. However it should be born in mind that the normal word order of Standard Turkish is not usually followed by the TDC speakers. Additionally it is frequently not observed by the speakers of Standard Turkish and the Anatolian Dialects in everyday speech. In Ex. 1b the only parts, which are in Turkish, are the verbs *gördün* 'have you seen', *çıkardı* 'he has taken' and the interjection element *olan*. In sentence Ex. 1c even the verb *fere* 'bring' is in Greek in the first part of the sentence, but the second part *yapalım şekerli bitta* 'let's make sugary pita' is completely in Turkish. It is possible to regard these sentences as examples of re-lexification of Greek sentences with Turkish lexical elements. On the other hand the major problem is that this type of word order is one of the most prominent characteristics of the TDC in general. Additionally given the importance of verbs in Turkish, it could be possible to regard the re-lexification process to be in the opposite direction, i.e. from Turkish to Greek. It would be useful to rememeber the

examples of the Divan Literature, which are under the heavy influence of Arabo-Persian. The only Turkish elements were the predicates in the extreme ones of these examples. Likewise, in sentences Ex. 1a, Ex. 1b and Ex. 1c apart from the verb *fere* 'bring', which is in Greek, the remaining six predicates; *brostimo kesmişler* 'they issued a fine'*, gitti* 'went', *gördün* '(have) you seen', *çıkardı* 'has taken', *barabono etti* 'has complained', *yapalım* 'let's make' are verbs in Turkish or compound verbs with the verbal parts in Turkish. However, one should bear in mind that the texts of the Divan Literature are examples of a written language produced by a highly educated class, which therefore contain deliberate preference, whereas the language of sentences Ex. 1a, Ex. 1b and Ex. 1c are material from the speech of the ordinary folk, which therefore is natural, lacking deliberation. Furthermore, existence of non-Turkic grammatical elements like the subjunctive constructions (which will be touched on later) in the TDC in general complicates the issue further.

d) Turkish was introduced to the island after the Ottoman conquest and became the language of the ruling class apart from the Christian clergy. Consequently it is possible that Turkish may have been adopted by some people due to its prestige, at least in the town centres, where ordinary people were in communication with officialdom more than rural populations were. It is likely that conversion of some Cypriots to Islam also might have given Turkish a cultural prestige and possibly ended up as the second language of the fresh converts. Undoubtedly the first language of these people had influenced Turkish in such situations.

e) It is possible that speakers of Turkish had imitated grammatical elements of Greek, which was the language of the majority, and English, which had been the official language during the British and Republican Periods. For instance in the sentence Ex. 1b the interrogative particle is missing and the interrogation is stated by intonation, which is one of the distinct features of the TDC in general. It is possible to take the non-Turkic syntactic constructions of sentences Ex. 1b and Ex. 1c as an indication of this type of influence as well.

As it is seen all five scenarios are possible in Cyprus since the speakers of the two languages have lived together at least for four centuries and bilingualism thrived on the island due to political, cultural and religious reasons.

It was touched on earlier that the speech of Turkish Cypriots has become very close to Modern Standard Turkish. The data gathered from the island by Konur proves that the situation was rather different in the past. In fact the Turkish population of the island had strong cultural ties with the mainland during the Ottoman period. A Turkish Cypriot Literature in line with Ottoman traditions was formed on the island around fifty years after the conquest. The Classical Turkish Literature was an urban elite literature, which was in need of certain institutions at the city centres to survive. Socio-cultural institutions like the medreses, *tekkes* (dervish lodges) and naturally the markets were centres where this literature flourished. Indeed we can observe that Turkish Cypriot poets started to produce their works soon after the Turkish settlers established themselves as urban communities in the towns of the island. This classical tradition continued throughout the Ottoman rule on the island with poets like Zekai, Siyahi, Arif, Hızır Handi Dede, Musib, Hilmi, Tahsin and Aşık Kenzi (İsen 2000: 156-160). Unfortunately there is no knowledge of a *tezkire* of Cypriot poets only. However, the *tezkire* named *Tuhfe-i Naili* includes Cypriot poets dating back to the 17th Century (Fedai 2007). Notwithstanding with these strong cultural ties with the centre the Turkish population intermingled with the non-Muslim communities of the island and strong social relationships were established. For instance despite its multicultural structure Ottoman Nicosia had never become a city of cultural or ethno-religious ghettos. In the eighteenth century the city had thirty two neighbourhoods and almost all of them were ethnically mixed neighbourhoods (Çiçek 1999: 98-99). If it is born in mind that the number of the neighbourhoods in the city was not more than seven after the conquest, we could presume that this ethno-religiously mixed structure was established under the control of the rulers.

Records show that these communities did not refrain from any type of economic interaction. Transfers of properties, multicultural business partnerships or trade guilds were among the commonalities of the everyday economic life (Çiçek 1999: 98-102). The situation in the rural areas was different. The census held by the British in 1946 shows that only 146 of total 627 villages were ethnically mixed villages. 112 were Turkish villages and 369 Greek villages. Maronites were present in only a few villages in the Kormakiti (Koruçam) area and the Armenians were not present in the villages (Gazioğlu 2007: 2).

Naturally this ethnically mixed situation in the cities and in the villages had an impact on the languages spoken on the island. Minor languages like Arabic and Armenian had gradually become almost extinct[142] and the two major languages influenced each other extremely. The mutual influence accelerated in favour of the Greek language under the British rule as the ties of the Turkish speaking population with the Ottoman cultural sphere declined and more importantly the Turkish language lost its political prestige. The already existing dialectical features of the Turkish spoken on the island were strengthened in this period and bilingualism among the Turkish population increased. In 1960 the 38% of Turkish Cypriots were bilingual whereas only 1% of the Greek Cypriots were bilingual (Öztürk 2000: 28-29). There are reports that the Turks of Paphos, Dilliria (Erenköy) and the Carpas Peninsula spoke and sang[143] in Greek when were together (Gökçeoğlu 1994: 169)[144]. The

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[142] The Arabic language spoken by the Maronite population in Cyprus has become almost extinct. The Arabic language had been replaced by Greek as everyday language by 1974 in the villages of Gürpınar (Aya Marina), Karpaṣa (Carpasia) and Özkan (Asomatos) (Hatay 2003a: 103). Today the language is spoken only in the village of Koruçam (Kormacit). The language has never become a written language. The Maronite intellectuals and the Maronite Church outside the island use Syriac as a written language. On the island the *lingua sacra* of the community is a language mixture of Syriac, Greek and Arabic. In some churches only Greek is used for this purpose (Hatay 2003a: 115).
The situation for Armenian is a brighter story. Today there are around 3500 speakers of Armenian in Cyprus. About 3000 of these speak Western Armenian and about 500 Eastern Armenian. There are Armenian schools on the island at the elementary and secondary levels. And the Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation has been broadcasting daily one hour in Armenian (Hadjilyra 2009: 28).
[143] An (1999: 33) claims there are records that the *Akritika* songs sung by elderly Turkish villagers from Tilliria and Carpas were textually more complete than those of Greek singers.
[144] It looks like that the situation was the other way round during the Ottoman period as there are records of Greek poets writing laudatory poems praising the Ottomans in Turkish (Gökçeoğlu 1988: 121). Additionally

dominance of the Greeks in the economic life during the British Period must have contributed to the diffusion of bilingualism among the Turkish population[145].

It was mentioned earlier that the Turkish teachers influenced the linguistic situation of the Turkish Cypriot population. After 1974, the intensification of the Turkish population in the north of the island and the standardization of the education system drew the speech of the Turkish Cypriots closer to Standard Turkish. The mutual student exchange as well as educators sent from Turkey is amongst the educational factors influencing the TDC. The fact that Turkish television channels are highly popular in Cyprus is another influential element. This close contact of the Turkish Cypriot population with Modern Standard Turkish has caused some sectors of the population to compare the TDC to Modern Standard Turkish and characterize it as "defective" or "degenerated, broken", which in return has a 'negative' effect on the Turkish varieties of the island as this situation entails a abstention from the usage of local features. Off course its difference from the written language (in this case Modern Standard Turkish) can be taken as a major disadvantage from a localist point of view[146]. The most prominent result of standardization in the TDC is seen in the lexical structure. A great number of dialectical lexical elements has either fallen from use or become incomprehensible for the younger generation (Öztürk 2000: 29-35). Indeed research carried out recently among the Turkish Cypriot population in the north of the island show that every kind of dialectical feature has disappeared or is disappearing among the younger generation of the community (Tekin 2000: 630-31).

Archduke Louis Salvator reports that Turkish was the most widely spoken language in Nicosia. Even Greek women could speak the Turkish language with perfection (Gökçeoğlu 1994: 198).

[145] In 1960 87.4% of agricultural production, 93.8% of industrial production, 99.5% of export and 96.1% of import was in Greek hands (Kızılyürek 1993: 31).

[146] Pehlivan (2007: 285), who has studied dialectical elements used in contemporary Turkish Cypriot literature, has come up with the conclusion that dialectical elements are mostly used in novels and short stories treating everyday Turkish Cypriot life. They are especially used in the dialogues of the characters of the works. Otherwise the presence of dialectical elements in written literature is very scarce. Even novel and story writers prefer standard forms outside dialogues in situations, where standard forms and dialectical forms differ from each other.

Nevertheless, as it universally is, it is possible to say that dialectical features are more noticeable in the speech of the female members of the Turkish Cypriot society than that of the male ones. However one should bear in mind that this assertion applies for the older genereation only in the Turkish Cypriot case. Much wider access to education, the avaibility of television in most homes, increase in transport resulting in mobility between locations are the main reasons for the levelling of differences. A similar situation is present in the speech of rural and urban classes. Dialectical features are more noticeable in the speech of older members of the rural communities than that of the older members of the urban communities. Differences based on gender and class have totally disappeared due to the education system among the younger generation. Education is enforced by the laws of T.R.N.C. until the age of seventeen in Northern Cyprus for all members of the society regardless their gender and class. Therefore, unlike the older genereation, the speech of the female and male members of the younger generation undergoes a similar development, which entails the disappearance of the differences in the speech of the two genders. The very same reason, i.e. the enforcement of education by law, has led to the disappearance of the differences in the speech of urban and rural classes together with that of economic classes.

5.4.1 The Question of the Linobambakoi

It is undeniable that a Crypto-Christian community existed on the island. Every traveller since the early dates of the Ottoman Rule on the island had reported on this community. However there are dramatic differences in the size of the population in these reports. It was touched on earlier (see page 156) that Dandini stated that the bulk of the Turkish population on the island was from these. Greek scholars like Kyrris (1985: 312-13) and Papadopoullos (1965: 82-83) following the steps of Dandini continue this assertion. Kyrris also claims that "a number of superficially moslemized Cypriots returned to Christianity and Hellenism" in the early years of the British Rule.

Whatever their actual population may be, one thing that most authors agree on is that the members of this community were originally Latin rather than from the local Orthodox population[147]. The reason for this is the unlikelihood[148] of the Orthodox population for hiding themselves as the Orthodox Church was protected under the Ottoman Rule rather than being oppressed. Therefore any conversion from Orthodoxy to Islam must have been sincere preferences of the faith. On the other hand Catholicism was oppressed and the members of the Catholic Church were prosecuted in Ottoman Cyprus. Accordingly it must have been very practical for the Catholic population of the island to convert to Islam superficially. The answer to "why not the Orthodox Church rather than Islam", must be the hatred in the hearts of the Orthodox population of the island towards the Latins because of the oppression and the closure of the Orthodox Church under the Latin Dynasties. Naturally the privileges of being on the side of the ruling classes must have played an important role as well.

Beckingham (1957b:173) without denying the existence of a Linobambakoi community on the island, suggests that every incident of practicing Islam and Christianity together should not be linked directly to this phenomenon. The author states that the members of the two religions were "simply testing the efficacy of another means of getting a good harvest or curing an illness." That is to say, an Orthodox Christian did not become Muslim when he prayed at the shrine of *Kirklar* at Tymbou, nor did a Muslim become Christian when he asked for the aid of the Holy Cross at Stravrovouni.

Whatever the socio-economic factors may have been behind the existence of this community, the historical fact is that the inhabitants of some villages previously known to be

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[147] For brief information on this community see Gürkan 1986: 37-41.
[148] The oppressive rule of the Venetians on the island had taken the aversion of the Greek Orthodox Church marking a satisfaction of the Orthodox population at the prospect of an Ottoman invasion. This desire was expressed to the Ottoman authorities in the letters sent with two Cypriots to Istanbul (Hackett 1901: 182-183). It is unlikely that the Orthodox population of the island was coerced to conversion or to turn into Crypto-Christians (Skendi 1967: 229).

historical Turkish settlements preferred to be baptised[149]. Additionally there are tales of Turkish villages, which the inhabitants of preferred to be baptised and after the national divisions settled in the Greek side of the island.

5.5 The Textual Material of TDC

Despite the presence of prominent dialectical differences in speech, the written tradition of the Turkish Cypriot society has always been in line with that of Turkey in the every stage of it existence on the island. It is true that the Turkish Cypriots show a great pertinacity in using dialectical features in their speech regardless their level of education. Educated circles use a variety of Turkish closer to Modern Standard Turkish but still with a hint of Cypriotness. Perhaps the most obstinate feature in the speech of the educated Turkish Cypriots is the sentential stress. No matter how close a Turkish Cypriot person's speech is phonologically, morphologically, lexically or syntactically harmonious with MST, its sentential stress is almost always Cypriot. Usually this feature disappears only in cases, which the speaker has spent a long period in Turkey. Even in such cases the usually the Cypriot features re-appear in conversations with the speakers of TDC. In cases, which the speaker shows no indication of Cypriotness in his / her speech in conversation with fellow Turkish Cypriots, usually the speaker is ridiculed by the society. Perhaps this social pressure

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[149] In the letters of Hacı Hafız Ziyai Efendi and Mustafa Şükri Efendi the names of Muslim / Turkish villages, which were Christianized, are given. In 1905 Mustafa Şükri Efendi gives the names of Kambo and Çakkıdira in the district of Nicosia; Korfi, Lanya, Aya Andihona, Monagrul, Doro Monagri, Trimiklini and Limnad in the district of Limassol; Laya, Ayyos and Şirociya (Kyrokithia), Anglisiya, Vavaccinya (Vavatsinya) and İpsemadizmeno (Sevda) in the distirct of Larnaca; Peya and Pṣahi (İpṣahi) in Paphos as the fully Christianized villages. He also mentions Yukarı Civiya and Fasulla in Limassol; Aytotoro, Bahçeler and Çite in Larnaca; Milya, Hirinya (Hironya), Yeroṣibu, Aya Varvara, Girit Marot and Aya Merkur in Paphos as partly Christianized Turkish villages. Most of these villages were mentioned in Hacı Hafız Ziyai Efendi's letter as well in 1910. Only there are a few differences in his list. Ziyai Efendi does not mention Kambo and Çakkıdira in Nicosia; Şirociya (Kyrokithia) and İpsemadizmeno (Sevda) in Larnaca; Peya in Paphos among the Christianized villages at all. He also does not mention the partly Christianized villages of Bahçeler and Çite in Larnaca; Yeroṣibu and Aya Varvara in Paphos. Additionally he classifies Pṣahi (İpṣahi) in Paphos as a partly Christianized village whereas this village was given as a fully Christianized village in Şükri Efendi's letter. Does this mean that the populations of these villages were redeemed by the Turkish authorities or perhaps there had been some sort of misinformation? Another big problem is whether these apostasies were genuine conversions or they were cases of crypto-Christians returning to Christianity. It is impossible to detect this as the Turkish sources do not acknowledge the presence of a Linobambakoi community on the island or anywhere else in the Ottoman Empire.

plays a great role in the fact that most Turkish settlers adopt some features of TDC shortly after their arrival to the island even in areas where they live compactly. This "Cypriotizing" is observed in the speech of the second generation more openly. In the areas, where the settlers live in mixed settlements with the Turkish Cypriots, the speech of the second generation is almost completely "Cypriotized", perhaps with the lack of copied Greek lexical elements.

The obstinacy shown in speech is almost invisible in the written language. This situation is a product of an education containing no concession at all from a very early age. Pehlivan's (2000) work is a good study displaying the adaptation process of Turkish Cypriot primary school pupils to the phonology of MST. The members of the modern Turkish Cypriot society, excluding the un-educated old ones, are able to write in MST without any dialectical interference.

This does not off course mean that texts of TDC is completely absent in written works. There are three types of texts available for a modern scientist interested in TDC. These are satirical pieces of writing present in newspapers, texts gathered by folklorists and the dialogue parts of novels written by Turkish Cypriot novelists. Texts used in this thesis illustrate all three types of textual materials available in TDC.

Satirical writings used in the thesis:

Special attention should be given to the satirical writings in TDC, which appear in local newspapers. They are written by leftist columnists in left-wing newspapers without exception. It is possible to perceive them as the start of a tendency to write in TDC. On the other hand, they are always written in a comical style, which perhaps reflects the attitude of the Turkish Cypriot society to its own speech, when it is in a written form. Çakmak 2001 used in this thesis is a compilation of such satirical writings in a volume.

Novels used in the thesis:

Aksoy 1990, Aksoy 2006 and Selenge 2003 are samples of novels written by Turkish Cypriot novelist with rich examples of TDC in their dialogue. The recent increase in the number of such novels could also be taken as an indication of tendency writing in TDC since this type of novels are written by leftist intellectuals as well.

Aksoy 1990 and Aksoy 2006 costitute the two volumes of a novel based on the life of a bandit named Cemal Mida from the Pahpos region, who had lived during the years before and after the World War II. Considering that the novel is based on events, which took place around the Paphos region and the characters of the novel enact the lives of people from around the region in addition to the fact that the author of the novel originates from the region, it is possible to infer that the parts in TDC in the novel represent examples of the variety of Turkish spoken around this region. However, it should be born in mind that the author has been living in the north of the island together with people from the other parts of the island and immigrants from Turkey for the last thirty-eight years of his life, if not longer. Therefore there always is the possibility that the dialectical features of the speech of the author may have been influenced by other varieties of Turkish. Moreover there is no indication of a claim that the author has written the dialogue parts of his novel with the Pahpos Dialect of Turkish.

