ON NON-FINAL STRESS IN TURKISH*

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0. Introduction

As is well known by now, ordinarily, primary stress in Turkish is on the final syllable of a word. Such forms may be simple or derived, native or borrowed. Let us observe the following.

(1) tanı
   tanı-dık
   tanı-dık-lär
   tanı-dık-lar-ím
   tanı-dık-lar-ım-úz
   koalisyón
   koalisyón-um-úz
   koalisyón-um-úz-dá

   ‘know’
   ‘acquaintance’
   ‘acquaintances’
   ‘my acquaintances’
   ‘our acquaintances’
   ‘coalition’
   ‘our coalition’
   ‘in our coalition’

A well-defined set of exceptions to word-final stress involves complex (i.e. derived) forms that contain enclitic suffixes, which are, by definition, not stressable but require that the primary stress of a word be on the immediately preceding syllable.¹ Examples follow.

(2) tanı-má-dık-lar-ım-úz
    tanı-dık-lar-ım-úz-mí
    gel-fyör
    koalisyón-lá

   ‘those we do not know’
   ‘our acquaintances?’
   ‘(s)he is coming’
   ‘with coalition’

All suffixes that are cliticized from particles (like, -ye < ile; -ymis < imis; -yken < iken) are enclitic, but then so are a group of suffixes which do not share any phonetic, morphological or semantic properties. Furthermore, encliticity is contrastive, as seen in the following examples.

(3) gel-mé
    gel-mé
    sina-má
    siná-má
    ben-dé
    bèn dë

   ‘coming’
   ‘don’t come’
   ‘testing’
   ‘don’t test’
   ‘in/on me’
   ‘me too’

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* I am indebted to Harry Bochner, Nick Clements, Jaklin Korntilt and Şünaşı Tekin for their comments on an earlier version of this paper. Certainly, the remaining errors and shortcomings are all mine.

¹ Enclitic suffixes will be indicated by a ‘-’ over the vowel of the syllable. See Lees (1961) for a complete list of the enclitic suffixes in Turkish.
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Lees (1961) observed that in case there are two or more enclitic suffixes in a word, the primary stress precedes the leftmost enclitic suffix. Observe the following.

(4)  gel-mā-di-mi
     gel-iyōr-lar-mī
     ‘didn’t he come’
     ‘are they coming?’

Lees (1961) makes the following correct predictions for ordinary cases.

(5)  The primary stress in a word will appear on the syllable immediately preceding the leftmost enclitic suffix if there is one; if not it will be on the final syllable.²

Although this is in general true of non-final stress in Turkish, it is fairly well known that there are words that fall outside the prediction of (5) above. These are the words that do not contain enclitic suffixes, but nevertheless, bear non-final stress.

(6)  lokāntā
     māndra
     manivēḷā
     prāsā
     ‘restaurant’
     ‘daity farm’
     ‘lever’
     ‘leek’

Lees (1961) assumed, as did traditional grammars of Turkish, that the place of primary stress in forms like (6) is unpredictable.

In this paper, I will discuss three groups of words with non-final stress: the adverbials with -en, in § 1, the emphatic and diminutive adjectives, in § 2, and forms like the ones in (6), above, in § 3. I will argue that, within each group, the place of primary stress is highly predictable.

1. The Adverbs with -en

An interesting case of non-final stress in Turkish, which has so far escaped the attention of grammarians, involves the derived adverbs with -en. Let us observe the following examples.³

(7)  ‘form’    şekāl
     ‘transfer’    nakāl
     ‘cash’    nakāt
     ‘economics’    iktsāt
     ‘support’    istināt
     ‘accident’    kazā
     ‘basic’    esās
     şēk-len
     nak-len
     nāk-ten
     ik-ti-sā-len
     is-ti-nā-len
     ka-zā-en
     e-sā-len
     ‘formwise’
     ‘by transfer’
     ‘in cash’
     ‘economically’
     ‘based on . . . ’
     ‘accidentally’
     ‘basically’

2. Lees (1961) achieves this effect by two rules: a primary stress rule that assigns primary stress to syllables immediately preceding word boundary and enclitic suffixes, and a stress reduction rule that reduces all but the leftmost primary stress in a word.

