LITERARY AND CULTURAL CROSSROADS
IN THE LATE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

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Intertwined Literatures: Karamanlı, Armeno-Turkish, and regular Ottoman versions of the *Köroğlu* Folk-tale

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I. Introduction

Karamanlı literature and Armeno-Turkish literature are of special importance because they bear witness to a vanished cultural past.[1] The aim of this study is to show the benefits of an inclusive approach to Ottoman literary history that comprises texts in other scripts than the Arabo-Persian script as valuable artifacts of a no longer existing cultural and literary multiplicity. Such an inclusion is not dependent on a literary evaluation of the texts, but only on their having been produced in one of these scripts. The present article will illustrate similarities and dissimilarities by comparing a Turkish folk-tale written in the regular Ottoman (i.e. the Arabo-Persian) script, the Karamanlı Greek script, and the Armenian script.

Sabri Koz, Johann Strauss, and Günil Özlem Ayaydın Cebe are the literary pioneers who have emphasized the popularity of Turkish folk stories printed in several scripts in the Ottoman Empire.[2] The stories were read in public and printed parallelly within a short span of time in various scripts at various printing houses.

Until the mid-nineteenth century Armeno-Turkish textual and literary production mainly had a religious content,[3] but from 1850 onwards there was an important production of prints of folk literature.

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[1] Actually, this is an enlarged version of Bernt Brendemoen's statement "From a historical and cultural point of view, Karamanlı literature has special value because it opens a door on to a fascinating cosmos that has completely disappeared today", adding Armeno-Turkish literature, for which the same applies; see "Karamanlidic literature and its value as a source for spoken Turkish in the 18th and 19th centuries," *Turkic Languages* 20/1 (2016): 23.

[2] M. Sabri Koz, "Comparative Bibliographic Notes on Karamanlidika Editions of Turkish Folk Stories," in *Cries and Whispers in Karamanlidika Books. Proceedings of the First International Conference on Karamanlidika Studies (Nicosia, 11-13 September 2008)*, eds. Evangelia Balta and Matthias Kappler, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2010: 241-54; M. Sabri Koz, "Köroğlu Destanına Bakışlar ve Karamanlıca "Köroğlu Hikâyesi", in *İzzet Gündağ Kayaoğlu Hatıra Kitabı. Makaleler*, eds. Oktay Belli, Yücel Dağlı and M. Sinan Genim Istanbul: Taç Vakfı Yayınları, 2005: 327-37; Johann Strauss, "Who read what in the Ottoman Empire (19th-20th centuries)?," *Arabic Middle Eastern Literatures*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (2003): 53, 58; Günil Özlem Ayaydın Cebe, "19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Toplumu ve Basılı Türkçe Edebiyat: Etkileşimler, Değişimler, Çeşitlilik," (PhD diss.), Bilkent University, Ankara 2009: 216.

[3] Hasmik Stepanyan, *Ermeni Harfli Türkçe Kitaplar ve Süreli Yayınlar Bibliyografyası* (*1727-1968*), Istanbul, Turkuaz Yayınları, 2005: 17-18.

As to Karamanlı, almost all the books printed before 1830 dealt with religious subjects.[4] This parallel literary development seems to have been generated by a heterogeneous community's common literary taste. Brendemoen pertinently remarks that "In particular, the numerous editions of popular epics such as *Köroğlu*, *Şah İsmail*, and *Aşık Garip* show that the literary taste of the Karamanlı public was different from that of the Greek-speaking Ottomans."[5]

The first examples of published popular folk stories in Armeno-Turkish, that is in Turkish written in the Armenian script, are *Âşık Garib*, *Ferhad ile Şirin* ('Ferhad and Shirin'), *Âşık Kerim*, and *Leyla ile Mecnun* ('Leyla and Medjnun').[6] The folk stories published in Karamanlı Greek script at roughly the same time were *Âşık Garib*, *Şah İsmail ile Gülüzar* ('Şah Ismail and Gülüzar'), *Köroğlu*, *Arzu Kamber* ('Arzu [and] Kamber'), *Kerem ile Aslı* ('Kerem and Aslı') *Melikşah*, and *Tayyarzade*.[7]

The parallelism seen in printed Turkish folk-tales in the Arabo-Persian script, the Armenian script, and the Greek script illustrates cultural interrelations in one cross-cultural contact zone. The present study is about the so-called Istanbul tradition of the folk-tale *Köroğlu*, which was popular with Muslims and Turcophone non-Muslims (Greek and Armenian Ottomans).[8] We shall compare four different prints of the famous folk-tale *Köroğlı*, "The Blind Man's Son".[9] The prints we chose for comparison are the Karamanlı print of 1872, the Armeno-Turkish print of 1875, and two Arabo-Persian prints of 1297/1880 and 1326/1908. The information given here on the Karamanlı print of 1872 is the considerably enlarged version of Edith G. Ambros' two previous studies comparing this print with (only) the Arabo-Persian print of 1326/1908.[10] The poems in this prose tale are excluded from our present study because verse

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[4]   Brendemoen, "Karamanlidic literature and its value as a source for spoken Turkish in the 18th and 19th centuries," 6. See also Evangelia Balta, "Turkish-speaking Anatolian Rums and the Karamanlidika book production," in: *Spoken Ottoman in Mediator Texts*. Turcologica 106, eds. Éva Á. Csató, Astrid Menz, and Fikret Turan, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2016: 51-63.

[5]   Brendemoen, "Karamanlidic literature and its value as a source for spoken Turkish in the 18th and 19th centuries," 12.

[6]   Stepanyan, *Ermeni Harfli Türkçe Kitaplar*, 116, 119, 121, 126; Ayaydın Cebe, "19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Toplumu," 212.

[7]   Faruk Çolak, *Karamanlıca Halk Hikâyeleri*, Konya: Kömen Yayınları, 2015; İbrahim Karahancı, "Grek Harfli Türkçe Bir Metin: Hekaye-i Şah İsmail ve Gülüzar Hanum (Çevriyazılı Metin, Dil İncelemesi, Sözlük)," (MA thesis), Bursa, Uludağ University, 2013.

[8]   Günil Özlem Ayaydın Cebe, "Yazmadan Basmaya, Gösterimden Romana: 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı'da Folklor", *Milli Folklor* 99 (2013): 27-40, and Ayaydın Cebe, "19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Toplumu," 329 provides a table with the prints of *Köroğlu* in the Arabo-Persian, the Armenian and the Karamanlı scripts "*Köroğlu Hikâyesinin Arap, Ermeni ve Yunan Harfli Türkçe Baskıları Tablosu*".

[9]   All translations are our own unless otherwise stated.

[10] Edith Gülçin Ambros, "The comparison of a Karamanlı edition with a regular Ottoman edition of the folk-tale *Köroğlu*: morphological and syntactic aspects," in: *Karamanlidika Legacies*, ed. Evangelia Balta, Istanbul, The ISIS Press, 2018: 13-38; Edith Gülçin Ambros, "The sound of popular language towards the end of the 19th century as reflected by a Karamanlı edition of the folk-tale *Köroğlu*," in: *Déchiffrer le passé d'un empire:*

narrative differs from prose narrative both linguistically and formally to such an extent that their inclusion would necessitate more additional space than available. However, a comparison of the poems in the Karamanlı print of 1872 with (only) those in the Arabo-Persian print of 1326/1908 has been made previously by Ambros.[11]

By examining the four texts in three different scripts as products of intercultural transformation, we aim to show their intertwining connections and call attention to the need of a comparative study of these three branches of literature, as emphasized by Evangelia Balta.[12] Actually, a fourth branch must be added to include a hitherto unknown tradition of the Turkish *Köroğlu* tale written in yet another script, namely the Syriac script. This manuscript was probably written about the nineteenth century, too. An initial study of it by Gürol Aktaş and Peter Zieme will be forthcoming soon.

Description of the sources

[KT]   The edition in Karamanlı script of 1872, *Hikâyeyi Köroğlu*
        A note below the title reads:
        Muahhiren ermeniceden lisanı rumiye ilk [sic] *yazılarak Bu*[13] *defa tashih [text: tahsis] ılan basılmıştır*
        "Latterly it was transcribed [literally 'written'] for the first time from the Armenian
        into the Greek language [script] and this time was printed with corrections".[14]

This note necessarily leads to the assumption that this edition cannot be the oldest Karamanlı *Köroğlu* edition. According to Koz, it is the earliest known and seen edition, while the latest known and seen Köroğlu edition is dated 1909.[15] It is also the earliest edition we have been able to procure.

The print consists of 34 pages, including a title page, and an endpage. The title page contains a drawing of the bust of a man with long hair, probably representing the hero Köroğlu (see illustration 1).

Hommage à Nicolas Vatin et aux humanités ottomanes, eds. Elisabetta Borromeo, Frédéric Hitzel and Benjamin Lellouch, Paris, etc.: Peeters, 2022: 77-95.

[11] Edith Gülçin Ambros, "On the Value of a Karamanlı Edition of *Köroğlu* as a Source of Folk Poetry," in: *Doğumunun 120. Yılında Prof. Dr. Ahmet Caferoğlu Hatıra Kitabı*, eds. Fikret Turan and Özcan Tabaklar Istanbul, İstanbul Üniversitesi-Türk Ocakları İstanbul Şubesi, 2019: 171-204.

[12] Evangelia Balta, "Introduction: Cries and Whispers in Karamanlidika Books Before the Doom of Silence," in: *Cries and Whispers in Karamanlidika Books. Proceedings of the First International Conference on Karamanlidika Studies (Nicosia, 11-13 September 2008)*, eds. Evangelia Balta and Matthias Kappler, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2010: 12-13.

[13] With capital initial letter.

[14] Ambros, "The comparison of a Karamanlı edition," 15.

[15] Koz, "Köroğlu Destanına Bakışlar ve Karamanlıca 'Köroğlu Hikâyesi'," 331.
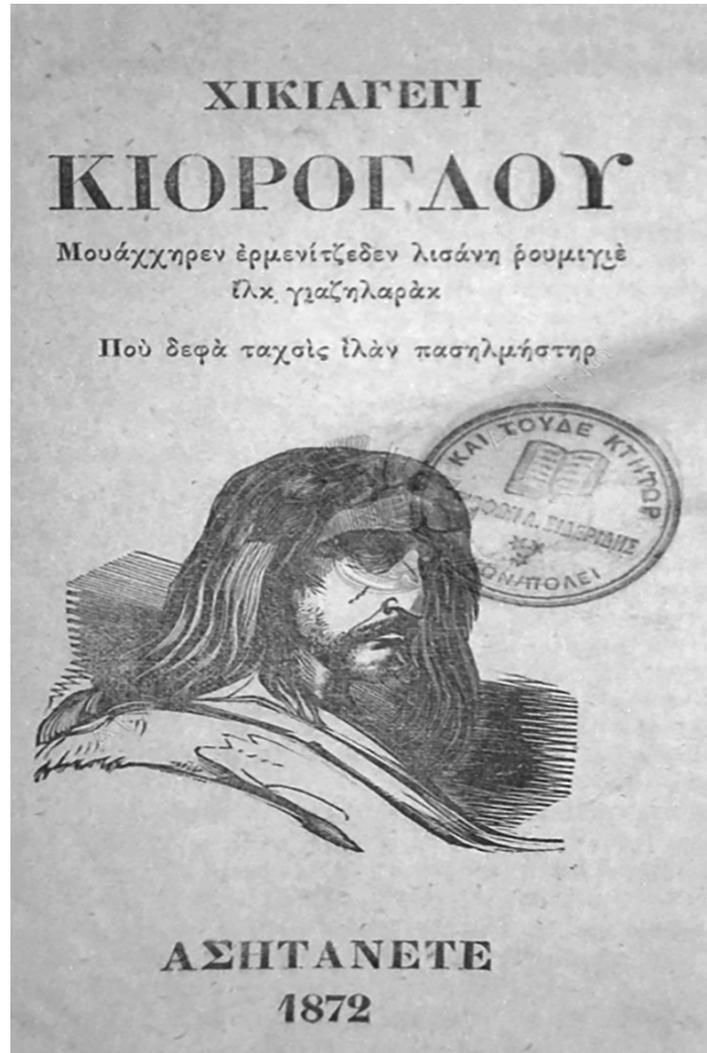
KT: *Hikâyeyi Köroğlu*

In the centre of the endpage there is a drawing that might be interpreted as Benli Hanım waiting for Hasan to recover (see illustration 2). Each page of the text has 34 lines, except the first (31 lines), the last (24 lines) and page 26 (33 lines). There is an ornamental top line on the first page of the text, an ornamental end line on its final page, and the inserted poems are centered.[16]

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[16] Cf. also Koz, "Comparative Bibliographic Notes on Karamanlidika Editions of Turkish Folk Stories," 248.

KT – Hasan, the son of Köroğlu,
and his beloved Benli Hanım.

All the sounds of Turkish cannot be rendered unequivocally by the Greek alphabet. In transcribing the Karamanlı script into Latin letters, Matthias Kappler's "Note a proposito di 'Ortografia Caramanlidica'" served as a guide.[17]

[AT]   The edition in Armenian script of 1875: *Hikyayei Kör Oğlu Türküleri İle Beraber*
The first Armeno-Turkish publication of the story of Köroğlu took place in Istanbul in 1865,[18] followed by further Istanbul prints in 1870, 1872, 1875, and a print in Aleppo in 1933.[19] Additionally, Sabri Koz refers to a print of 1873, which is part of his private library.[20] The edition of 1875 was used because it was the earliest edition we could procure.

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[17]   In *Turcica et Islamica: Studi in memoria di Aldo Gallotta*, a cura di Ugo Marazzi, Vol. I, Napoli, Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale", 2003: 309-39. Cf. also Eftychios Gavriel, "Transcription Problems of Karamanlidika Texts," in *Cries and Whispers in Karamanlidika Books. Proceedings of the First International Conference on Karamanlidika Studies (Nicosia, 11-13 September 2008)*, eds. Evangelia Balta and Matthias Kappler, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2010: 255-65.

[18]   *Hikyayei Köroğlu*, Istanbul, see Stepanyan, *Ermeni Harfli Türkçe Kitaplar*, 137. The editions of 1865 and 1870 were recorded with their identification in the catalogues. Stepanyan does not mention the location of the prints. Of course, it is obvious that there must have existed at least one older print than the print of 1875.

[19]   According to Stepanyan's bibliography: 1870: *Hikyayei Kör Oğlu. Türküler ile Beraber*, comprising 81 pages; 1872: *Köroğlu Hikyayesi. Türküler ile. Mat. H. Kavafyan*, comprising 48 pages; 1875: *Hikyayei Köroğlu. Türküler ile Beraber*, comprising 48 pages; 1933: *Hikyayei Köroğlu. Mat. Der Sahakyan*, comprising 32 pages, cf. Stepanyan, *Ermeni Harfli Türkçe Kitaplar*, 156, 168, 179, and 371.

[20]   *Hikâye-yi Kör Oğlu, Şirket-i K. Markaryan ve Papazyan, Tabhâne-yi B. Cezveciyan*, Istanbul 1873, 48 pages; see Koz, "Comparative Bibliographic Notes on Karamanlidika Editions of Turkish Folk Stories," 248, 253.

The print of 1875 which was used for this study consists of 47 pages and a title page (see illustration 3). The title is *Hikyayei Kör Oğlu Türküleri İle Beraber* ('The Story of Köroğlu with Its Songs'), the subtitle *Türki lisanından tercüme olunarak tabh ve temsil ḳılındı* ('It has been translated from the Turkish language, printed and published'). The emblematic drawing on the title page suggests that the publisher in question was the Hovsep Kavafyan printing house as Ardashes H. Kardashian and Hasmik Stepanyan state.[21] Each page has 29 lines, except page 6 with 30 lines and page 47 with 13 lines.[22]
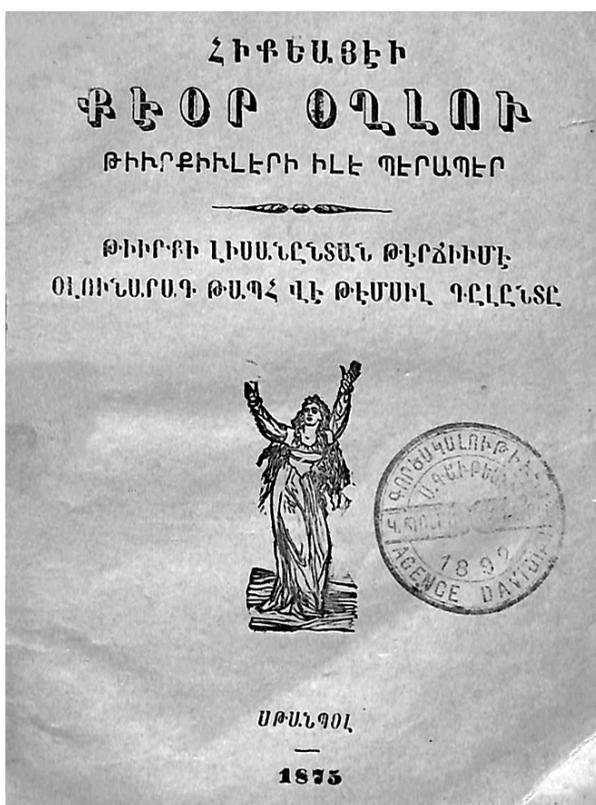
AT: *Hikyayei Kör Oğlu Türküleri İle Beraber*

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[21] Ardashes Kardashian, *Matenagitutʻiwn Hayataṛ Ōtar Lezwov Tpagir Girkʻeru*, Paris, Hratarakutʻiwn "Ṛubēn Sewak" Mshakutʻayin Himnarki, 1987: 113; Stepanyan, *Ermeni Harfli Türkçe Kitaplar*, 179. However, the Dimaksian publishing house had a very similar emblematic drawing in its 1875 print of *Hikyayei Aşıḳ Ġarib*. In this print there was also a note ('*iḫtar*') announcing that the price of its Köroğlu publication was 2 Piasters (*guruş*). For further information about the two printing houses cf. Tēotig, *Dib u daṛ* (Gosdantnubolis: Vahramay ev Hrachʻei Der-Nersesyan, 1912), 90-92, 105-106; *Teotig - Baskı ve Harf. Ermeni Matbaacılık Tarihi*, [Çeviri: Sirvart Malhasyan, Arlet İncidüzen], Istanbul, Birzamanlar Yayıncılık, 2012: 118-21 and 137.

[22] The print used is available digitally on the website of the National Library of Armenia, accessed May 25, 2023, https://haygirk.nla.am/upload/1512-1940/1851-1900/hiqeai_qeor1875. pdf.

[O]   The edition in Arabo-Turkish script of 1297/1880: *Meşhūr Köroğlunuñ ḥikāyesi*.
This edition consists of 21 pages and a title page (see illustration 4) with the title and the following
statements: *Meşhūr Köroğlunuñ Ḥikāyesi. Ġurūş 2. Ḥakkāklar çārşūsında Şirket-i Ḫayriyye-i Ṣaḥḥāfiyye
dükkānında fürūḫt olunur. Kütüb-i cedīd-i Ṣaḥḥāfiye sene 297* ('The story of the famous Köroğlu. 2
Piasters. It is sold in the shop of the beneficent Sahhafiye ('bookselling') Company, in the Engravers'
Bazaar. New books of the Sahhafiye [Company], year [1]297 [1880]'). There is a further unpaginated
page with a drawing of Köroğlu preceding the main text and the statement: *Köroğlunuñ ṭaġlarda gāh
insān gāh ḥayvān ṭutmaġa çıḳdıġınıñ resmidir* ('This is the picture of Köroğlu going into the mountains
to sometimes catch humans and sometimes animals'). *Uzunluġı yarda 500 ḳarış parmaḳ 3; 3 ġram 500
ḳarış*[23] ('Its length: [1] yard, 500 spans, 3 finger lengths; 3 grams, 500 spans). The story starts on page
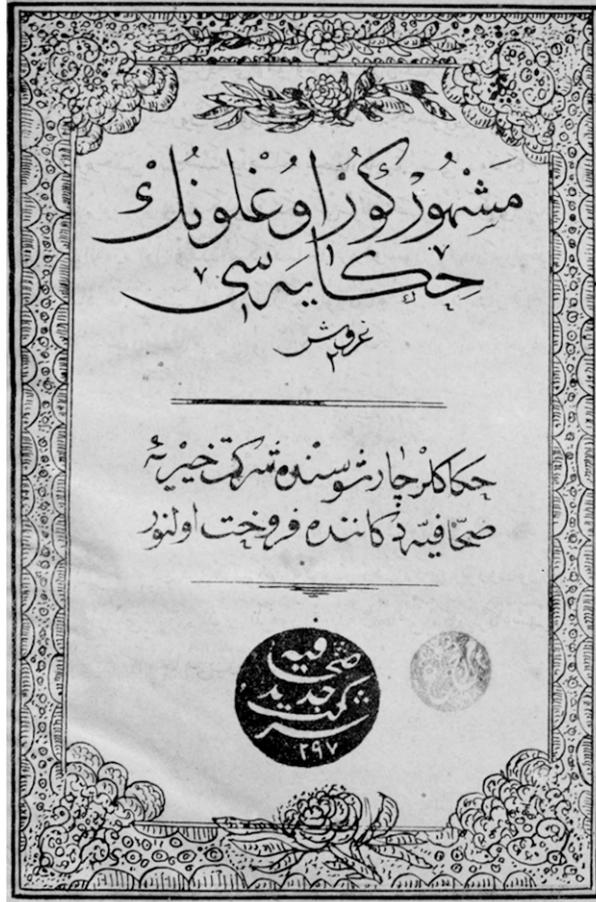
O: *Meşhūr Köroğlunuñ ḥikāyesi*

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[23]   *Ḳāf - şīn* without the diacritical dots.