Selenge 2003 is a novel based on events taking place around the lives of the members of a Turkish Cypriot family in Nicosia. This feature again together with the fact that the author of the novel originates from Nicosia, may suggest that the dialogue parts of the novel represent examples of the variety of Turkish spoken in Nicosia. However, again like Aksoy 1990 and 2006, the author has been living together with people originating from the other parts of the island and from Turkey perhaps for a longer period of time than Aksoy.

It must be said that these two types of texts, i.e. satirical writings and novels, are regarded odd and objected to vehemently by certain sectors of the society.

Folkloric texts used in the novel:

Sayın 2000, Saracoğlu 2004, Yorgancıoğlu 1980 and Yorgancıoğlu 2006 are samples of material gathered by folklorists. This type of material is the earliest samples of TDC to appear in written works and is the only type to be not regarded odd by the whole of the society.

It is overtly expressed by Sayın himself at the begining of his work that the material produced in his work is based on a fairytale narrated to him by his grandmother, who was a citizen of Kyrenia. Therefore it could sound safe to draw the conclusion that the language of the work is an example of the variety of Turkish spoken in Kyrenia. On the other hand, the problem with this conclusion would be that it is not stated by Sayın whether the text is based on the original narration of his grandmother or is rephrased and put down on paper by him. If so there would be a gender and generation difference in the usage of the language, which would affect the originality and sociolinguistic representation of the variety of language used.

Saracoğlu 2004 is the published form of a dissertation written by him in 1972 on the variety of Turkish spoken in Küçük Kaymaklı, which is a district of Nicosia. Therefore it is possible to say that the language of the textual material in this work represents the Turkish variety of Nicosia. However, there are methodological problems with the textual material present in this work. Only the names and ages of the people from whom the material is gathered from are given, but their place of origin or the date and place of gathering is not presented.

Yorgancıoğlu 1980 is a compilation of material related to almost every aspect of Turkish Cypriot culture from cusine to folk dance, from traditions to superstitions. A great number of texts gathered from elderly people mostly based on the old ways of life are also present in the work. However, again only the names and ages of these people are given,

which makes almost imposible the determination of the varieties of the Turkish used in the texts.

Yorgancıoğlu 2006 is a compilation of Turkish Cypriot fairytales. Exactly the same problem as in Yorgancıoğlu 1980 exists in this work making it impossible to understand where these texts are gathered from.

5.6 Tense, Aspect, and Modality / Mood System of TDC

In this section the tense, aspect and modality system of Turkish Dialects of Cyprus (henceforth the TDC) is going to be examined focusing on its similarities and differences to that of Old Anatolian Turkish and Modern Standard Turkish. The appellation TDC is not used for describing all of Turkish varieties spoken on the island of Cyprus. Many Anatolian Turkish varieties since 1974 and Turkish varieties of Bulgaria since late 1980's have been spoken on the island. TDC includes the varieties of Turkish which has been spoken by the native Turkish population of the island since before 1974.

It was mentioned earlier (see page 12) that recently there has been much publication on TDC. However, these publications mainly focus on other areas of TDC than tense, aspect and mood / modality. For instance Saracoğlu 1992a, Pehlivan 2000 and Argunşah 2001 deals with phonetics and phonology; Duman 2000 and Öztürk 2001 with morphology; İslamoğlu 1996, Öztürk 2000, Pehlivan 2003, Kurtböke 2003/2004, Kabataş 2005, Öztürk 2006, Gümüşatam 2009 and İleri 2009 with lexicology; Gümüşatam 2011b with lexicology and semantics; Scharlipp 1999, Demir 2007a, Kappler 2008 and Gümüşatam 2011c with syntax; Gümüşatam 2010 and 2011 with onomastics; Argunşah 2003 with lexicology and phonology; Boztaş 1991 with phonology and morphology; Duman 1999 with phonetics, morphology and lexicology. Even Saracoğlu 1992 and its expanded version Saracoğlu 2004, which have an assertive title like *Kıbrıs Ağzı* 'The Cyprus Dialect', are limited to phonology and morphology. Verbal inflection is totally omitted. In Gürkan 1997, which is a work on the usage characteristics of postpositions, conjunctions and interjections in TDC, a full list of verbal inflection in TDC is given without any explanation.

Demir has studied the way the indirect past copula *imiş* is in employed in TDC in Demir 2002. In Demir 2002b and Demir 2005 he has focused on the optative marker and its usages. However, Demir has summed up his views on the tense, aspect and mood / modality markers of TDC in Demir 2007 (: 68-74). Demir has not categorized the finite verbal system

of TDC but has opinioned on each category separately. The first point drawn attention to is the lack of the suffix *-(I)yor* as a present tense marker. Present tense is marked with the aorist. Demir attributes this situation to the historical development of the suffix. The development of the suffix in Anatolia after the departure of the ancestors of TDC speakers is taken as the main reason for this situation. It is also added that the absence of such a difference in the Greek variety of Cyprus, which had been the main contact language, may have contributed to the non-development of such a category in TDC. The infrequency of the suffix *–mIş* is connected with the non-development of the expression of indirectness in TDC. With regards to the future tense it is stated that there are morphological differences rather than functional ones. It is also touched on the absence of the necessitative marker *–mAlI* and is added that this category is marked with the *lazım/lüzum* 'necessary/necessity + verb+imperative-optative marker. It is also touched on that the imperative-optative markers can be used for structuring right branching subordinate sentences modelled on Indo-European style. The structure of what is called the desiderative sentences (*istek cümleleri*) in the work is stated to be one of the salient characteristics of TDC. Another matter dealt with in the work is the indirect past copula *imiş*. Unlike MST the copula can change location in the sentence in TDC. It is stated that the mobility of the copula is aimed at emphasizing the important unit and when it stands on its own it gives the meaning 'supposedly' to the sentence.

Johanson 2009 deals with the absence of the focal present marker *–(I)yor* in TDC. Johanson as well like Demir attributes this absence to the late development of the suffix. Johanson puts forth that the suffix has become widespread in Anatolia only in the eighteenth century, which is two centuries after the settlement of Turks to Cyprus. Johanson as well thinks that the lack of such a category in Greek has contributed to the non-development of it in TDC.

Gümüşatam 2011a deals with the copula and the auxiliary verb in TDC. A full inflection of these two is presented in the work. However this inflection is a mood based inflection and no mention of aspect and modality is made.

It is observed that despite Demir and Johanson's invaluable contributions to the subject, still a categorization of the tense, aspect and mood / modality system of TDC is to be done. Therefore again the following section could be taken as the first attempt in that direction.

Tense, aspect and modality in the TDC like OAT and Modern Standard Turkish are marked by verbal suffixes and the copular markers.

5.6.1 Tense in the TDC

5.6.1.1 Past Tense in the TDC

Past tense in the TDC is marked by the verbal suffixes – *dI* and - *mIş* as well as the copula markers -*(y)(I)dI* and -*(y)mIş*.

5.6.1.1.1 Direct Past Tense in the TDC

The direct past tense marker of the TDC is –*dI*. The consonant of the suffix does not change due to the consonantal harmony:

> *Geçen gün duydum da beddua ederdi.*
> "I heard her the other day cursing" (Aksoy 2006: 50)

> *Aşdı qapuyu çağırsın adama gelsin eve*
> "She opened the door to call the man into the house."
> (Yorgancıoğlu 2006: 102)

Regularly the ending consonant of the verb base is sonorised as a result of regressive assimilation[150]:

> *Güya casuslug yabdılar, da onun için lokaba addılar genneri*
> "Allegedly they were spying, that's why they've locked them up"
> (Çakmak 2001: 17)

> *Gadıncıg olanı biteni gocasına annaddı*
> "The poor woman told everything to her husband"
> (Yorgancıoğlu 2006: 99).

5.6.1.1.2 Indirect Past Tense in the TDC

Three different markers are used in the TDC to mark the indirect past tense. These are the verbal suffixes -*dI*, -*mIş* and the nominal resultative -*(I)g*.

5.6.1.1.2.1 Indirect Past Tense with – *Dı* in TDC.

In TDC the direct tense marker -*dI* is regularly used for marking the indirect past tense as well. It has replaced the -*mIş* suffix of Modern Standard Turkish in many modal and aspectual functions[151]:

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[150] There is a tendency towards sonorisation in general in TDC: *gendi* "self, oneself" (Kabataş 2007: 274), *daş* "stone" (Kabataş 2007: 181), *caga* "ostentation" (Kabataş 2007: 139), *gadıncıg* "poor woman" (Yorgancıoğlu 2006: 99), *uzagdan* "from far away" (Yorgancıoğlu 2006: 76)…

[151] The expansion of the usage of the direct past tense marker -*DI* into the domains of the indirect past tense marker - *mIş* is a prominent feature also in the Turkish Dialects of Trabzon, which interestingly also were in contact with Greek (Brendemoen 1996).

Garımı da aldılar ve gaşdılar, baña da aha bu dolabı bragdılar
They have escaped taking my wife together and they have left this wardrobe to me (Saracoğlu 2004: 178)

Çocuk bakar bir adam tepesi üstüne düşdü ölü yatır
The child saw a man lying dead, who has fallen on his head
(Yorgancıoğlu 1980: 413)

Eh, madem o kadar para harcadın bir işe yarasın bari
"All right then, since you've spent so much money at least let's make it useful (Selenge 2003: 66)

Duydum da ne duydum, bizim keçileri Bilal çaldı.
"You won't believe what I've heard; apparently Bilal has stolen our goats." (Aksoy 1990: 55).

5.6.1.1.2.2 Indirect Past Tense with –*mIş* in TDC:

The second indirect past tense marker is *-mIş,* however, the use of this suffix is rather restricted when compared to OAT and Modern Standard Turkish:

Bir yannışlıg olacag padişahım demiş accıbaşı
"There must be a mistake my king said the head-chef."
(Yorgancıoğlu 2006: 91)

"Silahlanalım da dağa çıkalım" demiş Şener
"Apparently Şener said "Let's take up arms and go to the mountains"." (Çakmak 2001: 24).

Esgiden dört dane babayiğit varmış
"Apparently there used to be four brave men."
(Yorgancıoğlu 1980: 420)

5.6.1.1.2.3 Indirect Past Tense with –*(I)g* in TDC:

The third indirect past tense marker in the TDC is *-(I)g(dIr).* This suffix, which is used for forming resultative nouns in Modern Standard Turkish, is not attested as an indirect past tense marker in the written sources of the OAT period. However Adamovič (1985: 205-206) suggests that it probably had existed regionally in everyday speech[152]. The usage of this suffix as well is very frequent in the TDC:

Adam cinlerla garışıgdır.
"The man has contact with demons." (Sayın 2000: 34)

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[152] For the usage of this suffix as *-Ik* with full inflection in the Gaziantep Dialect of modern Turkish see Aksoy 1945: 176-179.

'...' dedi Kallo. Gözleri yaşarıq.
"'…' said Kallo. His eyes filled with tears." (Aksoy 1990: 50)

... zaptiye gelmeden qarnımız doyuq olsun
"let our stomachs be satisfied before the police comes"

(Aksoy 1990: 184).

5.6.1.2 Present Tense in the TDC

The present tense marker of the TDC is the aorist *-Ar*. In fact this suffix was the historical present tense marker of Turkish. The *–(I)yor* suffix, which is the focal present tense marker of Modern Standard Turkish, is a rather new development in the language. The suffix did not become widespread in the standard language in Anatolia until the 18th century, which is two centuries later than the settlement of Turks on the island. Consequently the focal present form of the suffix is lacking in the TDC (Johanson 2009: 94-95). Perhaps language contact on the island has prevented the development or contributed to the absence of a focal present tense in TDC. The limited usage of the suffix in the linguistic homeland was probably reinforced by the lack of it in the contact language on the island which is Greek. Reinforcement by analogy in language contacts, i.e., the giving of preference to elements which the contact languages appear to have in common is an universal occurrence (Johanson 2002: 10)   The very limited usage of the *-(y)(I)yor* as a present tense marker in the speech of Turkish Cypriots is likely to be with the influence of Modern Standard Turkish:

Bu iki Hasanoz nabdılar bilirsiniz be insannar?
"Hey people! Do you know what these two Hasan's have done?"
(Çakmak 2001: 65)

Sözlüsü ağzının içine bakar İlhan'ın
"His fiancé obeys him blindly" (Selenge 2003: 162)

Ben anamı bubamı işde böyle yediririm
"This is how I feed my mother and father."
(Saracoğlu 2004: 176).

Often the last consonant of the suffix is dropped when followed by second person singular suffix:

Nasıl öyle hoydurhop gelin bre Hüseyin?
"Why are you coming suddenly Hüseyin? (Aksoy: 2006: 94).

5.6.1.3 The Future Tense in the TDC

The future tense in the TDC is marked by the verbal suffixes *-(y)AcA(k)* and *-(y)(I)yor*:

5.6.1.3.1 Future with *-(y)AcAk* in TDC:

The first type of future in the TDC, which is shared with Modern Standard Turkish, is encoded by *-(y)AcA(k)*. The only difference from its usage in Modern Standard Turkish is that the last consonant of the suffix is often lost:

> *Ne edecen bre Yorgi?*
> "Hey Yorgi! What will you do?" (Aksoy 2006: 175)

> *Bu qapı bana iktiza edecek*
> "I will need this door." (Sayın 2000: 7)

5.6.1.3.2 Future with *-(y)(I)yor* in TDC:

The second type of future in the TDC is marked by *-(y)(I)yor* and is employed for marking the near future:

> *Ben yatmaya çıkıyorum*
> "I will go upstairs and sleep." (Sayın 2000:40).

> *Adam oluyon ya gayrı*
> "You are about to become a man" (Aksoy 1990: 11)

> *… adresimi, lüzumlu telehon nümeromu ve elegdronig-meyil adresimi aşşa yazıyorum…*
> "… I will write my address, relevant phone number and my email below…" (Çakmak 2001: 6).

> *Be Gappellari dayı; ben gorgmaya başlayıyorum bu adamdan ha…*
> "Hey Uncle Gappellari! I am starting (about to start) to be afraid of this man." (Çakmak 2001: 51).

5.6.2 Aspect in the TDC

5.6.2.1 Perfective and Imperfective Aspect in the TDC

The difference between perfective and imperfective aspects in the TDC is pertinent to sentences in the past tense, which is harmonious with the principles of both historical and modern Turkish in general.

5.6.2.1.1 Perfective Aspect in the TDC

The perfective aspect in the TDC is marked by the verbal suffixes – *dI*, and - *mIş*:

> *Oridez ormanlığını hükümet bana verdi*
> The government has given the Oridez Forest to me
> (Aksoy 1990: 116)

> *Meğer padişahdan emir gelmiş garşı goyannarı öldürün deyi*
> "Apparently an order came from the sultan to kill the resisters" (Yorgancıoğlu 1980: 420)

5.6.2.1.2 Imperfective Aspect in the TDC

The imperfective aspect in the TDC is marked by the verbal suffix –*Ar* and the auxiliary verb *idi*:

> *Urumlar da bizden gorqar bizi sayallardı*
> "Greeks also were afraid of us and respected us"
> (Yorgancıoğlu 1980: 420)

> *… Halil Maşa amca geyerdi birdeneden mücahidlig bodlarını…*
> "… uncle Halil Masha used to wear his mujaheed boots at once…" (Çakmak 2001: 50).

> *O sizi görürdü tepelerden da vurmazdı*
> "He used to see you from the hills and didn't shoot you."
> (Aksoy 2000: 194)

The two subordinate categories of the imperfective aspect; progressive and habitual aspects, both are marked by the aorist in the TDC in non-past context as well as in past context. The progressive aspect marker of modern Standard Turkish, *-(I)yor* is absent in the TDC with this function. However the suffix exists in the TDC as a near future marker (see pages 202-203). This is probably due to the fact that the Turkish language established itself in Cyprus a short time after the suffix came into existence (see footnote 81) as a finite form in its original environment, i.e. Anatolia, and became isolated due to geographical conditions affecting its morphological development and semantic evolution. Indeed the preservation of the intervocalic euphonic consonant and the converb after verbs ending with a vowel as in *başlayıyorum* rather than *başlıyorum* displays an archaism. Additionally the future connotation of the suffix is shared by Modern Standard Turkish with the TDC, only as a

secondary function in the former. This may imply that this function of the suffix already existed at the time, when Turkish established itself on the island. The big question is whether the suffix functioned as a progressive aspect marker at the early stages of the Turkish language on the island and lost this connotation as a result of local influences or did it become widely used for marking the progressive aspect in Anatolia after the Turkish spoken on the island was cut off from its natural habitat. On the other hand it should be born in mind that *-(I)yor* has started to establish itself in the speech of Turkish Cypriots as a progressive aspect marker as a result of the influence of Modern Standard Turkish. Demir (2002a: 105) suggests that in addition to historical reasons affecting the evolution and development of the present tense in the TDC, the lack of the difference between progressive and habitual present tenses in Cypriot Greek must have played an important role in this situation in the TDC. On the other hand Johanson (2009: 97) thinks that Greek did not play a role in this situation as the suffix used by the TDC already possessed both aspectual connotations. However, reinforcement of analogy from Greek, i.e., the common feature in TDC and Greek, which was touched on earlier, should be born in mind as a possible factor:

Progressive: (event / activity)

>*Nasıl öyle hoydurhop gelin bre Hüseyin?*
> "Why are you coming suddenly Hüseyin? (Aksoy: 2006: 94).

>*Ben da hazırlanırdım dombula deyim!*
> "I was preparing to say bingo!" (Çakmak 2001: 46).

Progressive: (state)

>*Bunu bilin zennederim.*
> "I think you know this." (Yorgancıoğlu 2006: 159)

>*O zaman köyde benim sözüm geçerdi*
> "Then I was influential in the village" (Yorgancıoğlu 1980: 420)

Habitual:

>*Ben anamı bubamı işde böyle yediririm*
> "This is how I feed my mother and father."
>   (Saracoğlu 2004: 176).

>*… cinler cirid oynardi, esgi hamam içinde*

"… there were many jinns (literally the jinn used to play *cirid*[153]) in the old bath (Yorgancıoğlu 2006: 96)

5.6.3 Modality in the TDC

Neutral modality in the TDC is marked by *–dI* and the progressive types of the aorist in verbal sentences and with *-(y)IdI* or *idi* in nominal sentences.