3. Henceforth, ‘-’ indicates syllable boundary, not morpheme boundary.
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The derived adverbials in (7) give the impression that -en is an ordinary enclitic suffix that causes the immediately preceding syllable to bear primary stress. The following examples show, however, that primary stress does not always immediately precede -en.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(8)</th>
<th>münhasır</th>
<th>mün-hâ-si-ran</th>
<th>'specially'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'special to'</td>
<td>müştürek</td>
<td>müş-tê-re-ken</td>
<td>'mutually'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'mutual'</td>
<td>tekeffül</td>
<td>te-kê-fü-len</td>
<td>'by surety'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'becoming surety'</td>
<td>muvakkát</td>
<td>mu-vâk-ka-ten</td>
<td>'temporarily'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'temporary'</td>
<td>nisbêt</td>
<td>nîs-be-ten</td>
<td>'proportionally'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ratio'</td>
<td>hakikát</td>
<td>ha-kî-ka-ten</td>
<td>'in truth'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Now, before any discussion of the -en adverbials in (7) and (8), let us refer to the well-known distinction between strong and weak syllables. By definition, a strong syllable is one that either ends with a consonant or with a long vowel. Typically, a strong syllable has one of the following shapes in Turkish: (C)V(C), (C)VCC, (C)\(V\). A weak syllable, on the other hand, is one which ends with a short vowel, (C)\(V\).

Now, going back to the adverbials with -en, we observe that when the primary stress is on the ante-penult, as in (8), the penult is weak. As is obvious from (8), a stressed ante-penult need not be strong. Let us formulate these observations in the form of a generalization.

(9) In adverbials derived with -en, primary stress is on the penult if it is strong. If the penult is not strong, then primary stress is on the ante-penult.  

It would be interesting to check to see to what extent Rule (9), above, is borrowed wholesale from Arabic, and to what extent it is modified, if at all, in Turkish phonology. We will not consider this issue here, but observe, in this context, that an adverbial formed with -en on a native root, aşri-ye-ten 'separately,' also conforms to (9).

2. Word-Initial Stress: The Emphatic Adjectives

Turkish has a process of limited productivity which forms emphatic adjectives by partial reduplication.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(10)</th>
<th>incé</th>
<th>ipincê</th>
<th>'very thin'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'thin'</td>
<td>bók</td>
<td>bómbokek</td>
<td>'utterly useless'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ordure'</td>
<td>kîr mûzi</td>
<td>kîpirmizî</td>
<td>'bright red'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'red'</td>
<td>toparlak</td>
<td>tóstoporlak</td>
<td>'perfectly round'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reduplicated emphatic adjectives do not constitute the only set of words that bear initial primary stress. There is a diminutive suffix, which derives both nouns and adjectives. Observe in (11), below, that while the adjectival forms have initial stress, the nominal forms have final stress.

4. This rule holds somewhat trivially for the first three forms in (7), since these have only one non-final syllable which receives the primary stress.
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(11) a. ìncecìk
kðççìk
álççìk
birìcìk
b. Mehmetçìk
Ayçìcìk
fìççìk
köpecìk

‘very thin’
‘very small’
‘very low’
‘one and only’
‘Turkish private soldier’
‘poor little Ayşe’
‘little barrel’
‘poor little dog’

There is no doubt that in both (11a) and (11b) we have the very same diminutive suffix. Notice, incidentally, that the stem final -k’s are lost before this suffix whether the stem is nominal or adjectival, as in kùçìk ~ kùççìk; álçåk ~ álççìk; and köpek ~ köpecìk. The question is, then: Why is it that we have initial stress in adjectives derived with -CìG but not in nouns? It is obvious that initial stress is not solely motivated by the diminutive suffix. We believe that (11a), like the examples in (10), are basically emphatic adjectives, and that this is the reason why they take word-initial stress. We will formulate this generalization as follows.

(12) Derived emphatic adjectives have primary stress on their initial syllables.  

3. Non-Final Stress in Borrowed Words

Let us, tentatively, refer to an uninflected form with primary stress on a non-initial syllable, as a “Non-Final Stress (NFS) Word.” The NFS category, then, excludes the -en adverbials and the emphatic adjectives since these contain affixes, but it does include cases like (6), above. We will argue in this section that primary stress in NFS words are highly predicatable.

There is a belief among traditional grammarians that the non-final stress of borrowed words (especially, of place and person’s names of non-native origin) reflect the stress pattern of the source language. This claim, which no classical grammarian ever cared to verify, is nothing but a myth.6 Observe in the examples, below, how the place of the primary stress in loans may be markedly different from that of the source language.

(13) a. Source Language Turkish
Éïsenhower Ayyinhovêr
Indianâpolis Índianapólis
Kénnedy Kenédi
Méndelssohn Mendelson
Papadîoulos Papadópoulos
Ptôlemyn Pitólemi

5. Initial stress in diminutive adjectives may have developed on the analogy with the emphatic, reduplicated adjectives. There are other forms that take initial stress, like some adverbs and conjunctions, which we will leave outside the scope of this paper.