2 with 14 lines, all the other pages have 19 lines, except page 21 with 16 lines. The text is embedded in an outer frame, but there are no inner frames surrounding the columns of the text. This edition is a lithograph written in the *nesih* ductus with full vocalisation (see illustration 5).

[OT]   The edition in Arabo-Persian script of 1326/1908: *Köroğlu ḥikāyesi*.
This edition consists of 15 pages and a title page with the inscription *Meşhūr Köroğlı* ('Famous Köroğlu'). Page 2, on which the story starts with the title *Köroğlı Ḥikāyesi* ('The story of Köroğlu'), has 19 lines, all other pages have 25 lines. The text is embedded in an outer frame and there are inner frames surrounding the columns of text; additionally, there are flower-like small figures separating some of the hemistichs. This edition is a lithograph written in the *nesih* ductus with full vocalisation.

Köroğlu

In this case study, the four different editions of the "İstanbul tradition"[24] of the *Köroğlu* text described above have been compared. The focus lies primarily on the comparison of KT with AT regarding peculiarities and deviations of phonology, morphology and syntax. The examples given will strive to be representative without being exhaustive. Where deemed appropriate, the comparison was extended to O and OT. The Ottoman lithography of 1297/1880 [O] was chosen because this was the edition that was chronologically closest to KT (1872) and AT (1875) that was available to us. For further insight into Ottoman editions, we chose the later Ottoman lithography of 1326/1908 [OT]. Additionally, differences from or similarities to nineteenth-century Ottoman (Ott.) as well as modern Standard Turkish (ST) have been pointed out.

II. Script

As Matthias Kappler states, the Karamanlı writing system in the late nineteenth century distinguished most of the phonological oppositions,[25] but KT is a 'vulgar' script that does not systematically distinguish phonological oppositions such as /i/ : /ı/ through <ι> : <η>, /d/ : /t/ through <δ> : <τ>, and /c/ : /ç/ through <δζ> : <τζ>. Furthermore, oppositions that are distinguished

a) through the use of the same letter with a dot on top, such as /k/ : /g/ through <κ> : <κ̇ >; /p/ : /b/ through <π> : <π̇ >; /s/ : /ş/ through <σ> : <σ̇ >; /o/ : /ö/ through <o> : <ȯ>; /u/ : /ü/ through <oυ> and <ȯυ>;

b) through the use of letter combinations such as /k/ : /g/ through <κ> : <γκ, γγ>[26]; /p/ : /b/ through <π> : <μπ>; /t/ : /d/ through <τ> : <ντ>; /o/ : /ö/ through <o> : <ιo>; /u/ : /ü/ through <oυ> : <ιoυ, öυ, oû>,[27]

occur rarely or not at all, with the exception of /ö/ that regularly occurs as <ιo>.[28]

For example, /b/ is written exceptionally a number of times with <π̇ > on p. 4, where the usual writing with <π> also occurs repeatedly. /b/ also occurs exceptionally and repeatedly with <μπ> in the word *pazubend* (παζουμπεντ) on pp. 22 and 25. On the other hand, while /ö/ occurs regularly as <ιo>

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24 "*İstanbul rivayeti*", cf. Pertev Naili Boratav, *Köroğlu Destanı* (Istanbul: Adam Yayıncılık, 1984), 30-33; Mustafa Duman, "Taşbaskısı Köroğlu Hikâyesi Kitapları," *Müteferrika* 2 (2019): 82.

25 Matthias Kappler, "The Karamanli *Divan* by the *ʿAşık* Talib and Ottoman Lyric Poetry: a Preliminary Approach, in *Karamanlidika Legacies*, ed. Evangelia Balta (Istanbul: The ISIS Press, 2018), 150-51.

26 Exceptionally in KT, /g/ is represented by <γ> : *gayet* (γάγετ, 30:12), 'an end; extremely', *ġāyet* Ott., *gayet* ST.

27 For an overview of these oppositions with dates of provenance see the two tables in Kappler, "Note a proposito di 'Ortografia Caramanlidica'," 318-319.

28 For technical reasons, a tilde or a half-circle under a letter can be rendered here only as a straight line. <ιo> with or without a tilde under the <ι> denotes /ö/.

and is thus distinguished from /o/, /ü/ occurs sometimes as <ου> and is therefore not distinguished from /u/, and sometimes as <ιου> and is thereby distinguished from /u/. So the handling of the oppositions is vacillating and imperfect.

This causes uncertainty when transcribing. For example, should one transcribe *κελίρηκεν* (3:13)[29] as *geliriken* or *gelirıken*, or for that matter as *keliriken* or *kelirıken*? Should one transcribe *βάριδηκι* (3:10) as *varidiki*, *varıdıki* or *varidıki*? And should one transcribe *ἀνκισηνὴ* (5:21) as *[h]angisini* or *ankisını*? Now and then we also encounter <ι> for /y/;[30] e.g., *καλτήϊσὲ*, *kaldıyse* (3:20-21), *σικιλτήϊσατα*, *sıkıldıysada* (13:13-14), *ἀτάϊορ*, *atayor* (13:6) for *atıyor*.[31] Where the script of KT did not allow us to be sure of the sound a letter was meant to represent, we opted for the modern standard pronunciation. Dialectal particularities of mixed provenance, which are reflected quite frequently by the Karamanlı script, are rendered in transcription as faithfully as possible. Basically, as already stated by Ambros, "this text reflects colloquial Turkish spoken familiarly by a part of the Ottoman population towards the end of the 19th century."[32]

The Armenian letters are transcribed according to the transcription system recently proposed by Hülya Çelik and Ani Sargsyan.[33] This proposed transcription system focused especially on printed texts of the nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth century. Features of the contemporary written Ottoman language as well as the standard literary pronunciation of Western Armenian were taken into consideration. In contradistinction to Karamanlı, the Armenian script is capable of rendering every sound of Turkish.

The script of AT corresponds with Armin Hetzer's observations in his valuable study involving a chrestomathy of more than 20 Armeno-Turkish prints of the nineteenth century.[34] Hetzer states that these

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[29] In the examples given in Karamanlı script, the accents will be included. However, the Karamanlı letters will be transliterated into Latin letters as faithfully as possible without including the accents in order to keep the picture simple, as at least some of the accents seem to be placed haphazardly in this text. In some other printed texts the accents are placed with more consideration and uniformity. On accents see Stelios Irakleous, "On the Development of Karamanlidika Writing Systems Based on Sources of the Period 1764-1895," *Mediterranean Language Review* 20 (2013), 66-7. In this article, the first sequential number is the page number, the second the line number.

[30] Cf. Kappler, "Note a proposito di 'Ortografia Caramanlidica'," 325.

[31] In AT *atayor* (ապայոր, 19:5); *gideyor* (կիտէյոր, 40:7). This reflects the status before the change to -ıyor; cf. Milan Adamović, *Konjugationsgeschichte der türkischen Sprache* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985), 160: "Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts werden die Vokalstämme vom Typ *bašlayor*, *gelmeyor* zu *bašlïyor*, *gelmiyor*. Damit hat das literarische Präsens seine moderne Stufe erreicht."

[32] Ambros, "The sound of popular language towards the end of the 19th century," 77.

[33] Hülya Çelik and Ani Sargsyan, "Introducing Transcription Standards for Armeno-Turkish Literary Studies," *Diyâr. Journal of Ottoman, Turkish and Middle Eastern Studies*, 3, 2 (2022): 161-89; for the discussion of previous transcription systems and the reasons for the decision of a new transcription system see especially 167-170.

[34] Armin Hetzer, *Dačkerēn-Texte: Eine Chrestomathie aus Armenierdrucken des 19. Jahrhunderts in türkischer Sprache* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1987). Hetzer's chrestomathy contains predominantly religious texts, and,

"texts can be regarded throughout as testimonies of the higher *Umgangssprache* (colloquial speech) of urban population groups" and that "quite different varieties of Ottoman were in circulation in Istanbul at that time".[35] He concludes: "Based on these observations we come to the conclusion that with the exception of a few peculiarities belonging to the substandard or dialects, the *Dačkerėn* texts remained primarily indebted to the Ottoman literary language based on the vernacular of Istanbul." He adds that in script and vocabulary they are literary, but in sentence structure they remain close to the folk language.[36]

The present Armeno-Turkish *Köroğlu* text exemplifies these linguistic characteristics. We should add that though the Karamanlı text reflects many more dialectal peculiarities than the Armeno-Turkish text, the two are very similar in sentence structure.

Table of sounds and corresponding letters as seen in AT and KT [37]

Sounds	Letters	
	AT	KT
/b/	<ա>	<π>, rarely <μπ, π̇
/p/	<փ>, rarely <p>	<π>
/f/	<ֆ>	<φ>
/v/	<ւ>	<β, ϭ>

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to a lesser extent, various other genres such as the first novel in Turkish language, *Agapi Hikayesi*, historical texts, and textbooks, but not any folk stories.

35 Hetzer, *Dačkerēn-Texte,* 9: "So können die Texte durchweg als Zeugnisse der gehobenen Umgangssprache städtischer Bevölkerungskreise gelten.", 108: "in Istanbul damals recht verschiedene Varietäten des Osmanischen verbreitet waren." and ibid. "Aus den Provinzen flossen daher ständig mundartliche Eigenheiten nach Istanbul."

36 Hetzer, *Dačkerēn-Texte,* 117: "Wir ziehen aus diesen Beobachtungen den Schluß, daß mit Ausnahme einiger dem Substandard oder den Mundarten zuzurechnenden Eigenheiten die Dačkerėn-Texte in erster Linie der osmanischen Buchsprache auf Stambuler Mundartbasis verpflichtet blieben. In Schriftbild und Wortschatz sind sie literarisch, im Satzbau hingegen bleiben sie der Volkssprache so nahe, [...]."

37 The sequence is chosen to reflect the special characteristics of the Karamanlı and Armeno-Turkish alphabets.

Sounds	Letters	
/c/	\<ɓ\>	\<τζ\>
/ç/	\<ϛ\>	\<τζ\>
/d/	\<ɯ\>	\<δ, τ\>, exceptionally \<τ̇\>
/t/	\<ɟə\>	\<τ\>
/g/	\<ʮ, η\>	\<κ\>, exceptionally \<γ\>
/g/ mouillé	\<ʮτ̈ɯ\>	\<κια\>
/ğ/	\<η\>[38]	\<γ\>
/y/	\<ȷ, ȶ\>	\<γ, γı, ï\>
/k/	\<q, ℘\>	\<κ\>
/k/ mouillé	\<℘τ̈ɯ\>	\<κια\>
/kh/	\<ʄɯ\>	-
/ks/	-	\<ξ\>

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[38] It is transcribed as *ġ,* however with no certainty that it was pronounced as *ġayn.*

Sounds	Letters	
/h/	<h, ჰ>[39]	<χ>
/l/	<ı>	<λ>
/l/ mouillé	<ltu>	<λια>
/m/	<մ>	<μ>
/n/	<ն>	<ν>
/ñ/	<ն, նկ, նղ, նբ, յն>	<νγ, γν, γ>[40]
/r/	<ր, n>[41]	<ρ>
/s/	<u>	<σ>
/ş/	<շ>	<ȍ>
/z/	<q>	<ζ>
/a/	<ա>	<α>

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[39] Both /h/ and /kh/ are represented by <ჰ>.

[40] The grapheme <γ> standing for /ñ/ may in some instances be pronounced /ğ/; cf. János Eckmann, "Anadolu Karamanlı Ağızlarına Ait Araştırmalar, I: Phonetica," *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, 8 (1950): 193-194.

[41] The letter <n> occurs only three times in this text and only with the word *aḥoṙ* (ապ ́uon, 24:16, 24:8, 25:16) 'stable'.

Sounds	Letters	
/e/	<ṭ>	<ɛ>
/ı/	<ı̣>	<η, ı>
/i/	<h>	<ı, η, ı̆>
/o/	<o>	<o>
/ö/	<ṭo>	<o, ı̣o>
/u/	<nı>	<ου>
/ü/	<hı>	<ου>, rarely <ı̣ου>

The transcription into Latin letters of O and OT is made according to the Arabo-Persian fully vocalized scripts. The vocalization reflects the prevalent nineteenth-century Ottoman orthography, which is standardized up to a certain point. However, any instances of conservative orthography in the scripts have been adhered to; e.g.: the gerund -*Ub* ending with -*b* (instead of -*p*), as was usual in the nineteenth century; and the letter <ñ>, even if not pronounced as /ñ/.[42] We have followed the transcription system of *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* [43] for the texts in Arabo-Persian script, respecting its non-use of <ğ>, but adding <ė> for the /closed *e*/.

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[42] "The only commonly occurring bound morpheme ending in a stop, the converb suffix {-(y) Ụb/p}, was usually spelled with *b* in the Arabic script, and this is reflected in the standardised nineteenth-century orthography", see Celia Kerslake, "Ottoman Turkish," in *The Turkic Languages*, 2nd ed., eds. Lars Johanson and Éva Á. Csató (Routledge: London and New York, 2022), 179.

[43] See İsmail Durmuş, "Transkripsiyon," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 41 (2012): 306-308.

/ñ/ and /ñl/

In KT, /ñ/ is rendered through <νγ> ; e.g.: *soñra* (*σόνγρα*, 6:14). Alternatively, we find /ñ/ rendered with the letter <γ>, which may at times entail the pronunciation /ğ/; e.g.: *soñra/soğra* (*σόγρα*, 4:34). As to /ñl/, there are a few examples of its transformation to /ñn/ or /ğ/, rendered through <γν>; e.g.: *añnayışlı/ağnayışlı* (*ἀγναγισλὶ*, 3:10-11), 'understanding, adj.', *añlayışlı* Ott., *añlayışlı* ST; *diñnemeyip/diğnemeyip* (*τιγνέμεγιπ*, 28:10), 'did not listen to (and)', < *diñlemeyüb* Ott., *dinlemeyip* ST.

In AT /ñ/ is rendered with the letters <ն> (/n/), <նկ> (/ng/), <նղ> (/nġ/), <յն> (/yn/), <նք> (/nk/). Examples for these variants: *sonra* with <ն> (*սոնրա*, 8:1), more often than *songra* with <նկ> (*սոնկրա*, 7:8); *Benli* (*Պէնլի*, only in 31:12; 45:9), more often *Bengli* (*Պէնկլի*, 36:12,19; 37:22), 'personal name'; also e.g., *Tañrıya* (*Թանըրըյա*, 8:5), 'to God', *Tañrıya* Ott., *Tanrıya* ST; *beynzemez* (*պէյնզէմէզ*, 33:14), 'does not resemble', *beñze-* Ott., *benze-* ST; *benkler* (*պէնքլէր*, 11:14), 'moles', *beñler* Ott, *benler* ST.

In AT /ñl/ is rendered as /ġn/ through <ղն> and as /yn/ through <յն>; e.g., *ağnar* (*աղնար*,19:26) from the verb *añla-* Ott., *anla-* ST, 'to understand'; *diyneyib* (* դիյնէյիպ*, 7:7), gerund of the verb *diñle-* Ott., *dinle-* ST 'to listen'.

Punctuation

The punctuation in KT and AT deviates partly from the modern Turkish punctuation used with the Latin script. The punctuation in O and OT is minimal as is usual with Ottoman texts in Arabo-Persian script.

With the aim of making texts easier to understand, punctuation marks that are usual in texts in Latin script were used for KT and AT. For sentences in O and OT, we added a few punctuation marks when absolutely necessary for easier comprehension.

Graphic lacunae, graphic inaccuracies, and orthographic variations (partial similarity between KT and AT)

Some graphic lacunae in KT, such as in *yık ak* (*γὶκ ἄκ*, 5:32, for *yıkmak* 'to pull down') probably reflect typescript errors rather than actual elision. E.g., *ö dürmege* (*ὁ δουρμεγέ*, 9:19) 'to kill, dat.', for *öldürmege* Ott., *öldürmeğe* ST, in close proximity to *öldürürsan öldür* (*ὁλτουρούρσαν ὁλτοὺρ*, 9:18), 'kill if you want to kill', *öldürürseñ öldür* Ott., *öldürürsen öldür* ST. The same can be said of AT; e.g. there is an extra space before *azımı* [corr. *sazımı*] (*ազըմը*, 19:28), 'my *saz* (musical instrument), acc.'. There are relatively frequent inaccuracies in KT that may in part be due to imprecise type-setting; e.g., *yık ak istensinler yıkılmas* (*γὶκ ἄκ ἰστενσινλέρ γικιλμὰς*, corr. *yıkmak isteseler yıkılmaz*, 5:32-33), 'it would not get demolished even if they wanted to demolish it'; *şitinden* (*σητηντέν*, 28:1), 'already', *şimdiden* Ott. and ST. Such inaccuracies are less frequent in AT; e.g., *hayvaynı* [corr. *hayvanı*] (*հայվայնը*, 44:21), 'animal, acc.'.

There are frequent orthographic variations in KT, which often occur in close proximity; e.g., *seyis* 'groom' occurs as *σεγησὶ* (3:10), *σεγισὲ* (3:11), *σεγὶσ* (3:12), and *σεὶσ* (3:15).

Orthographic variations are rare in AT; one example: *beiti* without <y> (պէիթի, e.g. 29:13, 'the verse, acc.'), but also with <y> *beyiti* (պէյիթի, e.g. 15:1).

Graphic attachment of elements

Elements that are unattached in Ott. and ST are sometimes attached in KT, and to a lesser extent in AT. Such an attachment is inconsistent and may, occasionally, be in fact a typographical error.

iẓāfet i/ı (similarity between KT and AT)
The *iẓāfet* is not frequent in KT and AT, but when it does occur, it is attached. For example, *zemani sabıkda* (ζεμανὶ σαπικδὰ, 3:4 and զէմանի սապրզտա, 5:4), 'in former times'; *Cenabı Barie* (τζενὰπὴ π̇αριὲ, 4:7) and Cenabı Bariye (ճէնապը Պարիյէ, 6:19), 'His Majesty, the Creator'; *zemān-ı ṣābıḳda* and *Cenāb-ı Bārīye* in scholarly transcription.

conjunction *u/ü* (i.e., *ve*) (similarity between KT and AT)
This conjunction is attached as in *canu gönülden* in KT and AT (τζανοῦ κιονουλτὲν, 3:30 and ճանու կէօնիւլտէն, 6:10), 'from the heart and soul', *can u gönülden* in scholarly transcription.

ki (dissimilarity between KT and AT)
Ki is mostly attached in KT; e.g., *bir seyisi varıdıki* (πὶρ σεγησὶ βάριδηκι, 3:10), 'he had a groom who', *bir seyisi var idi ki* Ott. and ST; *gördüki* (κι̣ορτούκι, 3:17), 'he saw that', *gördi ki* Ott., *gördü ki* ST.
In AT it is mostly unattached as in standard usage in ST; e.g., *oldu ki* (օլտու քի, 7:11), 'it happened that'.

ise* and *-(y/yı)sA (partial similarity between KT and AT)
In KT, *ise* is frequently attached; e.g., *canı pek sıkıldıysada* (τζανὴ πὲκ σικιλτήϊσατα, 13:13-14), 'even though he was very annoyed', *sıkıldıysa da* Ott., *sıkıldıysa da* ST; *ele giderimezisem* (ἐλὲ κιτεριμέζισεμ, 17:6, < *getiremez isem* for *geçiremez isem*), 'if I can't get hold (of)', *getiremezisem / getiremez isem* Ott., *getiremez isem / getiremezsem* ST; instances of unattached *ise*; e.g., *vermedi isede* (βέρμετι ἰσέτε, 13:7), 'even though he did not give', *vėrmediyse de* Ott., *vermedi ise* de ST. The attached form -sA occurs, too; e.g.: *gidersa* (κιτέρσα, 3:27), 'if he goes', *giderse* Ott. and ST; *girse* (κιρσὲ, 4:25), 'if (he) should enter', *girse* Ott. and ST.
In AT, the form *ise* occurs as well as -sA; e.g., *bağladıyısa* (պաղլատըյըսա, 25:20), 'even though he tied up', *bağladı ise / bağladıysa* Ott., *bağladı ise / bağladıysa* ST; *olursa* (օլուրսա, 32:13), as well as *olur ise* (օլուր իսէ, 40:16), 'if it is', *olursa / olur ise* Ott. and ST; only once *ısa*, namely *oğraşdılar ısa da* (օղրաշտըլար ըսա տա, 32:21),'even though they strove', *uğraşdılar ise de* Ott., *uğraştılar ise de* ST.

iken / -ken (dissimilarity between KT and AT)

The full form *iken* is mostly attached in KT; e.g.: *geliriken* (κελίρηκεν, 3:13), 'while coming', *geliriken/gelirken* Ott. and ST; *tendeyken* (τεντέϊκεν, 30:22-23), 'while in the body', *tendeyken* Ott. and ST. An instance of the attached form -ken: *gezerken* (κεζέρκεν, 7:1-2), 'while going about', *gezerken* Ott. and ST.