5.6.3.1 Generalizations and Hypotheses in TDC

This category of modality is used for making statements with a general, theoretical nature, or expresses assumptions or hypotheses and is marked by the aorist forms *–A/Ir/-mAz* in verbal sentences and with the generalizing modality marker *–dIr* in nominal sentences.

5.6.3.1.1 Statements of Permanent or Generalized Validity in TDC

Verbal sentences with aorist:

> *O zaman Urum tüccar ne arardı*
> "There was no Greek merchants then."
> > (Yorgancıoğlu 1980: 411)

> *Benden gayrısı o yeyintilere sürü sokamaz*
> "No one except me are allowed to put their herds on those pastures." (Aksoy 1990: 116)

> *Dörd ayaglıdır, damlarda gezer, miyav, miyav der*
> "It has four legs, strolls on the roofs, meows"
> > (Çakmak 2001: 25).

Nominal sentences with *-dIr*:

> *Popazlar ahbabımdır*
> "The priests are my friends" (Aksoy 1990: 116)

5.6.3.1.2 Hypothetical and Counterfactual Situations in TDC

This type of modality is employed to mark the fulfilment of some condition:

> *Seni qapı önünde görürse öldürür*
> "He will kill you if he sees you in front of the door."
> > (Sayın 2000: 49)
> *İsdemeyeregden olsa bile, şayed asgeri bölgeye bakarsam geçerkana, casus diye dutuglayıb lokaba atallar mı beni?*

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[153] *cirid* is a traditional Turkish sport played on horse with a stick used as a javelin.

"Would they arrest and lock me up even if I look towards the
military zone unwillingly while passing."
                    (Çakmak 2001: 27).

… görürsam sana malumat verecem
"I will inform you if I see him" (Aksoy 2006: 238)

Counterfactual situations, which are different from hypotheticals as the condition they depend
on is known to be unrealizable are marked by *-(A/I)r(I)dI / -mAz(I)dI* or *-(y)AcAk(I)dI*:

Dul olmasa da istemezdim.
"I wouldn't want her even if she wasn't a widow"
                    (Selenge 2003: 162)

Da az daha hiç yoluna gideceğidin
"You almost would be killed for nothing."
                    (Aksoy 2006: 94)

Ben seni görçekden sevmesem geceleri rüyana girerdim?
"Would I enter your dreams during the nights if I didn't
really love you?" (Yorgancıoğlu 2006: 61)

5.6.3.1.3 Assumptions in TDC
        Assumptions in the TDC are mainly marked by the aorist and *–dIr*:

Cemal içerde. Belki qurtulur
"Cemal is inside. May be he will come out"
                    (Aksoy 2006: 232)

Bu garı bana günahını vermez. Vardır bunda bir oyun
"This women wouldn't give to me even her sin. (Probably)
there is a trick" (Sayın 2000: 37)

5.6.3.2 Possibility and Necessity in TDC

5.6.3.2.1 Possibility in TDC
Possibility and impossibility in the TDC are marked by *-(y)Abil-* and *-(y)AmA* respectively:

… sorub öğrenmeg isdediğiniz her şeyi bağa açıg-açıg
sorabilrsiniz
"You can ask me openly whatever you would like to learn"
(Çakmak 2001: 5).

Bu popaz, dedigleri gadar da zalim olamaz
"This priest surely can't be as cruel as they say."
                    (Sayın 2000: 24)

5.6.3.2.2 Necessity / Obligation in TDC

Necessity in the TDC is marked by the optative marker –*A* preceded or followed by the word *lazım* "necessary" or the word *lüzum* "necessity, need":

> *Senin aglın da lazım herbişeyi kessin*
> "You have to think of everything"
> <div align="right">(Yorgancıoğlu 2006: 54)</div>

> *Lüzumdur olduğu gibi gabul edelim bu hartucu!*
> "We have to accept this pack as it is!"
> <div align="right">(Çakmak 2001: 41).</div>

> *Lüzumdur sen da olasıng bunda*
> "You have to be here as well." (Çakmak 2001: 46).

The suffix -*mAlI*[154], which is the necessitative marker of Modern Standard Turkish does not originally exist in the TDC. However as a result of the influence of Modern Standard Turkish this suffix has become widespread in the speech of Turkish Cypriots, especially in formal environments.

In sentences marked with the optative like

> *Gelirkana bir lenger da süt getiresin amma o gün sayılmış olsun, tamam?*
>
> "When you are coming you have to bring a bucket of milk, but it has to be milked that day, o.k.?
> <div align="right">(Yorgancıoğlu 2006: 45)</div>

the desire is so strong that it sounds absolute necessity and perhaps is a relic of the Old Anatolian Turkish necessitative formed by the optative (see section 4.3.3.2.2).

Another way to articulate necessity in the TDC is to express the verb denoting the action considered necessary in the infinitive form followed by the word *lazım* "necessary". This form is used in Modern Standard Turkish as well:

> *O zaman der yabancı bu gızzın ailesine gitmek lazım*
> "Then we have to go to the family of this girl says the stranger." (Yorgancıoğlu 2006: 34).

> *Yapdıglarına özen gösdermesi lazımıdı*
> 'She had to be careful what she was doing."
> <div align="right">(Yorgancıoğlu 2006: 51)</div>

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[154] For the historical development of this suffix see footnote 84

Additionally the word *lüzum* can also enter combinations with the infinitive in the TDC to form necessity:

> *Başganlıg sisdemine geşmemiz lüzumdur*
> "We have to change to the presidential system."
> (Çakmak 2001: 46).

One last way to denote necessity in the TDC is to employ the word *mecbur* "obliged to" marked with the appropriate personal suffix together with the optative:

> *Mejburudu yudsun*
> "He had to swallow." (Çakmak 2001: 74).

5.6.3.3 Evidentiality in TDC

In the TDC, evidentiality is a speaker-propagated modality of a great significance as it is in OAT and Modern Standard Turkish. Likewise it is marked by the verbal suffix *–mIş* and the copular suffix *–(y)ImIş*. However, additionally and perhaps more often it is marked by the verbal suffix *-dI* and the copular suffix *-(y)IdI* as well. The latter two are used in OAT and Modern Standard Turkish for marking direct experience only.

5.6.3.3.1 Evidential Modality Based on Information in TDC

The variety of evidentiality, which is based on second-hand information, is the only evidentiality type to be marked by *–mIş* or *-(y)ImIş* regularly in the TDC. Similar to Modern Standard Turkish these two suffixes are employed consistently in sentences conveying information based on hearsay:

> *… kimilerinin da dediğine göre … otururmuş meclisdeki başgannıg kürsüsünde, da yoldan gelib-geçenneri takip edermiş*
> "… according to what some people say he sits at the presidential seat in the parliament and observes the people passing from the road" (Çakmak 2001: 51)
>
> *Duydum ki quyu gibi bir evceğizde pılısız pırtısız otururlarmış*
> "I heard that they are living in a hollow little house without anything" (Selenge 2003: 234)

However, when compared to Modern Standard Turkish, major irregularities could occur in nominal sentences marked by *-(y)ImIş* in the TDC. *Miş Ahmet okula gitmeyecek yarın / Ahmetmiş okula gitmeyecek yarın / Ahmet okulamış gitmeyecek yarın / Ahmet yarınmış okula gitmeyecek* are the four possible ways of saying "Apparently Ahmet is not going to school tomorrow". Perhaps the biggest deviation is the *Miş* standing on its own at the beginning of

the sentence. The change in the place of *-(y)ImIş* in the sentence is not random and it is attached to the element in the sentence, which is in need of emphasis (Demir 2002: 108). Therefore the second sentence would imply that "It is Ahmet, who apparently is not going to school tomorrow", the third one "Apparently it is the school that Ahmet is not going tomorrow" and the fourth one "Apparently it is tomorrow that Ahmet is not going to school". Only in the first sentence, where the *MIş* is standing on its own, there is an additional indication of resentment by the interlocutor. On the other hand it is not uncommon to have sentences conveying information based on hearsay and marked by -dI rather than *–mIş* or *-(y)ImIş:*

> *Eksildi sürüden birkaç keçi. Muhdar Alirizaya haber saldık. Bulunmazsa tezkereden düşeceyik dedi. Ormancı balligariler görmedi.*
> "A few goats are missing from the herd. We have sent a message to Mukhtar Alirıza. They will be charged off if not found. Apparently the forest ranger chaps did not see the (the goats)". (Aksoy 1990: 54)

> *Duydum da ne duydum, bizim keçileri Bilal çaldı.*
> "You won't believe what I've heard, apparently Bilal has stolen our goats." (Aksoy 1990: 55).

> *O sizi görürdü tepelerden da vurmazdı.*
> (Quoting her brother)"He used to see you from the hills and didn't shoot you" (Aksoy 2006: 194)

It is also possible to convey hearsay without using an evidential marker at all. Usually in examples like this, where the hearsay is conveyed by lexical expression, the belief of the conveyor to the hearsay is stronger than the examples marked with a evidential marker:

> *Ben duydum. Herkeşler da duydu. Gider Zalhe Mullali'nin tükanına.*
> "I have heard. Everyone has heard. Zalhe goes to Mullali's shop." (Aksoy 2006: 122)

Again parallel to Modern Standard Turkish *–mIş* or *-(y)ImIş* are used in narration very often[155]:

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[155] The use of *–mIş* and *-(y)ImIş* in narration in Modern Standard Turkish is often associated with doubt as well as evidentiality. Gencan (1979: 278) correlates their employment in narration to their role of denoting absence of familiarity whereas Banguoğlu (1995: 460) suggests that their employment in narration is related to their dubitative role. Taylan (1987: 178) and Slobin & Aksu (1982: 198) claim that their use in narration is related to their potential of generating psychological distance between the utterer and the event. On the other hand Aksu-Koç (1986: 250, 1988: 25) put forth that the function of *–mIş* or *-(y)ImIş* as narratives is related to their capacity to denote "non-witnessed evidential information". For a detailed account of *–mIş* or *-(y)ImIş* in narration with special reference to folktales see Zeyrek 1994. Additionally it should be born in mind that similar to Standard

Bir varımış bir yoğumuş. İnnallahdan kimse yoğumuş.
Varımış bir gacagariynan bir keçisi
"Once upon a time there was nobody but God. There was an
old woman and her goat"

(Yorgancıoğlu 2006: 147)

Zamanın birinde bir adam varımış. Bu adamın on iki evladı
varımış
"Once upon a time there was a man. This man had twelve
children" (Saracoğlu 2004: 190).

5.6.3.3.2 Evidential Modality Based on Result in TDC

Unlike OAT and Modern Standard Turkish the verbal suffix *–mIş* is not used in the

TDC for denoting resultative evidentials. Instead *-dI* is used:

Garımı da aldılar ve gaşdılar, baña da aha bu dolabı bragdılar
They have escaped taking my wife together and they have left this
wardrobe to me (Saracoğlu 2004: 178)

Çocuk bakar bir adam tepesi üstüne düşdü ölü yatır
The child saw a man lying dead, who apparently has fallen on his
head (Yorgancıoğlu 1980: 413)

Hastanız kustu görmediniz mi?
"Your patient has vomited haven't you seen?"

(Selenge 2003: 228).

Another form, which is used for marking resultative evidentiality, is *-(I)g*. This form, which

does not exist in Modern Standard Turkish as a finite form, is used in the TDC frequently:

Adam cinlerla garışıgdır.
"The man has contact with demons." (Sayın 2000: 34)

'…' *dedi Kallo. Gözleri yaşarıq.*
"'…' said Kallo. His eyes filled with tears." (Aksoy 1990: 50)

… *zaptiye gelmeden qarnımız doyuq olsun*
"let our stomachs be satisfied before the police comes"

(Aksoy 1990: 184).

It should be born in mind that this form, which had been used with this function in the OAT

and is still used in some Modern Anatolian Dialects (see section 4.3.3.3.2), is used in MST for

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Modern Turkish in the TDC as well employment of *–mIş* or *-(y)ImIş* in narration is not consistent and tense
variation is very frequent. Taylan (1987: 181) sees structural considerations, narrative organizational, shifting of
perspective and modal - aspectual shifts as the four main reasons for tense-switching in narration in Turkish.

deriving past participles (Banguoğlu 1995: 248; Göksel – Kerslake 2005: 54; Korkmaz 2007: 344) and in this sense it presents an analogy with –mIş.

5.6.3.3.3 Newly Discovered State of Affairs Marked by the Evidential Copula in TDC

It is possible in TDC to have sentences marked by the evidential copula denoting surprise:

> *Ne cingöz adammış yau!*
> "What a shrewd he turns out to be!" (Çakmak 2001: 24)

> *Çocuklarım meğer benim itici gücümmüş*
> "Now I found out that my children were my propulsion"
> (Selenge 2003: 224)

However it is not unusual to come across sentences, which are marked by *-dI* or are not marked by a modality marker, denoting surprise as in:

> *Aha o gün böyündür meğersem.*
> "It seems that today is the day" (Aksoy 1990: 101)

> **Ben da ne aptalım meğer.*
> "What an idiot I am (I found out so)."

5.6.3.4 Volitional Modality in TDC

Volitional expressions in the TDC can be categorised as follow:

5.6.3.4.1 Wishes in TDC

Wishes in the TDC are expressed by the verbal suffixes *–sA, -sA(y)IdI, -(y)AydI*.

5.6.3.4.1.1 Realizable Wishes to Perform Action in TDC:

Realizable wishes are marked by *-sA* in the TDC:

> *İsdersañ bağla beni belimden*
> "Tie me up from my waist if you like" (Saracoğlu 2004: 187)

> *Ama gene da bir boyizi tutsak.*
> "But it still would be nice to catch a kid." (Aksoy 1990: 37).

> *Gelmişken bir görünsem hocalarınıza.*
> "It would be nice to be seen by your professors while I am here."
> (Sayın 2000: 169)

5.6.3.4.1.2 Wishes which are Beyond the Speaker's Power in TDC:

The verbal suffix -*sA* is additionally used for marking wishes which are beyond the speaker's power. -*sA(y)IdI*, and -*(y)AydI* are also used for marking this modality:

... Ingiliz yol yakınkana tutsun Mida'yı da asılmasa
"If only the English had captured Mida while still it is not too late
and he wasn't to be hung" (Aksoy 2006: 216)

Ya öleydim, ya bir seher taha evleneydim
"If only I could marry once more otherwise I am happy to die"
(Çakmak 2001: 35)

Bir de adı Heybe olmasaydı
"If only her name was not Heybe." (Selenge 2003: 170)

5.6.3.4.1.3 Counterfactual Wishes or Regrets in TDC:

Again all three suffixes are used for marking counterfactual wishes or regrets:

O zaman doğru söyleyeydiniz.
"Then you should have said it properly" (Sayın 2000: 70)

Keşkem da bu Goşez taraflarından gelsek
"I wish we had passed through the village of Goshez" (Aksoy
1990: 37)

*Eğerlim da ben sana söylerkan gabahetin olmasaydı cuvab
vereceydin bana...*
"If you were not guilty you would have answered me when I
told you" (Yorgancıoğlu 2006: 120).

5.6.3.4.2 Commands in TDC

5.6.3.4.2.1 Basic Commands in TDC:

Basic commands in the TDC are either marked with the absence of a marker or by the verbal suffixes -*A*, and -*Iñ(Iz)*:

Garı! Al bunu duzla.
"Woman! Take this and salt it" (Sayın 2000: 25)

Yarından tezzi yog bu sarayı terkedesin...
"Leave this palace tomorrow." (Yorgancıoğlu 2006: 90)

Ara sıra Baf'a geldiğinde bana da uğrayan
"Sometimes when you come to Paphos stop by (Aksoy 1990: 100)

Haber salın Cemal'a.
"Send a message to Cemal" (Aksoy 1990: 194).

5.6.3.4.2.2 Third Person Instructions in TDC:

Third person instructions in the TDC are marked with the verbal suffixes *–sIn* and *-sInlAr*:

> *Git sana da anlatsın*
> "Go and let him tell you as well" (Aksoy 2006: 268)

> *... Popaz'a muştu ver. Sırtını Babarthga'ya yağlatsın*
> "Tell the good news to the priest. Let him have Babarthga oil
> his back" (Sayın 2000: 32)

5.6.3.4.2.3 Persuasive Commands in TDC:

The persuasive command in the TDC is marked by *–sAn(Iz)a* as in:

> **Bura gelseña ay ovlum*
> "Come here oh my son"

> **Biraz oturasañıza*
> "(Why don't you) sit a little bit"

5.6.3.4.2.4 Imperative Use of the Future Tense Marker in TDC:

The future tense marker *–(y)AcAk* in the TDC is also used for marking expectations close to future commands as it is in Modern Standard Turkish:

> *piçini doğuracan ve artıq ana evinde galacan*
> "You will give birth to your bastard and from now on you will
> stay at your mum's house" (Sayın 2000: 41)

> *Ona üş defa günde üçer gaşık keçi südü içirecen.*
> "You will give it three spoons of goats milk three times a day"
> (Yorgancıoğlu 2006: 47)

> *Alacan bu yolu yukarı*
> "Take this road upwards" (Aksoy 1990: 100)

5.6.3.4.3 Suggestions in TDC:

The first person singular and plural optative markers *–(y)AyIm* and *–(y)AlIm* in the TDC, like OAT and Modern Standard Turkish mark actions, which the speaker suggests to perform:

> *Gidelim ağamızı çıkaralım mezardan*
> "Let's go and exhume our elder brother"
> (Saracoğlu 2004: 194)

> *Ben sana ağnatayım ilk günler ki gitik Polmitya'ya yazılalım*
> *asker.*

"Let me tell you about our first days when we went to Polemitia to conscript (Aksoy 2006: 92).