6. To our knowledge, this contention is first challenged by Demircan (1975) with examples of loans from French and English.
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(Paul) Samuelsen
Washington

b. jubile
visite
faculté
atelier

Samuelsen
Vashington

jubile 'jubilee'
visite 'doctor's fee'
fakülte 'a college school'
atölye 'workshop'

We find examples of loans like those in (13b) particularly interesting. Notice that, although these words have final stress in the source language, they are stressed on a non-final syllable in Turkish. Examples like (13) can, in fact, be enumerated to show that NFS words do not retain the stress pattern of the source language, except accidentally. Therefore, we must look elsewhere for an explanation.

3.1. Primary Stress in Weak NFS Words

First, we will distinguish between Weak and Strong words, in the following manner. A strong word is one whose penult and/or ante-penult is a strong syllable, and a weak word is one whose penult and ante-penult are weak. Now, with these definitions in mind, let us consider the following weak NFS words.

(14) 'Oedipus'
'Ptolemy'
'Kennedy'
a man's name
'Indianapolis'
a city in Turkey
a county in Turkey
'brine'
'wagon'
'screw'
'mouthpiece on a cigarette'
'whitewash'
'couch'
'deceive'
'hide'
'napkin'
'prescription'
'movies'
'machine'
'lever'
'chocolate'
'screwdriver'
'newspaper'
'jubilee'
'doctor's fee'

O-dí-pus
Pi-to-lé-mi
Ke-né-di
Pa-pa-do-pú-los
In-di-ya-na-pó-lis
A-dá-na
A-ná-mur
sa-la-mú-ra
a-rá-ba
ct-vá-ta
zt-vá-na
ba-dá-na
ka-ná-pe
da-la-vé-re
kó-sé-le
pe-če-te
re-če-te
si-né-ma
ma-kí-ne
ma-ni-vél-a
çí-ko-fá-ta
tor-na-ví-da
gá-zé-te
jú-bí-le
vi-sí-te

Examples like (14) lead us to the following generalization.
The Weak Penult Rule
In weak NFS words, primary stress is on the penult.

1.2. Non-Final Stress in Strong Words

Let us first observe the following strong NFS words.

(16) a. (Paul) Samuelson
  'Washington'
  'Halicarnassus'
  'medal'
  'restaurant'
  'pistol'
  'wooden sandal(s)'
  'cheating'
  'handcuffs'
  'workshop'
  'school in a college'
  city in Turkey
  sa-mu-ēl-son
  va-šink-ton
  ha-li-kār-nas
  ma-dāl-ya
  lo-kān-ta
  ta-bān-ca
  ta-kūn-ya
  ka-ta-kūl-li
  ke-lēp-çe
  a-tōl-ye
  fa-kūl-te

b. 'pot'
  'window'
  'dairy farm'
  'press'
  'piggy bank'
  'Chevrolet'
  'buoy'
  'scenery'
  'bed frame'
  city in Turkey
  tēn-čē-re
  pēn-čē-re
  mān-di-ra
  cēn-de-re
  kūm-bā-ra
  šēv-ro-le
  ša-mān-di-ra
  mān-za-ra
  kā-rī-yō-la
  ān-ka-ra

In (16a), primary stress is on the strong penult, and in (16b), it is on the strong ante-penult. It seems, then, that in strong NFS words the primary stress is either on the penult or on the ante-penult depending on whichever happens to be strong. In the following strong NFS words, however, both the penult and the ante-penult are strong and the primary stress is on the penult.

(17) a city in Turkey
    a city in Turkey
    a city in Turkey
    a city in Turkey
    a city in Turkey
    'Mendelssohn'
    'Kamchatka'
    'Kilimanjaro'
    'Montezuma'
    'Eisenhower'
    'accidentally'
    An-tāl-ya
    An-tāk-ya
    Is-tān-bul
    Hāk-kā-ri
    Men-dēl-son
    Kam-çāt-ka
    Kli-man-yā-ro
    Mon-ta-zū-ma
    Ay-zim-hō-ver
    kā-zā-ra7

7. Compare this with kā-zā-en ‘accidentally’ in (7). Notice that, according to our analysis, the same root, kāzā, in these two words, is stressed on the same syllable by two different rules.
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'gendarme'  jan-dár-ma
'basketball'  bas-két-bol
'chair'  is-kém-le
'chair'  san-dál-ye
'sardines'  sar-dál-ya
'tripe'  iş-kém-be
'reject'  is-kär-ta
'umbago'  lum-bá-go

The primary stress in the examples in (16) and (17) can be accounted for by the following generalization.

(18) \textit{The Strong Syllable Rule}

In strong NFS words, the primary stress is on the penult if it is strong, and if the penult is not strong, then it is on the ante-penult.