In AT the full form *iken* is always unattached; e.g.: *gezer iken* (կէզէր իքէն, 10:20-21), 'while going about'; *sende iken* (սէնտէ իքէն, 8:4), 'while it is with you', *sende iken* Ott. and ST. The attached form *-ken* is more frequent; e.g.: *gelirken* (կէլիրքէն, 5:14), 'while coming'. In several instances an apostrophe is placed before *ken* (we cannot judge at this point whether this might be in replacement of /i/); e.g.: *gider'ken* (կիտէր'քէն, 32:29), 'while going', *giderken* Ott. and ST; *düşünür'ken* (տիւշիւնիւր'քէն, 46:20), 'while thinking', *düşünürken* Ott. and ST.

-IdI (similarity between KT and AT)

This occurs both attached and unattached in KT as well as in AT; e.g.: *varıdıki* (βάριδηκι, 3:10), *varıdı ki* (վարըտըր քի, 5:15), *var ıdı* (վար ըտը, 28:28), 'there was (that)', *var idi* (ki) Ott. and ST; *bir adam idi* (πὶρ ἀδάμ ἰτὶ, 3:11), 'he was a man', *bir adam idi* Ott and ST; *yoḳ idi* (էօք իտի, 9:5), 'there was no', *yoḳ idi* Ott., *yok idi* ST. In AT, there seems to be a stronger tendency for the separated version.

-ImIş (similarity between KT and AT)

This occurs both attached and unattached in KT as well as in AT; e.g., *varımış* (βάριμις, 4:2) 'there was', *var ımış* (վար ըմըշ, 44:27), *var imiş* Ott. and ST; *kuşumuş* (κούσουμους, 19:32), *ḳuşımış* (ղուշըմըշ, 28:22), 'it was a bird', *ḳuş imiş* Ott. and *kuş imiş* ST.

III. Phonology

One of the aims of the present study is to compare the phonological traits of AT and KT[44] in order to determine if the pronunciation reflected in AT resembles that reflected in KT. This is of interest regarding developments arising from inner-Turkish language contacts in Anatolia, which is a very intensive contact region. Likewise, as Nurettin Demir and Lars Johanson state, "Cypriot Turkish, generally described as an extension of Anatolian Turkish, offers a good basis for investigating inner-Turkish contact processes."[45] For this reason, the study also points out some phonological characteristics KT has in common with the Cypriot Turkish dialects, at least some of which the Cypriot Turkish dialects have in common with the North-Eastern Anatolian Turkish dialects.

Hetzer considers Armeno-Turkish to have the function of practical usage at all levels, spanning

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[44] For a first evaluation see Ambros, "The sound of popular language towards the end of the 19th century," 93.

[45] Nurettin Demir and Lars Johanson, "Dialect contact in Northern Cyprus," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 181 (2006): 1.

from the vernacular to the religious and the literary, and speaks of a "functional style".[46] He concludes that the *Dačkerėn* texts exhibit some of the phenomena named 'vulgar Ottoman Turkish' ('vulgärosmanisch'), but nevertheless remain within the framework of the literary norm of Muslim texts, so that one cannot speak of a separate Armenian sociolect in written use.[47] Hetzer adds: "No phonological or morphological features are found in the Armenian prints of the nineteenth century that determine these to be typically Armenian. They are variants of the Ottoman middle-class colloquial speech ("bürgerliche Umgangssprache"), with each text exhibiting its individual particularities."[48] As in some texts in Hetzer's study, AT has a few vernacular Ottoman elements as well as a small number of dialectal peculiarities. At the same time, and again as in some Hetzer texts, AT occasionally tends to archaisms, while also exhibiting elements nearer to modern Standard Turkish.

The comparison below will show that KT has more dialectal peculiarities of pronunciation than AT.

Elision of consonants

Elision of /'/ (*hamza*) (partial similarity between KT and AT)
Arabic words with a *hamza* occur seldom in AT, and KT mainly has the same word choice as AT, but they occur in greater number in O and OT. The elision of /'/ without replacement is very rare in AT; *süal* is such an exception (*uhıwı*, 10:12, written passim thus), 'question', *su'āl* Ott., *sual* ST. In KT /'/ is replaced by /v/ in this word: *sıval* (*σιβὰλ*, e.g., 6:28, 14:3, 16:17, and *σηῆάλ*, 26:7). An example in KT of elision without replacement: *hainin* (*χαϊνὲν*, 3:25), 'traitor's', *ḫā'iniñ* Ott.; *hainin* ST.

Elision of /'/ (*'ayn*) (similarity between KT and AT)
This occurs similarly in KT and AT; e.g.: *alâ* (*ἀλιὰ*, 3:12-13) and *alea* (*wıḷա*, 5:14), 'excellent', *a'lā* Ott., *alâ* ST; *mahud* (*μαχοὺτ*, 23:2 and *մահուդ*, 41:10), 'well-known', *ma'hūd* Ott., *mahut* ST; *men* (*μὲν*, 29:24, 28 and *մէն*, 42:13), 'a forbidding', *men'* Ott., *men* ST; *dua* (*τουὰ*, 5:10, 12 and *սութա*, 8:5); 'a prayer', *du'ā* Ott., *dua* ST; *maşukun* (*μασουκοῦν*, 22:10 and *մաշուքուն*, 31:24-25), 'your beloved', *ma'şūḳuñ* Ott., *maşukun* ST; *saat* (*σαὰτ*, 12:33 and *սաաթ*, 20:8), 'hour, time', *sā'at* Ott., *saat* ST; *veda*

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[46] Hetzer, *Dačkerēn-Texte,* 58, explained in detail under the heading "*Funktionaler Stil statt 'Soziolekt'*".

[47] Hetzer, *Dačkerēn-Texte,* 120: "Wir ziehen aus der Durchsicht von Prokosch (1980) und dem Vergleich mit dem in unserer Chrestomathie enthaltenen sprachlichen Material den Schluß, daß die Dačkerēn-Texte tatsächlich einen Teil der als 'vulgärosmanisch' bezeichneten Erscheinungen auch aufweisen. Insgesamt gesehen bleiben sie jedoch innerhalb des Rahmens der literarischen Norm von Muslim-Texten, so daß von einem eigenen Armenier-Soziolekt in schriftlicher Verwendung nicht gesprochen werden kann."

[48] Hetzer, *Dačkerēn-Texte,* 121: "In Laut-und Formenlehre weist die türkische Sprache, die in den Armenierdrucken des 19. Jahrhunderts vorkommt, keinerlei Züge auf, die sie als typisch armenisch bestimmen. Es handelt sich um Varianten der osmanischen bürgerlichen Umgangssprache, wobei jeder Text wiederum im einzelnen seine Besonderheiten aufweist."

(βετὰ, 5:13 and *վէւոա*, 32:27), 'a farewell', *vedā´* Ott., *veda* ST; in KT *zaif* (ζαηφ, ζαϊφ, ζαίφ, 3:16, 3:17, 30:8 respectively), 'weak', *ża´īf* Ott., *zayıf* ST; in AT *inadına* (ի̀սասըր̀սա, 13:20), 'out of sheer obstinacy', *´inādına* Ott., *inadına* ST.

Elision of /y/, /ğ/, /ġ/ (dissimilarity between KT and AT)

This is very frequent in KT in the middle of words. For example, /y/ is elided in all instances of the suffix *-iyor*, such as *gelior* (twice the variant κελήορ, 9:8, 23:14, thrice the variant κελίορ, 10:16, 10:28, 16:15), 'is coming', *geliyor* in Ott. and ST. Other examples: *neree* (νέρεε, 3:26), 'where to, *nereye* Ott. and ST; *çaır* (τζαὶρ, 3:7), 'a meadow', *çayır* Ott. and ST, but *çayrına* (τζαϊρινὰ,[49] 3:6), 'to [Bolu's] meadow (dat.)'; *ine delii* (ἰνὲ τελιὴ, 4:20), 'needle eye', *igne deligi* Ott., *iğne deliği* ST; *feraat* (φεραὰτ, 25:22), 'renunciation', *ferāġat* Ott., *feragat* ST; *ziadesiila* (ζιατεσιηλὰ, 5:22), 'with excess', *ziyādesi ile* Ott., *ziyadesi ile* ST; *eziete* (ἐζιετὲ, 18:1), 'torment, dat.', *eziyete* Ott., *eziyete* ST; *sevdiim* (σεϑτιῗμ, 29:3), 'my beloved', *sevdigim* Ott., *sevdiğim* ST; *oğluim* (ὄγλούημ, 22:18), 'I am his son', *oğluyum* Ott., *oğluyum* ST. Examples of inconsistency: *ei* (ἐὶ, 3:3) 'good', but *eysi* (ἐγισὴ,[50] 20:33), 'the good one', *eyü/eyi* 'good' Ott., *iyi* ST; *zaif* (ζαὴφ, 3:16), 'thin', *ża´īf* Ott., *zayıf* ST, but *zayflıktan* (ζαϊφλικτὰν, 3:17), 'out of thinness', *ża´īflıḳdan* Ott., *zayıflıktan* ST; *beendiği* (πεεντιγὴ, 3:26), *beğeendiğin* (πεγεεντιγὴν, 3:22), and *beğendi* (πεγεντὶ, 3:15), *beğen-* 'to admire'. The elision of /ğ/ can entail the elision of a syllable, as in *çocukluma* (τζοτζουκλουμά, 28:15), 'to my childhood', *çocukluġuma* Ott., *çocukluğuma* ST.

In AT such an elision is very rare; e.g., *gelior* (կէլիor, 23:20), 'he is coming', *geliyor* Ott. and ST; *ziadesi ile* (զիատէսի իլէ, 19:20-21).

Orhan Kabataş reports that the elision of /y/ at the beginning of words and of /g, ğ/ in the middle of words is one of the phonological phenomena in the Cypriot dialects of Turkish.[51] Mustafa Argunşah states that the lengthening of vowels after the elision of consonants is very frequent in Anatolian Turkish dialects. One of the examples he gives is '*aşa*: *aşşa*: < *aşağı*' ('lower/low part').[52] In KT, this word is documented both with lengthened vowel (represented by double *a*) following the elision of /ğ/ as *aşaada* (ἀσαατὰ, 26:12-13) < *aşağıda*, 'in the lower/low part', *aşaġıda* Ott., and without elision and lengthening of vowel as *aşağı* (ἀσαγῆ, 25:7), *aşağı* Ott. In AT there is neither such lengthening of a vowel after the elision of /ġ/ nor does the elision of /ġ/ always take place; there is but one occurrence with elision as *aşade* (աշատէ, 37:26) < *aşağıda*, but otherwise no elision: *aşağa* (աշաղա, 36:3), 'to the low/lower

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[49] See Kappler, "Note a proposito di 'Ortografia Caramanlidica'," 325, on the use of ‹ɩ› in place of ‹γ› to denote /y/. In KT, e.g., *bey* (πέϊ, 3:11), '(title) Bey', but *beyn/bein*? (πεῖν, 3:10), 'the Beg's', *begiñ* Ott., *beyin* ST; *deyştirdim* (τεϊστιρδὶμ, 3:23), 'I changed', *degiştirdim* Ott. and *değiştirdim* ST.

[50] See Kappler, "Note a proposito di 'Ortografia Caramanlidica'," 325, on the composite grapheme ‹γɩ› denoting /y/ in the nineteenth century.

[51] Orhan Kabataş, "Kıbrıs Türkçesinin Ses Bilgisi Özellikleri," *Belleten* 54 (2006): 96-97.

[52] Mustafa Argunanşah, "Kıbrıs Türk Ağzında Ünlü Değişmeleri," *İlmî Araştırmalar* 11 (2014): 9.

part', *aşağa* Ott., and *aşağı* (*աշաղը*, 28:4).[53]

Another example in KT of the lengthening of a vowel after the elision of /ğ/: *saalık* (σααλὴκ, 17:7), 'health', *ṣaġlıḳ* Ott., *sağlık* ST.

Elision of /h/ (dissimilarity between KT and AT)

The elision of /h/ at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end of words occurs in KT, but not consistently, e.g.: *erif* (ἐρὶφ, 3:2 1), 'fellow', *ḥerīf* Ott., *herif* ST; *er gün* (ἔρ κιοὺν, 5:34), 'every day', *her gün* Ott. and ST, but *her angisini* (χέρ ἀνκισηνὴ, 5:21), 'any one of them', *ḳangısını*, vulg. *ḥangısını* Ott., *hangisini* ST; *hem* (χέμ) *size yoldaş olur em* (ἔμ) *maslaatınıza* (μασλαατινηζὰ) *yarar* (6:18-19), 'He would be both your companion and suit your affair', *maṣlaḥat* Ott.; *cail* (τζαίλ, 28:13), 'ignorant', *cāhil* Ott., *cahil* ST. A hiatus ensuing from such elision can occasionally lead to contraction; e.g., *tamil* (ταμὶλ, 22:28), 'endurance', *taḥammül* Ott., *tahammül* ST, but also *tahamilü* (τὰχαμηλοῦ, 27:5-6), 'endurance, acc.'; elision at the end, e.g., *müferi* (μουφερὴ, 19:12), 'exhilarant', *müferriḥ* Ott., *müferrih* ST.[54]

In AT, the elision of /h/ at the beginning and at the end of words does not occur and there is only one example of its occurrence in the middle of a word, viz., *taamül* (*թաամիլ*, 32:16), 'endurance', *taḥammül* Ott., *tahammül* ST.

Elision of /k/ (dissimilarity between KT and AT)

Only in KT; e.g., *aya bastısa* (ἀγιὰ παστῖσα, 25:31), 'if he entered', *ayaḳ başdıysa* Ott., *ayak bastıysa* ST. This may reflect a tendency to elide one of the consonants in cases of K#K.[55]

Elision of /l/ (dissimilarity between KT and AT)

Only in KT; e.g., *onardan* (ὀναρτὰν, 10:9) and *onara* (ὀναρὰ, 13:29), 'they, abl. and dat., respectively', *onlardan* and *onlara* Ott. and ST, but also *onlar* (ὀνλὰρ, 15:19) 'they, nom.'; *bunar* (πουνὰρ, 17:3) 'these', *bunlar* Ott. and ST. Also *nak* (νὰκ, 25:14), 'narration', *naḳl* Ott., *nakil* ST.

Elision of /n/ (dissimilarity between KT and AT)

Only in KT; e.g., *Temürleg* (Τεμουρλὲκ, 8:11-12), *Timurleng* ST; *bed* (πὲτ, 10:7), 'that is bound', *bend* Ott. < Pers. *band*, *bent* ST; *pazubed* (παζουμπέτ, 22:5) and *panzubedi* (πανζουπεντὴ, 22:25, but *panzubendi* if *ντ* stands for *nd* instead of *d* here; note also *z > nz*), 'armlet', *bāzū-bend* Ott. < Pers. *bāzū-*

[53] Cf. Andreas Tietze, *Tarihi ve Etimolojik Türkiye Türkçesi Lugatı*, I: A-E (Istanbul - Wien: Simurg, 2002), 214-15: "EO. [Old Ottoman] *aşağa* 'aşağı' < *aşak* + istikamet dativusu *-a*."

[54] Kabataş writes that the elision of /h/ at the beginning, in the middle, and the end of words is one of the phonological phenomena in the Cypriot dialects of Turkish, "Kıbrıs Türkçesinin Ses Bilgisi Özellikleri," 96-97.

[55] Kabataş reports that /k/ in the middle or at the end of words may be elided in Cypriot Turkish, "Kıbrıs Türkçesinin Ses Bilgisi Özellikleri," 97.

band, *pazıbent* ST. See also *pazuben* (παζουπὲν, 15:10) with elision of *d*; *gece yırısındasora* (κετζε γιρισιντάσορα, 27:28-29), 'after midnight', *gêce yarısından ṣoñra* Ott. and ST; the last vowel of *yırısında* is probably accented because of the elision of the final consonant.

Elision of /ñ/ (dissimilarity between KT and AT)

Only in KT; e.g., *beleri* (πελερὶ, 6:25), 'his moles', *beñleri* (vulg. *benleri*) Ott., *benleri* ST; repeatedly *sora*; e.g., *ondansora* (ὀντάνσορα, e.g., 22:10), 'after that', *ondan ṣoñra* Ott., *ondan sonra* ST. However, the word *soñra/sonra* 'after' is also written with <νγ> (σόνγρα, 6:14; *soñra*), <γ> (σόγρα, 4:34; *soñra/soğra*), or <ν> (σόνρα, 5:27).[56]

Kabataş reports '*sora* < *soğra* < *soñra*' for Cypriot Turkish dialects.[57] Argunşah mentions that one encounters the elision of /ñ/ after it has turned into /ğ/ and also gives the example 'so:ra (< soğra) < sonra'.[58]

On /ñ/ and /ñl/ in AT see the section "Script".

Elision of /p/ (dissimilarity between KT and AT)

Only in KT; e.g., *açı geleni* (ἀτζὴ κελενὴ, 5:30), 'opened holes. [In order to see people who were coming]', *açub geleni* Ott., *açıp geleni* ST; *alı heman* (ἀλὴ χέμαν, 23:1), 'taking the whip into his hand, he immediately'; *alub hemān* Ott., *alıp hemen* ST; *varıpedi* (βαριπετῆ sic, 7:25-26), 'he arrived and said' *varub dèdi* Ott., *varıp dedi* ST. This may reflect a tendency to elide one of the consonants in cases of K#K.

Elision of /r/ (dissimilarity between KT and AT)

Only in KT: *görülerta* (κιορουλέρτα, 19:16), 'they see and', *görürler de* Ott. and ST.[59]

Elision of /t/ (dissimilarity between KT and AT)

Only in KT: *baş üsüne* (πᾶς οὐζουνὲ, 8:17), 'with pleasure!', *baş üstüne* Ott. and ST.

Elision of /v/ (dissimilarity between KT and AT)

Only in AT: *suar* (սուար, 18:11), 'a rider', *süvār* Ott., *süvari* ST; elsewhere without elision *süvariyle* (սիվարիյլէ, 41:24), 'with the rider' and *sıvari* (սրվարի, 41:10).

Elision of /z/ (dissimilarity between KT and AT)

Only in KT; e.g., *eger siz götürmesiniz* (έγερ σὶζ κιοτουρμέσινιζ, 7:6-7) 'if you do not take it away',

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56 On the variants <νγ> and <γ> for /ñ/ see Eckmann, "Anadolu Karamanlı Ağızlarına Ait Araştırmalar," 193-194 and Kappler, "Note a proposito di 'Ortografia Caramanlidica'," 327.
57 Kabataş, "Kıbrıs Türkçesinin Ses Bilgisi Özellikleri," 97.
58 Argunşah, "Kıbrıs Türk Ağzında Ünlü Değişmeleri," 9.
59 Kabataş reports that /r/ in the middle of words may be elided in Cypriot Turkish, "Kıbrıs Türkçesinin Ses Bilgisi Özellikleri," 97.

götürmezseñiz Ott., *götürmezseniz* ST; *o kızı yalnız brakmasın ve beraber götürmesin* (πράκμασιν and κιοτουρμέσην, 6:17-18) 'you will not leave that girl alone and will not take her with you', *bırakmazsın* Ott., *bırakmazsın* ST; *götürmezsin* Ott. and ST.