When this form is put in a form of question it can become consultative:

Hazırlayım sana katırı da?
"Shall I prepare the mule for you as well?"
(Aksoy 1990: 236)

5.6.3.4.4 Deliberation about Possible Action in TDC:

Similar to OAT and Modern Standard Turkish in the TDC as well verbs marked with the first person conditional markers –sAm, -sAk also become consultative when they are used in a question:

Mecbur olmasak gelirdik senin bu boklu köyüne?
"Would we come to this crappy village of yours if we didn't have to?" (Aksoy 1990: 225)

5.6.3.4.5 Requests and Offers in TDC:

Requests and offers are marked by the second person aorist interrogative. Structurally requests and offers are exactly the same:

Request:

Beniminan evlening?
"Would you marry me?" (Yorgancıoğlu 2006: 84)

Offer:

Hoş da gelmiş benim aslanım. Garnı da acıkmıştır, zaher! İsder min?
"Welcome my good friend. Surely you are hungry. Would you like some?" (Sayın 2000: 37)

5.6.3.4.6 Commitments in TDC

The first person aorist is used for marking commitment or promise:

O zaman senininan evlenirim
"Then I will marry you" (Yorgancıoğlu 2006: 124)

Bulurum elbet seni
"Certainly I will find you" (Aksoy 2006: 26)

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*Bunu ortadan yog edersan sana boynumdaki bendoları[156]
veririm*

"If you make this disappear I will give you the coins, which are
on my necklace" (Sayın 2000: 47)

5.6.4 Subjunctive Constructions in the TDC.

The presence of subjunctive constructions in the TDC is one of the many problematic

issues of the grammar of the TDC. Demir (2002b) presents this as the equivalent of German

modal verb *wollen* and calls sentences containing this structure *amaç cümleleri* 'objective

sentences' (2002a: 106). He regards it one of the defining characteristics of the TDC and

from Indo-European origin as it is established in respect of the Indo-European model; i.e. the

finite verb *isde-* 'to want' is followed by a verb denoting the intended action marked with the

optative or imperative mood marker as it is in:

İsderim gideyim 'I want that / to go.'

This utterance would be expressed in Standard Turkish and Anatolian Turkish by employing

a construction including the infinitive as it is in:

Gitmek istiyorum.

Demir (2002b: 19) concludes that this must be a result of the influence of either the English

or the Greek language on Turkish. Truly this sentence translates into the Greek subjunctive[157]

literally as:

Θελω να παω
*thelo **na** pao*

Therefore it puts forth a convenient explanation. However, Appel & Muysken (1987: 155)

suggest that this Greek construction is part of a Balkan area *Sprachbund* and also exists in

Albanian, Bulgarian and Romanian and translates into these languages as *due **de** shkue*, *iskam*

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[156] *bendo* (*beşibirlik, beşibiryerde, beşibirarada* in Standard Turkish) is a ornamental coin worth five Turkish
gold pounds.
[157] For detail on the Greek subjunctive see Mackridge 1985: 274-306.

da otida and *veau **sa** plec* respectively. The point of departure for this classification is the use of the complementizers *na, de, da, sa* for the subjunctive construction instead of the infinitive. Interestingly Appel & Muysken express that Turkish should not be included into the *Sprachbund* without denying that it may have contributed to the linguistic levelling of the area[158]. On the other hand Matras (2003/04) investigating the layers of convergent syntax in the Turkish dialect of Macedonia, suggests that likewise other Balkanic languages subjunctive constructions in this dialect is a result of infinitive-loss and the extension of the subjunctive option (p. 65-66). However he draws attention to the fact that unlike other Balkanic languages Macedonian Turkish (like the TDC) does not employ a complementizer:

> *Toplantılık istemirdiler yapsınlar*
> 'They didn't want to hold a meeting.' (Matras 2003/04: 68)

Thus it is not the formal structure of the clause that is borrowed but it is the mental operations involved in planning the utterance (p.69). For the same reason (the lack of complementizer or conjunction) he thinks that Macedonian Turkish constructions differ from Ottoman or Old Anatolian constructions, which employ *ki*, *kim* or *diye*. Therefore, he suggests, it is an internal development motivated by language contact and convergence (p. 69).

Yet, Bellér-Hann (1995: 102) and Timurtaş (1994: 127) note that optative mood markers were used, instead of the infinitive, to establish subjunctive constructions both in Old Anatolian Turkish and Old Azeri (Turk Acemi). It is possible to come across examples both containing a conjunction as in *diler göñül ki ayaġuña yüz süre* 'my heart wants to pay respect to your foot' (Timurtaş 1994: 127) and without one as in *istäräm qara yûsufa elçi göndäräm* 'I want to send an envoy to Qara Yûsuf' (Bellér-Hann 1995: 102). However in the case of

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[158] Their way of putting it may imply that they do not include Turkish to the *Sprachbund* of the area as they regard it as an alien language to the area.

the TDC, the lack of the construction in contemporary Anatolian Turkish dialects and the fact that the specimens of Old Anatolian Turkish are mainly the products of a translation literature and a court language, discredits Old Anatolian Turkish as an origin to a great extend, as we know from historical evidence that the bulk of Turks located to the island were from nomadic origin, therefore generally illiterate. But the case of Old Azeri brings a different dimension to the matter. Rähimov (1965: 117) notes that the subjunctive constructions established with the optative marker are still widely used in the dialects of Azeri[159]. Therefore it would be safe to suggest that the presence of this construction was not limited to the literary language during the Old Azeri period. Interestingly the TDC share with Azeri, three of six phonological criteria and one of seven morphological criteria put forth by Schönig (2000) to mark Turkish – Azeri linguistic differences. Additionally historical evidence derived from Ottoman archives proves that people from regions like Eastern Anatolia and Syria, where Azeri or Azeri influenced Turkish dialects are spoken today, were located to the island. On account of these facts it would be helpful to bear in mind the Azeri connection when the diversities of the TDC are examined.

Another mind provoking possibility is influence of Arabic on the TDC. Statistical data derived from the British census held in the island shows that mother-tongue of almost 1% of the Turkish Cypriot was Arabic in 1881 (Papadopoullos 1965: 81). The gradual disappearance of Arabic language as a mother-tongue amongst Turkish Cypriots, which can be observed from the census results of the following years (Konur 1938: 29), may imply that Arabic was already on the path of extinction on the island in 1881 and was the mother-tongue of a greater community prior to this date[160]. It is beyond doubt that this Arabic speaking community of Cyprus has had some kind of linguistic impact on the TDC. Accordingly it is

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[159] For detail on the Azeri optative see Rähimov 1965: 75-118.

[160] One should bear in mind that the Turkish speaking community of Cyprus had a close contact with the Arabic speaking communities throughout the history. Even today number of individuals in the Turkish Cypriot community known as *arab uşağı* "son of an Arab" constitutes a considerable sum. Also it is possible that black Turkish Cypriots have an Arabic speaking ancestry.

thought captivating that Arabic uses the *mudari* which is the equivalent of the Turkish aorist to establish the subjunctive mood as in[161]:

<div dir="rtl">أذهبَ أن أريدُ</div>
ezhebe en urida
"I want to go / I want that I go"

In the light of all of the possibilities listed above the safest path would be to suggest that the subjunctive constructions in the TDC are a result of the reciprocal reinforcement of all of the cases. But still it looks feasible to give most of the credit to the case of Greek when the linguistic data provided by Konur (1938: 30), which displays every sort of copying, and the extensity of bilingualism in Greek is born in mind.

5.7 Concluding Remarks

It seems possible to conclude that the greater proportion of the Turkish Cypriots were descendants of settlers brought to the island by the Ottomans after the conquest, but the role of the converts in the formation of the Turkish population of the island from right after the conquest is an undeniable fact. However, it is impossible to assess the proportion of the converts in the Turkish Cypriot ancestry. The presence of Crypto-Christians on the island complicates the issue further. It is possible that these converts, who had a very mixed ethnical and linguistic background (Greek, Italian, French, Syriac, Arabic, may be Armenian), had contributed to the development of the TDC as well. However, it is hard to detect their influence on the linguistic situation of the island. Primarily, because it is impossible to establish their exact number as they had been invisible in statistics since they were officially Muslims. It seems also impossible to infer their approximate estimate as well since accounts on them are very inconsistent. For instance Dandini claims the bulk of the Muslim population of the island to be renegades ready to revolt against the Ottoman rule twenty five years after

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[161] For detail on the Arabic subjunctive see Wickens 1980: 104-106.

the conquest (see page 156), which is completely conflicting historical records. Nevertheless their impact on the linguistic situation could be regarded to be minimal since the social prestige of this community could not be high. They were regarded as renegades by the Christians and as half-Muslims by the Muslim population. Another possible contributor to the dialectical features of the TDC is the Arabic-speaking Muslims of the island. Nevertheless, the biggest external factor in the formation of the dialectical features of the TDC is undoubtedly the Greek variety of the island as the contact language. The lexical, syntactic and semantic structure of the linguistic data examined in this thesis displays a great example for this as borrowings of every type from the Greek language can be detected very easily. The subjunctive mood or perhaps the absences of a difference between the habitual and the progressive aspects beside the lexical borrowings from Greek are the first examples to come to mind. On the other hand borrowings from the other languages of the island are not so visible if there is any at all. Only the presence of Arabic lexical borrowings, which are absent in MST, in the TDC may pose an overt example to the contact with this language. The plural suffix –*at* as in *İngilizat* "the English" or in *gavurat* "infidels" could also be mentioned inter alia. However, it should be born in mind that it is possible that elements like *İngilizat* and *gavurat* could be a result of aspiration to Ottoman Turkish, which had been the prestigious high language, like the presence of *izafe*s, i.e. Persian and Arabic style compounds, in the speech of Turkish ordinary folk. It is not clear whether Arabic borrowings are result of contact on the island or received through an Anatolian ancestral variety. For instance the word *mücendra* "pilaff with green lentil" < Ar. *mücedder* "pockmark" (Kabataş 2007: 435) sets a good example for this situation. The word interestingly survives as *müceddere* "lentil soup" in the Afşin region of modern-day Maraş (Derleme Sözlüğü v. IX: 3227), an area where people had been transplanted to Cyprus from. The Cypriot variety seems to relate to the variety in Maraş because of the lentil connection. On the other hand the sight of the

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mücendra pilaff resembles a pock marked complexion, which points into the direction of an Arabic variety. However, the word *müceveze* "big sack" < Ar. *mücevveze* "big *kavuk* (quilted turban)" (Kabataş 2007: 435) looks like to be copied from an Arabic variety, since it does not exist in the dialectical dictionary of Turkish. Still an Anatolian ancestry, which has died out in its original homeland is always a possibility.

Another important factor in the formation of the dialectical features of the TDC is the preservation of archaic characteristics, like the usage of the suffix *–Iq* as a temporal marker as a result of geographic isolation. The limited usage of the focal present tense marker *–(I)yor* could also be regarded as an archaic characteristic, without dismissing the possible analogical reinforcement from Greek. However the appearance of the suffix as *–yIyor* after verbs ending with vowels in some varieties spoken on the island is definitely a morphological archaism. These features could easily be observed particularly in the semantic structures of the tesne – aspect – modality markers as well as many other distinctive marks of the TDC. It is possible that the speeches of the speakers of different varieties of Turkish had influenced each other contributing to the internal development of the TDC.

It is not clear what role the educational background of the Turkish Cypriots has played on the development of the TDC. The education system on the island had been a part of that of the empire in general throughout the Ottoman Rule. In fact the education of the Muslims of the island has always remained a part of the education system of Turkey. If the precautions taken by the British rulers after the Greek Revolt of 1931 is disregarded the textbooks and the syllabus as well as the greater proportion of the teachers had always come from Turkey. However, it is possible that the presence of Turkish Cypriot teachers in the system all along might have influenced the linguistic development of the students despite the fact that education has always been held in Standard Turkish.

Consequently the tense, aspect, modality system of the TDC has its differences and similarities to that of Modern Standard Turkish. No differences are seen in the direct past tense of the two varieties. *–dI* is used in both varieties in order to mark this category. However major dissimilarities are easily seen in the indirect past tense. In addition to the indirect past tense marker *–mIş*, which is a shared feature with Modern Standard Turkish, the direct past tense marker *–dI* is widely used for marking the indirect past tense as well. Perhaps the biggest variation is the use of the nominal resultative - *(I)g* as an indirect past tense marker in TDC. It is possible to infere from assertions of Adamovič and modern dialectical data from MST that this is the survival of a dialectical OAT usage. This configuration of the past tense markers inevitably has its reflection in the evidential modality. All three sub-categories of this type of modality are marked either by the verbal suffix *–mIş* or the evidendial copula *–(y)ImIş* in MST. On the other hand, in TDC, the only evidential modality type marked by these two markers regularly is evidential modality based on information. Even this type of evidential modality is frequently marked by *–dI* in TDC. Additionally in nominal sentences marked by the evidential copula, it is possible attach *–(y)ImIş* to another element than the predicate. Moreover it is possible in TDC to convey this type of evidential without using a marker at all. Evidential modality based on result is marked either by *–dI* or *–(I)g* in TDC. The third type of evidential modality, which is newly discovered state of affairs marked by the evidential copula, is either marked by the evidential copula, by *-dI* or by the absence of a modality marker. The use of the so-called aorist suffix *–Ar* as a present tense marker in TDC appears to be a common feature with MST. This suffix is the historical present tense marker of Turkish and is well established in TDC, but has lost its temporal connotation in MST and is used as an aspect and a modality marker. Consequently the functions of the suffix in TDC seem to be more extensive than that of MST. The suffix *-(y)(I)yor*, which is the present tense marker of MST (*-Iyor* in MST), is

dysfunctional in the TDC as a present tense marker. Its temporal functions are undertaken by the aorist in TDC. In fact the full development of the suffix –*Iyor* in Turkish as a present tense marker dates to the 18th century, which is a date two centuries later than the establishment of the Turkish language on the island. Therefore it is more accurate to classify the situation of the present tense in TDC as an archaism rather than the expansion of the functions of the aorist. The lack of a focal present form in the Greek language, which had been the main contact language of Turkish on the island, possibly has reinforced the situation of the present tense in TDC. The suffix –*(y)(I)yor* is rather used as a future tense marker together with -*(y)AcA(k)* in TDC, which is a shared property with MST. It is strongly possible that this future connotation of the suffix is an earlier function. In other words probably the suffix already existed in the Anatolian homeland with a future connotation at the time of the establishment of the Turkish language on the island. Indeed the preservation of the intervocalic euphonic consonant and the converb after verb bases ending with a vowel as in *başlayıyor* points into the direction of an archaic form in TDC. The suffix –*mAKtA*, which is other present tense marker of MST, is missing in TDC altogether. The absence of this suffix in TDC is probably to do with the inusiation of TDC in formal environment since the suffix mainly functions in formal usages. This disagreement in the temporal functions of these suffixes is inevitably reflected in their aspectual and modal implications as well. Aspectual categories like the habitual and the progressive are both marked by the aorist in TDC, whereas in MST the habitual can be marked by either of the aorist, -*Iyor* or –*mAktA* and the progressive by -*Iyor* or –*mAktA*. A similar sitation exists in neutral modality. Neutral modality in TDC is marked by the aorist and by the two present tense markers in MST. However, it is seen that greatest dissimilarities in the modal systems of the TDC and MST occur in structures involving the optative marker –*A*. For instance the optative marker preceeded or followed either of the words *lazım* 'necessary' or *lüzum* 'necessity, need' is

used in the TDC for marking necessity / obligation instead of the MST –*mAlI*. In volitional modality types, where the conditional marker –*sA* is used in MST, speakers of TDC employ either the optative marker or the conditional marker. Realizable wishes seem to be an exception to this situation since, like MST, this type of volitional modality is marked only by the conditional in TDC. Also, it is possible to mark basic commands by the optative in TDC, whereas such a usage does not exist in MST. But perhaps the most striking of all is the subjunctive structures involving the optative marker as it well may be an alien construction to Turkic syntax and semantics. Although similar OAT, Old Azeri and Arabic structures set mind-provoking examples, the Greek subjunctive seems to form the origin of theTDC subjunctive structure, when the extensity of bilingualism in Greek and Turkish in Cyprus is taken into consideration. The presence of a subjunctive mood in TDC, makes the variety one of the rare languages which is stated by Palmer to have both mood and a modal system (see page 27). The rest of the aspectual and modal system of TDC, like the perfective aspect, generalizations and hypotheses, possibility, third person instructions, persuasive commands, imperative use of the future tense marker, suggestions, deliberation about possible action, requests – offers and commitments, seem to be in line of that of MST.

CHAPTER VI: Conclusion

It is possible to come to a conclusion that pre-Turkish Western Anatolia was as good as linguistically Hellenized perhaps with some pockets of speakers of other languages as a result of migrations and population transfers. However in the north east and the east the linguistic situation was quite different than that of the west. In the north east regardless of the fact that Hellenization was in course, Caucasian languages like Laz and Georgian were still spoken. In the east especially Armenian and Syriac, which also served as *linguae sacrae* to their communities, were flourishing with written forms. The fate of the Turkic peoples, who migrated or were transferred to Anatolia before the Turcoman or Seljukid invasion, is not clear. Perhaps most of them, particularly the early comers, shared the same destiny with the rest of the peoples of Anatolia, which is linguistic and / or cultural Hellenization. However, there are more than a few toponyms like the two Mount Bulgars in modern-day Trabzon and Tarsus, the *Havali-i Bulgar ve Gülnar* mentioned by Ibn Bibi and ethnonyms like *Cemmat-ı Ordu-ı Bulgarlu*, *Cemaat-ı Halil Beylü tabi-i Bulgarlu*, *Cemaat-ı Kıpçak tabi-i Bulgarlu* and *Cemaat-ı Balcı tabi-i Bulgarlu* etc. suggesting that some of them survived as social groups well into the Turkish period. There is no doubt that there had been a mingling of peoples in pre-Turkish and Turkish Anatolia especially in urban centres. Just the same, migration of two waves of Turkish speaking peoples, including nomadic Turcomans and city-dwelling Turks, in great numbers is a hard historical fact. Linguistic contacts must have occurred as a result of these ethno-cultural encounters. Christian communities monolingual in Turkish like the so-called Karamanlis, or the highly Graecized Turkish dialects of the Black Sea Region could be taken as the modern offshoots of these encounters. However, these are marginal examples and the impact of the linguistic encounters on the Turkish language or the amount of bilingualism among Turks at their early stages in Anatolia in general is not easily resolvable issues. The early examples of the Turkish literature in Anatolia are not helpful at all in solving this problem. The Turkish literature of the era was a literature modelled on the

Arabo-Persian tradition and its language was influenced by Persian rather than the local languages. The accessibility of this literature by the ordinary people is another issue. It is very doubtful that a nomadic Turcoman or a rural Turk had anything to do with any kind of literacy.