3.3. Non-Final Stress in Native Place Names

It is fairly well known that, ordinarily, when a common noun becomes a place name, it gains non-final stress. This non-final stress may be initial, as in (13), below.

(19)  sırkeçî  \begin{tabular}{l}  'vinegar seller' \\  place name \end{tabular}
    Sır-ke-çî  \\
    torbâli  \begin{tabular}{l}  'one with bag(s)' \\  place name \end{tabular}
    Tör-bâ-li

Shifting primary stress to word-initial position is not as general as one might assume. Observe in (20), below, how non-final stress of native place names can be non-initial.

(20)  a.  kavaklı  \begin{tabular}{l}  'with poplars' \\  place name \end{tabular}
    Ka-vák-li
    kulaksız  \begin{tabular}{l}  'without ears' \\  place name \end{tabular}
    Ku-lâk-sız
    çınarcık  \begin{tabular}{l}  'little maple' \\  place name \end{tabular}
    Çı-nâr-cık
    ayrancı  \begin{tabular}{l}  'yogurt-drink seller' \\  place name \end{tabular}
    Ay-rân-cî
    b.  ovacık  \begin{tabular}{l}  'little valley' \\  place name \end{tabular}
    O-va-cık
    boyacı  \begin{tabular}{l}  'painter' \\  place name \end{tabular}
    Bo-yâ-cî

It will be noticed that our generalizations on NFS words, namely, (15) and (18), will predict the place of primary stress in both (19) and (20), above, once we assume that these place names belong under the category of NFS words. Both (19) and (20a) are strong words according to our definition in § 3.1. In (19), the penult is weak, so the ante-penult bears the primary stress. In (20a), the strong penult attracts primary
NATIONAL COLOR AND BILINGUALISM IN THE WORK OF CHINGIZ AITMATOV

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I. Introduction

In 1970 a controversy arose in the Soviet Union concerning a book entitled The White Steamship (Belyi parokhod) by the Kirghiz author Chingiz Aitmatov. The controversy, which may have enhanced public interest in this book and in its author, has now dissipated and Aitmatov continues his active life of writing and public service.

It was Aitmatov's good fortune that earlier in his creative life another work, Dzhamlia, was noticed by the French author Louis Aragon who proclaimed it to be the most beautiful love story in the world.1 Aragon was a well-known author and a man with impeccable political credentials in the Soviet Union, and his judgment flattered the official critics of that country. They publicized the praise and published Aragon's appraisal in subsequent editions of Aitmatov's works. Aragon's praise, although much too exuberant, was not unfounded, and Dzhamlia, which had already gained the hearts of its Soviet audience, was enthusiastically received abroad in its French and other translations.2 This had occurred in 1958-59, when the Kirghiz author was thirty.

Aitmatov is one of the increasing number of Soviet writers who are equally at home in their ethnic tongues and in Russian.3 Although Dzhamlia was translated from Kirghiz by A. Dmitrieva, Aitmatov himself has translated other works such as My Little Poplar in a Red Kerchief. His two major novels, Farewell, Gulsary! and The White Steamship were written first in Russian; it is not even certain that a Kirghiz version of the former exists. This may also be true of his recent stories Early Cranes and Piebald Dog Running on

1. Louis Aragon, "Samaia prekrasnaia povest' o liubvi v mire," Kul'tura i zhizn', July 1959; the English translation of Aragon's article is in the English edition of this periodical under the title "The Finest Love Story in the World," Culture and Life, July 1959. Important for Aitmatov's early success was also a review written by the venerable Kazakh author and scholar Mukhtar Auezov in Literaturnaia Gazeta, 23 October 1958, under the title "Put' dobyli!"


3. An appealing pre-Soviet precedent was the Azerbaijani playwright and essayist Mirza Fatali Akhund-zade or Akhoundov (1812-1878), who wrote his still popular comedies both in Azerbaijani and in Russian. Among today's examples, the Kirghiz literary historian A. Sadykov mentions the Lakh Effendi Kapiyev, the Abkhazian G. Gula, the Chuvash P. Khuzangai, the Chukicha Iv. Rytkheu, the Kazakh O. Suleimanov and A. Alimdzhano, the Azerbaijani G. Sendbeili, the Moldavians I. Drutse and P. Darienko, the Kirghiz M. Baidzhiyev and—of course—Ch. Aitmatov, and others. Sadykov also mentions remarkable cases in reverse where ethnic Russians write in local languages, as for example Nadia Lushnikova who won a prize with her poetry in Kazakh. See his Natsional'noe i internatsional'noe v kirgizskoi sovetskoj literature, Frunze 1970, p. 156.
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