Elision of vowels

Elision of /ı/ and /i/ (similarity between KT and AT)

Occurs in both KT and AT with the Ott. and ST verb *bırak-* 'to leave'; in KT e.g. in *brakmasın* (πράκμασιν, 6:17) and *bragıp/brakıp* (πραγὴπ / πρακὶπ, 7:14 and 23:14 respectively). In AT, this verb occurs 8 times with elision: *braḳıb* (պրաքըպ, 5:17, 6:14, 28:27, 33:12), *braḳamazsın* (պրաքամազսըն, 9:27), *braḳdım* (պրաքտըմ, 11:9), *braḳır mıyım* (պրաքըր մըյըմ,14:1), *braḳır* (պրաքըր, 15:5), and thrice without elision: *bıraḳıb* (պըրաքըպ, 31:2), *bıraġıb* (պըրաղըպ, 11:6), and *bıraḳırız* (պըրաքըրըզ, 24:2). Another example in AT is *çayrına* (չայրընա, 10:17), 'to his meadow', *çayrına*.

In KT, word-final /i/ following /ğ/ may be elided: *işitiğ gibi* (ἰσιτίγ κηπὴ, 33:3), 'as soon as she/he heard', *işitdigi gibi* Ott. and *işittiği gibi* ST, but also without elision: *işitiği gibi* (ἰσιτιγὶ κιπὶ, 29:19-20). This does not occur in AT.

Elision of a vowel at word boundary (V#V) (dissimilarity between KT and AT)

This is not frequent in KT and may reflect a Sandhi tendency to elide the first vowel in cases of V#V. For example: *besled ondan soñra* (πεσλὲτ ὀντὰν σόγρα, 4:34), 'he fed [and] after that', *besledi ondan soñra* Ott. and ST; *dua eyled oğlan* (τουὰ ἐγλὲδ ὀγλὰν, 5:12), 'he prayed. The son', *du'ā eyledi. Oğlan* Ott., *dua eyledi oğlan* ST.

There is no instance of such an elision in AT.

Gemination

Elimination of gemination[60] (dissimilarity between KT and AT)

This is moderately frequent in KT; e.g., *hakından gelir* (χακιντὰν κελὶρ, 8:12-13), '(he) will vanquish (him)'; *ḥaḳḳından* Ott., *hakkından* ST; *kuvet* (κουб̃ὲτ, 25:23), 'power', *ḳuvvet* Ott., *kuvvet* ST; *helalığa* (χελαλιγὰ, 6:7), 'a legitimate spouse, dat.', *ḥelāllığa* Ott., *helallığa* ST; *yatı* (γιατὶ, 30:16), '(he) lied down', *yattı* ST; *teseli* (τεσελὴ, 8:20), 'consolation'.

In AT, this is very rare; e.g., *taamül* (թաամիլ, 32:16), 'endurance', *taḥammül* Ott., *tahammül* ST; *samur* (սամուր, 11:13), 'sable', *semmūr* Ott., *samur* ST.

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[60] Caferoğlu mentions the elimination of gemination especially in loanwords (Ahmet Caferoğlu, "Die anatolischen und rumelischen Dialekte," in *Philologicae Turcicae Fundamenta*, Vol. 1., eds. Jean Deny et al. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1959), § 232.13, 255.

Creation of gemination[61] (dissimilarity between KT and AT)

Some instances of arbitrary gemination may be the result of faulty type-setting as the result of dictation.[62] Another cause of arbitrary gemination was presumably emphasizing (stressing) words in the oral rendition of a text.[63]

In KT arbitrary gemination occurs occasionally; e.g.: *illa* (ἴλλα, 6:30, 12:5) but also *ila* (ἰlὰ, 20:34), 'with', *ile* Ott. and ST; *attı* (ἀττὶ, 4:21), 'the horse, acc.', *atı* Ott. and ST, but also *atını* (ἀτηνῆ, 27:21), 'your horse, acc.', *atını* Ott. and ST; *akksamdan* (ἀκξαμτὰν, 27:21), 'evening, abl.', *akşamdan* Ott. and *akşamdan* ST. The doubling of a vowel may also show stress through longer duration, suggesting that the text was dictated. For example, *beğeendiğin* (πεγεεντιγὴν, 3:22), '[the horse] that you have chosen' may reflect oral emphasis to show anger at the choice of a horse.

This is very rare in AT and only with /l/; e.g.: *ahallisine* (ահալլիսինէ, 8:18), 'to the people [of Bolu]', *ahālīsine* Ott., *ahalisine* ST; *hille* (հիլլէ, 9:22), 'trick', *ḥīle* Ott., *hile* ST; *hellak* (հէլլաք, 44:4), 'destruction, death', *helāk* Ott., *helak* ST.

Prothesis of /y/ in Turkish words[64] (similarity between KT and AT)

There are a few instances of this in KT and AT, some of which concern the same words. E.g., the word *üzre/üzere* and *üzeri* 'on, upon' Ott. and ST: *yüzre* (γουζρὲ, 19:3), *yüzerindendir* (γουζεριντέντηρ, 19:26-27; corr. *üzerindedir*) and *yüzerimize* (ելիզէրիմիզէ, 22:17); the verb *yeriş-/ériş-* Ott., *eriş-* ST, 'to reach': *yerişti* (γεριστή, 31:23), *yerişeim* (γερισεὶμ, 31:15) and *yerişir* (եէրիշիր, 43:29), *yerişeyim* (եէրիշէյիմ, 44:19). Only in AT: *yıraḳdan* (եըրաղտան, 15:14), 'from far', *ıraḳdan* Ott., *ıraktan* ST.

Prothesis in loanwords[65] (dissimilarity between KT and AT)

This is rare in KT; e.g.: *ilazım* (ἰlαζὶμ, 32:28), 'necessary', *lāzim* Ott., *lazım* ST; *utamaşa*

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[61] Caferoğlu, "Die anatolischen und rumelischen Dialekte," § 232.13, 255: "Zuweilen findet sich Gemination über das in der Schriftsprache vorkommende Maß hinaus, besonders bei Sibilanten."

[62] Cf. Bernt Brendemoen, "An Eighteenth-Century Karamanlidika Codex," in *Cries and Whispers in Karamanlidika Books. Proceedings of the First International Conference on Karamanlidika Studies* (*Nicosia, 11-13 September 2008*), eds. Evangelia Balta and Matthias Kappler (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010), 272: "The fact that the text has been dictated becomes clear from notations such as *anca-bbil* (l. 13), where the person dictating must have stressed *bil* 'know' so strongly that it has been perceived by the scribe as having a geminate initial consonant."

[63] Cf. Leylâ Karahan, *Anadolu Ağızlarının Sınıflandırılması* (Ankara, Türk Dil Kurumu Yay., 1996), 32, footnote 44: (in translation) "One of the reasons for the gemination of consonants that can be seen in every period and every region since Old Turkish is emphasis."

[64] Caferoğlu states that the addition of *y-* is frequent; see "Die anatolischen und rumelischen Dialekte," §232.10, 254.

[65] Cf. Caferoğlu, "Die anatolischen und rumelischen Dialekte," §22282, 247: 'Gleichfalls erscheinen (in fast allen Dialekten) Vokalprothesen usw., vor allem bei Fremdwörtern, die mit *l*, *r* (seltener anderen Lauten) beginnen oder eine der türkischen Phonologie ungewohnte Konsonantenfolge aufweisen.'

(οὐταμασὰ, 5:16), but also *tamaşa* (ταμασὰ, 7:34), 'to look on, to see', *temāşā* Ott., *temaşa* ST. There is no instance of this in AT.

Epenthesis (Anaptyxis) (partial similarity between KT and AT)

This occurs occasionally in KT; e.g., *sıçra-* 'to jump': *sıçıra(y)ıp* (σιτζιραγὶπ, 8:8-9; σιτζίραὶπ, 23:26), *sıçrayub* Ott., *sıçrayıp* ST; *sıçaradı* (σιτζαρατὴ, 25:21-22), *sıçradı* Ott., *sıçradı* ST; *kısırahııla* (κισιραχήηλα, 15:5), 'with his mare', *ḳısraġıyla* Ott., *kısrağıyla* ST; *doğuru* (τογουροὺ, 19:3), 'directly', *ṭ/doğru* Ott., *doğru* ST; *deri, hal* (τέρι, χὰλ, 7:10; τερι, χὰλ [sic], 15:1), 'at once', *der-ḥāl* Ott., *derhal* ST; *girüz* (κιροῦζ, 29:32), 'a mace used in battle', *gürz* Ott. and ST; *Şehirin* (Σεχιρὶν, 4:14), 'the town's', but *Bolu şehrinde* (Πολοὺ σεχριντὲ, 5:7), 'in the town', and *şehri* (σεχρὶ, 5:15-16), 'the town, acc.', *şehiriñ* Ott., *şehirin* ST, *şehrinde* and *şehri* Ott. and ST; *izinin* (ἰζινὶν, 25:19), 'your permission, gen.', *iz̲niñ* Ott., *iznin* ST; *fikira* (φικιρὰ, 6:28), 'thought, dat.', *fikre* Ott. and ST.

The very rare occurrence in AT is mostly with *sıçra-*: *sıçıradı* (սրչրասւոր, 27:3-4), *sıçıradıb* (սրչրասւորպ, 27:15), *sıçradub* Ott., *sıçratıp* ST; *sıçırayıb* (սրչրայրպ, 12:11-12, 36:21-22, 37:27, 41:24-25). Also *ḳısıraḳdan* (զրսրասզսամ, 22:3), 'from the mare, abl.', *ḳısraḳdan* Ott., *kısraktan* ST, as well as, with s > z, *ḳızıraġıyla* (զրզրրասրրլս, 21:27-28), 'with their mare'.

Metathesis (dissimilarity between KT and AT)

Metathesis in both Turkish words and loanwords is quite frequent in KT, which has a significant number of various dialectal characteristics, but occurs rarely in AT, which is largely devoid of dialectal traits.[66] In KT, e.g.: *kevran* (κεβράν, 19:15; κεβρὰν, 19:27), 'caravan', *kārbān/kārvān* Ott., *kervan* ST; *devrişin* (τεβρισὶν, 28:11), 'dervish, gen.', *dervīşiñ* Ott., *dervişin* ST; *sımarlamış* (σιμαρλαμίς, 22:24), verb *ısmarla-* 'to order', *ısmarlamış* Ott., *ısmarlamış* ST; *dribünü* (τριπουνοῦ, 23:10), 'fieldglass, acc.', *dūr-bīni* Ott., *dürbünü* ST; *iksmetidir* (ἰκσμετίτιρ, 25:33), 'it is his fortune', *ḳısmetidür* Ott., *kısmetidir* ST; verb *söyle-* 'to say': *sölyedi* (σολϊεδή, 8:1), *söyledi* Ott. and ST; *söyeldikta* (σοϊελτίκτα, 13:5), but close by without metathesis *söyledikta* (σοϊλετίκτα, 13:13), *söyledikde* Ott., *söyledikte* ST; *pederinerdeki* (πεδερινὲρδέκι, 7:4), 'he says to his father that', *pederine dèr ki* Ott., *pederine der ki* ST; *öldülerim* (ὀλτουλερὶμ, 18:31-32), 'let's kill', *öldürelim* Ott. and ST; *ezdrehaye* (ἐζτρεχαγὲ, 12:11), 'to a dragon, dat.', *ejderhāya* Ott., *ejderhaya* ST; *garyet* (γαργιέτ, 27:14) 'effort', *ġayret* Ott., *gayret* ST; *tercübe* (τερτζουπὲ, 32:33), '[here:] test', *tecribe* Ott., *tecrübe* vulg. and ST.

In AT, e.g.: *kevran* (բէվրամ, 28:7); *Devrişin* (Տէվրիշին, 40:14); *sımarladı* (սրմարլասր, 32:12-13); *üryasında* (իւրեասրնսա, 31:8), 'in his dream', *üryasına* (իւրեասրմս, 31:13-14), 'to his dream', *rü'yāsında* and *rü'yāsına* Ott., *rüyasında* and *rüyasına* ST, but also without metathesis *ruyade* (ոույասէ,

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66 This is in keeping with Caferoğlu's statement that metathesis is quite frequent in argot; Caferoğlu, "Die anatolischen und rumelischen Dialekte," §232.11, 254: "[Metathese ist] recht häufig, vor allem bei Gruppen mit *l* und *r*, besonders im Argot, meist bei Fremdwörtern, in Kontakt wie auch Fernstellung."

36:11) and *rüyade* (ημιմωմ, 37:25), 'in a dream'; *cayireler*, *cayirelere* and *cayireleri* (Ճшյιηριɛρ, 40:25, Ճшյιηριɛρɛ 41:1-2, Ճшյιηριɛρի, 41:3-4), 'female slaves, nom., dat., acc.', *cāriyeler* Ott., *cariyeler* ST.

Exchanges

Exchanges of vowels (partial similarity between KT and AT)

/a/ > /e/ This is scarcer in KT than in AT, but sometimes concerns the same words, as e.g., *helas* (χελὰς, 18:3) and *ḥelas* (ιυɛιшω, 26:3), 'salvation', *ḫalāş* Ott., *halas* ST. In KT also, e.g., *behader* (πεχατὲρ, 5:20), 'brave', *bahādır* Ott., *bahadır* ST; *zire* (ζίρε: 22:19), 'because', *zīrā* in Ott., *zira* in ST. In AT, e.g., *ḳısseyi* (զρшшɛյիh, 6:8), 'story, acc.', *ḳışşa* Ott., *kıssa* ST; *taḳet* (ρшզɛρ, 24:22), 'strength', *ṭāḳat* Ott., *takat* ST; *ferk* and *ferki* (ֆɛρρ, ֆɛρρի, 28:12, 33:11-12), 'difference, nom., acc.', *farḳ, farḳı* Ott., *fark, farkı* ST; *heyran* (hɛյρшú, 12:8), 'perplexed', *ḥayrān* Ott., *hayran* ST, as well as *hayran* (hшյρшú, 10:9). As seen from these examples the change /a/ > /e/ mostly occurs in Arabic and Persian loanwords. Its occurrence in Turkish words is not quite consistent as one reads *yareleri* and *yarelerini* (ɛшρɛιɛρի, 47:1; ɛшρɛιɛρիúի, 43:11) 'his wounds, nom., acc.', *yaraları* and y*aralarını* Ott. and ST; and also *yaralarını* and *yaralarına* (ɛшρшιшρρúρ, 43:1, 44:7; ɛшρшιшρρúш, 45:20-21), 'his wounds, acc., dat.'. In KT, there are instances of this exchange in the verbal suffixes -dIlAr and -mIşlAr; e.g., *oturduler* (ὀτουρδουλὲρ, 12:17; ὀτουρτουλὲρ, 25:10-11; 31:4), 'they sat down/they sat', *oturdılar* Ott., *oturdular* ST; *olmuşler* (ὀλμουσλὲρ, 32:14), 'they became', *olmışlar* Ott., *olmuşlar* ST.

/a/ > /ı/ An instance in KT: *gece yırısındasora* (κετζε γιρισιντάσορα, 27:28-29), 'after midnight', *gèce yarısından şoñra* Ott., *gece yarısından sonra* ST. There is no instance in AT.

/è/ > /e/ or /i / ⁶⁷ In KT and AT the two scripts reflect both /è/ > /e/ and /è/ > /i/; e.g.: *deyip* (δεγὶπ, 5:26), gerund of *de-* 'to say', *dèyüb* Ott., *deyip* ST; *dedi* (τετὶ, 3:22), 'he said'; *edip* (ἐτὶπ, 4:22), gerund of *et-* 'to do', *èdüb* Ott., *edip* ST, but also *idüp* (ἰτοὺπ, 3:31). In AT there is the same duality; e.g., *deyub* (υɛյριιш, 11:11; 19:28), but *idub* (hιιριιш, 8:9;15:8, 10); *ider* (hιυɛρ, 5:6), *ederler* (ɛυɛριɛρ, 18:5). In KT and AT for *gèce/gece* Ott., *gece* ST, 'night': in KT once *gice* (κιτζὲ, 22:1), repeatedly *gece* (κετζὲ, 14:3); in AT once *gece* (զɛɑ̄ɛ, 39:23) but much more frequently *gice* (զիɑ̄ɛ, 20:15).

/e/ > /i/ Very rare both in KT and AT; e.g., in KT *mübaşire* (μουπασιρὲ, 15:3), 'a proceeding to execute an act', *mübāşeret* Ott., *mübaşeret* ST; *hiybe* (χιγπὲ; 33:14), 'a saddle-bag', *hegbe* Ott., *heybe* ST; *ilfida* (ἰλφιτὰ, 33:21), 'a farewell', *el-vedā'* Ott., *elveda* ST. In AT *elvida* (ɛιɩhιшш, 37:13 and 42:1); the verb *eyle-* 'to do' is sometimes *iyle-* but much more often *eyle-*; e.g., *ḥaber iylediler* (ιшшɩɛρ իյιɛшիɛρ, 5:10), 'they informed', *naḳl iyledi* (úшզɩ իյιɛшի, 36:17), 'he reported', but *naḳl eyledi* (úшզɩ ɛյιɛшի, 36:11).

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⁶⁷ Kabataş reports that /è/ does not change to /i/ but remains as /e/ in the Cypriot Turkish dialects, "Kıbrıs Türkçesinin Ses Bilgisi Özellikleri," 90.

/i/ > /e/   There is a limited and not consistent tendency to this in KT and, much less pronounced, in AT;[68] e.g., *ferakına* (φερακινὰ, 22:28) and *ferakına* (ֆէրաքինա, 32:16), 'separation, dat.', *firākına* Ott., *firakına* ST. In KT, e.g., *eşitip* (εσιτὶπ, 6:28), gerund of *işit-/eşit-*, 'to hear', but also *işitiği* (ὶσιτιγὶ, 29:19-20), 'that which he heard', *işitdigi* Ott., *işittiği* ST; *işter* (ὶστέρ, 6:30), 'it is a matter/affair', *işdir* Ott., *iştir* ST; *zehniyi* (ζεχνιγὶ [sic], 6:20), 'his/her mind (acc.)', *zihnini* Ott., *zihnini* ST; *geterin* (πετέριν, 17:8), 'bring', *getirin* Ott. and ST; *seze* (σεζέ, 6:27), but also *size* (σιζέ, 6:18), 'to you', *size* Ott. and ST; *behoş* (ρεχῶς, 29:33), 'insensible', *bī-hoş* Ott., *bihuş* ('dazed') ST; *atın terkesine* (ἀτὶν τερκεσηνέ, 7:7; ἀτὶν τερκεσινὲ, 7:32), but *atın terkisine* (ἀτὶν τερκισινὲ, 7:30), 'the place behind the saddle of the horse (dat.)', *atıñ terkisine* Ott., *atın terkisine* ST; *ben* (πέν, 6:5), 'thousand', *biñ/bin* Ott., *bin* ST. In AT, e.g.: *enib* (Էնիպ, 32:26), gerund of *in-*, 'to go down', *inüb* Ott., *inip* ST; *endirsinler* (Էնտիրսինլէր, 29:6-7), *indir-* 'to lower', 'let them lower', but also *indi* (ինտի, 7:16), 'he came down'.

/ı/ > /i/   This exchange cannot be ascertained for sure in this type-script of KT, as *ı* and *i* are not strictly distinguishable. There are some rather rare instances in AT; e.g.: *silama* (սիլամա, 6:12), 'to my homeland', *şılama* Ott., *sılama* ST; *riza* (րիզա, 46:11), 'consent', *riżā* Ott., *rıza* ST; *ḫasim* (խասիմ, 46:8), 'adversary', *ḫaṣm/ḫaṣım* Ott., *hasım* ST.

/i/ >/ı/   This exchange cannot be ascertained with certainty in this type-script of KT, as *ı* and *i* are not strictly distinguishable (see 'Script' above). In AT it is relatively frequent; e.g.: *vakıtlarda* (վաքըթլարտա, 23:26), 'times, loc.', *vakitlerde* Ott., *vakitlerde* ST; *hanı* (հանը, 45:8-9, only once) and *hani* (հանի, 23:21, 32:22), 'where', *hani* Ott. and *hani* ST; *dıkkat* (տըքքաթ, 20:10), 'careful attention', *dikkat* Ott., *dikkat* ST; *ḫızmet* (խըզմէթ, 35:18), 'service', *ḫidmet* (vulg. *ḫizmet*) Ott., *hizmet* ST; *zalım* (զալըմ, 8:17), 'cruel', *ẓālim* Ott., *zalim* ST.