The picture of the Turkish settlement to Cyprus is much clearer than that of Anatolia. It is not only possible to follow the establishment of the Turkish community of Cyprus from the Ottoman records but also to see the social and economical classes of people, who were settled to the island. It was touched on earlier that the tribal name *Tırtar* particularly poses an interesting case among the settler communities as it may indicate to a Turkic tribe transplanted to Anatolia during the Byzantine era. Despite the claims of some Greek historians that Christians as well were banished to Cyprus, it is quite clear from the records that the overwhelming majority, if not all, of the settlers consisted of banished nomadic Turcomans and Muslim farmers, tradesmen and craftsmen. Some of the new settlers were settled into culturally mixed villages or neighbourhoods in urban centres. It is beyond doubt that a process of linguistic contact had started in these villages shortly after the conquest. Other settlers were re-settled to evacuated villages and others formed the nucleus of newly established ones. The Turkish-speaking population came into contact with Greek-speakers, Arabic-speakers, Armenian-speakers and perhaps with Italian and French-speakers. Nevertheless Turkish remained as the prestige language on the island during the Ottoman period since it was the state language. Still the impact of this status of the Turkish language on the rural Christian population of the island is not clear. The clergy and more often the Dragomans, who played an intermediary role between the state and the Christian population, hindered a direct communication between the Christian villagers and the state. It seems impossible to detect the rate of bilingualism among Turks during the Ottoman period. However, bilingualism in Greek had become a prevailing feature of many Turkish

communities on the island during the first half of the 20th century. Even in some corners of the island there had been entirely Muslim villages monolingual in Greek. The Greek language started to lose its strength among the Turkish populations by the efforts of Turkish teachers from the middle of the twentieth century onwards. The greatest blow to bilingualism, like everything else on the island, came from the inter-communal clashes. The two main ethnic groups got separated from each other leaving no need and no space for bilingualism. An education system under the control of the Turkish Cypriot leadership and in accordance with that of Turkey aimed to 'purify' or perhaps standardize the speech of Turkish Cypriots. Consequently the Greek language gradually disappeared even from Muslim communities which were monolingual in Greek.

The four centuries long co-existence of the Turkish language with other languages on the island and its geographical isolation from the Turkish-speaking masses in Anatolia have naturally influenced its development. The results of this interactive relation are openly seen in the lexical and syntactical structure of TDC. The former, that is to say the lexical borrowings, is almost completely eradicated from the speech of the younger generations of the society by the efforts of the representatives of the education system. However, even today it is almost impossible to hear a SOV style sentence, which is the natural syntactical order of Turkish, in the daily life of the Turkish Cypriot society. The influence of this co-existence on the verbal system of TDC is harder to detect. Lexical and syntactical copying is easily evident to even non-scholarly eyes. On the other hand detecting the variations in the tense – aspect – modality system of a language needs a scholarly stance. Perhaps this is the reason why there is plenty of literature on the lexical structure of TDC, while that of its tense – aspect – modality system is quite limited.

Past Tense:

It appears that the forms of the TDC tense markers are quite parallel with that of OAT and MST. Most of the forms are common in three varieties with some minor phonological differences due to time and space. Still there are some peculiarities unique to TDC.

One of the biggest morphological differences when compared to OAT is the lack of -*Ub(dur)-* as an indirect past tense marker. This marker is not used in MST as well and has disappeared in most of the Modern Turkish Dialects, except the ones under Azeri influence. Another variation is the use of *–(i)g/k* as a indirect past tense marker. This marker is widely used in Modern Turkish Dialects, which corroborates Adamovič's claim that it probably had been regionally used in daily speech at the OAT era, even if it has not appeared in the texts of the period. The suffix is used for deriving past participles or resultative nouns in MST. It displays an analogy with *–mIş*, which is also used for the same cause. Probably owing to this analogy, the area of use of the suffix *–(I)g/k* has expanded in the dialects, interrupting the temporal and modal uses of the suffix *–mIş*. The homomorphous harmony between the other past tense markers, i.e. *–mIş*, *–DI*, *-(y)(I)dI* and *-(y)mIş*, of TDC, OAT and MST disappears, when looked into the functions of these suffixes. No major difference is seen between OAT and MST in this sense. However in TDC, the suffix *–dI* regularly is used in cases, where *–mIş* is used in MST and OAT. It is often used as an indirect past tense marker with evidential modality. Particularly in evidentiality based on result, *–mIş* has totally disappeared in TDC. This type of modality is always marked either by *–dI* or *–(I)g/k* and is the only type of modality, where the latter is used. However, *-dI* often appears as a marker of evidentiality based on hearsay and newly discovered state of affairs as well.

Present Tense:

Unlike MST and OAT the only present tense marker of TDC is the aorist *–Ar*, whereas the former two has two markers each for this purpose. The present use of the optative marker *–A*,

which appears to be an infrequent incident in OAT as well, has totally disappeared in TDC. The MST progressive aspect markers –*(i)yor* and -*mAktA*, which are used for denoting the present tense in verbal sentences is not used in TDC. The former has a limited usage as a future marker and the latter is not used at all. –*Ar* is used as the only imperfective aspect marker in verbal sentences. It substitutes –*(i)yor* and –*mAktA* in progressive aspects as well in addition to its original habitual function. –*mAktA* seems to have a limited use in MST as well and probably has never developed in TDC. On the other hand –*(i)yor* being a rather late development in Turkish, is missing from TDC with this function as a result of its historical development.

<u>Future Tense:</u>

Interestingly TDC display a complete inconsistency with OAT in marking the future tense. The four markers (i.e. –*IsAr*, -*gAy*, -*(y)AsI* and –*A*) used in OAT to mark this tense have either disappeared from the language completely or are used for other purposes. Despite Kerslake's and Timurtaş's assertion (see p. 137) that –*(y)AcAk* has developed as a finite form marker after the 17th century, the suffix is fully in use as a future tense marker in TDC and displays a complete harmony with MST in this sense. This poses an intriguing situation as it means that the suffix developed as a finite marker after a century of the date the first Turkish settlers were located to the island from Anatolia. This is probably a result of the influence of the standard Ottoman language. However, the possibility that the future tense marker present in the speech of the early settlers was replaced by the form present in the speech of the late-comers offers another reasonable explanation to the problem. In either case the future tense of TDC is in harmony with that of MST. This harmony is not only in the use of –*(y)AcAk* as a future tense marker but in the use of –*(I)yor* as well. This suffix, which is one of the main progressive tense markers of MST, is also used for marking scheduled future actions in this variety. It was mentioned earlier (see p. 204) that the suffix is dysfunctional as a progressive

marker in TDC. On the other hand the future implications of the suffix are rather harmonious with that of MST. The situation of the future tense in TDC, also may corroborate the idea that the absence of *–(I)yor* as a focal present marker with progressive aspectual connotation is a result of local influences (see p. 137). Otherwise it would be expected for *–(I)yor* as well like *–(y)AcAk* to fully develop in TDC under the influence of the standard language or the speech of the late-comers to the island. Indeed the use of the suffix with future connotations in TDC may indicate into the direction of the historical fact that it established itself in the speech of the islanders with functions, which local influence in form of analogy did not exist. In other words, *-(I)yor* has not been able to develop as a focal present tense marker since this temporal category does not exist in the contact language on the island, which is Greek. On the other hand the suffix has been able to develop as a scheduled future tense marker in TDC as the Greek variety of the island lacks a similar category. The question whether the future uses of the Greek present have played any role in the development of the suffix as scheduled future marker might come to mind. This question should be answered negatively as the suffix does not exist as a present tense marker in TDC and its uses could not be influenced by its Greek parallel.

Aspect:

Aspect in TDC can be sub-grouped into perfected and imperfective aspects as it is in OAT and MST. Perfective aspect in TDC and MST is quite similar to each other. It is marked by *–DI* or *–mIş* in both varieties. OAT has a third perfective aspect marker in addition to these two. *–Ub(dur),* which is the third perfective aspect marker of OAT, has disappeared in both TDC and MST. Imperfective aspect in TDC is marked by *–Ar* with the addition of the auxiliary *idi* in past context. This structure is used for marking both the habitual and progressive aspects, which are the sub-divisions of imperfective aspect. This situation displays a great parallelism with the imperfective aspect of OAT. In OAT as well *–Ur* and *–*

Ar, which are the allomorphs of the aorist, were used for marking both habitual and progressive aspects with addition of the auxiliary *idi* in past context. The rare use of the optative marker *–A* for marking the imperfective aspect in OAT, has completely disappeared in TDC. Perhaps the rare use of the suffix for this purpose in OAT is an indication that it was already on the way of falling from use in this period. The imperfective aspectual system in MST is more complicated than that of TDC and OAT. It was touched on earlier (see p. 204) that the limited use of the *–(I)yor* and the absence of *–mAktA,* which are used as present tense markers in addition to the aorist, have aspectual implications. The aspectual functions of these suffixes are fulfilled by the aorist in TDC. Another structural difference of the imperfective aspect of MST is that the auxiliary *idi* used in past imperfective structures in TDC and OAT has become an affix and is used as a past copula.

Modality:

Neutral Modality

Modality in TDC seems to be a mixture of that of OAT and TDC. Neutral modality in verbal sentences is almost the same as it is in OAT and is marked by *–dI* and the progressive types of the aorist. This category is marked by *-DI*, *-(I)yor* or *-mAktA* in MST. It is clear that the difference between the MST form and the TDC and OAT forms is the modal reflection of the difference of the forms in the present tense category. In nominal sentences it is marked by *–(y)IdI* or *idi*, whereas it is marked by *idi* in OAT and *–(y)DI* in MST. The MST form *–(y)DI* is the affixed variant of the OAT form *idi*. Clearly it can be seen that the TDC form *–(y)IdI* reflects an earlier stage of the affixation process of the MST form *–(y)DI*.

Generalisations and Hypothesis

The modal category of generalisations and hypothesis display a parallelism in all three varieties. It is marked by the aorist forms in verbal sentences and with the generalizing modality marker in nominal sentences. The only difference is that in nominal sentences the

category is marked by *–DIr* in MST and *–dIr* in TDC, whereas it is marked by *–dUrUr* in OAT. The latter, i.e. the OAT form, is the ancestral form of the former two.

Possibility

The modal category of possibility as well is almost the same in all three varieties. In TDC and MST the category is marked by *–(y)Abil* in positive context and by *–(y)AmA* in negative context. Again in OAT the category is marked by the ancestral forms of the TDC and MST forms. In positive context it is marked by the auxiliary verb *bil-* and by the negative form of the verb *u-* "to be able to" in negative context, both forms being preceded by the gerunds *–A*, *-I*, *-U*. Once again the TDC and MST forms are affixed variants of the OAT forms. The OAT form established by the verb *(b)ol-* "to be" marked by the third person singular form of the optative marker *–A* has disappeared in both TDC and MST.

Necessity and Obligation

The relation between the forms used for marking the modal category of necessity or obligation in the three varieties is not as straight forward as it is between the forms used for marking possibility. MST has a separate grammatical marker for denoting this modal category, which is *–mAlI*. This form is non-existent in OAT and was non-existent in TDC. However it is becoming widespread in the latter as a result of the influence of the standard language. In TDC and OAT combinations established by the optative marker and lexical elements like *gerek* / *lazım* / *lüzum* "necessary, needed" seem to be parallel, though not formally identical. In OAT it is possible to mark necessity with the optative marker on its own, but it is more often used in combinations together with the word *gerek* "necessary, needed". The most widely used TDC form to mark necessity is similar to the OAT form and is established by the optative marker followed or preceded by the words *lazım* or *lüzum*, which are the synonyms of *gerek*. In OAT forms sometimes the optative marker is replaced by the conditional marker *–sA*. In TDC it is also possible to mark necessity by employing the

word *mecbur* "obliged to" marked with the copula and followed or preceded by the optative. In addition MST has distinctive lexical ways of marking this category. The infinitive followed by *gerek* in OAT, by *lazım* in TDC and by *lazım / gerek / şart* in MST seems to be the only common structure in all three varieties. However in this structure as well there are minor dissimilarities. The copula is added on to *gerek* and the infinitive is unmarked in the OAT form whereas *gerek / lazım / lüzum* are unmarked and the infinitive receives a possessive suffix or is unmarked in the TDC and MST forms.

Evidentiality

Evidential modality is a category, which TDC displays variation from both OAT and MST. It is marked by the verbal suffix *–mIş* and the copular suffix *–(y)ImIş* in the latter two. These suffixes are used for marking evidentiality in TDC as well. However, additionally the verbal suffix *–dI* and the copular suffix *–(y)IdI*, which are usually markers of information based on firsthand experience in Turkish, are also used for denoting evidentiality in TDC. Particularly resultative evidentials are never marked by *–mIş* and *–(y)ImIş* in TDC. This type of evidential modality is either marked by *–(I)g* or more often by the verbal suffix *–dI* in TDC. Despite the fact that *–(I)g* does not exist as a finite form marker in MST and is not attested in OAT textual materials, its existence with this function widely in modern Anatolian dialects may indicate that it existed in Anatolian Turkish in medieval times as well. In the other two types of evidential modality, which are evidential modality based on information and newly discovered state of affairs, *-d(I)* and *–(y)IdI* are used alongside *mIş* and *–(y)ImIş* in TDC. However, the use of *–(y)ImIş* on its own at the beginning of the sentence or the flexibility of its location in the sentence in evidential modality based on information is distinctive to TDC. This type of use of *–(y)ImIş* seems to be an internal development unique to TDC.

Volition

In volitional modality it is seen that TDC usages tend to be closer to OAT usages and are usually common with MST ones as long as the latter is in line with that of OAT. For instance wishes are expressed by –sA and –sAydI in MST whereas they are expressed by –sA, -sA(y)IdI, -(y)AydI in OAT and TDC. Again it is possible to mark basic commands with the optative marker –A in TDC. This is a shared characteristic with OAT and does not exist in MST. Other two ways of marking this modality in TDC is with the absence of a marker or by the verbal suffix –(y)Iñ(Iz). These two ways of expressing the modality are common with both OAT and MST. However, in TDC and MST the forms with narrow vowels (i.e. ı, i, u, ü) of the suffix are used whilst in OAT only the forms with narrow rounded vowels (i.e. u, ü) were used. It is clear that the OAT forms represent earlier stages of TDC and MST forms. Therefore forms in all three varieties could be treated as the same. An additional way of marking this modality in OAT is with the verbal suffix –gIl, which is unique for the variety. A similar situation is present in marking third person instructions, persuasive commands, suggestions, deliberations about possible actions, commitments, requests and offers. Third person instructions, which are marked by –sIn(lAr) in TDC are common with both OAT and MST, again the OAT forms naturally being more archaic forms, i.e. with narrow rounded vowels rather than narrow vowels. Persuasive commands are marked in all three varieties identically, with the verbal suffix –sAn(Iz)A. A similar conformity exists in marking commitments, requests and offers, the former being marked by first person aorist and the latter two by second person aorist interrogative. Once again suggestions, and deliberations about possible actions are marked similarly in all three varieties, being marked by first person (singular and plural) optative and first person conditional (singular and plural) respectively. It is observed that the personal endings attached to these suffixes again naturally are old forms in OAT and modern ones in TDC and MST. The only volitional modality type which is

common in TDC and MST and non-existent in OAT is the imperative use of the future tense marker. The future tense marker of OAT is *–(y)IsAr* in contrast to the future tense marker *–(y)AcAk* of TDC and MST, and the OAT form is not attested with the modal function in question. However, the uses of the OAT suffix, where an inevitability or a must as a logical outcome are implied, is classified under epistemic modality by Flemming (see p. 148-9) and perhaps could be associated with the modality type under question marked with *–(y)AcAk)*.

Sunjunctive Constructions:

The subjunctive constructions are other forms in which the optative marker is used in TDC and they leave a great question mark over minds from the point of view of Turkic grammar. Despite the fact that similar structures are attested in OAT and Old Azeri Turkic texts, it is hard to attribute the subjunctive constructions of TDC to these, first of all because of the absence of the structure in modern Turkish dialects, which could be taken as the "siblings" of TDC and secondly because of the socio-cultural background of the bulk of the first Turkish settlers to the island. OAT and Old Azeri Turkic texts are mainly works of elite classes under the influence of Persian cultural and linguistic tradition. Therefore the subjunctive constructions in these works are most probably the influence of the Persian language through translations. However, Rähimov's assertion that subjunctive constructions are present in modern Azeri dialects should be taken into consideration since it is documented that settlers from Azeri speaking regions were located to the island. On the other hand it is very possible that modern Azeri subjunctive forms are result of internal developments generated by regional linguistic contacts as Azeri has always been spoken in multi-lingual environments. Another unanswerable question is the contribution of the Arabic language to development of subjunctive constructions in TDC. It is true that the use of the *mudari* in Arabic subjunctives as opposed to the aorist in TDC poses a convenient source of influence; nevertheless it is not clear whether the Arabic-speaking community had been big enough, in other words Turkish –

Arabic bilingualism had been widespread enough, in Cyprus to trigger such a development in TDC. On the other hand it is clearly known that Turkish – Greek bilingualism had been very common on the island and the Greek language could be presented as a convincing contact language as the source of the subjunctive forms in TDC. Still, as it is in the Macedonian Dialect of Turkish, the lack of a complementizer or a conjunction in TDC subjunctives, may suggest that it is the mental operations involved in planning the utterance, which is copied from the Greek language rather than the formal structure. Even so whatever the source might be it is clear that this structure is alien to Turkic and has developed as a result of an influence of another language. It is so even if the structure was present in the language of the first Turkish settlers of the island.