/i/ > /ü/   Very rare in KT: *hüsmet* (χουσμὲτ, 24:32) and *hüzmetkiarlar* (χουζμετκιαρλὰρ, 15:22), 'service' and 'servants', *ḫidmet* (vulg. *ḫizmet*) Ott., *hizmet* ST; *perüşan* (περουσὰν, 20:32), 'disordered; wretched', *perīşān* Ott., *perişan* ST. Non-existent in AT.

/o/ > /u/   An instance in KT: *utururken* (ὑτουρούρκεν, 23:7), 'while sitting', *otururken* Ott. and ST. Consistently with one word in AT, viz.,: *buynuzlu* (պույնուզլու, 10:15), 'horned', *boynuzlu* in Ott. and ST.[69]

/u/ > /o/   Both KT and AT show such a tendency but only with certain Turkish words;[70] e.g. with *uğrat-* 'to let someone come by': *oğratmazıdı* (ὀγρατμάζητι, 17:2-3), *oğratmaz* (օղրաթմազ, 24:18-19); *uğraş-* 'to strive': *oğraşmakta* (ὀγρασμακτὰ, 17:3), *oğraşmakda* (օղրաշմաքտա,

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[68]   Argunşah states that /i/ > /e/ is very frequent in Cypriot Turkish, "Kıbrıs Türk Ağzında Ünlü Değişmeleri," 19-20.

[69]   For *buynuz* (*boynuz* ST) cf. the online version of *Derleme Sözlüğü*, accessed May 25, 2023, https://sozluk.gov.tr/: used all over Anatolia.

[70]   Argunşah reports the occurrence of /u/ > /o/ for both Turkish words and loanwords in Cypriot Turkish, "Kıbrıs Türk Ağzında Ünlü Değişmeleri,"19-20.

KARAMANLI, ARMENO-TURKISH, OTTOMAN VERSIONS OF *KÖROĞLU*

24:20), *oğraşdılar* (οηπαշσηլιαρ, 32:21); *yokarı* (γιοκαρὶ, 5:28), *yoḳarı* (եoզαրը, 15:25), 'high, upper', *yuḳarı* Ott., *yukarı* ST.[71]

/u/ > /ö/ There is no instance of this in KT and only one instance in AT: *diger gön* (ոիկէր կէoն, 36:9), 'altered', *dīger-gūn* Ott.

/u/ > /ü/ Very rare in both KT and AT: *meskür* (μεσκιοὺρ, 27:32), 'mentioned', *meẕkūr* Ott., *mezkûr* ST; *mezkür* (մէզքիւր, 39:20); *süal* (սիւալ, 10:12, consistently), 'question', *su'āl* Ott., *sual* ST.

/ü/ > /i/ This is seen in some words in KT and AT; e.g., in KT and AT *mümkün* (μουμκιοὺν, 19:1),'possible', *mümkin* Ott., *mümkün* ST; *bitün* (πιτοὺν, 10:11) and *bitün* (պիթիւն, 15:8), 'whole, entire', *bütün* Ott. and ST. In AT *mirur* (միրուր, 7:1), 'times of occurrence', *mürūr* Ott., *mürur* ST; *minasib* (մինասիպ, 21:23), 'suitable', *minasibeti* (մինասիպէթի, 9:25), '(her) suitability', *münāsibeti* Ott., *münasebeti* ST.

/ü/ > /ö/ In KT, the word *büyük* 'big; great' is once *böyük* (πιογιοὺκ, 4:3-4), but otherwise *büyük* (πουγοῦκ, πουγιούκ, πουγιοῦκ, and πουγιοὺκ, 22:20, 23:2, 25:23, 29:20 respectively, and πουγουκλερὲ, 28:23-24, *büyüklere* for *büyükleri* 'the important people, acc.'), *büyük* Ott. and ST, *böyük* in Anatolian dialects.[72] The change ü > ö is also seen in *Ȫşini* (Ὀσινὶ, 29:34), 'the three, acc.', *üçünü* Ott. and ST. This exchange occurs with only one word in AT, viz. *böyük* (պէoյիք, passim); *böyüklerinden* (պէoյիքլէրինտէն, 40:28-41:1), 'of the important people'.

/ü/ > /u/ No discernible instance in KT as this type-script has no unequivocal way of rendering /ü/. In AT: e.g., *deyu* (ոէյու, 5:10), *deyub* (ոէյուպ, 11:11), gerund of *de-* 'to speak'; *idub* (իտուպ, 6:21), 'gerund of *et-* ' to do'; *içun* (իչուն, 12:26), 'for, in order to', *içün/için* Ott., *için* ST, but also *için* (իչին, 10:5) and *içün* (իչիւն, 9:1).

Exchanges of consonants (partial dissimilarity between KT and AT)

Exchanges of *hamza*: /ʾi/ > /v/ and /ʾi/ > /y/

Not frequent in either KT or AT. In KT, e.g.: *dayima* (τάγημα, 24:31), 'always', *dāʾimā* Ott., *daima* ST; *sıval* (σιδὰλ, 6:28) 'question', *su'āl* Ott., *sual* ST; *seyise* (σεγισὲ, 3:11), 'groom, dat.', *se'īs*, vulg. *seyis* Ott., *seyis* ST. In AT, e.g.: *ġayb oldu* (ηայպ օլսու, 31:26-27), 'he disappeared', *ġāʾib oldı* Ott., *kayboldu* ST; with exchange and elision of /i/: *dayma* (ոայմա, 35:18), 'always', *dāʾimā* Ott., *daima* ST.

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[71] For *oğraşmak* (*uğraşmak* ST) cf. the online version of *Derleme Sözlüğü,* accessed May 25, 2023, https://sozluk.gov.tr/: used in Erzurum, Rize and Artvin; also used in Cypriot Turkish dialects, as reported by Argunşah, "Kıbrıs Türk Ağzında Ünlü Değişmeleri," 24.

[72] *Derleme Sözlüğü* II (Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1965), 773-4: "böyuk [böyüḫ, böyüyh, böyyük]" and "böyüḫ". Tietze, *Tarihi ve Etimolojik Türkiye Türkçesi Lugatı*, I: A-E, 383 on *böyük* being the form used in Anatolian Turkish dialects, while *büyük* is used in contemporary standard Turkish of Turkey. Argunşah, "Kıbrıs Türk Ağzında Ünlü Değişmeleri," 25 on /ü/ > /ö/ being one of the most frequent vowel changes in Cypriot Turkish, whereby some of these instances are not changes but the preservation of an original /ö/.

27

Exchanges of ʿ (ʿayn)

/ʿ/ > ' (apostrophe) This is found only in AT and only in one word; the apostrophe signals a minimal pause: *Allah Ta'alyanın* (Ալլահ Թա'ալեանըն, 21:21), 'God, may He be exalted, gen.', *Allah taʿālānuñ* Ott., *tealanın* ST; *Haḳ Ta'alya* (Հաք Թաալեա, 22:1), 'God, may He be exalted', *Ḥaḳḳ teʿālā* Ott., *Hak teala* ST.

/ʿ/ > /a/ This is rare both in KT and AT; e.g. *cumaa* (τζουμαὰ, 15:3) and (ճումաա, 21:26), 'Friday', *cumʿa* Ott., *cuma* ST; *etbaalar* (ἐτπάαλαρ, 16:20), 'the attendants', *etbāʿlar* Ott.; *etbaalarına* (Էթպաալարընա, 6:2-3), 'to his attendants'; only in AT *vaḳaa* (վաքաա,17:26), 'occurrence', *vaḳʿa* Ott., *vaka* ST.

/ʿ/ > /ğ/ This is found only in KT and there only once: *kanağat* (καναγὰτ, 21:2), 'conviction', *ḳanāʿat* Ott., *kanaat* ST.

/ʿ/ > /h/ This is found only in AT; e.g.: *ḳanahat* (քանահատ, 30:8), 'contentment', *ḳanāʿat* Ott., *kanaat* ST; *sahat* (սահատ, 18:25), 'hour', *sāʿat* Ott., *saat* ST.

/ʿ/ > /v/ Only in KT and there only in one instance: *dovası nı* (τοδασὶ νὴ [sic], 25:17), 'his prayer', *duʿāsını* Ott., *duasını* ST.

/ʿ/ > /y/ This is rare in both KT and AT; e.g.: *yinadına* (γινατηνὰ, 9:8), 'out of obstinacy', *ʿinādına* Ott., *inadına* ST; *yüryan* (γιουργιὰν, 10:11), 'naked, bare', *ʿuryān* Ott., *üryan* ST; *zayif* (զայիֆ, 43:6), 'weak, thin', *żaʿīf* Ott., *zayif* ST.

/ʿ/ > /yı/ There is no instance of this in KT and only one instance in AT: *etbayılar* (Էթպայըլար, 23:27) 'attendants'.

/ʿ/ > /yi/ There is no instance of this in KT and only one instance in AT: *fiyile* (ֆիյիլէ, 12:13), 'action (dat.)', *fiʿl* Ott., *fiil* ST.

/b/ > /f, -v/ Only one instance in both KT and AT: *pertaf* (περτὰφ, 19:30; 20:5) and *ṗertav/pertav* (պէրթավ, 27:3; փէրթավ, 28:19) 'leap', *pertāb/pertāv/pertev* Ott., *pertev* ST.

/ç/ > /ş/[73] A couple of occurrences in KT: *geşti* (κεστι, 27:32), 'she passed to', *geçdi* Ott., *geçti* ST; *Öşini* ('Οσινὶ, 29:34), 'the three, acc.', *üçünü* Ott. and ST. No instance in AT.

/d/ > /t/ Such a change is not discernible in KT because <δ> and <τ> are used for both /d/ and /t/. A few instances are found in AT; e.g.: *tükyanına* (թիւքեանընա, 10:18), but also *dükyanına* (տիւքեանընա, 18:11), 'to his shop'; *bet* (պէթ, 9:20), 'ugly, bad', *bed* Ott. and *bet* ST.

/g/ > /y/ In KT, such an exchange is seen sporadically with infinitives, reflecting a partial change from the full infinitive -mAk to the shortened infinitive -mA. The difference between /ğ/ and /y/ is rendered through the use of <γ> and <γι>, respectively;[74] e.g., *ağlamaya başlaıp* (ἀγλαμαγιὰ

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[73] It is interesting to note that this exchange occurs in Cypriot Turkish; cf. Kabataş, "Kıbrıs Türkçesinin Ses Bilgisi Özellikleri," 101; one of the examples given is 'geş- < geç-'. In *Derleme Sözlüğü* VI (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1972), 2007, the occurrence of *geşmek* in the meaning of *geçmek* is recorded for Ordu and Gümüşhane in north-east Anatolia.

[74] See Kappler, "Note a proposito di 'Ortografia Caramanlidica'," 325-326, on the composite grapheme <γι>.

πασλαὴπ, 8:19), 'began to weep (and)', *ağlamağa başlayub* Ott., *ağlamağ/ya başlayıp* ST; *bakmaya başladı* (*πακμαγιὰ πασλατὴ*, 13:33), 'began to look (at)', *bakmağa* Ott., *bakmağ/ya* ST; but *örtmeğe başladı* (*όρτμεγέ πασλατῆ*, 14:14), 'began to cover', *örtmege* Ott., *örtmeğ/ye* ST; *kişnemeğe başladı* (*κισνεμεγὲ πασλατὴ*, 17:23-24), 'began to neigh', *kişnemege* Ott., *kişnemeğ/ye* ST. There seems to be a slight but more general tendency to g > y in AT; e.g., *iyne deliyi* (*ḥյûԷ ทԷլḥյḥ*, 7:5), 'needle eye', *igne deligi* Ott., *iğne deliği* ST; *düyün* (*ทุḥυ̨ḥú*, 47:7), 'wedding feast', *dügün* Ott., *düğün* ST; *deyişdirdim* (*ทԷյḥ₂ทḥnทḥ́*, 5:27), 'I changed', *degişdirdim* Ott., *değiştirdim* ST; *gördüyü gibi* (*կԷopทḥյḥ կḥụḥ*, 5:23 and passim), 'the moment he saw', *gördigi* Ott., *gördüğü* ST; *beyendiyi atı* (*ụḢyḰûท¡ḥ աрр*, 6:4), 'the horse that he liked', *begendigi* Ott., *beğendiği* ST.

/h/ > /ğ/   In KT, exceptionally *İbrağim* (*'Ιπραγìμ*, 6:32), 'Abraham', personal name, *İbrāhim* Ott., *İbrahim* ST, otherwise *İbrağim* (*'Ιπραχίμ,* 7:13, *'Ιπραχìμ,* 7:16, 33). There are no instances in AT.

/k/ > /g/[75]   Such a change is not discernible in KT because <κ> is used for both /k/ and /g/. In AT there is a tendency to this exchange, especially after /s/; e.g.: *p̆üsgürme* (*рḥuկḥɾմԷ*, 11:14), 'scattered', *püskürme* Ott., *püskürme* ST; *Üsgüdara* (*Ḣıuկḥıпшɾш*, 10:16), 'to Üsküdar'; *asger* (*uuկԷɾ*, 42:23), *asgerler* (*uuկԷɾιԷɾ*, 44:3), 'soldier(s)', *'askerler* Ott., *askerler* ST; but more frequently *asker* (*uuɾԷɾ*, 46:11); *işitdigleri gibi* (*ḥ₂ḥɾทḥկιԷɾḥ կḥụḥ*, 25:8),'the moment they heard', *işitdükleri* Ott., *işittikleri* ST; *hakgından gelir* (*huqկɾûûшû կԷɾḥɾ*, 12:16-17), 'he will vanquish (him)'; *hakkından* Ott., *hakkından* ST; *Hakga* (*Ձuqկш*, 6:25), 'God, dat.', *hakka* Ott., *hakka* ST; *bölüg* (*ụԷoḥḥկ*, 42:23) and *bölük* (*ụԷoḥḥɾ*, 41:24), 'division', *bölük* Ott. and ST.

/q/ > /g/[76]   In KT, there is no discernible instance of such an exchange, i.e. with /g/ rendered unequivocally. In AT, there is only one instance: *aşgı* (*ш₂կɾ*, 42:19), 'his love', *'ışkı/'aşkı* Ott., *aşkı* ST.

/k/ > /h/   There is no instance in AT and only one instance in KT: *mahbul* (*μαχπούλ*, 20:34; 32:30), 'accepted', *makbūl* Ott., *makbul* ST.

/m/ > /n/   There is no instance in AT and one instance in KT: *şindi* (*Σίντη*, 27:3), 'now', *şimdi* Ott. and ST.

/ñ/ > /n/   A rare reflection of this in KT: *sonra* (*σόνρα*, 5:27), 'after', *soñra* Ott., *sonra* ST. Kabataş states that even though the nasal /ñ/ changes to /n/ in Standard Turkish, it continues to exist in some of the Anatolian dialects and almost all of the Cypriot Turkish dialects up to the present.[77] In AT, e.g., *sonra* (*uoûɾш*, 8:1) and *Benli* (*ЛԷûιḥ*, only in 31:12; 45:9).

/ñl/ > /ñn/, /ğn/, /ġn/, /yn/   In KT, e.g., *añnar/ağnar gibi* (*άγνὰρ κιπὶ*, 13:24), 'as if understanding',

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75 Cf. Caferoğlu, "Die anatolischen und rumelischen Dialekte," §23221, 250: "Der Übergang *k-* > *g-* über das Maß der Schriftsprache hinaus erscheint nur sporadisch [...] Auch *-k-* > *-g-* nur selten [...] *-k* > *-g* zuweilen im Sandhi."

76 Cf. Caferoğlu, "Die anatolischen und rumelischen Dialekte," §23221, 249-250.

77 Kabataş, "Kıbrıs Türkçesinin Ses Bilgisi Özellikleri," 88.

añnadı/ağnadı (ἀγνατὴ, 13:34), '(she) understood', from *añla-* Ott., *anla-* ST, 'to understand'; *diñnemeye/diğnemeye* (τιγνεμεγέ, 23:19-20), 'to listen (dat.)', *diñnemeyip/diğnemeyip* (τιγνέμεγιπ, 28:10), 'not pay attention (and)', from *diñle-* (vulg. *dinne-, dine-*) Ott., *dinle-* ST, 'to listen; to pay attention'. *Ağnamak* and *diğnemek* occur in Anatolian dialects.[78] In AT e.g., *ağnar* (աղնար, 19:26); *diyneyib* (դիյնէյիպ, 7:7).

/n/ > /m/   Very rare in both KT and AT; e.g., *namkör* (ναμκιὸρ, 8:9; 9:14), 'ungrateful', *nākūr* Ott., *nankör* ST; *sümbüle* (սիւմպիւլէ, 10:7), 'hyacinth, dat.', *sünbüle* Ott., *sümbüle* ST.

/r/ > /l/   In both KT and AT only in one word:, in KT *melhem* (μελχέμ, 32:7-8); and with metathesis almost adjacent *mehlemi* (μεχλεμή, 32:8), 'ointment', in AT *mehlem* and *mehlemi* (մէհլէմ, մէհլէմի, 45:20), *merhem* Ott., vulg. *melhem* Ott., *merhem* ST.

/t/ > /d/   In KT, /d/ is mostly rendered with <τ>, seldom with <δ>, so that the script does not inform one with certainty about an exchange t > d. In AT, e.g., *patırdısını* (փաթըրրտըսընը, 45:7), 'its noise, acc.', *pat/ṭırdısını* Ott., *patırtısını* ST; *rasd* (ռասդ, 46:3), 'straight', *rāst* Ott., *rast* ST; *usda* is used consistently as in *usdanıñ* (ուսդանըն, 18:12), 'master, gen.', *ustanıñ* Ott., *ustanın* ST.

/v/ > /f/   Exceptional occurrence in KT and AT: *feda* (φετὰ, 23:3), 'farewell', *vedā´* Ott., *veda* ST; *zefḳ* (qէֆq, 7:1), 'pleasure', *ẕevḳ* Ott., *zevk* ST.

/v/ > /m/   No instance in KT and only one instance in AT: *tab u tumanleri* (թապ ու թումանլէրի, 41:14-15), 'their power and ability', *tāb u tüvānlarɪ* Ott. In KT: *tab utuvanlarɪ* (τὰπ οὐτουβανλαρή, 29:2).

/v/ > /u/   Only one instance in KT: *gauga* (γαυγὰ, 20:31), 'a tumult', *ġavġā* Ott., 'a quarrel; a fight' *kavga* ST.

/z/ > /s/   In KT, occasionally in verbal endings: *yapmas* (γιαπμᾶs, 12:11), 'does not do', *yapmaz* Ott. and ST; *vermesinis* (βερμέσηνης, 22:30), 'you (pl.) do not give', *vė/ermezsiniz* Ott., *vermezsiniz* ST; *olurus* (ὀλούρους, 20:32), 'we shall be', *oluruz* Ott. and ST. Also in a couple of words in KT: *mahsun* (μαχσοὺν, 12:13), 'grieved', *maḥzūn* Ott., *mahzun* ST; *meskür* (μεσκιοὺρ, 27:32), 'mentioned', *meẕkūr* Ott., *mezkûr* ST. Only one instance in AT: *mahsun* (մահսուն, 17:27), 'grieved'. There are no such verbal endings in AT.

Assimilation[79] (noteworthy dissimilarity between KT and AT)
Progressive assimilation
In KT, e.g.: *onnarı* (όνναρὶ, 13:28), 'them, acc.', *onları* Ott. and ST; *añnayışlı* (ἀγναγισλὶ, 3:10-

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78 *Derleme Sözlüğü* I (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1963), 107; *Derleme Sözlüğü* IV (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1969), 1483.

79 Cf. Caferoğlu, "Die anatolischen und rumelischen Dialekte," §232.12, 254 on assimilations being frequent, with progressive assimilation occurring especially as *nl, nł, nd > nn*.

11), 'understanding', *aññadı* (ἀγνατὴ, 13:34; 31:34), 'she understood', *añla-* Ott., *anla-* ST; *diñne* (τιγνὲ, 30:32), 'listen!', *diñle-* Ott., *dinle-* ST; *sahabi* (σαχαπὴ, 25:23), 'possessor of', *ṣāḥibi* Ott., *ṣāḥabi* vulg., *sahibi* ST. There is no instance in AT.