As a conclusion it is possible to say that the tense / aspect / modality system of TDC resembles that of OAT and TDC to a great extent. This resemblance turns to sameness sometimes with one and sometimes with the other. For instance it is observed that especially in the areas like necessity / obligation (see sections 3.4.2.4, 4.2.5.3.2.2 and 5.6.3.2.2) and volitional modality (see sections 3.4.4, 4.2.5.3.5 and 5.6.3.4), where the optative marker is used, TDC forms get closer to OAT ones. Another area, where TDC shows a great similarity with OAT and differs from MST is the absence of a separate marker for progressive present. This resemblance should not be misleading. Despite the reason for the absence of such a marker in TDC from the beginning is OAT, its non-development afterwards seems to be a result of language contact on the island. On the other hand there are areas like the absence of the past tense marker *–(y)Ub(dur),* the future tense markers *–(y)IsAr, -gAy, -(y)AsI* and the imperative marker *-gIl* or the imperative uses of the future tense marker, where the TDC forms seem to be closer to that of MST. The conformity of TDC forms with OAT and MST forms fades in the aspectual and modal functions of the suffixes. TDC shows dissimilarities to MST in marking imperfective aspect mainly due to the difference between the two in

marking the present tense. In others words this dissimilarity is an aspectual reflection of the absence of a separate progressive marker in TDC. The lines between modal uses of the past tense markers in TDC are not as sharp as is in OAT and MST. It is seen that in TDC, unlike OAT and MST, the suffixes used for marking the past tense implying information based on firsthand experience are regularly used for marking evidential modality. Additionally the evidential modality marker *–(y)ImIş* standing on its own at the beginning of the sentence is a situation unique to TDC. However, perhaps the most prominent modal structures standing out in the tense / aspect / modality system of TDC are subjunctive forms. This is a situation alien to the Turkic finite system and definitely is a result of language contact.

This thesis could benefit immensely from a section dealing with the Greek and perhaps Arabic varieties of the island of Cyprus. Such a section would allow us to detect similraties in the tense, aspect mood-modality systems of these varieties with that of TDC. This would be very useful in classifying the local features of the tense, aspect and mood – modality system of TDC as internal developments or result of language contact. However, linguistic barriers have made the presence of such a section impossible. But still this field remains open for future studies, which would be a very beneficial step in the complete definition of the linguistic diversity of the island of Cyprus.

Another aspect, which would improve and support the conclusions established in the thesis would be a more variable number of texts reflecting all varieties of Turkish spoken on the island and perhaps classified in a way designating the parameters of these varieties. This would be very helpful in tracing the characteristics of Cypriot varieties in their Anatolian homelands. However, the limited availability of texts in TDC impedes such an action and this would only be possible after a great amount of fieldwork on the island. It is possible that such a classification will never come to existence since the Turkish varieties of the island are converging in the new settlements of their immigrant speakers under the influence of MST.

Nevertheless, it still has been possible to set a general picture of the tense, aspect and mood – modality system of TDC with its similarities and dissimilarities to that of MST and OAT.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

The OAT has been traditionally divided into three periods as the Seljukid Period, the period of the *Beyliks* (Emirates) and the Early Ottoman Period. The works produced in these three periods are listed below with information on their authors, dates, topics and genres in List 1, List 2 and List 3 respectively.

List 1

1- The anonymous *Behcetü'l-Hada'ik*: a sermon book with no date. End of 12th century – beginning of 13th century.

2- Yakut Arslan's *Feraiz Kitabı*: a book on civil law dating to 1343.

3- Ali's *Qıssa-i Yusuf*: tale of Yusuf (Joseph) written in verse dating to 1231.

4- Ahmed Fakih's *Çarhame*: a didactical religious work written in verse dating to the first half of the 13th century.

5- Ahmed Fakih's *Kitabu Evsaf-ı Mecaidü'ş-Şerife*: an itinerary written in verse dating to the first half of the 13th century.

6- Sultan Veled's Turkish poems: 13th century.

7- Sheyyad Hamza's poems: 13th century.

8- Sheyyad Hamza's *Yusuf u Züleyha*: a religious mesnevi based on the tale of Prophet Yusuf (Joseph) from the Holy Koran, dating to the 13th century.

9- Sheyyad Hamza's *Dastan-ı Sultan Mahmud*: a book on ethics written in verse, dating to the 13th century.

10- Hoca Dehhani's poems: 13th century.

11- Yunus Emre's *Divan*: a collection of poems dating to the 13th century.

12- Yunus Emre's *Risaletü'n-Nushiyye*: a didactical book on Sufism written in the form of a mesnevi, dating to 1307.

13- Mevlana Celaleddin-i Rumi's Turkish pieces: 13th century.

14- Mehmed bin Bali's *Kitab-ı Güzide*: a book on catechism dating to the 14th century.

15- The anonymous *Kuduri Tercümesi*: translation of an originally Arabic work explaining the views of the Hanafi School. No date.[162]

In addition to these, records show that there had been earlier Turkish works in Anatolia, which has not reached us. Sheyyad İsa's *Salsalname*, the anonymous *Şeyh San'an Hikayesi*, *Battalname* (Köprülü 1980: 335) and Ibn Ala's *Danişmendname* (Ocak 1993: 478-480) are among these works.

List 2

1- Gülsheri's *Keramat-ı Ahi Evran*: a mesnevi on Sufism dating to the end of the 13th century.

2- Gülsheri's *Kuduri Tercümesi*: a translation of an originally Arabic work explaining the views of the Hanafi School dating to 13th century.

3- Gülsheri's *Mantıku't-Tayr*: a translation of Attar's originally Persian work on Sufism into Turkish, dating to 1317.

4- Aşık Pasha's *Garibname*: a mesenvi on the principles of Sufism dating to 1330.

5- Aşık Pasha's *Fakrname*: a sufistic mesnevi dating to the 13th century.

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[162] For detailed information on the works of this period with bibliography see Şahin 2003: 15-21, Akar 2006: 241-256, Mansuroğlu 1954 and Özkan 2000: 62-66.

6- Aşık Pasha's *Vasf-ı Hal*: a mesenevi on ethics, dating to the 13th century.

7- Aşık Pasha's *Hikaye*: a mesnevi on the experiences of a Muslim, a Christian and a Jew dating to 13th century.

8- Aşık Pasha's *Kimya Risalesi*: a prose – verse mixed treatise on chemistry, dating to the 13th century.

9- Ahmedi's *Divan*: a collection of poems, dating to the 14th century.

10- Ahmedi's *İskendername*: a long versified work based on Firdavsi's and Nizami's works dating to 1390.

11- Ahmedi's *Cemşid ü Hurşid*: a mesnevi based on a love story, dating to 1403.

12- Ahmedi's *Tervihü'l-Ervah*: a mesnevi on medicine dating to 1403-1410.

13- Hoca Mesud's *Süheyl ü Nev-bahar*: a love story in verse dating to 1350.

14- Hoca Mesud's *Ferhengname-i Sadi*: a translation of Sadi's *Bostan* dating to 1354.

15- Hoca Mesud's *Kelile ve Dimne*: a translation of the renowned fable styled moral tale of the Orient dating to the 14th century.

16- Şeyhoğlu's *Hurşidname*: a love story in verse dating to 1387.

17- Şeyhoğlu's *Marzubanname*: a fable styled moral tale dating to the end of the 14th century or the beginning of the 15th century.

18- Şeyhoğlu's *Kabusname*: a translation of an originally Persian political treatise, dating to the end of the 14th century or the beginning of the 15th century.

19- Şeyhoğlu's *Kenzü'l-Kübera ve Mehekkü'l-Ulema*: a political treatise written in prose, dating to 1401.

20- Kadı Burhaneddin's *Divan*: a collection of poems, dating to the 14th century.

21- Erzurumlu Darir's *Siretü'n-Nebi*: a translation of an originally Arabic work based on the life of Prophet Mohamed dating to 1388.

22- Erzurumlu Darir's translation of el-Vakidi's *Fütuhu'ş-Şam*: a translation of an originally Arabic work on Islamic history dating to 1392.

23- Erzurumlu Darir's translation of *Yüz Hadis*: a translation of hadiths dating to the 14th century.

24- Erzurumlu Darir's *Yusuf ü Züleyha*: a mesnevi based on the tale of Prophet Yusuf (Joseph) from the Holy Koran, dating to 1367.

25- Arif Ali's *Danişmendname*: an epic work dating to 1360.

26- Elvan Çelebi's *Menakıbu'l-Kudsiyye fi Menasıbi'l-Ünsiyye*: a work on the history of the 13th and 14th centuries Anatolia dating to the 14th century.

27- Aşık Süleyman's *Keşfü'l-Meani*: a work written in verse on the styles of Koran recitation, dating to the 14th century.

28- Kaygusuz Abdal's *Divan*: a collection of poems, dating to the 14th century.

29- Kaygusuz Abdal's *Gülistan*: a mesnevi o Sufism dating to the 14th century.

30- Kaygusuz Abdal's *Gevhername*: a mesnevi on Sufism dating to the 14th century.

31- Kaygusuz Abdal's *Minbername*: a mesnevi on Sufism dating to the 14th century.

32- Kaygusuz Abdal's *Budalaname*: a treatise on Sufism written in prose dating to the 14th century.

33- Kaygusuz Abdal's *Vücudname*: a treatise on Sufism written in prose dating to the 14th century.

34- Kaygusuz Abdal's *Kitab-ı Miglate*: a treatise on Sufism written in prose dating to the 14th century.

35- Kaygusuz Abdal's *Dilküşa*: a prose-verse mixed work on Sufism dating to the 14th century.

36- Kaygusuz Abdal's *Sarayname*: a prose-verse mixed religious work dating to the 14th century.

37- Tutmacı's *Gül u Husrev*: a translation of Attar's originally Persian renown work *Husrevname*, dating to the 14th century.

38- Mehmed's *Işkname*: a work in verse based on a love story, dating to 1398.

39- Yusuf Meddah's *Varka ve Gülşah*: a mesnevi based a love story written in verse, dating to 1368.

40- Yusuf Meddah's *Dasitan-ı İblis*: a didactical religious work in verse, dating to the 14th century.

41- Yusuf Meddah's *Hikayet-i Kız ve Cehud*: a religious work in verse, dating to the 14th century.

42- Yusuf Meddah's *Kadı ve Uğru Destanı*: a didactical work written in verse, dating to the 14th century.

43- Kemaloğlu's *Ferahname*: an adventurous mesnevi on ethics, dating to 1387.

44- Pir Mahmud bin Pir Ali's *Bahtiyarname*: a work in verse on the adventures of a prince, dating to the 14th century.

45- İbrahim bin Bali's *Hikmetname*: an ansiclopaedical work dating to the 14th century.

46- Muhyi's translation of Sultan Veled's *İbtidaname*: a translation of an originally Persian mesnevi dating to the 14th century.

47- Kastamonulu Şazi's *Maktel-i Hüseyin*: a work on the murder of Prophet Mohamed's grandson Huseyin written in verse, dating to 1362.

48- Poetry of Nesimi: the 14th century.

49- İbrahim's *Dastan-ı Yiğit*: a religious – epic mesnevi dating to 1379.

50- Dursun Fakih's *Muhammed Hanefi Cengi*: a religious – epic mesnevi, dating to the 14th century.

51- Dursun Fakih's *Gazavat-ı Resulullah Qıssa-i Mukaffa*: a treatise on the wars of Prophet Mohamed in from of a mesnevi, dating to the 14th century.

52- The anonymous *Mevlid-i Hadicetü'l-Kübra*: a religious – epic mesnevi, dating to the 14th century.

53- Kirdeci Ali's *Dastan-ı Hamame*: a religious - epic mesnevi, dating to the 14th century.

54- Kirdeci Ali's *Dastan-ı Kesikbaş*: a religious - epic mesnevi, dating to the 14th century.

55- Kirdeci Ali's *Hikayet-i Delletü'l-Muhtel*: a religious – epic mesnevi, dating to the 14th century.

56- Kayserili İsa's *Vefat-ı İbrahim*: a religious epic mesnevi, dating to the 14th century.

57- Ömeroğlu's *Şefaatname*: a mesnevi on intercession of the prophet for the Muslims, dating to the 14th century.

58- Beypazarlı Maazoğlu Hasan's *Feth-i Kal'a-i Selasil*: a mesnevi on Hz. Ali's wars, dating to the 14th century.

59- Beypazarlı Maazoğlu Hasan's *Cenadil Kalesi*: a mesnevi on Hz. Ali's wars, dating to the 14th century.

60- Niyazi-i Kadim's *Mansurname*: a mesnevi on the life of the renowned sufi Hallac-i Mansur, dating to the 14th century.

61- The anonymous *Dastan-ı İbrahim Edhem*: a religious - epic mesnevi, dating to the 14th century.

62- The anonymous *Dastan-ı Ahmed Harami*: a religious - epic mesnevi, dating to the 14th century.

63- The anonymous *Tabiatname*: a translation of an originally Persian treatise in verse on the influence of food and music on human beings, dating to the 14th century.

64- The anonymous *Kitab-ı Tecvid*: a treatise in verse based on Caberi's works on the correct pronunciation of the Koran, dating to the 14th century.

65- The anonymous *Qısas-ı Enbiya*: a Prophets' tales translated from Salebi's *Arayisü'l-mecalis*, dating to the 14th century.

66- Musa bin Hacı Hüseyin el-İzniki's translation of Sa'lebi's *Arayisü'l-Mecalis*: a Prophets' tales translation dating to 1429.

67- Kastamonulu Ömer bin Ahmed's *Risale-i Münciyye*: a treatise on the correct pronunciation of the Koran, dating to the 14th century.

68- Ankaralı Mustafa bin Muhammed's *İhlas Tefsiri*: the commentary of the sura of Ihlas from the Holy Koran, dating to the 14th century.

69- Ankaralı Mustafa bin Muhammed's *Fatiha Tefsiri*: the commentary of the sura of Fatiha from the Holy Koran, dating to the 14th century.

70- Ankaralı Mustafa bin Muhammed's *Tebareke Tefsiri*: the commentary of the sura of Mulk of the Holy Koran, dating to the 14th century.

71- Ankaralı Mustafa bin Muhammed's *Hulvü'n-Nasihin*: a book of ethics written in prose on moral principles, dating to the 14th century.

72- Ankaralı Mustafa bin Muhammed's *Amme Cüzü Tefsiri*: the commentary of the last chapter of the Holy Koran, dating to the 14th century.

73- The anonymous *Cevahirü'l-Asdaf*: a translation of the Holy Koran, dating to the 14th century.

74- The anonymous *Aynü'l-Hayat fi Tefsir-i Kelam-ı Halikı'l-Beriyyat*: a commentary of the Holy Koran, dating to the 14th century.

75- The anonymous *Sure-i Mülk Tefsiri*: the commentary of the sura of Mulk from the Holy Koran, dating to the 14th century.

76- Hacı Pasha's *Müntehab-ı Şifa*: a work written in prose on medicine, dating to the end of the 14th century or the beginning of the 15th century.

77- Hacı Pasha's *Teshil*: a work written in prose on medicine, dating to the end of the 14th century or the beginning of the 15th century.

78- Geredeli İshak bin Murad's *Edviye-i Müfrede*: a book on medicine, dating to the 14th century.

79- Ali Çelebi bin Şerif's *Yadigar-ı Ibn Şerif*: a book on medicine, dating to the 14th century.

80- The anonymous *Müfredat-ı Ibn Baytar Tercümesi*: a translation of Ibnu'l-Baytar's work on botanics, dating to the 14th century.

81- The anonymous *Kamilü's-Sınaa*: a partial translation of a medicine book with the same name, dating to the 14th century.

82- Hekim Bereket's *Tuhfe-i Mübarizi*: a medicine book, dating to the 14th century.

83- Hekim Bereket's *Hulasa*: a medicine book, dating to the 14th century.

In addition to these written works a very important text of this period is the anonymous *Kitab-ı Dede Korkut* (Akar 2006: 278-280)[163].

List 3

1- Süleyman Çelebi's *Mevlid*: a work in verse on the birth of the Prophet Mohamed dating to 1409-1410.

2- Ahmed-i Dai's translation of Ebu'l-Leysi Semerkandi's *Tefsir*: translation of Semerkandi's commentary of the Holy Koran dating to 15h century.

3- Ahmed-i Dai's *Miftahü'l-Cenne*: a didactical religious work translated from Arabic dating to the 15th century.

4- Ahmed-i Dai's *Tabirname*: a book translated from Arabic on dream interpretation dating to the 15th century.

5- Ahmed-i Dai's *Tercüme-i Eşkal-i Nasir-i Tusi*: translation of Nasir-i Tusi's work on astronomy *Si-fasl* dating to the 15th century.

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[163] For detailed information on the works of this period with bibliography see Şahin 2003: 21-28, Akar 2006: 255-277 and Özkan 2000: 68-79.

6- Ahmed-i Dai's *Teressül*: a book on literary composition dating to the 15th century.

7- Ahmed-i Dai's translation of Attar's *Tezkiretü'l-Evliya*: translation of Attar's work on Muslim saints, dating to the 15th century.

8- Ahmed-i Dai's translation of *Tıbb-ı Nebevi*: a compilation of hadiths on health, dating to the 15th century.

9- Ahmed-i Dai's translation of *Yüz Hadis*: a compilation of hundred hadiths and hundred tales about them, dating to the 15th century.

10- Ahmed-i Dai's *Divan*: a collection of poems, dating to the 15th century.

11- Ahmed-i Dai's translation of Nasir-i Tusi's *Camasbname*: a work on the predictions of Prophet Daniel's son Camasb, dating to the 15th century.

12- Ahmed-i Dai's *Çengname*: a work in verse on a Turkish musical instrument called *cheng* (a type of harp), dating to the 15th century.

13- Hızır bin Yakub's *Cevahirü'l-Meani*: a work on Sufism dating to the 15th century.

14- Yazıcı Salih's *Şemsiyye*: a work on astrology written in verse, dating to the 15th century.

15- Abdülvasi Çelebi's *Halilname*: a mesnevi on the struggle between the sons of Sultan Bayazid, dating to the 15th century.

16- Şeyhi's *Divan*: a collection of poems, dating to the 15th century.

17- Şeyhi's *Harname*: a satire written in form of a mesnevi dating to the 15th century.

18- Şeyhi's *Hüsrev ü Şirin*: a translation of Nizami's mesnevi with same name, dating to the 15th century.

19- Rükneddin Ahmed's translation of Kazvini's *Acaibü'l-Mahlukat*: a book on geography, dating to the 15th century.

20- Abdülvehhab's *Kitab-ı Müntahab*: a book on medicine dating to the 15th century.

21- Devletoğlu Yusuf's *Vikaye Terümesi*: a didactical work on Islamic law written in verse, dating to 1425.

22- Hatiboğlu's *Ferahname*: compilation of hundred hadiths and hundred tales, dating to 1426.

23- Şeyh Elvan-ı Şirazi's *Gülşen-i Raz Tercümesi*: a translation, with additions, of originally Persian mesnevi of Şebusteri on Sufism, dating to 1426.

24- Bedr-i Dilşad bin Muhammed bin Oruç Gazi bin Şaban's *Muradname*: an ansiclopaedical work written in verse, dating to 1427.

25- Pir Muhammed's *Tarikatname*: a mesnevi on Sufism, dating to 1421-27.

26- Musa Abdi's *Camasbname*: Prophet Daniel's son Camasb's life story written in verse, dating to 1429-30.

27- Muiniddin bin Mustafa's *Maneviyyü'l-Muradi*: translation of Rumi's *Mesnevi*'s first volume, dating to 1436.

28- İznikli Mustafa's *Siname*: a translation of an originally Persian work with the same name compiling thirty letters of Emir Hüseyni, dating to 1435.

29- Arif's *Mürşidü'l-Ubbad*: a religious work written in the form of mesnevi, dating to 1436.

30- Arif's *Nüsha-i Alem ve Şerhü'l-Adem*: a religious work written in the form of mesnevi, dating to 1437.

31- Arif's *Mevlid*: a mesnevi on the birth of Prophet Mohamed, dating to 1437.

32- Arif's *Mirac-ı Nebi*: a mesnevi on Prophet Mohamed's ascent to Heavens, dating to 1437.

33- Arif's *Vefatü'n-Nebi*: a mesnevi on the death of the Prophet, dating to 1438.

34- Aşık Ahmed's *Camiu'l-Ahbar*: a work written in verse on the lives of the Muslim saints, dating to 1429.

35- Cemali's *Güşen-i Uşşak*: a work in verse on love, dating to 1446.

36- Gelibolulu Zaifi Muhammed's *Gazavat-ı Sultan Murad Han*: a work on the wars of Sultan Murad II, dating to the 15th century.

37- Yazıcıoğlu Mehmed's *Muhammediye*: a religious work written in verse, dating to 1449.

38- Ahmed Hayali's *Ravzatü'l-Envar*: a work on Sufism written in verse, dating to 1449.

39- Kasim bin Mahmud Karahisari's *Muradname*: a work written in prose on moral practices, Sufism, government and community life, dating to 1421.

40- Muhammed bin Süleyman's *Hayatü'l-Hayavan*: a translation of Dumeyri's originally Arabic zoological work, dating to 1427.[164]

41- Manyasoğlu Mahmud's *Gülistan Tercümesi*: a translation of Sadi's *Gülistan* in prose, dating to 1429.

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[164] For detailed information on the works of this period with bibliography see Şahin 2003: 28-32, Akar 2006: 283-84 and Özkan 2000: 80-85.

42- Manyasoğlu Mahmud's *A'cebü'l-Acayib*: an ansiclopaedical work written in prose, dating to 1438.

43- Şirvanlı Mahmud's *Tuhfe-i Muradi*: a work written in prose on valuable stones, strength-giving medicaments and perfumes, dating to 1429.

44- Şirvanlı Mahmud's *Tarih-i İbn-i Kesir Tercümesi*: a translation of Ibn Kesir's general history, dating to the 15th century.

45- Yazıcıoğlu Ali's *Tarih-i Al-i Selçuk*: Seljukid history dating to 1436.

46- Mustafa bin Seydi's *Cevahirname-i Sultan Muradi*: a translation of Nasirüddin-i Tusi's *Cevahirname-i Ilhani*, dating to the 15th century.

47- The anonymous *Kitabü'l-Müstakim*: a work written in prose on worshiping and etiquette, dating to the 15th century.

48- Şeyhzade Ahmed Mısri's *Kırk Vezir Hikayesi*: a translation of Arabian Nights, dating to the 15th century.

49- Muhammed bin Abdüllatif's *Bahru'l-Hikem*: a work in prose on moral practices, dating to the 15th century.

50- Hızır bin Abdullah's *Kitabü'l-Edvar*: a work written in prose on musicology, dating to the 15th century.

51- Mukbilzade Mümin's *Zahire-i Muradiyye*: a work written in prose on illnesses related to the brain, head, eyes, nose, stomach and esophagus, dating to the 15th century.

52- Mukbilzade Mümin's *Miftahu'n-Nur ve Hazainü's-Sürur*: a work written in prose on autopsy, hygiene and illnesses related to the eyes, dating to the 15th century.

53- Musa bin Mesud's *Bahname Risalesi*: a pornographic treatise translated from Persian, dating to the 15th century.

54- Mehmed bin Ömer el-Halebi's translation of *el-Ferec ba'de'ş-Şidde*: a story book translated from Arabic, dating to the 15th century.

55- Ahi Çelebi's *Faide-i Hassat*: a work on medicine, dating to the 15th century.

56- Tursun Beğ's *Tarih-i Ebü'l-Feth*: a work written in prose on the wars of Mehmed the Conqueror, dating to 1490-95.

57- Sinan Pasha's *Tazarruname*: a work written in prose on Sufism, dating to 1481.

58- Sinan Pasha's *Maarifname*: a didactical work on moral practices written in prose, dating to the 15th century.

59- Sinan Pasha's *Texkiretü'l-Evliya*: a work written in prose on the lives of the Muslim saints, dating to the 15th century.

Appendix 2

The following text is the Latinized transliteration of the decree issued in 1572 ordering the banishment of populations to Cyprus. It is the improved and transcribed form of Ö. L. Barkan's reading, which is published in Barkan 1949-50.

"Sürgün hükmüdür

Anadolu ve Karamān ve Rūm ve Zülkadiriyede vâki' olan kādīlara hüküm kī, hālā Kıbrıs Beylerbeğisi Sinān dāme ikbāluhū südde-i sa'ādetime mektūb gönderüb Kıbrıs cezīresi 'asākir-i nusrāt-eŝer istilā'sile haylī yerleri harāb olub ve harāb olan yerler zirā'ate bāğ ve bāğçe ve şeker kamışına sālih yerler olub hattā toprağında zirā'at olunan hubūbun bir kīlesinden elli atmış kīle hāsıl virür kuvvetlu yerler olub eğer kasabāt ve eğer kurāsı ve sā'ir erāżī ve bıkā'ı ma'mūr ü ābādān olmak lāzım idüğin bildirmişsiñ
İmdi cezīre-i mezbūreniñ āb-u havāsı temām i'tidāl üzere olub mahūf ve muhātara olan mahāllerde kal'alar binā' olunub ve müstevfā 'asker ta'yīn olunub a'dā-yi hâk-i ŝārdan bi'ināyetillāhi ta'ālā her vechile hıfz ü hırāset olunub aslā havf u hatar ihtimāli kalmayub temām emn-ü emān hāsıl olub ve bi'l-cümle ol diyār-ı keŝīrü'l-i'tibārın ma'mūr ü ābādān olması mühimmātdan olmağın ol cezīreye varanların iki yıla değin 'öşr ü hukūku alınmayub 'afv olunmak üzere
Memālik-i mahrūsemde sa'b ü sengistān yerlerde mütemekkin olub yer husūsunda müżāyakaları olan re'āyāyı ve re'āyā arasında şirret-ü şekā' ile ma'rūf olanları ve vilāyet tahrīrinde yazılmayub kalan re'āyā ve re'āyā oğlanlarını ve soñradan āhar yerden gelüb mütevattın olanları ve kendüleriñ yerleri olmayub ücret ile yer tutan re'āyāyı ve müddet-i medīdeden berü yaylak ve bāğ ve bāğçe ve yer da'vāsın idüb araları fasl olmayub nizā' üzere olanları ve ehl-i karyeden olub yerlerin ve yurdların bırağub kasabāt ü şehirlerde mütemekkin olanları ve'l-hāsıl kasabāt ve eğer kurā ü şehirlerde bīkār olub işi ve gücü olmayub levendlik eyleyenlerden ve şehr ü kasabātda sākin olan erbāb-ı hiref ü ehl-i sanāyi'den pābūşcu vü başmakçı vü derzī vü takī'eci vü kemhācı vü mutāf ü hallāc ü kazzāz vü aşcı vü başcı vü mūmcu vü semerci vü na'lband ü bakkal ü debbağ ü demürcü vü dūlger ü bennā' vü taşcı vü kuyumcu vü kazancı ve sā'ir ehl-i sanāyi'den ve bi'l-cümle her nevi'den şehr ü kasabāt hānelerine göre her on hāneden bir hāne ihrāc idüb dahi yarar ādemlere koşub kış irişinceye değin mükemmel esbāb ü davarları vü çiftlerile cezīre-i mezbūreye geçürmek emr idüb buyurdum kī
Vusūl buldukda bu bābda mukayyed olub evvelā kurāda sākin olub dahi şirret ü şekā' ile meşhūr olanları ve-yāhūd vilāyet defterinden hāric olub yerlerin ve yurdları olmayub ücret (ile) yer tutanları vü ribāhōrluk idüb ve yer husūsunda biri birile da'vā vü nizā' üzere olanlardan ve sā'ir vech-i meşrūh üzere beyān olunanlardan her on hāneden bir hāne düşmek üzere müte'addid çiftleri ve davarları ile ihrāc eyleyüb anuñ gibi tasarruflarında yerleri ve mülkleri var ise bey' men yezīd idüb değer bahāsile satdırub akçelerin eshābına teslīm eyleyüb dahi ale-t-ta'cīl Silifke cāniblerine gönderüb Kıbrıs cezīresine göçürmek ardınca olasıñ
Ve ehl-i san'atdan dahi zikr olunanlardan ve sā'ir lāzım olan ehl-i hirefi her on hāneden bir hāne hesābı üzere yarar kuvvetlu ve güçlü kimesneleri yazub ve ihrāc idüb Silifke yolundan Kıbrıs cezīresine geçüresiñ

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Bu bābda dikkat ve ihtimām ile onat mükayyed olub eğer şehirde ve eğer kasabātdan ihrāc olunan ehl-i san'atdan ve eğer kurādan ihrāc olunanların 'alākaların bir vechile kat' eyleyesiñ kī ihrāc olunmakla yerleri ve mülkleri cüz'ī bahā' ile satılub hayf olunmayub ve māline żarar gelmekden hazer idesiz Ve bi'l-cümle her on hāneden bir hāne eğer çiftçi ve eğer erbāb-ı sanāyi'dir isimlerile ve resimlerile deftere kayd idüb çiftçi olanlar ne mikdār davarları ile yazulduği ve ehl-i sanāyi'den yazılanlar mükemmel esbābı ile yazılub kangi karyeden ve kangi mahalleden yazıldıklarına mufassal ve meşrūh deftere kayd idüb defteriñ bir sūretini südde-i sa'ādetime ve bir sūretin Kıbrıs beylerbeğisine gönderdikten soñra bir sūretin dahi kādīlığıñ mahkemesine konula Anuñ gibiler yazıldıkdan soñra ol cānibe varmayub vāsıl olmazlarsa yoklandıkda girü sürüle

Ve mübāşir olanlara mukkem tenbīh ve tek'īd oluna kī bu bābda ġaflet eylemeyüb Kıbrısa yazmak bahānesile ahz u celb eylemeyüb kimesneden akçe almaduklarına toprak kādīlarından temessük alalar Bu husūsda tamām hakk üzere olub bāb-ı ihtimāmda dakīka fevt eylemesiñ Ve emrim üzere Kıbrısa gönderilmeğe sālih olanlar defter oldukda kangi kasabada ve kangi karyede sākin oldukları ve kimlere kefīle virildikleri isim ve resimlerile yazub bu bahāne ile Kıbrısa sürülmeğe olmayan mütemevvil kimesnelerden ahz u celb olunmakdan ziyāde hazer eylesin

Ve cezīre-i mezbūreye varanların ikişer yıllık hāsılı alınmaya deyü emrim olduğun re'āyāya tenbīh ü i'lān eyleyüb cezīre-i mezbūreye terġīb eyleyesiz

Ve bi'l-cümle emr-i şerīfim üzere Kıbrısa yazılub ve kefīli alınub ihrāc defterine kayd olunub davarile Kıbrısa gönderilenlerden biri ġaybet idüb emrime muhālif āhar diyāra vara her ne mahāllde bulunursa anda siyāset olunur

Siz kī vilāyet kādīlarısız bu bābda gereği gibi basīret üzere olub emrim ile cezīre-i Kıbrısa yazılanlar anuñ gibi ġaybet idüb her kangıñızıñ kādīlığına varırsa bilā-te'hīr habs idüb südde-i sa'ādetime 'arż eyleyesiz kī gereği gibi hakkından geldirile Ve kādīlığıñızdan yazılanları dahi bir ān ve bir sa'āt eğlendirmeyüb Silifke iskelesine irsāl eyleyesiz kī öte yakaya geçüb Kıbrıs beylerbeğisi dāme ikbāluhū kendüye varan defter mūcebince alub dahi vecīh gördüğü mevāżi'da iskān ide ve her biriñüz taht-ı każā'ñızdan ihrāc olunan hānelere müstevfī ādemler koşub bi't-tamām defter mūcebince öte yakaya geçüre ve bi'l-cümle Kıbrıs beylerbeğisinden vāsıl olduğuna temessük almayınca gelmeyeler ve ol temessükler geldükde südde-i sa'ādetime gönderesiñ

Bu husūsu ma'an görüb itmāma irişdirmek içün kādīlara hüküm gönderilmişdir. Emr-i şerīfim mūcebince bu maslahatı ma'an görüb ikdām ü ihtimāmda sa'y ü ihtimām eyleyesiz Ve ba'żı kimesneler cezīreye yazılmağa sālih olanlar içün (baña tābi'dir) deyü himāyet ider ise şöyle kī anuñ gibilerün himāyetle ol makūleler kalub dahi emrime muhālif kimesneler yazılmakla südde-i sa'ādetime şikāyete geleler ol bābda hāmī olub ol maslahata karışalar hakklarından geldirilmek mukarrerdir anuñ gibileri siñidüb maslahata karışdırmayasız mütenebbih olmazlarsa mukaddem ismile ve resmile 'arż eyleyesiñ."

Appendix 3

Historical events show that population transfer to Cyprus from the Turkish-speaking parts of the empire continued throughout the Ottoman rule. Intensification is observed in this population transfer in the 18th century in line with the general policy of sedentarizing the nomadic population, which was proving to cause problems for the general public order. Therefore the common characteristic of the communities resettled to Cyprus in the 18th century is that unlike the banished initial settlers they were mainly nomads. Records show that these communities had ties with communities located in areas stretching from Syria to the Balkans, and from the Blacksea coasts to the Mediterranean coastal regions. Regardless of this geographical diversity it is overtly observable that these communities had stronger ties with areas around the southern and western coastal regions of Anatolia and central Anatolia. The communities resettled to Cyprus in this period and their connections in the other parts of the empire are as follow:

Elciler (Elcili, Elcilü) is a community with its roots in Kütahya, Maraş, Sivas, Hüdavendigar (Bursa), Aydın, Bozok (Yozgat) and Kırşehir (Türkay 2001: 76, 297)

Batralı (Batralar, Batralu, a.k.a. Püseli) in İçel, Teke (Antalya), Alaiye (Alanya), Aydın, Saruhan (Manisa)(Türkay 2001: 197)

Bolahadlı in İçel, Teke (Antalya), Alaiye (Alanya) (Türkay 2001: 214)

Cerid in Adana, Maraş, Nevşehir, Aksaray, Teke (Antalya), Sivas, Çorum, Kayseri, Aydın, Kütahya, İçel, Alaiye (Alanya), Diyarbakır, Malatya, Niğde, Bozok (Yozgat), Karaman, Kengiri (Çankırı), Ankara, Hamid (Isparta, Burdur), Saruhan (Manisa), Şam (Damascus), Kırşehir, Konya, Karahisar-ı Sahib (Afyon) (Türkay 2001: 68, 234-35)

Çaylak (Çaylaklı, Çaylaklu) in İçel, Alaiye (Alanya), Niğde, Hama, Hums, Aydın and Kırşehir (Türkay 2001: 252)

Dermili (Dermilü, Dermilli, Dermillü) in Sığla (İzmir), İçel, Teke (Antalya), Hamid (Isparta, Burdur) and Alaiye (Alanya) (Türkay 2001: 275)

Hacılı (Hacılu, Hacılılı) in Maraş, Edirne, Karaman, Adana, Raqqa, Teke (Antalya), Hamid (Isparta, Burdur), Aydın, Sivas, Kütahya, Karahisar-ı Şarki (Giresun), Saruhan (Manisa), Aleppo, Hama, Hums, Bozok (Yozgat), Niğde, Kayseri, Konya, İçel and Sinop (Türkay 2001: 337-38)

Kiselioğlu (Püselioğlu) in İçel, Teke (Antalya) and Alaiye (Alanya) (Türkay 2001: 440)

Kılıçlı (Kılıclı Ekradı, Kılınclu Ekradı, Ekrad-ı Kılıclı, Kılıclı Kürdü) in Sivas, Maraş, Ayıntab (Gaziantep), Kilis, Aleppo, Hama, Hums and Raqqa (Türkay 2001: 442)

Kırıntılı (Kırıntılı Ekradı, Kırıntılu Kürdü, Kırantalı, Kırantalu) in Kayseri, Raqqa, Maraş, Sis (Kozan), Niğde, Karaman, Adana, İçel, Aydın, Saruhan (Manisa), Sivas and Hudavendigar (Bursa) (Türkay 2001: 445)

Lekvan (Lekvani, Lekvanik, Lek ve İnek, Lekvanik Ekradı, Lek Evanik) in Raqqa, Çorum, Kayseri, Niğde, Sis (Kozan), Karaman, Maraş, Adana and Aydın (Türkay 2001: 486)

Sakallı (Sakallu, Sakallu Yörüğü, Sakallu Ceridi, Sakallar) in Adana, Maraş, Raqqa, Hama, Hums, Biga (Çanakkale) and Konya (Türkay 2001: 546)