Regressive assimilation

This is very rare in KT and AT. In KT only *samur* (σαμοὺρ, 7:19) 'sable', *semmūr* Ott., *samur*, *samur* vulg. Ott. and ST; *hayıllısınde* (χαγιλλισιντὲ, 19:27), a mis-construct of *ġā'ilesinde*, 'with the preoccupation', *gailesinde* ST. In AT, e.g., *samur* (սամուր, 11:13), vulg. Ott. and ST. In AT: *belleri* (պէլլէրի, 10:7-8), 'his moles', *beñleri* Ott., *benleri* ST.

Progressive/regressive assimilation

Only one or two instances in KT and AT; e.g., *macarayı* (ματζαραγὴ, 8:16 and մաճարայը, 12:21), 'adventure, acc.', *mā-cerāyı* Ott., *macerayı* ST; in KT: *nasaat* (νασαὰτ with elision of *h*, 25:30), 'advice', *naṣīḥat* Ott., *nasihat* ST.

Dissimilation[80] (similarity between KT and AT)

Dissimilations are rarer than assimilations in KT. They are also rare in AT. Examples of regressive dissimilation: *gazebe* (γαζεπὲ, 30:33; ղազէպէ, 44:2), 'wrath, anger, dat.', *ġażaba* Ott., *gazaba* ST; AT also *ġazab* (ղազապ, 5:23).

The genitive suffix ending (similarity between KT and AT)

In both KT and AT, the genitive suffix ends with /n/, not with /ñ/, and is written with <ν> and <ն> respectively. For example, *pederinin* (πετερινὴν, 5:10 and փէտէրինին, 7:7), 'his father's', *pederinüñ* Ott., *pederinin* ST; *gözü mün* (κιοζοῦ μοὺν,[81] 5:8 and կէօզիւմին, 8:3), 'my eye's'', *gözümüñ* Ott., *gözümün* ST.

Mouillé consonants (similarity between KT and AT)

Mouillé Arabic and Persian consonants rendering /kia/, /gia/, and /lia/ are rendered as follows: /kia/ as <kia> (<κια>) and <kya> (<քեա>); /gia/ as <gia> (<κια>) and <gya> (<կեա>); and /lia/ as <lia> (<λια>, and <lya > (<լեա >). For example: *hikiayeyi* (χικιαγεγι, 1:2, 3:1), *ḥikāye-i* Ott., 'the tale of', *hikâye* ST; *dükkianına* (τουκκιανινὰ, 7:14), 'to his shop, dat.', *dükkān* Ott., *dükkân* ST; *iskyan* (իսքեան, 9:24), 'a settling in', *iskān* Ott., *iskan* ST; *bazirgian* (παζιρκιὰν, 20:2, 7), *Bazirgyan* (Պազիրկեան, 29:1),

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80 Cf. Caferoğlu, "Die anatolischen und rumelischen Dialekte," §232.12, 255 on dissimilations being less frequent than assimilations.

81 A curved line joins the two parts of this word.

bāzirgān Ott., vulg. *bezirgān*; *bezirgan* ST, 'merchant'; *rüzgyar* (ռիւզկեար, 7:5), 'wind', *rūzgār* Ott., *rüzgâr* ST; *alia* (ἀλιὰ, 3:12-13), 'very good' and *alya* (ալեա,18:13).

Vowel harmony (dissimilarity between KT and AT)

Jean Deny writes in his article 'L'osmanlı moderne et le türk de Turquie' that vowel harmony was adhered to much better in conversation than in literary language, both when reading aloud and in writing (regarding the letters *ya* and *vav*).[82]

As far as can be ascertained by the less than satisfactory rendering of vowels in KT, vowel harmony tends to be defective; e.g. behader (πεχατὲρ, 5:20), 'brave', *bahādır* Ott., *bahadır* ST. It is also vacillating, with the variations often close together; e.g., *üzengia* (οὐζενκιὰ, 18:8), 'stirrup, dat.' and *üzengiye* (οὐζενκιγὲ, 18:10).

In AT vowel harmony dominates, but cases of vacillating vowel harmony also occur; e.g., once *Kör oğlunın* (Քէօր օղլունին, 32:6),'*Köroğlu,* gen.', but otherwise *Kör oğlunun* (Քէօր օղլունուն, 9:18); *ḳapusunun* (գաւփսունունն, 43:24), 'its door, gen.', *bunun* (պունուն, 30:3), 'this, gen.' *gözünün* (կէօզիւնիւն, 32:1), 'his eyes, gen.' *pederinin* (փէտէրինին, 7:7), 'his father, gen.' *Ḳasab başının* (Գասապ պաշընն, 10:6), 'the head butcher, gen.'.

Tendency to posterior pronunciation of suffixes even though there is an anterior vowel in the preceding syllable (striking dissimilarity between KT and AT)

This tendency is peculiar to KT. There is no such tendency in AT.

-A KT: *fikira* (φικιρὰ, 6:28), 'thought, dat.', Ott. and ST *fikre*.
AT: no instance.

-dA. KT: *yükta* (γιούκτα, 27:29), 'in weight', *yükde* Ott., *yükte* ST.
AT: no instance.

-dAn KT: *vakittan* (βακιττὰν, 4:2-3),' from the time', *vaḳtdan* (vulg. *vaḳitden*) Ott, *vakitten* ST, but also in accordance with vowel harmony, e.g., *beldiklerinden* (πελτικλεριντὲν, 17:34), 'from what they knew', *bildiklerinden* Ott. and ST.
AT: no instance.

-dIkCA KT: *söyledikca* (σογιλεδίκτσα, 24:28), 'whenever he said', *söyledikce* Ott., *söyledikçe* ST.
AT: no instance.

-DIkDA KT, e.g.: *gördükta* (κιορτούκτα, 13:28), 'when he saw', *gördükde* Ott.; *eşitikta* (ἐσιτίκτα, 11:6) and *işitikta* (ἰσιτικτὰ, 13:19), 'when he heard', *işitdükde* Ott.; *eyledikta* (ἐγλετίκτα,

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[82] Jean Deny, "L'osmanlı moderne et le türk de Turquie," in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* I, eds. Jean Deny et al. (Wiesbaden: Steiner. 1959), 190: "L'harmonie vocalique était beaucoup mieux observée dans la conversation que dans le langage livresque, aussi bien à la lecture à haute voix que dans l'orthographe (pour les lettres *ya* et *vav*)".

17:8), 'when he had [ordered]', *eyledükde* Ott., *dedikda* exceptionally written with <*δ*> (*τετίκδα*, 8:8) but also *dedikta* (*τεδίκτα*, 11:30; *τετίκτὰ*, 24:8), 'when he said', *dèdükde* Ott.[83]

AT: no instance.

-IncA In KT the form *-ınca* is rather more frequent than the form *-ince*, and this entails some vocalic disharmony; e.g., *söyleyinca* (*σογιλεγίντζα*, 20:15), 'when he said', *söyleyince* Ott. and ST; *işidinca* (*ἰσιτίντζα*, 20:16-17; *işindinca*, *ἰσιντίντζα*, 23:26), 'when he heard', *işidince* Ott. and ST; *gelinca* (*κελήντζα*, 20:8), 'when he came', *gelince* Ott. and ST, but also *gelince* (*κελίντζε*, 29:31); *gidince* (*κητήντζε*, 28:2), 'when she went', *gidince* Ott. and ST; *deyince* (*τεγήντζε*, 29:12), 'when she said', *deyince* Ott. and ST.

AT: no instance.

Argunşah notes that the use of *-ince* is rare, whereas that of *-ınca*, under noncompliance with vowel harmony, is frequent in Cypriot Turkish and that this phenomenon is also seen in the North-Eastern Anatolian group of Turkish dialects.[84]

-lAr KT: *vakitlarda* (*βακιτλαρτὰ*, 16:19-20), 'at the time', *vaḳtlarda* (vulg. *vaḳitlerde*) Ott., *vakitlerde* ST.

AT: no instance.

-sA KT: e.g., *gitsa* (*κιτσὰ*, 28:10), 'if he goes', *gitse* in Ott. and ST; *gidersa* (*κιτέρσα*, 3:27), 'if [here: wherever] he goes', *giderse* in Ott. and ST; *dersan* (*τέρσαν*, 6:16), 'if you say', *dèrseñ* Ott., *dersen* ST; *etsam* (*ἐτσὰμ*, 23:5, 6), 'if I do', *ètsem* Ott., *etsem* ST; *deilsa* (*τείλσα*, 32:34), 'if it is not', *degülse/degilse* Ott., *değilse* ST; *görsa* (*κιορσὰ*, 5:22), 'if he sees', *görse* Ott. and ST; *öldürürsan* (*ὀλτουρούρσαν*, 9:18), 'if you kill', *öldürürseñ* Ott., *öldürürsen* ST; *girsam* (*κιρσὰμ*, 17:15-16), 'if I enter'; but also with vowel harmony, e.g., *girse* (*κιρσὲ*, 4:25), 'if he enters'. AT: no instance.

According to Argunşah, in Cypriot Turkish, the conditional suffix attached to stems with anterior vowels can be *-se* or *-sa*, leading to vowel disharmony in the latter case. He notes, too, that this is also seen in the North-Eastern Anatolian group of Turkish dialects.[85]

The particle *ile*/*ıla*/*ila* (dissimilarity between KT and AT)

In KT, this particle is realized mostly as *ıla/ila*, not only when preceded by a posterior vowel but also when following an anterior vowel; e.g., *usulila* (*οὐσούλιλα*, 7:2), here for *usulca* 'quietly', *uṣūl ile* Ott., *usul ile* ST; *top ila* (*τόπ ἰλὰ*, 5:32), 'with a cannon', *ṭop ile* Ott., *top ile* ST; *askerila* (*ἀσκέριλα*, 8:13), 'with troops', *ʾasker ile* Ott., *asker ile* ST; *ziadesııla* (*ζιατεσιηλὰ*, 5:22), 'in excess', *ziyādesiyle* Ott., *ziyadesiyle* ST; *hile ila* (*χιλέ ἰλὰ*, 6:13), 'with a wile', *ḥīle ile* Ott., *hile ile* ST; *sizinila/sızinıla*

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[83] Not commonly used in modern ST.
[84] Argunşah, "Kıbrıs Türk Ağzında Ünlü Değişmeleri," 14.
[85] Argunşah, "Kıbrıs Türk Ağzında Ünlü Değişmeleri," 16.

(σιζίνιλα, 7:5-6; σηζίνηλα, 7:27), 'with you (pl.)', *siziñ ile* Ott., *sizinle* ST. Although <η> stands predominantly for /ı/, it can also denote /i/, as <ι> can also denote /ı/, so that it is impossible to ascertain with certainty whether /i/ or /ı/ is meant. Of interest in this connection is Argunşah's remark that when this particle is attached to words with anterior vowels in Cypriot Turkish, it is either *ile* in accordance with vowel harmony or *ila* in noncompliance with it.[86] In KT, the rather infrequently used form *ile* features <ι> that was also used to designate /y/,[87] so that, e.g., *ισμίϊλε* (3:14) may be read as *ismiyle* (or *ismiile*), 'with the name', *ismiyle/ismi ile* Ott. and ST; *ἑλήϊλε* (4:31) as *eliyle* (or *eliile*), 'with his hand', *eliyle/eli ile* Ott. and ST; *σεφάϊλε* (33:23) as *sefayle* (or *sefaile*), 'with pleasure', *ṣafāyla/ṣafā ile* Ott., *safayla/safa ile* ST.

In AT, *ile*/*ıla* occurs predominantly attached as -le/-la, now and then as -ıla, always in accordance with vowel harmony; e.g.: *böylelikle* (պէօյլէյիհքլէ, 8:19), 'thus, thereby', *böylelikle* Ott. and ST; *reyimle* (րէյիմլէ, 23:22), 'on my own choice', *reʾyimle* Ott., *reyimle* ST; *usulıla* (ուսուլըլա, 10:21). It rarely occurs with the insertion of /y/, almost always in accordance with vowel harmony; e.g., *atlarıyla* (ապլարըյլա, 43:3), 'with their horses', *atlarıyla* Ott. and ST; once *ḳamçıyla* (qամչըյլա, 32:22), 'with the whip', *ḳamçıyla* Ott., *kamçıyla* ST; -yle, e.g., once *ḳamçıyle* (qամչըյլէ, 31:18). Two examples of the rarer unattached form: *usul ile* (ուսուլ իլէ, 11:17; 45:5); once *usul ıla* (ուսուլ ըլա, 44:23); *asker ile* (ասքէր իլէ, 12:17). In a few instances an apostrophe is placed before -le/-la; e.g.: *sizin'le* (սիզին'լէ, 11:22), 'with you (pl.)' and *çocuḳ'la* (չօճուq'լա, 40:16), 'with the youth', *çocuḳla* Ott., *çocukla* ST.

Consonant assimilation in suffixes starting with -d (no comparison is possible as KT is not informative and AT conforms to the Ottoman form)
In his article about a Karamanlı anthology of poems from the Black Sea region published in 1914 by the printing-press A. Garophalidis in Samsun, Matthias Kappler[88] states that in this anthology all the suffixes that start with a dental consonant do not assimilate with the preceding voiceless consonant of the stem, but always stay voiced. Kappler states that since there is no exception to this in the anthology, this is an essential characteristic of these poems, and suggests the possibility of a phonetic explanation,[89] to which he gives preference, or of a sociolinguistic explanation. The latter explanation is the historicising use of the old forms of the suffixes instead of their contemporary assimilated realizations.

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[86] Argunşah, "Kıbrıs Türk Ağzında Ünlü Değişmeleri," 15; the examples he gives for noncompliance are *yemeğila, keşfinila, südüla.*

[87] Kappler, "Note a proposito di 'Ortografia Caramanlidica'," 325.

[88] Matthias Kappler, "Eine karamanlidische Liedanthologie vom Schwarzen Meer," in *Building Bridges to Turkish: Essays in Honour of Bernt Brendemoen*, eds. Éva Á. Csató et al. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2018), 175-90.

[89] Kappler, "Eine karamanlidische Liedanthologie vom Schwarzen Meer," 188: "Die eindeutige Notierung in unseren Liedern mit <δ> [...]."

In contradistinction to the explicit notation with <δ> in Kappler's anthology, /d/ and /t/ are written with both <δ> and <τ> in KT, with <τ> dominating. It follows that rendering <τ> as /t/ is the more likely but nevertheless somewhat arbitrary choice, since <τ> could also stand for /d/ (see the examples given above for the tendency to posterior pronunciation with the suffixes -dA, -dAn, -dIkdA). Therefore, the script of KT does not allow us to decide unequivocally whether the suffixes starting with -d become voiceless when attached to a stem ending with a voiceless consonant (as in ST) or if they remain voiced (as in classic Ottoman).

In AT, the opposition /d/ : /t/ is indicated through < դ> : <թ>[90], so the script of AT has the means of being more informative than that of KT. According to the script of AT, the suffixes starting with -d do not assimilate with the preceding voiceless consonant of the stem, but always stay voiced.[91] For example: *gitmekde* (կիրմէքրէ, 28:23), 'going', *gitmekde* Ott., *gitmekte* ST; *işitdikde* (իշիրիքրէ, 16:9), 'when he heard', *işitdikde* Ott., *işittikte* ST; *oturduḳda* (oրուրուղրա, 11:12), 'when he sat down', *oturduḳda* Ott., *oturdukta* ST; *geçdi* (կէչրի, 6:1), 'it passed', *geçdi* Ott., *geçti* ST; *küçüklükden* (քիւչիւքլիւքրէն, 6:14), 'from childhood, abl.', *küçüklükden* Ott., *küçüklükten* ST; *vaṣıfda* (վասըֆրա, 10:3-4), 'characteristic, loc.', *vaṣıfda* Ott., *vasıfta* ST.

Harmonic/Disharmonic form of the enclitic dA (dissimilarity between KT and AT)

dA   The enclitic dA 'also, too' is almost always in disharmonic form in KT; *birda* (e.g., πίρτα, 32:9), *bir de* Ott. and ST, occurs with the meaning 'and then', introducing the next step in the narrative, about 40 times. The harmonic form *birde* (πίρτε, 7:22) is exceptional. This quasi exclusive use of *da* brings about further disharmonic forms such as *bizda* (πίζτα, 8:13), 'we, too' *gelsinda* (κελσήντα, 23:16), 'let him come and', *gelsün de* Ott. and ST; *gelipda* (κελίρτα, 28:12), 'came and', *gelüp de* Ott. and ST; *eyleda* (έγλετά, 27:21), 'do and', *eyle de* Ott. and ST.

AT: no disharmonic instance.

Kappler remarks that such disharmonization is known primarily in the Turkish dialects of Cyprus.[92] Argunşah goes further, stating that the use of the enclitic dA only as *da* without complying to vowel harmony is one of the important characteristics that separate Cypriot Turkish from the Anatolian dialects.[93]

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[90]   < ŋ> denoting /t'/ is used only in words of Armenian origin which do not occur in this text. Therefore < ŋ> is of no interest in this opposition.

[91]   Çelik and Sargsyan, "Introducing Transcription Standards for Armeno-Turkish Literary Studies," 174-5: "A similarity with Ottoman Turkish is that the suffixes of the locative and ablative cases are consistently given with -de/-da and -den/-dan, and at this point there is no consonant assimilation in suffixes. [...] The same is true for the "di-past"."

[92]   Kappler, "Eine karamanlidische Liedanthologie vom Schwarzen Meer," 187-88: "Die hier vorliegende Disharmonisation ist vor allem aus den türkischen Dialekten Zyperns bekannt und ist sprachgeschichtlich begründet."

[93]   Argunşah, "Kıbrıs Türk Ağzında Ünlü Değişmeleri," 14: "**de** bağlacı Kıbrıs ağzında *da* şekliyle kullanılır ve

Tendency to anterior pronunciation of suffixes even when there is a posteriorvowel in the preceding syllable (some dissimilarity between KT and AT)

Jean Deny writes that anterior (palatalized) pronunciation was considered more distinguished, and that this tendency was very well reflected by texts transcribed in Greek and Armenian script.[94] AT reflects such a tendency to a certain degree. A tendency to palatalization is much less apparent in KT (where, additionally, suffixes with the back vowel /a/ are frequently attached to words with front vowels, see 'Tendency to posterior pronunciation of suffixes').

-A   KT, e.g.: *hanume* (χανουμὲ, 25:14-15), 'lady, dat.', *ḫanıma* Ott., *hanıma* ST; *kardaşime* (καρτασίμε, 29:33), 'to my brother, dat.', *ḳardaşıma/ḳardeşime* Ott., *kardeşime* ST. AT, e.g.: *odaye* (ουπαյէ, 41:5), 'room, dat.', *odaya* Ott. and ST (but also *odasında*, ουπասընπա, 40:26, 'in her room'); *yaye* (եայէ, 10:7), 'bow, dat.', *yaya* Ott. and ST; *meydane* (մէյտանէ, 42:21), 'public square, dat.', *meydāna* Ott., *meydana* ST.

-Ar No instance in KT.
       In AT only *aġler idi* (աղլէր իտի, 6:20), 'he was crying', *aġlar* Ott., *ağlar* ST; *ne aġlersin* (նէ աղլէրսին, 43:15), 'why are you crying', *aġlarsın* Ott., *ağlarsın* ST.

-dA KT, e.g.: *hayıllısınde* (χαγιλλισιντὲ, 19:27), a misconstruct of *ġā'ilesinde*, 'with the preoccupation', *gailesinde* ST. AT, e.g.: *ruyade* (ռուեատէ, 36:11), 'in a dream', *rü'yāda* Ott, *rüyada* ST, but also *rüyade* (ռիյատէ, 37:25); *burade* (պուրատէ, 24:12), 'here', *burada* Ott. and ST.

-dAn There are no examples of this in KT. However, there is also no case of -dAn where velarisation in contradiction to vowel harmony might have occurred. AT, e.g.: *ṗunarden* (փունարտէն, 5:16, 18, 21),'from the spring', *pı/uñardan* Ott., *pınardan* ST, but also *ṗunardan* (փունարտան, 6:1; 27:16-17). In KT, on the contrary, repeatedly *punardan* (πουναρτὰν, 3:14, 18). Other examples in AT: *anden sonra* (անտէն սոնրա, 8:25, passim),'after that', *andan* Ott. and *ondan* ST; *o araden* (o արատէն, 18:7), 'through there (locality)', *aradan* Ott. and ST; *sevdaden* (սէվտատէն, 37:2), 'love, abl.', *sevdādan* Ott., *sevdadan* ST, but also *sevdadan* (սէվտատան, 36:22).