Sendil (Sendilli, Sendillü, Sendilobası, Nisalu) in Saruhan (Manisa), Damascus, Menteşe (Aydın), Hamid (Isparta, Burdur), Teke (Antalya), İçel, Biga (Çanakkale), Alaiye (Alanya), Kütahya, Tarsus, Adana, Sis (Kozan), Aydın, Edirne and Karasi (Balıkesir) (Türkay 2001: 570)

Şamlı (Şamlu, Şamlar) Bolu, Edirne, Hamideli (Isparta), Teke (Antalya), Alaiye (Alanya), İçel, Karaman, Tarsus, Kütahya, Aydın, Saruhan (Manisa), Kastamoni (Kastamaonu) and Lazkiyye (Türkay 2001: 590-91)

Şeyhli (Hacıbahaddinli, Şeyhler, Şeyhlü, Şeyhlü Türkmanı, Sülübeğ) in Kütahya, Adana, Tarsus, Sis (Kozan), Kilis, Raqqa, Kırşehir, Aksaray, Kayseri, Karaman Karahisar-ı Şarki (Giresun), Ankara, Konya, Ayıntab (Gaziantep), Aleppo, Diyarbakır, Hamideli (Isparta), Menteşe (Aydın), Teke (Antalya), Aydın, Alaiye (Alanya), Sığla (İzmir), Maraş, İçel,

Kocaeli, Adilcevaz (Bitlis), Nevşehir, Niğde, Maraş, İzmir, Silistre, Ankara, Saruhan (Manisa), Kocaeli, Canik (Samsun), Kastamoni (Kastamonu), Bolu and Antakya (Türkay 2001: 597-98)

Tacirli (Tacirlü) in Adana, Bozok (Yozgat), Diyarbakır, Maraş, Sivas, Raqqa, Erzurum, Kars, Çıldır (Erzurum), Kilis and Ayıntab (Gaziantep) (Türkay 2001: 137); Tırtar in Aydın and Karahisar-ı Sahib (Afyon) (Türkay 2001: 139)

Toslaklu (Toslak, Toslaklı, Toslakoğulları) in Alaiye (Alanya), Hamideli (Isparta), İçel and Teke (Antalya) (Türkay 2001: 624)

Gedikli (Gediklü, Gedikler) in Karahisar-ı Sahib (Afyon), İçel, Alaiye (Alanya), Teke (Antalya), Kayseri, Kırşehir, Beğşehir (Konya), Karahisr-ı Şarki, Kocaeli, Kütahya, Denizli, Adana, Edirne and Silistre (Türkay 2001: 316)

Güzelbeğli (Güzelbeğlü) in Teke (Antalya), Alaiye (Alanya), İçel, Kars-ı Meraş (Kahramanmaraş), Beğşehir (Konya), Aydın, Saruhan (Manisa) and Hamid (Isparta, Burdur) (Türkay 2001: 331)

Karahacılı (Karahacı, Karahacılar, Karahacılu, Karahacılıu Perakendesi) in Kars-ı Meraş (Kahramanmaraş), Alaiye (Alanya), Tarsus, Adana, Teke (Antalya), Hamid (Isparta, Burdur), İçel, Sis (Kozan), Beğşehir (Konya), Saruhan (Manisa), Sivas, Raqqa, Bozok (Yozgat), Aydın, Aksaray, Kayseri, Kengiri (Çankırı), Niğde, Kilis, Adilcevaz (Bitlis), Vize (Kırklareli), Çorum, Maraş, Hasha-i İstanbul (İstanbul) and Kütahya (Türkay 2001: 404)

Saçıkaralı (Saçıkara, Saçıkaralu, Saçıkaraali) in Akşehir (Konya), Adana, Hamideli (Isparta), İçel, Teke (Antalya), Alaiye (Alanya), Adana, Sis (Kozan), Aydın, Saruhan (Manisa), Tarsus, Beğşehir (Konya), Uşak and Denizli (Türkay 2001: 544).

Türkay clearly records that the latter four communities (i.e. Gedikli, Güzelbeğli, Karahacılı and Saçıkaralı) were resettled to Cyprus as a result of their brigandage.

Appendix 4

Hacı Hafız Ziyai Efendi, who was the headmaster of the Rushdiye in Nicosia (1880-1896) and became the Mufti of Cyprus in 1912, wrote a letter to the Ottoman authorities in 1910 stating that most of the Muslims of the island were bereft of education and especially in the remote villages people were unable to speak Turkish. Another interesting aspect of this letter is the two lists of villages. One of these lists includes the names of the villages, where the Muslim population has completely been Christianized and the other the name of villages, where the Muslim population has partly been Christianized. This letter, which is in the *Meşihat Dosyaları* Section of the TRNC National Archive under the name *Bab-ı Fetava; Daire-i Meşihat-ı İslamiye Mektubi Kalemi Aded 84 eki* and its Latinized version, are as follows:
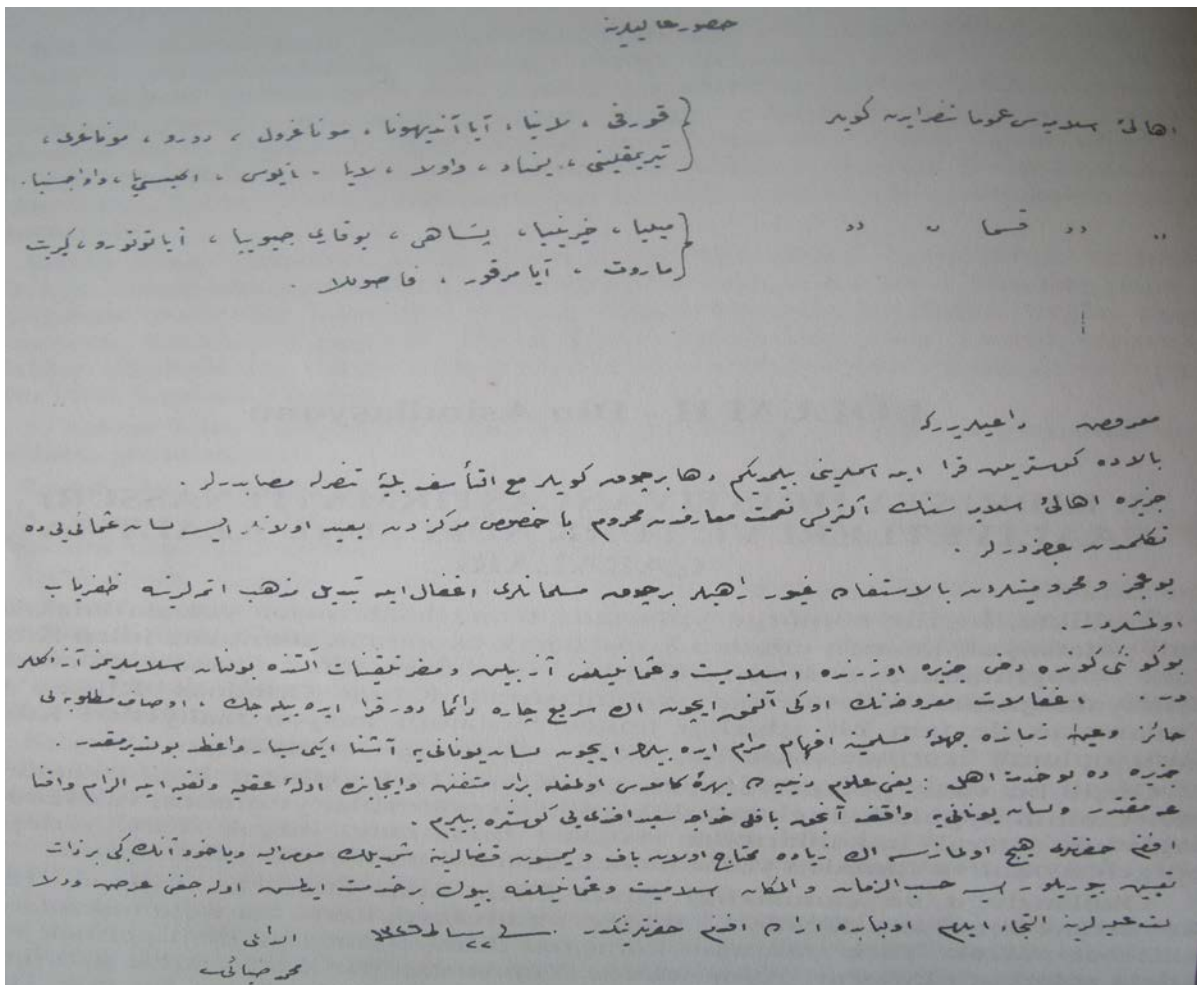
Ḥuzūr-ı ʿAlīlerine

Āhālī-yi islāmiyyesi ʿumūmen tenaṣṣur eden köyler: Ḳorfī, Lānyā, Āyāndīhonā, Monāġrūl, Doro- Monāġrūl, Trīmīḳlīnī, Līmnād, Vāvlā, Lāyā, Āyyos, Āñlīsīyā, Vāvācsīnyā

Āhālī-yi islāmiyyesi ḳısmen tenaṣṣur eden köyler: Mīlyā, Ḥīrīniyā, Pşāhī, Yukarı Cīvīyā, Āyātotoro, Gīrīt Mārot, Āyā Merkūr, Fāṣūllā

Maʿūr-ı Dāʿīleridir kī

Bālāda gösterilen ḳurā ile isimlerini bilmediğim daha birçok köyler ma'a-t-te'ssüf beliyye-i tenaṣṣurle muṣābiddirler.

Cezīre āhālī-yi islāmiyyesiniñ ekŝerīsi niʿmet-i maʿāriften maḥrūm bā-ḫuṣūṣ merkezden baʿīd olanlar ise lisān-ı ʿoŝmānīyi tekellümden ʿācizdirler.

Bu ʿacz ü maḥrūmiyetlerden bi'l-istifāde ġayyūr rāhibler biçok müslümānları iġfāl ile tebdīl-i meẕheb etmelerine ẓaferyāb olmuşlardır.

Bugünkü günde daḥi cezīre üzerinde islāmiyet ve ʿoŝmānlılığı az bilen ve mużırr telḳīnāt altında bulunan islāmlarımız az değillerdir.

İġfālāt-ı maʿrūzanıñ öñü alınmak için eñ serīʿ çāre dā'īmā devr-i ḳurā edebilecek, evṣāf-ı matlūbeyi ḥā'iz ve ʿaynī zamānda cehle-i müslimīne ifhām-ı merām edebilmek için lisān-ı yūnānīye āşinā iki seyyār vā'iẓ bulundurmaktır.

Cezīrede bu ḥidmete ehil yaʿnī ʿulūm-ı dīniyyede behre-i kāmilesi olmaġla berāber mütefennin ve īcābında edille-i ʿaḳliyye ve naḳliyye ile ilzām ü iḳnāʿa muḳtedir ve lisān-ı yūnānīye vāḳıf ancak Baflı Ḥoca Saʿīd Efendiyi gösterebilirim.

Efendim Ḥażretleri, hīç olmazsa eñ ziyāde muḥtāc olan Baf ve Leymosun ḳażalarına şimdilik mūmā-ileyh veyāḫūd onuñ gibi bir ẕāt taʿyīn buyurulur ise ḥasbe'z-zamān ve'l-mekān islāmiyet ve ʿoŝmānlılığa büyük bir ḥidmet edilmiş olcağını ʿarż ü delālet-i ʿalīlerine ilticāʾ eylerim o bābda irāde efendim ḥażretiniñdir.
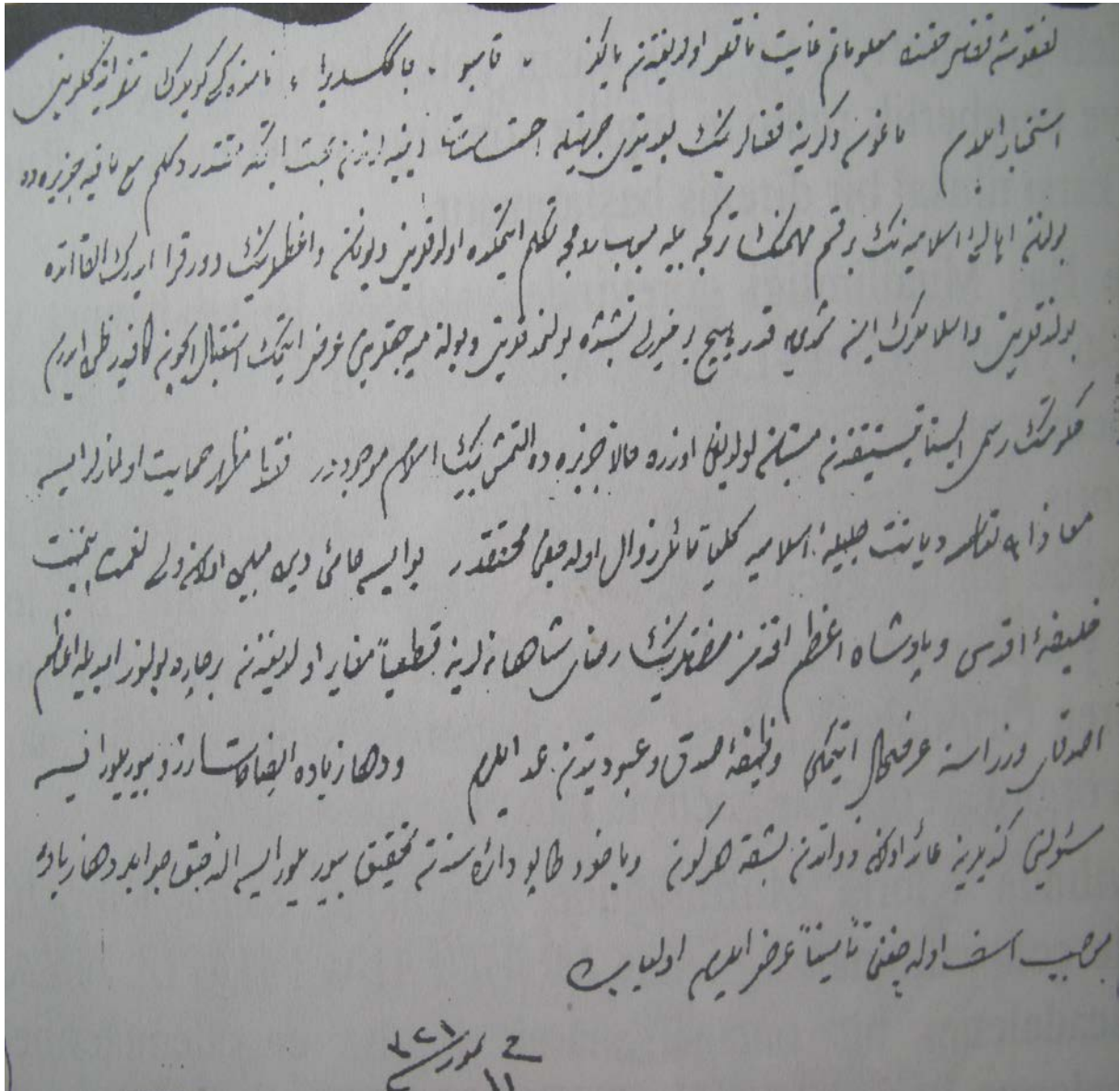
22 Şubāṭ 1326

Ed-Dāʿī

Meḥmed Żiyāʾī

Mustafa Şükri Efendi wrote a letter to the Ottoman authorities in 1905 complaining about the Christianization of Muslim villages on the island. The letter also complains about the linguistic situation of the Muslims of the island. According to the letter their monolinguality in Greek makes them vulnerable to the religious propaganda of the Greek priests. The other interesting aspect of this letter is the mention of Greek priests from mainland Greece, who are preaching in the Muslim villages. This letter, which is in the TRNC National Archive *Meşihat Dosyaları* Section, under the name *Bab-ı Fetava; Daire-i Meşihat-ı İslamiye Mektubi Kalemi*, and its transliterated from are as follows:

Lefḳoşa ḳażāsı ḥaḳḳında ma'lūmātım ġāyet nāḳış olduğunudan yalñız Ḳāmbo, Çākkidīrā nāmındaki köyleriñ tenaṣṣur ettiklerini istiḫbār eyledim.

Maġūsa ve Girne ḳażālarınıñ ba'īdiyeteleri cihetiyle iḥtisārāt-ı dīniyyeleriden baḫŝ etmeğe muḳtedir değilim. Ma'-mā-fīh cezīrede bulunan āhālī-yi islāmiyyeniñ bir ḳısm-ı mühimminiñ Türkçe bilemeyib Rūmca tekellüm etmekde olduklarını ve Yūnān vā'iẕleriñ devr-i ḳurā ederek ilḳāātte bulunduklarını ve islāmların ise şimdiye ḳadar hīç bir ḫayırlı teşebbüŝde bulunmadıklarını ve bulunamıyacaklarını 'arż etmek istiḳbāl için kāfīdir ẓannederim.

Ḥükūmetiñ resmī īstātīstīḳīsinden müstebān olduğu üzere ḥālen cezīrede altmış biñ islām mevcūddur. Faḳaṭ maẕhar-ı ḥimāyet olmazlar ise ma'āẕ-Āllah te'ālā diyānet-i celīle-i islāmiye külliyen mā'il-i zevāl olacağı muḥaḳḳaḳdır. Bu ise ḥāmī-yi dīn-i mübīn olan velī ni'met-i bī-minnet ḫalīfe-i aḳdes pādişāh-ı 'aẓam Efendimiz ḥażretleriniñ rıżā-yı şāhānelerine ḳaṭ'īyyen muġāyir olduğundan bir çāre bulunur ümīdiyle ā'ẓam-ı eṣdiḳā-yı vüzerāsına 'arżuḥāl etmeği vaẕīfe-i ṣıdḳ u 'ubūdiyetten 'addeylerim.

Ve daha ziyāde īẕāḥāt ārzū buyurulur ise mes'ūliyyet kendilerine 'ā'id olan ẕevātdan başḳa hergün veyāḫūd ṭāpū dā'iresinden taḥḳīḳ buyurulur ise alınacak cevāblar daha ziyāde mucīb-i esef olacağını te'mīnen 'arż eylerim olbābda.

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