-dIlAr In KT repeatedly with the same verbs: *haıran olduler* (χαϊρὰν ὀλτουλέρ, 30:4), 'they were astounded', *oldılar* Ott., *oldular* ST; *oturduler* (ὀτουρδουλὲρ, 12:17; ὀτουρτουλὲρ, 25:10-11;

31:4), 'they sat down/they sat', *oturdılar* Ott., *oturdular* ST; *yola çıktıler* (*γιολὰ τζικτιλὲρ*, 28:33), 'they set off', *yola çıktılar* Ott., *yola çıktılar* ST. In AT there is no such palatalisation with -dIlАr. However, there is also no case in AT where palatalisation in contradiction to vowel harmony might have occurred.

-lAr   KT, e.g.: *cairaler* (*τζαïραλὲρ*, 28:20), *cairalere* (*τζαïραλερὲ*, 28:27), 'female slaves', pl. nom. and pl. dat., *cāriyeler(e)* Ott., *cariyeler(e)* ST.

AT, e.g., *anlerden* (* անլէրտէն*, 15:6), 'from them', *anlardan* Ott., *onlardan* ST; *anleri* (*անլէրի*, 20:4), 'them', *anlere* (*անլէրէ*, 20:4, 43:16), 'to them'; *anlerin* (*անլէրին*, 21:27), 'their', *anler* (*անլէր*, 22:17, 24:16, 25:8, 37:14), 'they', but *onlar* (*օնլար*, 30:28), 'they' and *onlara* (*օնլարա*, 43:19-20), 'to them'; *tumanleri* (*թումանլէրի*, 41:14-15), 'their abilities, power', *tüvānları* Ott.

-mIşlAr   KT: *olmuşler* (*ὀλμουσλὲρ*, 32:14), 'they became', *olmışlar* Ott., *olmuşlar* ST. In AT there is no such palatalisation with -mIşlАr. However, there is also no case in AT where palatalisation in contradiction to vowel harmony might have occurred.

Labialization and delabialization (similarity between KT and AT)

u/ü > ı/i   In KT, e.g.: *sivarı* (*σιϐαρή*, 28:32), 'rider', *süvārī* Ott. and *süvari* ST; *sivariyle* (*σιϐαρίϊλε*, 29:9), *süvari ile* ST; *vicudi* (*βιτζουτί*, 10:12), '(his) body, acc.', *vücūdı* Ott. and *vücudu* ST, but close by *vücudumi* (*βουτζουτουμὶ*, 10:7); *misafiri* (*μισαφιρῆ*, 14:4), 'a guest, poss.', *müşāfiri* Ott. and *misafiri* ST, but close by *müsafiri* (*μουσαφιρὶ*, 14:6); *sival* (*σιϐὰλ*, 6:28) 'question', *su'āl* Ott., with *v* as replacement for *hamza*, and *sual* ST. In AT, e.g., *sıvari* (*սրվարի*, 41:10) once and once *süvariyle* (*սիւվարիյլէ*, 41:24), see above; *vicudin* (*վիճուդին*, 15:8), *vücūdın* Ott. and *vücudunu* ST.

-(y)Ub > -(y)Ib/p   In KT the -(y)Ub gerund occurs mostly as -(y)Ip/b, with the ending consistently written with <*π*>, which denotes not only /p/, but also /b/, as the following example illustrates: *beğenip* (*πεγενìπ*, 7:9), gerund of *beğen-* 'to admire', *begenüb* Ott, *beğenip* ST; *varıp* (*βαρìπ*, 6:8; 7:13; 8:10), gerund of *var-* 'to arrive', *varub* Ott., *varıp* ST; *sökip* (*σοκῆπ*, 15:17), gerund of *sök-* 'to pull out', *söküb* Ott., *söküp* ST; *deyip* (*δεγìπ*, 5:26), gerund of *de-* 'to say', *dėyüb* Ott., *deyip* ST; *edip* (*ἐτìπ*, 4:22), gerund of *et-* 'to do', *ėdüb* Ott., *edip* ST. Examples of the occasional non-conformance to this trend: *idüp* (*ìτοὺπ*, 3:31); *dolaşup* (*τολασοὺπ*, 4:29), gerund of *dolaş-* 'to walk around', *dolaşub* Ott., *dolaşıp* ST.

In AT the -(y)Ub gerund occurs predominantly as -(y)Ib; e.g., *söyleyib* (*սէօյլէյիպ*, 18:21), gerund of *söyle-* 'to say', *söyleyüb* Ott., *söyleyip* ST; *alıb* (*ալըպ*, 10:15), gerund of *al-* 'to take', *alub* Ott., *alıp* ST; *urub* (*ուրուպ*, 12:6), gerund of *ur-* 'to hit', *(v)urub* Ott., *vurup* ST; *görüb* (*կէօրիւպ*, 6:23), gerund of *gör-* 'to see', *görüb* Ott., *görüp* ST. However, there are some exceptions; e.g., *idub* (*իտուպ*, 8:9;15:8, 10), *ėdüb* Ott. and *edip* ST.; *deyub* (*տէյուպ*, 11:11; 19:28), *dėyüb* Ott. and *deyip* ST.

-IdI, -ImIş, and -dIr   In KT, the suffixes -IdI and -ImIş are attached to the stem without loss of the initial -I; e.g.: *otururudu* (*ὀτουρούρουτου*, 5:34), 'he sat', *oturur idi/otururdı* Ott., *oturur*

idi/otururdu ST; *olmuşudu* (ὀλμούσουτου, 19:7), 'it was', *olmışidi/olmışdı* Ott., *olmuş idi/olmuştu* ST; *ḳuşudu* (κούσουτου, 18:34), 'it was a bird', *ḳuşidi/ḳuşdı* Ott., *ḳuş idi/ḳuştu* ST; *bumudur* (πουμουτουρ, 3:22), 'is this it?', *bu mıdur* Ott., *bu mıdır* ST; *tutarlarıdı* (τουταρλάριτη, 17:2), 'they engaged', *ṭutarlar idi/ṭutarlardı* Ott., *tutarlar idi/tutarlardı* ST; *verirleridi* (βεριρλέριτη, 17:1), 'they gave', *vėrirler idi/vėrirlerdi* Ott., *verirler idi/verirlerdi* ST.

In AT, the suffix -IdI is always in accordance with vowel harmony; it is predominantly unattached without loss of the initial -I; e.g.: *sanır ıdı* (uuúṗṗ ṗunṗ, 25:1). The only two exceptions to this are: *varıdı* (վաṗṗṗunṗ, 5:15), *ḳomazlarıdı* (qoủuuqḷuṗṗunṗ, 24:15-16).

Result of the comparison

The comparison of KT with AT has highlighted the following similarities and dissimilarities:

In the elision of consonants we find only **dissimilarities**, with the exception of **similarity** in the elision of /ʿ/ (*ʿayn*) and **partial similarity** in the elision of /ʾ/ (*hamza*). In the elision of vowels, we find **similarity** in the elision of /ı/ and /i/, but **dissimilarity** in the elision of a vowel at word boundary. We find **dissimilarity** both in the elimination and the creation of gemination. There is **similarity** in the application of the prothesis /y/ in Turkish words, but **dissimilarity** in the application of prothesis in loanwords, and **partial similarity** in the use of epenthesis (anaptyxis). We find **dissimilarity** in the occurrence of metathesis. In the exchanges of vowels, there is **partial similarity,** while in the exchanges of consonants there is **partial dissimilarity**. There is **noteworthy dissimilarity** regarding assimilation, but **similarity** regarding dissimilation. **Similarity** is seen regarding the genitive suffix ending and mouillé consonants. There is **dissimilarity** in vowel harmony, including a **striking dissimilarity** in a tendency to posterior pronunciation of suffixes even though there is an anterior vowel in the preceding syllable. There is also **dissimilarity** in the use of the particle *ile*/*ıla*, as well as **dissimilarity** in the use of the harmonic/disharmonic form of the enclitic dA. There is **some dissimilarity** in the tendency to anterior pronunciation of suffixes even when there is a posterior vowel in the preceding syllable. Finally, there is **similarity** in labialization and delabialization.

IV. Morphology and Syntax

Plural marker (similarity between KT and AT)

Apart from some clichéd appellations such as *Kırk Haramiler* ("the Forty Robbers") and some set expressions such as *çok teşekkürler* ("many thanks"), a noun that is modified by a numeral or by a quantifier in word(s) cannot be marked with the plural suffix -lAr in modern ST, while this is possible in older Turkish. We find rather rare instances of such usage in KT and AT; e.g.:

KT   ***iki gözler****ini* (3:25-26), 'his two eyes, acc.', *iki gözünü* ST; ***6 tane kardaşları*** (29:8), 'her six brothers', *altı tane kardeşi* ST; ***her bir duvarları*** *kalınlığı* (5:30-31), 'the thickness of each of its walls', *her bir duvarının kalınlığı* ST;

AT ***iki gözler****ini* (6:3-4, 6; 8:7); ***altı tane ķardaşları*** (41:23), ***her bir duvarlar****ının*
   ķalınlıġı (9:1-2).

Plural agreement (similarity between KT and AT)
   When the head noun is modified by a numeral or a quantifier, the verb is not marked with the plural morpheme in modern ST, while this occurred in older Turkish. It occasionally occurs in KT and AT, too.

KT ***bir ota*** *(< otaġ/otaķ)* ***Kürtler*** *kondu**lar** ve çadır kurup oturdu**lar*** (6:2-3), 'a tent of
   Kurds alighted and put up tents and settled';

AT ***bir oba*** *kürd**ler** ķonub ve çadır ķurub oturdu**lar*** (9:9-10).

When a head noun is morphologically singular but has the semantic inference of a plural, the verb cannot be marked with the plural morpheme in modern ST, while this could occur in older Turkish. An example of such occurrence in O, OT, KT, and AT:

O ***Şehir ḫalķı*** *sāyisi görüb* ***bildiler*** (3:7), 'the townspeople saw the groom and
   recognized [him]'

OT ***Şehir ḫalķı*** *görüb* ***bildiler*** (2:15), 'the townspeople saw [the groom] and recognized
   [him]'

KT ***şehrin halķı*** *seise* [ST *seisi*] *görüp* ***bildiler*** (4:10-11), 'the townspeople saw the groom
   and recognized [him]'.

AT ***şehrin halķı*** *seyisi görüb ve tanıyıb*, '*Nedir hemşehri bu hal'* ***dediler*** (6:22-23), 'the
   townspeople saw the groom, recognized [him] and said 'What is the matter, fellow
   townsman?''

Case interchange and omission (similarity between KT and AT)
   The usage of cases is fixed in modern ST, but not in older Turkish. On the interchangeability of cases see *Tarama Sözlüğü*, VII (1974). KT occasionally deviates from the usual ST usage, though not with the same frequency in all the types of case change. The same is true of AT.
   Examples:
   The dative for the accusative

KT *Köroğlu buna* [ST: *bunu*] *beğenip* (7:9), 'Köroğlu liked this …'
AT *Kör oġlu buna* [ST: *bunu*] *beyenib,* (10:29-11:1), 'Köroğlu liked this, …'

The dative for the locative and vice versa
KT *atın* ***üzerine*** [ST: *üzerinde*] *ağlamaya başlayıp* (8:19), 'began to cry on the horse and'.
AT *atın* ***üzerine*** *ağlamaya başlayıb.* (12:24-25), 'began to cry on the horse and'.

KT   *Köroğlu koyunlar aldığı gibi doğru **Üsküdarda** varıp* (7:12-13), 'As soon as he had taken the sheep he came straight to Üsküdar';

AT   *Kör oğlu ḳoyunları aldığı gibi doğru **Üsgüdare** varıb* (11:4-5), 'As soon as Köroğlu had taken the sheep he came straight to Üsküdar'.

Omission of the accusative (more frequent in KT than in AT)

KT   *seis dedi oğlum getir şu **atı** bakalım oğlan **at*** [ST: atı] *götürdü seis eliile **at*** [ST: atı] *yokladı* (4:30-31) 'The groom said, "My son, so bring that horse." The lad brought the horse. The groom checked the horse with his hands.' ST would be *atı* with the accusative suffix because this is a definite object. We note the inconsistency in writing once *atı* and twice *at*.

AT   *Seyis dedi; "oğlum getir şu atı bakalım", oğlan atı getirdi, ve seyis eli ile atı yoḳlayıb* (7: 17-19) 'The groom said, "My son, so bring that horse." The lad brought the horse. The groom checked the horse with his hands and…'

Omission of the dative

KT   *kasap **başın*** [ST: *başına*] *dersinki, efendim koyun getirdim* (6:34-7:1), 'you'll say to the head butcher, "Sir, I have brought sheep"'.

AT   No omission but <y> instead of <n>: *ḳasab **başıya*** [ST: *başına*] *dersin ki "efendim, ḳoyun getirdim"* (10:18-19) 'you'll say to the head butcher, "Sir, I have brought sheep".'

Omission of the genitive

KT   The omission of the genitive ending occurs rather frequently. *bak şu namkör* [< *nankör*] *dağ **haydutu*** [ST: *haydutunun*] *bana ettiği kötülük* [ST: *kötülüğe*] *deyip* (8:9-10), 'saying, "Look at the evil this ungrateful mountain robber has done me"'.

AT   Such an omission occurs seldom. *Köroğlu* [ST: *Köroğlunun*] *aklı erdiki* (9:16), 'Köroğlu understood that'.

Multiple use of the gerund -(y)Ib/p (similarity between KT and AT)

In KT and AT this gerund is used abundantly and frequently not singly, that is as one -(y)Ib/p gerund followed closely by a finite verb, but in sequences of two or more -(y)Ib/p gerunds as customary in Ottoman.

In Ottoman the -(y)Ib/p gerund had a latent quasi-finite quality that becomes more apparent when it is followed by a conjunction, an adverbial expression, or a syntactic break. In the following instance the adverbial expression *ve l-hasıl* 'in short' plays such a role.[95]

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[95] For more details see Ambros, "The comparison of a Karamanlı edition", 23-25.

KT   *heman o bir kardaşıme idane* [= *kardaşı meydana*] **gelip** *onu dahi* **basıp vel hasıl**
        Öşini [< *üçünü*] **bastı** (29:33-34), 'His other brother came immediately into the open space and
        he vanquished him, too. In short, he vanquished the three.'

AT   *Heman o bir ḳarındaşı meydane* [< *meydana*] **gelib** *anı daḣi* **basıb, velhasıl** *altısını daḣi* **yendi**
        (42:20-22), 'His other brother came immediately into the open space and he vanquished him,
        too. In short, he vanquished all six of them.'

Whereas the gerund *gelib(p)* in KT and AT does not suggest finiteness, the gerund *basıb(p)* in
KT and AT does.

The gerund -(y)Ib/p + -*durur* (commonly denotes a durative action in the past, but may also
denote a durative action in the present) (similarity between KT and AT)
     An example with durative meaning in the past:

KT   *gördüki bir usta bir eyi saz almış* **yapıp durur** (12:24-25), 'He saw that a craftsman had taken a
        good long-necked lute and **was working** on it.'

AT   *gördü ki usdanın biri bir alya saz almış* **yaṗıb durur** (18:12-13), 'He saw that a craftsman had
        taken a good long-necked lute and **was working** on it.'

-DI *ise*, -Ar *ise* (with temporal meaning) (similarity between KT and AT)

KT   *pederinden bu cevabı* **aldısa** *kız kapuyu açtı* (14:6-7), 'When she got this answer from her father,
        the girl opened the door.'

AT   *pederinden bu cevabı* **aldı ise**, *ḳız dır ḳapuyu açdı*. (20:19-21), 'When she got this answer from
        her father, the girl opened the door'.

KT   *Hasan elbete* [< *elbette*] *giderim deyi* **aya** [< *ayak*] **bastısa** *ne yapasın menine çare edemedi*
        (25:31-32 **),** 'When Hasan insisted, saying "Sure I'll go", what could one do, he could find no
        means of forbidding it.'

AT   *Hasan "illa giderim" deyib* **ayaḳ basar ise**, *ne yaṗsın, menine çare edemedi* (37:4-6). 'When
        Hasan insisted, saying "Sure I'll go", what could he do, he could find no means of forbidding
        it.'

The full infinitive -mAk (similarity between KT and AT)
     The full infinitive -mAk is preferred to constructions with the short infinitive -mA + possessive
suffix. This preference is not regular or familiar in ST.

KT   *belki bu söyleen Ayvazdır deyü Hasan* [ST: *Hasana*] *ilazım* [< *lazım*] *geldi kendini* **bildirmek**
        (24:32-34), 'As the speaker might be Ayvaz, it became necessary for Hasan to make himself
        known.' (ST would be *"Hasana kendini bildirmesi lazım geldi"*.)

AT   *Ayvaz dır deyu Hasana lazım geldi kendisini* **bildirmek** (35:20-21), 'As it might be Ayvaz, it

became necessary for Hasan to make himself known'.

-mAkDA + *olsun* is repeatedly used as an element of narration in KT and AT (similarity between KT and AT)

KT   *bunlar **gelmekte olsun** biz gelelim Köroğluna* (19:33-34), 'Let them be coming, let us turn to Köroğlu'.

AT   is the same except for *gitmekde* (*git-* 'to go') instead of *gelmekte* (28:22-23).

-DIr (for emphasis serving to focus attention) (similarity between KT and AT)
KT and AT contain quite a few samples of this construction. For example:

KT   ***Ayvazdır** atın üzerine* [ST: *üzerinde*] *ağlamaya başlaıp* (8:19), 'Ayvaz started crying on the back of the horse and';

AT   (12:24-25) is the same as KT.

KT   ***çocuktur** onu işittiği gibi* (7:25), 'As soon as the child heard this';

AT   (11:19-20) is the same as KT.

Nominal and adjectival clauses introduced by *ki* (partial similarity between KT and AT)

The genuine Turkish way of expressing nominal (complement) clauses and adjectival (relative) clauses through embedded participle or infinitive constructions is not frequent in KT and AT. Instead, the introduction of complement and relative clauses by the particle *ki* ("that", functioning here like a conjunction) is strikingly frequent in KT and AT. In fact, the narrative relies very much on complement clauses introduced by *ki*.

The introduction of complement clauses by *ki* is regarded as normal usage in modern ST, especially in oral language. Relative clauses introduced by *ki* were used in older Ottoman Turkish, but are not approved of in modern ST.

KT   *Eski nakliyetleri ei bilenler şu gibi rivayet ederler**ki** zemanı sabıkda Bolu şehrinde bir derebeg var**ki** cemii kazasına hükm ideridi* (3:3-5), 'Those who know the old narratives well narrate thus [literally: like that] that in the past there was a feudal lord in the town of Bolu who ruled over all its districts'; alternative translation: 'those who know the old narratives well narrate thus: "In the past there was a feudal lord in the town of Bolu who ruled over all its districts".

AT   is practically identical: '*Esgi naḳliyetleri eyi bilenler şu gibi rivayet iderler **ki** zemani sabıḳda Bolu şehrinde bir Derebey varmış **ki**, cemii Bolu ḳazasına hükm ider*' (5:3-6).

The use of *ki* does not always occur in parallel positions in KT and AT; for example:
KT   *o kadar işitim altını* [sic] *al gel dedi* (28:30-31), 'I heard that much: "Take the gold [and] come,"

he said.'

AT   *ol ḳadar işitdim **ki** "atını al gel" dedi* (41:8-9), 'I heard that much: "Take the horse [and] come," he said.'

An adjectival (relative) clause with **nasıl ki**:

KT   *Köroğlu heman atın yanına varıp gördü**ki** atın ağzı gemden parça olmuş, zira zeman Ayvaz **nasıl ki** dağladıysa öyle kalmış* (17:24-26), 'Köroğlu immediately went to the horse and saw that the mouth of the horse had been cut by the bit because it had stayed the same as when Ayvaz had branded it.'

AT   *Kör oğlu hemen atın yanına varıb gördü **ki** atın ağzı gemden parça parça olmuş, zira o zeman Ayvaz **nasıl ki** bağladıyısa öyle ḳalmış* (25:17-20). AT is practically the same as KT.

KT and AT are often identical in the use of the Persian *ki*; e.g.;

KT   *gördü**ki** dağ haydutu, kanlı gözlü, bet yüzlü, cellada benzer bir erif,* (6:10-12), 'he saw that he was a mountain robber, a bloody-eyed ugly-faced fellow like a hangman.'

AT   *gördü **ki** dağ haydudu, ḳanlı gözlü, bet yüzlü, cellada benzer bir herif.* (9:18-21).

Direct speech (similarity between KT and AT)
Direct speech preceded by the verb *de*- without *ki* (the more popular oral style)

KT   *bir seneden soñra seis **dedi** "oğlum şu bizim avluyu 3 gün sula taki balçık olsun"* (4:23-24) 'After a year the groom said, "My son, water this courtyard of ours for three days until it becomes wet clay."'

AT   *Bir seneden songra seyis **dedi,** "oğlum şu bizim avluyu üç gün sula ta ki balçık olsun"* (7:8-10).

Direct speech followed by the verb *de*- (the more literary/standard style)

KT   *Bei seyise emr eyledi "Var bir at beğende getir" **deyü**. Seyis çayire varıp* (3:11-12), 'The Beg ordered the groom, saying, "Go, choose a horse and bring it". The groom reached the pasture and'.

AT   is practically the same, with only *emr edib* instead of *emr eyledi* (5:12-14).

Direct speech neither preceded by *ki* or *de*- nor followed by *de*- (the most informal variant, reminiscent of everyday conversation and well suited for popular story-telling)

KT   *seis kapudan dışarı çıktığı gibi deruni dilden ve canu gönülden ah idüp Yarabbi bana doğru yolu göster ve selamet* [ST: *selamete*] *sen kavuştur* (3:29-4:1), 'As soon as the groom had passed through the door, he sighed from the depths of his heart and with all his soul and said "O my God, show me the right way and You help me reach

salvation!"'

AT is practically the same, with only *selamet* 'salvation' replaced by *silama* 'homeland': *seyis k̇apudan dışarı çık̇dığı gibi deruni dilden ve canu gönülden ah edib* "*ya Rabbi, bana doġru yolu gösder ve silama sen k̇avuşdur dedi* (6:9-12).

Narration through direct speech

There is a great deal of direct speech in KT and AT. This results occasionally in a striking frequency of the verb "to say". A rather extreme example:

KT *Hasan bunu **dedikta** Ayvaz Köroğluna dönüp efendim döğüşürüm **deyü*** [< *deyür*] ***dedi Köroğlu da hele bak̇ şu çakpının* [< *çapkının*] *söylediğine **dedi** öldürmeye ruhsat etiktensora* [< *ettikten sonra*] ***dedi** [verses follow] (24:8-11), 'When Hasan said this, Ayvaz turned to Köroğlu and said, "Sir, he says he'll fight". And Köroğlu said, "Will you look at what this rogue is saying". After he had given permission to kill, he [Ayvaz] said: [verses follow]'

AT *Hasan bunu **dedikde**, Ayvaz Kör oġluna dönüb 'efendim döyüşürüm **deyor'** dedi. Kör oġluda 'hele bak̇ şu çaṗgının söyledigine kendi istedikden sonra, size de öldürmeye ruḥsat' **deyib** gine aldı Ayvaz.* (34:18-22), 'When Hasan said this, Ayvaz turned to Köroğlu and said, "Sir, he says he'll fight". And Köroğlu said, "Will you look at what this rogue is saying. Since he wishes it himself, you have permission to kill" [and] Ayvaz took it [the *saz*] up again.'

Similes and descriptions (similarity between KT and AT)

Descriptions are not frequent, a rare exception being the description of Ayvaz.

KT has *kaşları yan ya* [*yaya!*]*, ve cemali aya, saçları sümbüle, beleri* [!] *fülfüle **benzer**,* (6:24-25) 'his eyebrows are like bows and his beauty is like the moon, his hair like hyacinths and his beauty spots are like peppercorns' and AT is practically identical: *kaşları yaye, ve cemali aye, saçları sümbüle, belleri fülfüle **benzer*** (10:6-8);

KT a*yın 14 **gibi** püskürme benzer* [corr. *benler*] *tane filfil **gibi** yüzünde* (7:20-21), 'scattered beauty spots like pepper corns on his face like the 14th of the month'[96] and AT is again practically identical: *ayın on dördü **gibi** ṗüsgürme benkler, tane fülfül **gibi** yüzünde* (11:14-15).

A simple simile in KT and AT: *cellada **benzer** bir erif,* (6:11-12 and 9:20-21, *herif* in AT), 'a fellow like a hangman'.

Word order: Inversion (partial similarity between KT and AT)

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[96] With a face that is beautiful like the full moon.

Inversion is frequent in everyday spoken Turkish today. Such deviance from the neutral/standard word order (SOV) is rare in AT and somewhat less rare in KT. The usage of inversion is not always parallel in KT, AT, O, and OT. E.g.:

Inversion in KT *ve buna verin beendiği atı* (3:26), 'and give him the horse he chose', whereas AT has the neutral word order *beyendiyi atı kendisine verin* (6:4-5), with *kendisine* instead of *buna*. No inversion in O that has *begendigi atıñ üzerine bindiriñ* (2:13-14), 'make him mount the horse he chose', or in OT *getürdigi ata bindiriñ* (2:11), 'make him mount the horse he brought'.

Stereotypic endings and beginnings (similarity between KT, AT, O and OT)
Incorrect usage of Arabic expressions (similarity between KT and AT); e.g.:

KT	AT	O	OT
söz burada kalsın. Biz gelelim (4:4-6), 'so much for that. Let us turn to'	*Söz burada ḳalsın: Biz gelelim seyise.* (6:17-18), So much for that. Let us turn to the groom.'	*Söz burada biz gelelim* (3:4-5)	*Söz burada. Biz gelelim* (2:15)
O gide dursun. Biz gelelim (8:18), 'Let him be going on. Let us turn to.'	*o gide dursun. Biz gelelim* (12:23)	*gide ṭursun biz gelelim* (7:11)	*gide ṭursun biz gelelim* (4:22)
Günlerden bir gün (e.g., 5:15), 'One day'	*Günlerde bir gün* (e.g., 6:22)	*Günlerde bir gün* (3:7)	*Günlerde bir gün* (3:10)
Aldı Kennan (9:24), 'Kennan took it [the saz] up' *Aldı*	*Aldı Kenan* (e.g., 14:13),	*Aldı Ken'ān* (8:16)	*Aldı Ken'ān* (5:13)
		Aldı Köroğlı	*Aldı Köroğlı* (5:15)

Köroğlu (9:29), 'Köroğlu took it [the *saz*] up'.	*Aldı Kör oğlu* (e.g., 14:8)	(8:19)	

Interjections (similarity between KT and AT)

Occasionally, there are parallel interjections and expressions in KT and AT. These are, e.g.:

KT and AT *bre* (πρὲ, այpԷ, 18:28 and 27:4), 'Hey!';

KT *eh vah* (ἔχ βàχ, 27:33),'Alas!'; *ey vah* (ἔγι βàχ, 32:12) and AT *ey vah* (ԷJ վահ, 40:1);

KT *vay* (βáγι, 25:8), 'Oh!'and AT *vay* (վայ, 36:4);

KT *be hey* (πὲ χέï, 7:29 and 18:7), 'Hey!' and AT *be hey* (այ hԷJ, 11:24-25), 'Hey!';

KT *ey* (ἔγ, 14:3 and ἔγι, 17:15), 'O!' and AT *ey* (ԷJ, 20:15) 'O!';

KT *aman* (ἀμὰν, 19:26) and (ամա̌ն, 28:14), 'Mercy!';

KT *Yarabbi!* (Γιαράππη, 3:31), 'O my God!' and AT *ya Rabbi!* (եա Րապպի, 6:11);

KT *inşallah* (ινσαλλàχ, 5:9), 'God willing' and AT *inşallah* (ի̌նշալլահ, 15:6).

Vocabulary (partial dissimilarity between KT, AT, O, and OT)

Some examples of the difference between KT, AT, O, and OT as to word choice in parallel positions in the respective texts:

KT	AT	O	OT
kötülük (8:10),'evil'	*fiyile* (12:13, < *fi'le*, 'action', dat.)	*baña ėtdigi fi'li* (7:5), 'what he did to me'	*baña ne yapdı* (4:20)
işinizden (13:23-24), 'from your action'	*eşhalinizden* (19:26, < *eşġāl*) 'from your actions'	*kemaliñizden* (12:9), 'from your perfection'	*kelāmıñızdan* (7:11), 'from your words'
elerinden ne gelir (18:34), 'what can he do?'	*ellerinden ne gelir* (27:12)	*fāʾide vėrmeyüb* (17:4), 'it was useless and'	*fāʾidesiz* (9:15) 'useless'

o bir (29:33), 'the other'	*o bir* (42:20)	*dīger* (27:19)	*dīger* (14:4)
vazgeç (25:29), 'Give up!'	*farīġ ol* (37:2),	*fārīġ ol* (23:18)	*geç* (12:11)
şu kahbeye (30:33-34), 'this bitch, dat.'	*şu ḳahbeyi* (44:2), 'this bitch, acc.'	*şu facī'ayı* (29:1), 'this disaster, acc.'	*şunı* (14:16), 'her (this, acc.)'
aceleila (31:15), 'quickly'	*tezelden* (44:20)	*tīzce* (29:10)	-
ardımdan (31:15), 'after me'	*ardımdan* (44:19)	*ardımdan* (29:10)	*arḳadan* (14:21)
hasım (32:22), 'enemy'	*ḫasim* (46:8)	*düşmen* (30:19)	-
Kaçmana kovmak ilazım değildir (32:28), 'It is not necessary to drive away the fleeing'	*ḳaçanı ḳovalamaḳ lazım deyil dir* (46:14-15)	*ḳaçanı kovmaḳ olmaz* (31:2)	*ḳoġmaḳ olmaz ḳacanı* (15:13-14)
şaz ve iman (33:16), 'joyful', corr. *şādmān* Ott., *şadıman* ST;	*şadüman* (47:5)	*şādumān* (31:11)	*mesrūr* (15:20). 'glad'

KT   *min evelinden minahirinadak* (μὶν ἐβελινδὲν μιναχιρινάτακ, 8:16), corr.: *min evvel ilā āhirihī*, 'from the beginning to the end'; *min eyelden sonuna kadar* (μὶν ἐγελτὲν σονουνὰ κατὰρ, 25:13-14), 'from the time appointed for one's death to the end';

AT   *min evvelinden min aḫırınadak* (մին էվվէլինէն մին ախըրընատաք, 12:20-21).

KT   *el hasıl vel kelim* [sic] (ἒλ χάσιλ βὲλ κελὶμ, 25:12-13), 'in short'.

AT *el hasıl ül kelam* (Ել հասըլ իւլ քէլամ, 36:9-10). Corr.: *el-ḥāṣıl*, 'in short, in one word' and *ḥāṣıl-ı kelām*, 'in one word'.

Result of the comparison

The comparison of KT with AT has highlighted the following similarities and dissimilarities:

Similarity between KT and AT regarding the use of a plural marker, of plural agreement, case interchanges, case omissions, the multiple use of the gerund -(y)Ib/p, the use of -(y)Ib/p + *durur*, of -DI *ise*, -Ar *ise*, of the full infinitive -mAk, of -mAkDA + *olsun*, of -DIr (for emphasis serving to focus attention); **partial similarity** in the use of nominal and adjectival clauses introduced by *ki*; **similarity** in the use of direct speech, **similarity** in similes and descriptions; **partial similarity** in word order (inversion); **similarity** in stereotypic endings and beginnings, in the use of interjections, and of Arabic expressions.

The comparison between KT, AT, O, and OT shows a **partial dissimilarity** in vocabulary.

A hypothesis of relationship between O (1880), KT (1872), AT (1875), and OT (1908)

O is the most literary version of the four. AT is very close to O, though with some modifications in the choice of expression and word order, thereby bringing the language nearer to the vernacular. KT is very close to AT, without being an intralingual translation. Therefore, KT is very close to O, too. The pronunciation as reflected by the Karamanlı script of KT shows more deviation from modern Standard Turkish and Ottoman than the Armenian script of AT. Finally, OT stands apart; it is a much simpler and shorter version than the other three.

Two sample passages

1. O (28:15-29:3), OT (14:12-17), AT (43:21- 44:5), KT (30:25-31:3)

O   *Bir de ʿasker baḳdı-ki Ḥasan gelmez. Vezīr emr ėdüb ʿasker maġaranıñ üzerine hücūm ėtdiler.*

OT *Bir de ʿaskere baḳdı-ki Ḥasan gelmez. Vezīr emir ėtdi. ʿAsker Ḥasanıñ oldığı yėre hücūm ėtsünler.*

AT *Asger gördü ki ne gelen var ne giden, vezir emr idib askerler maġaranın üzerine yürüdüler,*

KT *Asker gördülerki ne gelen var ne giden. Vezir embr edip asker mağaranın üzerine yürüsün.*

O   *Hemān Beñli Ḫanım ḳılıc çeküb maġaranıñ ḳapusı öñünde ṭurdı. Hīc kimse gelemez oldı.*

OT *Hemān Beñli Ḫanım ḳılınc çeküb ḳapu öñinde ṭurdı. Hīç kimse gelemez oldı.*

AT *hemen Bengli hanım ḳılıcı çekib maġara ḳapusunun önünde durdu, ḳapunun önüne kimse getirtmez oldu,*

KT *Heman Benli Hanum kımıçı çekip mağaranın kapusunu durdu. Kapunun önüne kimse getirtmes oldu.*

O   *Baʿdehu ḳızıñ pederi gelüb eyitdi: "Gel ḳızım bu ḥerīfden vāz gec seni bir vezīr oǧluna vėreyim*

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ve hem bunuñ işi temām olmış 'ömri az ḳalmış."

OT   *Ba'dehū ḳızıñ pederi gelüb "Gel vaz geç, seni vezīr oġluna vėreyim. Bunıñ işi tamām oldı ömri az ḳaldı".*

AT   *birde ḳızın pederi gelib dedi "ḳızım gel böyle itme, seni bir bey oğluna vereyim ve hem bunun işi temam olmuş: akşama ḳadar ya yerişir ya yerişmez, gel sen benim sözümü diyne";*

KT   *Birda ḳızın pederi gelip dedi: "Ḳızım gel böyle etme se ni bir ananın oğluna vereyim ve hem bunun işi tamam olmuş, akşama kadar yerişmes. Gel, sen benim sözüme diñ/ğne."*

O   *Ḥāṣılı çoḳ naṣīḥat ėtdi ise-de aṣlā teʾṣīr ėtmeyüb ba'dehū vezīr ġażaba gelüb 'askere emr ėdüb: "Uruñ şu facīʿayı!" dėdi.*

OT   *Çoḳ naṣīḥat ėtdise de teʾṣīr ėtmeyüb ba'dehū vezīr ġażaba geldi. Emir ėtdi. "Uruñ şunı!"*

AT   *ḳız aslā ḳulak vermediğinde vezir dir ġazebe gelib "vurun şu ḳahbeyi" dedi;*

KT   *İç bir çare edemedi. Bu kere Vezir gazebe gelip askere "Vurun şu kahbeye" dedi.*

O   *Hemān 'asker ḳızıñ üzerine hücūm eylediler se de ḳız daḥı şecāʿatle ba'żan gürz[97] ile gāh ḳılıcla helāk ėderdi.*

OT   *'Asker ḳıza hücūm ėtdiler. Ḳız çoġını helāk ėtdi.*

AT   *asgerler ḳızın üzerine hamla etdiler, ḳız geleni hellak ider idi;*

KT   *Asker ḳızın üzerine hamla etiler. Ḳız dır kendin helak ederidi.*

O   *Ol-gün daḥı geçüb gėce maġaraya girdi.*

OT   *Yine aḥşam oldı.*

AT   *akşam olub gün ḳavuşunca ḳız maġaradan içeri girdi.*

KT   *Ne hasile o gün dahi akşam olup gün kavuşunca ḳız maġaradan içeri girdi.*

2. O (24:6-7), OT (12:15-16), AT (37:22-24), KT (26:9-11)

O   *Bir gün Beñli Ḥanım Ḥasanıñ 'aşḳıyla cānı şıḳılub "varayım pencireden bir az eṭrāfı seyr ėdeyim" dėyüb pencireniñ öñüne oturdı.*

OT   *Beñli Ḥanım-daḥı Ḥasanıñ 'aşḳından şıḳılub pençere öñünde gözedirdi.*

AT   *Bir gün Bengli hanımın canı sıḳılıb, varayım ṗencireden bari etrafa baḳayım deyüb ṗencirenin önüne oturdu,*

KT   *Bir gün Benli Hanumun canı sıḳılıp "Varayım, pencereden barim etrafa bakalım" deyip pencerinin önüne oturdu.*

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[97]   In text: *g-v-z.*

Conclusion

Our results concern only the Istanbul tradition of the *Köroğlu* tale as reflected in the Karamanlı text of 1872 (KT) and the Armeno-Turkish text of 1875 (AT). No generalizations have been made based on these findings, although it is highly likely that at least some of these results are also valid for other contemporary Turkish folk-tales in circulation in the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the nineteenth century. This study gives evidence on the following points:

It is well-known that there was a multi-literary climate in the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century. Muslims and Turcophone Christians had a common literary patrimony of popular folk-tales.[98] This joint patrimony is proof that differences in religion did not necessitate or create divergences in literary topic or form. The present study illustrates this especially well because it is of a comparative nature. As the comparison is between a Karamanlı version and an Armeno-Turkish version on one hand and between these two versions and regular Ottoman Turkish in the nineteenth century on the other, it is able to give a good picture of the common and diverging particularities of the versions grounded in time.

Both the Karamanlı script and the Armenian script are better at rendering colloquial Turkish speech (*Umgangssprache*) than the Arabo-Persian script. The present comparison shows that the Armenian script is better than the Karamanlı script in this function. In fact, the Armenian script is capable of rendering every sound of Turkish, whereas the Karamanlı Greek script is not suited as well to reflect Turkish pronunciation unambiguously. The actual lesser presence of colloquial or vernacular pronunciation in the Armenian script of this folk-tale is not the result of a lesser capacity than the Karamanlı script to reflect these, but simply the reflection of a more standard pronunciation. Further comparative study is necessary to see if this is typical of Armeno-Turkish folk-tales of the nineteenth century.

Evá Csató et al. write: "The Armenian literature in Turkish was written in Armenian script. It is of great linguistic interest because it tends to reflect the pronunciation more adequately than texts in Ottoman script."[99] The present study provides evidence of this. Furthermore, as a first comparison between the Armenian script and the Karamanlı script, it shows that the Armenian script is better at reflecting the Turkish pronunciation than the Karamanlı script.

In the Karamanlı edition, there are some phonological phenomena that are frequent in Central Anatolian dialects and are also seen in Cypriot Turkish dialects as well as in the North-Eastern Anatolian group of Turkish dialects. That Karamanlı texts reflect heterogeneous linguistic influences is well-known

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[98] On this and other aspects of a common literary patrimony see Ayaydın Cebe, "Yazmadan Basmaya, Gösterimden Romana: 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı'da Folklor," 27-40 and Strauss, "Who read what in the Ottoman Empire (19th-20th centuries)?" 39-76.

and we have reported such resemblances as further information, without making an attempt to pinpoint all influences or to specify the degrees of the various influences. In contradistinction, the Armeno-Turkish edition has few colloquial elements and a small number of dialectal peculiarities. The Armeno-Turkish edition also differs somewhat from the Karamanlı edition with regard to phonological peculiarities such as divergence from vowel harmony or palatalization. On the other hand, the Karamanlı and the Armeno-Turkish editions are very similar, and in places identical, in sentence structure and, generally, in the choice of words. The usage of idiomatic expressions is likewise similar in these two editions.

The comparison with two Ottoman editions in Arabo-Persian script of the Istanbul tradition dated 1880 (O) and 1908 (OT) was made "behind the scenes"; it hardly appears openly as illustration. This was due to the lack of space coupled with our preference not to restrict our comparative illustration to two Ottoman editions with their individual peculiarities. Instead, we opted to show the differences through a comparison with standard Ottoman. This comparison was made meticulously throughout, as was a comparison with modern Standard Turkish. A network of linguistic interconnections between the Karamanlı, the Armeno-Turkish, and the regular Ottoman versions have thereby been highlighted.

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[99] Éva Á. Csató, Bernt Brendemoen, Lars Johanson, Claudia Römer, and Stein, Heidi, "The Linguistic Landscape of Istanbul in the Seventeenth Century. Introduction," in *Spoken Ottoman in Mediator Texts*. Turcologica 106, eds. Éva Á. Csató, Astrid Menz, and Fikret Turan (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2016), 19.

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